

# PERSPECTIVES ON AFRICA

A READER IN CULTURE, HISTORY,  
AND REPRESENTATION

edited and introduced by

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First published 1997

2 4 6 8 10 9 7 5 3 1

Blackwell Publishers Ltd  
108 Cowley Road  
Oxford OX4 1JF  
UK

Blackwell Publishers Inc.  
238 Main Street  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02142  
USA

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*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Perspectives on Africa : a reader in culture, history, and  
representation / edited and introduced by Roy Richard Grinker and  
Christopher B. Steiner.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 1-55786-685-6 (acid-free paper). — ISBN 1-55786-686-4 (pbk. acid-free paper)

1. Ethnology—Africa, Sub-Saharan. 2. Africa, Sub-Saharan—Politics and government.  
3. Africa, Sub-Saharan—Economic conditions. 4. Africa, Sub-Saharan—Social life and customs.  
I. Grinker, Roy R. (Roy Richard), 1961– . II. Steiner, Christopher Burghard, 1961–  
GN645.P47 1996  
306'.096—dc20

96-21537  
CIP

Printed in Great Britain by T. J. Press Limited, Padstow, Cornwall

This book is printed on acid-free paper

To Colin Turnbull  
and for  
our children

# THE DUAL MANDATE IN BRITISH TROPICAL AFRICA: METHODS OF RULING NATIVE RACES

FREDERICK D. LUGARD

The principle of co-operation – Divergent methods of self-government: (a) Representative government: The new system in India; (b) Complete independence the goal; (c) Dependent native rule – The Fulani of Nigeria – Recognition of the principle of rule through chiefs – Advanced communities in Nigeria – Relations with British staff – Revenues of native administrations – Courts and jurisdiction – The village unit – Essential features of the system – Application to non-Moslem States – Limitations to independence: (a) Armed forces; (b) Taxation; (c) Legislation; (d) Land; (e) Control of aliens – Disposal of revenue – Alien races as native rulers – Education of native rulers – Misuse of the system – System must vary with local traditions – Administrative procedure – Succession – Extra-territorial allegiance.

If continuity and decentralisation are, as I have said, the first and most important conditions in maintaining an effective administration, co-operation is the key-note of success in its application – continuous co-operation between every link in the chain, from the head of the administration to its most junior member, – co-operation between the Government and

the commercial community, and, above all, between the provincial staff and the native rulers. Every individual adds his share not only to the accomplishment of the ideal, but to the ideal itself. Its principles are fashioned by his quota of experience, its results are achieved by his patient and loyal application of these principles, with as little interference as possible with native customs and modes of thought.

Principles do not change, but their mode of application may and should vary with the customs, the traditions, and the prejudices of each unit. The task of the administrative officer is to clothe his principles in the garb of evolution, not of revolution; to make it apparent alike to the educated native, the conservative Moslem, and the primitive pagan, each in his own degree, that the policy of the Government is not antagonistic but progressive – sympathetic to his aspirations and the safeguard of his natural rights. The Governor looks to the administrative staff to keep in touch with native thought and feeling, and to report fully to himself, in order that he in turn may be able to support them and recognise their work.

When describing the machinery of

Government in an African dependency, I spoke of the supervision and guidance exercised by the Lieut.-Governor, the Residents, and the District Officers over the native chiefs. In this chapter I propose to discuss how those functions should be exercised.

Lord Milner's declaration that the British policy is to rule subject races through their own chiefs is generally applauded, but the manner in which the principle should be translated into practice admits of wide differences of opinion and method. Obviously the extent to which native races are capable of controlling their own affairs must vary in proportion to their degree of development and progress in social organisation, but this is a question of adaptation and not of principle. Broadly speaking, the divergent opinions in regard to the application of the principle may be found to originate in three different conceptions.

The first is that the ideal of self-government can only be realised by the methods of evolution which have produced the democracies of Europe and America – viz., by representative institutions in which a comparatively small educated class shall be recognised as the natural spokesmen for the many. This method is naturally in favour with the educated African. Whether it is adapted to peoples accustomed by their own institutions to autocracy – albeit modified by a substantial expression of the popular will and circumscribed by custom – is naturally a matter on which opinions differ. The fundamental essential, however, in such a form of Government is that the educated few shall at least be representative of the feelings and desires of the many – well known to them, speaking their language, and versed in their customs and prejudices.

In present conditions in Africa the numerous separate tribes, speaking different languages, and in different stages of evolution, cannot produce representative men of education. Even were they available, the number of communities which could claim separate representation would make any central and really representative Council very unwieldy. The authority vested in the representatives would be antagonistic (as the Indian Progressives realise<sup>1</sup>) to that of the native rulers and their councils, – which are the product of the natural tendencies of tribal evolution, – and would run counter to the customs and institutions of the people.<sup>2</sup>

An attempt to adapt these principles of Western representative Government to tropical races is now being made in India. It is at present an Eastern rather than an African problem, but as a great experiment in the method of Government in tropical countries, the outcome of which “many other native races in other parts of the world are watching with strained attention,” it demands at least a passing reference here.

Though the powers entrusted to the elected representatives of the people are at first restricted under the dyarchical system (which reserves certain subjects for the Central Authority), the principle of government by an educated minority, as opposed to government by native rulers, is fully accepted. It must be admitted that there is a considerable body of well-informed opinion in India and England – voiced here by the India Association, Lord Sydenham (who speaks with the authority of an ex-Governor of Bombay), and others – which expresses much misgiving as to the wisdom of placing all political power “in the hands of a disaffected minority unrepresentative of India,” and regards it as “an

<sup>1</sup> “The extremist Press,” says Sir Valentine Chirol, “has already frequently denounced ruling princes and chiefs as intolerable obstacles to the democratic evolution of ‘Swaraj’” (Home Rule). – “Times,” 10th February 1921.

<sup>2</sup> Chief Ofori asserts to this effect. “We claim and we insist,” say the spokesmen of the educated natives, while denouncing the present system, and advocating a new policy, “that such a policy can be adequately carried out only by giving an effective position in the legislatures to ourselves.”

attempt to govern India by the narrowest of oligarchies, whose interests often conflict with those of the millions."<sup>3</sup>

The experiment has so far shown much promise of success, but the real test is not merely whether the native councillors show moderation and restraint as against extremists of their own class, but whether, when legislation has to be enacted which is unpopular with the illiterate masses and the martial races of India, there may be a reluctance to accept what will be called "Babu-made law," though it would have been accepted without demur as the order of "the Sirkar" – the British Raj.

It is, of course, now too late to adopt to any large extent the alternative of gradually transforming the greater part of British India into native States governed by their own hereditary dynasties, whose representatives in many cases still exist, and extending to them the principles which have so successfully guided our relations with the native States in India itself, and in Malaya in the past. It is one thing to excite an ignorant peasantry against an alien usurper, but quite another thing to challenge native ruler.

Such a system does not exclude the educated native from participation in the government of the State to which he belongs, as a councillor to the native ruler, but it substitutes for direct British rule, not an elected oligarchy but a form of government more in accord with racial instincts and inherited traditions. It may be that while dyarchy and representative government may prove suitable to Bengal, and perhaps to some other provinces, the alternative system may be found to be best adapted to Mohamedan States, and to other of the warlike races of India, where representatives of the ancient dynasties still survive. Time alone will show. I shall recur to this subject in the next chapter.

The second conception is that every advanced community should be given the widest possible powers of self-government under its own ruler, and that these powers should be rapidly increased with the object of complete independence at the earliest possible date in the not distant future. Those who hold this view generally, I think, also consider that attempts to train primitive tribes in any form of self-government are futile, and the administration must be wholly conducted by British officials. This in the past has been the principle adopted in many dependencies. It recognised no alternative between a status of independence, like the Sultans of Malaya, or the native princes of India, and the direct rule of the district commissioner.

But the attempt to create such independent States in Africa has been full of anomalies. In the case of Egbaland, where the status had been formally recognised by treaty, the extent to which the Crown had jurisdiction was uncertain, yet, as we have seen, international conventions, including even that relating to the protection of wild animals, which was wholly opposed to native customary rights, were applied without the consent of the "Independent" State, and powers quite incompatible with independence were exercised by the Suzerain.<sup>4</sup>

The paramount chief might receive ceremonial visits from time to time from the Governor, and even perhaps be addressed as "Your Royal Highness," and vested with titular dignity and the tinsel insignia of office. His right to impose tolls on trade, and to exact whatever oppressive taxes he chose from his peasantry, was admitted, but his authority was subject to constant interference. The last-joined District Officer, or any other official, might issue orders, if not to him, at any rate to any of his subordinate chiefs, and the native

<sup>3</sup> "Times," 22nd December 1913. See also "Spectator," 5th February 1921.

<sup>4</sup> That one of the stipulations of the Egba "Treaty of Commerce and Friendship" of 1893 should be the prohibition of human sacrifice, indicates that the community was hardly ripe for self-government.

ruler had no legal and recognised means of enforcing his commands. He was necessarily forbidden to raise armed forces – on which in the last resort the authority of the law must depend – and could not therefore maintain order.

The third conception is that of rule by native chiefs, unfettered in their control of their people as regards all those matters which are to them the most important attributes of rule, with scope for initiative and responsibility, but admittedly – so far as the visible horizon is concerned – subordinate to the control of the protecting Power in certain well-defined directions. It recognises, in the words of the Versailles Treaty, that the subject races of Africa are not yet able to stand alone, and that it would not conduce to the happiness of the vast bulk of the people – for whose welfare the controlling Power is trustee – that the attempt should be made.

The verdict of students of history and sociology of different nationalities, such as Dr Kidd,<sup>5</sup> Dr Stoddard,<sup>6</sup> M. Beaulieu,<sup>7</sup> Meredith Townsend,<sup>8</sup> and others is unanimous that the era of complete independence is not as yet visible on the horizon of time. Practical administrators (among whom I may include my successor, Sir P. Girouard, in Northern Nigeria) have arrived at the same conclusion.

The danger of going too fast with native races is even more likely to lead to disappoint-

ment, if not to disaster, than the danger of not going fast enough. The pace can best be gauged by those who have intimate acquaintance alike with the strong points and the limitations of the native peoples and rulers with whom they have to deal.

The Fulani of Northern Nigeria are, as I have said, more capable of rule than the indigenous races, but in proportion as we consider them an alien race, we are denying self-government to the people over whom they rule, and supporting an alien caste – albeit closer and more akin to the native races than a European can be. Yet capable as they are, it requires the ceaseless vigilance of the British staff to maintain a high standard of administrative integrity, and to prevent oppression of the peasantry. We are dealing with the same generation, and in many cases with the identical rulers, who were responsible for the misrule and tyranny which we found in 1902. The subject races near the capital were then serfs, and the victims of constant extortion. Those dwelling at a distance were raided for slaves, and could not count their women, their cattle, or their crops their own. Punishments were most barbarous, and included impalement, mutilation, and burying alive.<sup>9</sup> Many generations have passed since British rule was established among the more intellectual people of India – the inheritors of centuries of Eastern civilisation – yet only to-day are we tentatively

<sup>5</sup> Dr Kidd writes: "There never has been, and never will be within any time with which we are practically concerned, such a thing as good government in the European sense of the tropics by the natives of these regions." He describes the collapse of prosperity in the West Indies and Guiana which followed the false conception that the British tropics, if given control of their own destinies, would develop into modern states – and points to the gloomy picture of Hayti, &c. – "Control of the Tropics," pp. 37, 51, 73, &c.

<sup>6</sup> "Unless every lesson of history is to be disregarded, we must conclude that black Africa is unable to stand alone." – "The Rising Tide of Colour," p. 102.

<sup>7</sup> "Les noirs d'Afrique sont au milieu de l'humanité des mineurs qui pour parvenir à un certain état de civilisation . . . ont besoin d'être dirigés, guidés, gouvernés pendant un bon nombre de dizaines d'années par les Européens. Il convient que chaque nation qui a la responsabilité d'une Colonie Africaine puisse sur son territoire d'une absolue souveraineté." —Beaulieu, *loc. cit.*, vol. i. pp. 361, 364.

<sup>8</sup> "None of the black races have shown within historic times the capacity to develop civilisation." — "Asia in Europe," p. 92, quoted by the American writer, Dr Stoddard. He gives his reasons at great length for his conclusions.

<sup>9</sup> The dungeon at Kano is thus described: "A small doorway 2 ft. 6 in. by 18 in. gives access into it; the interior is divided by a thick mud wall (with a similar hole in it) into two compartments, each 17 ft. by 7 ft. and 11 ft. high. This wall was pierced with holes at its base, through which the legs of those sentenced to death were thrust up to the thigh,

seeking to confer on them a measure of self-government. "Festina lente" is a motto which the Colonial Office will do well to remember in its dealings with Africa.

That the principle of ruling through the native chiefs is adopted by the different governments of British Tropical Africa can be seen from recent local pronouncements. The Governor of Sierra Leone, in his address to the Legislative Council last December (1920), remarks that "nine-tenths of the people enjoy autonomy under their own elected chiefs . . . European officers are the technical advisers, and helpers of the tribal authority." The Governor of the Gold Coast on a similar occasion observed: "The chiefs are keenly appreciative of our policy of indirect rule, and of the full powers they retain under their native institutions."<sup>10</sup> The powers retained by the Kabaka of Uganda and his Council are very wide indeed.<sup>11</sup>

The system adopted in Nigeria is therefore only a particular method of the application of these principles – more especially as regards "advanced communities," – and since I am familiar with it I will use it as illustrative of the

methods which in my opinion should characterise the dealings of the controlling power with subject races.

The object in view is to make each "Emir" or paramount chief, assisted by his judicial Council, an effective ruler over his own people. He presides over a "Native Administration" organised throughout as a unit of local government. The area over which he exercises jurisdiction is divided into districts under the control of "Headmen," who collect the taxes in the name of the ruler, and pay them into the "Native Treasury," conducted by a native treasurer and staff under the supervision of the chief at his capital. Here, too, is the prison for native court prisoners, and probably the school. Large cities are divided into wards for purposes of control and taxation.

The district headman, usually a territorial magnate with local connections, is the chief executive officer in the area under his charge. He controls the village headmen, and is responsible for the assessment of the tax, which he collects through their agency. He must reside in his district and not at the capital. He is not allowed to pose as a chief with a

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and they were left to be trodden on by the mass of other prisoners till they died of thirst and starvation. The place is entirely air-tight and unventilated, except for one small doorway or rather hole in the wall through which you creep. The total space inside is 2618 cub.ft., and at the time we took Kano 135 human beings were confined here each night, being let out during the day to cook their food, &c., in a small adjoining area. Recently as many as 200 have been interned at one time. As the superficial ground area was only 238 square feet, there was not, of course, even standing room. Victims were crushed to death every night – their corpses were hauled out each morning. The stench, I am told, inside the place when Col. Morland visited it was intolerable though it was empty, and when I myself went inside three weeks later the effluvium was unbearable for more than a few seconds. A putrid corpse even then lay near the doorway." – Northern Nigeria Annual Report, 1902, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Captain Armitage says of the northern territories: "The powers of the chiefs had largely lapsed, and it was the custom to put, one might almost say, the village idiot on the stool. Our policy has been to re-establish the powers of several big chiefs, and it has been a remarkable success."

<sup>11</sup> Before Uganda had been declared a British protectorate, and control assumed by the British Government, I wrote (in 1893): "The object to be aimed at in the administration of this country is to rule through its own executive government . . . the Resident should rule through and by the chiefs." – "The Rise of our East African Empire," vol. i. pp. 649, 651.

Uganda proper is divided into *Sazas* each of which has a *Lukiko*, which assembles weekly and deals with minor cases. They are inspected by the district officers, and report to the Central *Lukiko* at the capital. This consists of some forty *Saza* chiefs presided over by the Kabaka with his *Katikiro* and other ministers. The native administration has 20 per cent of the native tax – about £16,000. The system, says the Governor, "is an excellent example of the best results of indirect rule." – "United Empire," June 1920, p. 395.

Sir H. Low and Sir F. Swettenham testify from their experience in Malaya that "the only way to deal with the people is through their recognised chiefs and headmen."

retinue of his own and duplicate officials, and is summoned from time to time to report to his chief. If, as is the case with some of the ancient Emirates, the community is a small one but independent of any other native rule, the chief may be his own district headman.

A province under a Resident may contain several separate "Native Administrations," whether they be Moslem Emirates or pagan communities. A "division" under a British District Officer may include one or more headmen's districts, or more than one small Emirate or independent<sup>12</sup> pagan tribe, but as a rule no Emirate is partly in one division and partly in another. The Resident acts as sympathetic adviser and counsellor to the native chief, being careful not to interfere so as to lower his prestige, or cause him to lose interest in his work. His advice on matters of general policy must be followed, but the native ruler issues his own instructions to his subordinate chiefs and district heads – not as the orders of the Resident but as his own, – and he is encouraged to work through them, instead of centralising everything in himself – a system which in the past had produced such great abuses. The British District Officers supervise and assist the native district headmen, through whom they convey any instructions to village heads, and make any arrangements necessary for carrying on the work of the Government departments, but all important orders emanate from the Emir, whose messenger usually accompanies and acts as mouthpiece of a District Officer.

The tax – which supersedes all former "tribute," irregular imposts, and forced labour – is, in a sense, the basis of the whole system, since it supplies the means to pay the Emir and all his officials. The district and village heads are effectively supervised and assisted in its assessment by the British staff. The native treasury retains the proportion assigned to it (in advanced communities a half), and pays the remainder into Colonial Revenue.

There are fifty such treasuries in the northern provinces of Nigeria, and every independent chief, however small, is encouraged to have his own. The appropriation by the native administration of market dues, slaughterhouse fees, forest licences, &c., is authorised by ordinance, and the native administration receives also the fines and fees of native courts. From these funds are paid the salaries of the Emir and his council, the native court judges, the district and village heads, police, prison warders, and other employees. The surplus is devoted to the construction and maintenance of dispensaries, leper settlements, schools, roads, courthouses, and other buildings. Such works may be carried out wholly or in part by a Government department, if the native administration requires technical assistance, the cost being borne by the native treasury.

The native treasurer keeps all accounts of receipts and expenditure, and the Emir, with the assistance of the Resident, annually prepares a budget, which is formally approved by the Lieut.-Governor.

In these advanced communities the judges of the native courts – which I shall describe in a later chapter – administer native law and custom, and exercise their jurisdiction independently of the native executive, but under the supervision of the British staff, and subject to the general control of the Emir, whose "Judicial council" consists of his principal officers of State, and is vested with executive as well as judicial powers. No punishment may be inflicted by a native authority, except through a regular tribunal. The ordinances of government are operative everywhere, but the native authority may make by-laws in modification of native custom – e.g., on matters of sanitation, &c., – and these, when approved by the Governor, are enforced by the native courts.

The authority of the Emir over his own people is absolute, and the profession of an alien creed does not absolve a native from the

<sup>12</sup> By the term "independent" in this connection is meant "independent of other native control."



obligation to obey his lawful orders; but aliens – other than natives domiciled in the Emirate and accepting the jurisdiction of the native authority and courts – are under the direct control of the British staff. Townships are excluded from the native jurisdiction.

The village is the administrative unit. It is not always easy to define, since the security to life and property which has followed the British administration has caused an exodus from the cities and large villages, and the creation of innumerable hamlets, sometimes only of one or two huts, on the agricultural lands. The peasantry of the advanced communities, though ignorant, yet differs from that of the backward tribes in that they recognise the authority of the Emir, and are more ready to listen to the village head and the Council of Elders. "The development of self-government in India," says Lord Sydenham, "should begin with the *Panchayet*" (Village Council).<sup>13</sup> This is the base and unit of the Nigerian system.

Subject, therefore, to the limitations which I shall presently discuss, the native authority is thus *de facto* and *de jure* ruler over his own people. He appoints and dismisses his subordinate chiefs and officials. He exercises the power of allocation of lands, and with the aid of the native courts, of adjudication in land disputes and expropriation for offences against the community, these are the essential functions upon which, in the opinion of the West African Lands Committee, the prestige of the native authority depends. The lawful orders which he may give are carefully defined by ordinance, and in the last resort are enforced by Government.

Since native authority, especially if exercised by alien conquerors, is inevitably weakened by the first impact of civilised rule,

it is made clear to the elements of disorder, who regard force as conferring the only right to demand obedience, that government, by the use of force if necessary, intends to support the native chief. To enable him to maintain order he employs a body of unarmed police, and if the occasion demands the display of superior force he looks to the Government – as, for instance, if a community combines to break the law or shield criminals from justice – a rare event in the advanced communities.

The native ruler derives his power from the Suzerain, and is responsible that it is not misused. He is equally with British officers amenable to the law, but his authority does not depend on the caprice of an executive officer. To intrigue against him is an offence punishable, if necessary, in a Provincial Court. Thus both British and native courts are invoked to uphold his authority.

The essential feature of the system (as I wrote at the time of its inauguration) is that the native chiefs are constituted "as an integral part of the machinery of the administration. There are not two sets of rulers – British and native – working either separately or in co-operation, but a single Government in which the native chiefs have well-defined duties and an acknowledged status equally with British officials. Their duties should never conflict, and should overlap as little as possible. They should be complementary to each other, and the chief himself must understand that he has no right to place and power unless he renders his proper services to the State."

The ruling classes are no longer either demi-gods, or parasites preying on the community. They must work for the stipends and position they enjoy. They are the trusted delegates of the Governor, exercising in the Moslem States the well-understood powers of

<sup>13</sup> "Times," 10th August 1917. The Indian Commission of 1912 reported in favour of re-establishing the *Panchayet* which previous reforms had tended to destroy. They are created in response to a demand for greater participation in the control of their own affairs, and are supported by voluntary taxation alone. – ("Times," 19/12/1917.) In Egypt the "Omdehs" of the villages were Government officials whose qualification was ownership of ten acres of land. The system inevitably led to great abuse and tyranny. – (Sir V. Chirol, "Times," 1/1/20.)

“Wakils” in conformity with their own Islamic system, and recognising the King’s representative as their acknowledged Suzerain. . . .

Pending the growth of a fuller sense of public responsibility and of an enlightened public opinion, some check may be afforded by the preparation of annual estimates of revenue and expenditure in a very simple form. These should require the approval of the Governor (or of the Lieut.-Governor), as the colonial estimates require that of the Secretary of State, and any subsequent alteration should require the like sanction. While refraining as far as possible from interference in detail, the Lieut.-Governor can, by suggestion and comparison, effect some co-ordination and uniformity where desirable, and can best discriminate between the scope which may be allowed to an individual, and the grant of extended powers of universal application.<sup>14</sup>

The habits of a people are not changed in a decade, and when powerful despots are deprived of the pastime of war and slave-raiding, and when even the weak begin to forget their former sufferings, to grow weary of a life without excitement and to resent the petty restrictions which have replaced the cruelties of the old despotism, it must be the aim of Government to provide new interests and rivalries in civilised progress, in education, in material prosperity and trade, and even in sport.<sup>15</sup>

There were indeed many who, with the picture of Fulani misrule fresh in their memory, regarded this system when it was first inaugurated with much misgiving, and

believed that though the hostility of the rulers to the British might be concealed, and their vices disguised, neither could be eradicated, and they would always remain hostile at heart. They thought that the Fulani as an alien race of conquerors, who had in turn been conquered, had not the same claims for consideration as those whom they had displaced, even though they had become so identified with the people that they could no longer be called aliens.

But there can be no doubt that such races form an invaluable medium between the British staff and the native peasantry. Nor can the difficulty of finding any one capable of taking their place, or the danger they would constitute to the State if ousted from their positions, be ignored. Their traditions of rule, their monotheistic religion, and their intelligence enable them to appreciate more readily than the negro population the wider objects of British policy while their close touch with the masses – with whom they live in daily intercourse – mark them out as destined to play an important part in the future, as they have done in the past, in the development of the tropics.

Both the Arabs in the east and the Fulani in the west are Mohamedans, and by supporting their rule we unavoidably encourage the spread of Islam, which from the purely administrative point of view has the disadvantage of being subject to waves of fanaticism, bounded by no political frontiers. In Nigeria it has been the rule that their power should not be re-established over tribes

<sup>14</sup> Some difference between the Colonial Office and local opinion arose in connection with these funds. The Secretary of State directed that they should only be used for works which the Government would not otherwise have undertaken, and refused contributions made to the cost of the war – limitations which seemed to hamper the utility of the projects undertaken, and to fetter the discretion and wound the susceptibilities of the chiefs and their councils. Opinions also differed as to the extent of the control over these large sums which should in the present stage of evolution be exercised by the Governor, and as to the desirability of some special accounting and audit staff, without unnecessary interference or time-wasting “red-tape.” These, however, were not matters of vital importance. The principle at issue was that of dependent rule as opposed to independence, and perhaps the local opinion, in its insistence on the advisability of the former, was betrayed into too narrow a view in regard to financial control.

<sup>15</sup> As Professor Elliott-Smith has justly observed, a people becomes decadent, and population decreases, not so much from war or disease as from lack of interests in life.

which had made good their independence, or imposed upon those who had successfully resisted domination.

On the other hand, the personal interests of the rulers must rapidly become identified with those of the controlling Power. The forces of disorder do not distinguish between them, and the rulers soon recognise that any upheaval against the British would equally make an end of them. Once this community of interest is established, the Central Government cannot be taken by surprise, for it is impossible that the native rulers should not be aware of any disaffection.<sup>16</sup>

This identification of the ruling class with the Government accentuates the corresponding obligation to check malpractices on their part. The task of educating them in the duties of a ruler becomes more than ever insistent; of inculcating a sense of responsibility; of convincing their intelligence of the advantages which accrue from the material prosperity of the peasantry, from free labour and initiative; of the necessity of delegating powers to trusted subordinates; of the evils of favouritism and bribery; of the importance of education, especially for the ruling class, and for the filling of lucrative posts under Government; of the benefits of sanitation, vaccination, and isolation of infection in checking mortality; and finally, of impressing upon them how greatly they may benefit their country by personal interest in such matters, and by the application of labour-saving devices and of scientific methods in agriculture.

Unintentional misuse of the system of native administration must also be guarded against. It is not, for instance, the duty of a native administration to purchase supplies for native troops, or to enlist and pay labour for public works, though its agency within carefully defined limits may be useful in making

known Government requirements, and seeing that markets are well supplied. Nor should it be directed to collect licences, fees, and rents due to Government, nor should its funds be used for any purpose not solely connected with and prompted by its own needs.

I have throughout these pages continually emphasised the necessity of recognising, as a cardinal principle of British policy in dealing with native races, that institutions and methods, in order to command success and promote the happiness and welfare of the people, must be deep-rooted in their traditions and prejudices. Obviously in no sphere of administration is this more essential than in that under discussion, and a slavish adherence to any particular type, however successful it may have proved elsewhere, may, if unadapted to the local environment, be as ill-suited and as foreign to its conceptions as direct British rule would be.

The type suited to a community which has long grown accustomed to the social organisation of the Moslem State may or may not be suitable to advanced pagan communities, which have evolved a social system of their own, such as the Yorubas, the Benis, the Egbas, or the Ashantis in the West, or the Waganda, the Wanyoro, the Watoro, and others in the East. The history, the traditions, the idiosyncracies, and the prejudices of each must be studied by the Resident and his staff, in order that the form adopted shall accord with natural evolution, and shall ensure the ready co-operation of the chiefs and people.

Before passing to the discussion of methods applicable to primitive tribes, it may be of interest to note briefly some of the details – as apart from general principles – adopted in Nigeria among the advanced communities.

Chiefs who are executive rulers are graded – those of the first three classes are installed by

<sup>16</sup> Soon after the establishment of British rule in Northern Nigeria more than one "Mahdi" arose, and obtained a fanatical following, but in every case the Fulani Emir actively assisted in suppressing the disturbance. In the Sudan thirteen Mahdis arose between 1901 and 1916. – F.O. Handbook 98, p.43. The Germans in East Africa, in order to check the spread of Islam, encouraged pig-breeding. – Cmd. 1428/1921, p. 30.

the Governor or Lieut.-Governor, and carry a staff of office surmounted for the first class by a silver, and for the others by a brass crown. Lower grades carry a baton, and are installed by the Resident, or by the Emir, if the chief is subordinate to him. These staves of office, which are greatly prized, symbolise to the peasantry the fact that the Emir derives his power from the Government, and will be supported in its exercise. The installation of an Emir is a ceremonial witnessed by a great concourse of his people, and dignified by a parade of troops. The native insignia of office, and a parchment scroll, setting out in the vernacular the conditions of his appointment, are presented to him. The alkali (native judge) administers the following oath on the Koran: "I swear in the name of God, well and truly to serve His Majesty King George V. and his representative the Governor of Nigeria, to obey the laws of Nigeria and the lawful commands of the Governor, and of the Lieut.-Governor, provided that they are not contrary to my religion, and if they are so contrary I will at once inform the Governor through the Resident. I will cherish in my heart no treachery or disloyalty, and I will rule my people with justice and without partiality. And as I carry out this oath so may God judge me." Pagan chiefs are sworn according to their own customs on a sword.

Native etiquette and ceremonial must be carefully studied and observed in order that unintentional offence may be avoided. Great importance is attached to them, and a like observance in accordance with native custom is demanded towards British officers. Chiefs are treated with respect and courtesy. Native races alike in India and Africa are quick to discriminate between natural dignity and assumed superiority. Vulgar familiarity is no more a passport to their friendship than an assumption of self-importance is to their

respect.<sup>17</sup> The English gentleman needs no prompting in such a matter – his instinct is never wrong. Native titles of rank are adopted, and only native dress is worn, whether by chiefs or by schoolboys. Principal chiefs accused of serious crimes are tried by a British court, and are not imprisoned before trial, unless in very exceptional circumstances. Minor chiefs and native officials appointed by an Emir may be tried by his Judicial Council. If the offence does not involve deprivation of office, the offender may be fined without public trial, if he prefers it, in order to avoid humiliation and loss of influence.

Succession is governed by native law and custom, subject in the case of important chiefs to the approval of the Governor, in order that the most capable claimant may be chosen. It is important to ascertain the customary law and to follow it when possible, for the appointment of a chief who is not the recognised heir, or who is disliked by the people, may give rise to trouble, and in any case the new chief would have much difficulty in asserting his authority, and would fear to check abuses lest he should alienate his supporters. In Moslem countries the law is fairly clearly defined, being a useful combination of the hereditary principle, tempered by selection, and in many cases in Nigeria the ingenious device is maintained of having two rival dynasties, from each of which the successor is selected alternately.

In pagan communities the method varies; but there is no rigid rule, and a margin for selection is allowed. The formal approval of the Governor after a short period of probation is a useful precaution, so that if the designated chief proves himself unsuitable, the selection may be revised without difficulty. Minor chiefs are usually selected by popular vote, subject to the approval of the paramount chief. It is a rule in Nigeria that no slave may be

<sup>17</sup> "The Master said: the nobler sort of man is dignified but not proud; the inferior man proud but not dignified. The nobler sort of man is easy to serve yet difficult to please. In exacting service from others he takes account of aptitudes and limitations." – "The Sayings of Confucius," L. Giles, p. 65.

appointed as a chief or district headman. If one is nominated he must first be publicly freed.

Small and isolated communities, living within the jurisdiction of a chief, but owing allegiance to the chief of their place of origin –

a common source of trouble in Africa – should gradually be absorbed into the territorial jurisdiction. Aliens who have settled in a district for their own purposes would be subject to the local jurisdiction.