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Colonial Government in Nigeria from 1900 till 1925

The establishment of colonial rule over a given territory is, generally, a lengthy process, requiring either conquest or a treaty-making system. It goes without saying that certain areas are subjugated before others, involving, consequently, different paces of development. Once full pacification is achieved, thought is, then, given for the creation of a central government that would run the affairs of the whole territory. It would be interesting to examine this process in the case of Nigeria, with a view to assessing how the colonial power (Britain) managed to create a machinery of government with the ultimate game of amalgamation.

British colonial rule in Nigeria was a gradual process which culminated in the establishment of three colonial areas which were respectively: the Lagos Colony in 1862, the Oil Rivers Protectorate in 1886 (later termed the Southern Protectorate), and finally the Northern Protectorate in 1900. The three areas were given the name of Nigeria in reference to the Niger River. This steady assuming of responsibility meant that the British were anxious to safeguard their sovereignty and promote their interests in that portion of West Africa. As experience had already shown elsewhere, in the previous British colonies, necessity was to institute, in the new colonial territory a political and administrative apparatus which would establish law and order. This, naturally, required a scheme of amalgamation of the three areas.

Preliminary steps towards this design were taken as early as 1898, that is before the Colonial Office became in charge of the two protectorates. A six-member committee, known as the Selbourne Committee, was convened. It was chaired by Lord Selbourne,

Parliamentary Under Secretary (1895-1900), and included Mr. Reginald Antrobus, standing on behalf of the Colonial Office, Sir Clement Hill, responsible for the Niger Coast Protectorate, Sir Henry Mac Callum, in charge of the Niger territories, Sir Ralph Moor, Governor of Lagos, the Consul of the Niger Coast Protectorate, and Sir George Goldie, head of the Royal Niger Company.

The members of the Committee were unanimous on the impossibility of immediate amalgamation, owing to two problems: the inexistence of a senior experienced administrator who would oversee the large territory and the lack of effective communication between Lagos and the hinterland. They encouraged, therefore, construction and expansion of a railway, essentially a line between Kano and the central ports. In matters of administrative arrangement, the Committee recommended the creation of two provinces: a Maritime Province (formed from the merger of the Lagos Colony and the Niger Coast Protectorate) and a Sudan Province, comprising the territories under the Royal Niger Company. However, the Governor of Lagos advised that the fusion of the two southern administrations should be adopted steadily. The members also proposed the amalgamation of the military and customs services, in view of their importance for peaceful trade.

It is worth noting that the Committee didn't take into consideration the ethnic and linguistic differences existing between the three areas. Besides, the natives were not consulted in the drafting of this plan, probably because the British didn't believe in the importance of this move knowing how relatively easy the subjugation of the peoples was. The Committee didn't also set a time-limit for the final centralization as this was to depend on local circumstances.

When the Selbourne report was submitted to Chamberlain, the Secretary of State (1895-1903), it was approved , except for the administrative division, which the Secretary decided it should remain as before, that is three colonial areas.

1/ Colonial Government from 1900 till 1906:

Prior to 1900, the three blocks of territories, were brought together under the Colonial Office as follows: the Lagos Colony, the Southern Protectorate and the Northern Protectorate. In compliance

with the Selbourne Committee, each had to undergo its way until complete fusion became possible.

The Lagos Colony was placed under Sir Mac Gregor (1899-1901) as Governor who was assisted by two bodies: an Executive Council and a Legislative Council. The latter comprised ten members, including six officials and four unofficials, representing most importantly, the traders' interests. It was not empowered to legislate for the Colony but simply advice the Governor. In 1866, the Colony was made a portion of the West African Settlements. In 1874, it was united to the Gold Coast Colony, and twelve years later it was made up a separate Colony. It was divided into four districts, administered directly by District Commissioners who were assisted by stipendiary bales and the Lagos constabulary; while the hinterland was put under the rule of a Resident at Ibadan, a Commissioner at Abeokuta and constabulary detachments in other places.

The Southern Protectorate, on the other hand, was put under the charge of Ralph Moor (1900-1906) as High Commissioner. It had neither an Executive nor a Legislative Council. The High Commissioner was empowered by orders-in-council to run it with his body of officials. The Protectorate was divided into districts which were grouped into divisions, each under a Divisional Commissioner and a Travelling Commissioner. Native courts and councils were developed for the administration of justice and local legislation. Though the Protectorate was formerly brought under colonial rule, there were yet instances of resistance to the British, signified mainly by the continuation of massacres and cannibalism. In some cases punitive expeditions were necessary to bring law and order.⁽¹⁾

The third colonial area, i.e. the Northern Protectorate, was put under Lugard as High Commissioner (1900-1906). Like the Southern Protectorate, it had neither an Executive nor a Legislative Council. In fact, Lugard had a difficult task: to bring under his authority this huge area since it was not yet pacified. In conformity with the principle of peaceful penetration, he implemented the indirect rule system⁽²⁾, which implied the integration of the Emirs within the British machinery of government at the local level by offering them to keep their positions as long as they accepted British orders. The Protectorate was divided into divisions under the responsibility of

Residents. These divisions were further subdivided into districts, with District Commissioners supervising and assisting the native rulers.

Therefore, the British machinery of government in Nigeria until 1906 was relatively similar in the Southern and Northern Protectorates, with High Commissioners charged with the running of their respective territories. The natives were also associated in the exercise of

Colonial rule, but notable differences, as will be shown later. The Colony, by contrast, had a different machinery, with a Governor, heading both Executive and Legislative Councils. Likewise, British colonial administration, in the three areas, intensified the discrepancy, already existing, between the peoples (political and religious systems), resulting, hence, in a great imbalance between the southern and northern administrations. While the two southern administrations encouraged modern services such as schools, roads, railways, and international trade, the northern administration tried, as far as possible, to limit the trend towards modernization, entailing a deepening of the cultural differences between the peoples. The three areas continued, hence, with their separate colonial governments until 1906 when the two southern governments were brought together.

2/ Creation of Southern Nigeria:

As already planned by the Selbourne Committee, the centralization of government in Nigeria proceeded along the principle of gradualism. Amalgamation, therefore, was not achieved directly, but was rather a partial fusion. Thus, the Lagos Colony and the Southern Protectorate were brought together under the name of Southern Nigeria on May, 1 1906. There was an amalgamation of the legislatures. This meant that the previous Lagos Legislative Council was extended to cover all Southern Nigeria.⁽³⁾ It was constituted of sixteen members: ten officials and six unofficials. The territory, thus formed, had a Governor, Sir William Egerton (1904-1912), and a High Commissioner. It was divided into three large provinces: Lagos, Forcados and Warri and their respective hinterlands. The three provinces were administered, each, by a Provincial Commissioner together with his own staff (see diagram 4). According to Nicolson, an expert on colonial administration in Nigeria, the chief reasons behind this scheme were purely administrative.⁽⁴⁾

So by 1906, there were two administrative units instead of three: Southern Nigeria and the Northern Protectorate, yet they were still

presenting differences. Furthermore, there was a great economic imbalance. In 1906, the revenue of Southern Nigeria was about one million pounds, compared with £ 315,000 for the Northern Protectorate.⁽⁵⁾ The latter, however, had an expenditure amounting to a half million pounds, and the northern deficit was met by an imperial grant-in-aid of £ 315,000 and a northern assistance of £ 25,000⁽⁵²⁾. The Colonial Office was anxious to stop this drain on the British tax-payer so as to comply with the principle of self-sufficiency, this could only be remedied by the fusion of the two revenues, that is the fusion of the two areas. The latter was, of course, impracticable for that time since the railway line from the South to the North was still unachieved. Lugard was, apparently against the expansion of the southern railway into the territory under his charge. It was only after his resignation and his succession by E.P.C Girourard (1907-1908) that some progress was made. In the meantime, Southern Nigeria and the Northern Protectorate continued to have their separate ways until 1912 when Lugard was appointed Governor of Nigeria, with at the same time order to amalgamate them.

3/ Amalgamation of Nigeria

Lugard's appointment as the first Governor of Nigeria was, largely, due to his successful work while in charge of the Northern Protectorate⁽⁶⁾, where he excelled in pacifying the huge North easily. Additionally, he had acquired experience in a number of colonies, including India and Burma.

It is worth noting that by 1912 amalgamation of the two administrations was an urgent task because of two reasons. The first was that it would relieve the Colonial Office from money-begging from the Treasury. Second, there was no coordinated railway policy between the two areas. There were two competing systems: the Minna-Jeba-Lagos system, and the Mina-Baro-Niger system. These reasons, then, hastened the centralization of government.

Following his appointment, Lugard consecrated himself, along seven months, to the elaboration of the amalgamation constitution. The constitutional draft was submitted to the Colonial Office on May, 9 1913. It included a series of changes, which, in the words of Lugard, aimed to create 'the moral and material advancement of Nigeria as a whole'.⁽⁷⁾ According to these proposals, the centralization of government was to proceed along the following lines:

The two territories were to be placed under a single officer who would receive the title of Governor-General⁽⁸⁾, with the official seat in Lagos. The amalgamated territory would be termed the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria. Assistance to the Governor was to be provided by three bodies: an Executive Council, a Legislative Council for the Colony, and a Legislative Council for the Protectorate.

As to the first body, it was to be formed of ten officials: the two Lieutenants-Governors, in charge of the Northern and Southern Protectorates, the Administrator of the Colony, the Attorney General, the Director of Railways and Works, the Commandant of Troops, the Director of Medical Services, the Treasurer, the Director of Marine and the Controller of Customs.

The second body, that is the Legislative Council of the Colony was to have its competency confined only to the Colony. It would consist of eight official members: the Administrator, the Legal Advisor, the Municipal Engineer, the Senior Municipality Sanitary Officer, the Assistant Treasurer, the Harbour Master, the Commissioner of Lands and the Commercial Intelligence Officer,⁽⁹⁾ in addition to a given number of unofficials.

The third institution, that is the Legislative Council for the Protectorate, was to be known as the Nigerian Council, and would comprise a majority of officials: the members of the Executive Council, and first class Residents or Commissioners, the Central Secretary, the Secretaries of the Northern and Southern Provinces, and the Political Secretary. The Unofficial members would include a member of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and a member of the local Chamber of Mines, in addition to four Europeans, representing commerce, shipping, mining and banking interests, and six nominated natives.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the field of the judiciary, Lugard recommended that the Supreme Court of Nigeria should curtail its functions through one Chief Justice, instead of two. Moreover, he suggested the creation of provincial and native courts on the northern pattern, in other words they were to have limited powers.

In matters of administrative division, the territory was to be arranged into four divisions: the Colony, the northern Provinces (forming the Northern Protectorate), and the Western and Eastern Provinces (forming the Southern Protectorate). The Colony would be put under an Administrator, while the two Protectorates would be

placed under Lieutenants-Governors, with a body of Residents and District Commissioners, overriding the affairs, respectively, of the Provinces and Districts.

Such an administrative division meant that Lugard hadn't altered the old order, and kept the North far larger than the South. It is worth mentioning that he had at his disposal two proposals as to the way the North should be divided so as to create a balance between the provinces. The first was that of Temple, Lieutenant-Governor of the North, who suggested the breaking of colonial Nigeria into seven provinces: three provinces in the North, and four in the South. The second piece of advice was made by E.D Morel, a critic of colonial policy, who proposed four groups of provinces: the Northern Provinces including Sokoto, Katsina, Kano, Zaria and Bornu; the Central Provinces, formed of the Middle Belt Area, the Western Provinces, comprising Mid West Ilorin and Bornu; and finally the Eastern Provinces encompassing the former Eastern Provinces and a portion of the Benue Province. What both Temple and Morel aimed at was an administrative division which would not make the Northern Provinces, alone, far surpassing the other provinces. (see map 2) The fact that Lugard didn't accept such proposals was that any modification would involve plenty of staff and money. But apparently, the real motive behind that was that he didn't want to loose the confidence of the Emirs.

Following its submission to the Colonial Office, Lugard's constitutional design was not seriously criticized. John Anderson, Under-Secretary of State (1911-1916), believed that the proposals were anomalous, but he recommended their adoption given the present circumstances.⁽¹¹⁾ Strachy, a top Colonial Office Official, stated : "Sir F.Lugard's proposals contemplate a state which is impossible to classify. It is not a unitary state, it is not a confederation of states. If adopted, his proposals can hardly be a permanent solution."⁽¹²⁾ On the whole, whatever its defects, the constitution seemed practicable for the time being, as a temporary solution. Thus, the Colonial Secretary, Harcourt (1910-1915), approved the project, and amalgamation came into effect on January, 1 1914.

Inside Nigeria, apart from the opposition of the educated elite through their media, no particular reaction was made by the rest of the people, above all the traditional rulers who were not consulted in that project. This submissive attitude was clearly related to the fact that

they had already been integrated in the system, and that the new changes hadn't altered their status.

The implementation of the constitution was, hence, an ad hoc easy matter. The sole obstacle was in the field of local government, i.e. the introduction of the Indirect Rule policy in the South on the northern pattern. To understand this, it is first necessary to see how the policy was introduced in the North, and then to examine the difficulties it generated in the South.

4/ Indirect Rule Policy

Once the North was pacified, Lugard had to find out how to administrate this area in a peaceful way that would generate a revenue. His previous experience in Uganda and Burma had taught him that the best way to rule the natives was through the use of their own rulers.⁽¹³⁾ In fact, the Northern Emirates proved a perfect example given their great degree of centralization which permitted the establishment of law and order and the collection of taxes. He decided, hence, to run the Protectorate through the Emirs. This implied that colonial instructions were to be vehiculed through these rulers under the supervision of the District Commissioners. These authorities, so formed, were known as the Native Authorities. They were responsible to the government for the maintaining of law and order, settlement of disputes and collection of taxes.⁽¹⁴⁾ They were supplemented in their local governance with Native Treasuries, police forces, and courts.

In the pursuance of this policy, Lugard was careful to keep most of the aspects of traditional system subject to their conformity with colonial interests. If a clash of interest appeared, usually local laws and practices were modified.⁽¹⁵⁾ The title, for instance, of Caliph was abolished so that people would no more owe allegiance to him. But the system conferred upon the Emirs a new status. Generally, the policy of Indirect Rule was a 'resounding success' in the North.⁽¹⁶⁾ A pertinent question is how far could this system be implemented in the South?

Lugard's considerable success in the North was a largely motivating reason behind his desire to develop Indirect Rule in the South.⁽¹⁷⁾ Yet, this was greatly controversial, given the differences in socio-political organization. In Yorubaland, for example, the system of 'checks and balances' inhibited the smooth use of the policy. As to the Ibo, the diffusion of authority among the Ibo chiefs made the

system utterly impracticable. Lugard became convinced that the policy would require innovation and a lengthy process.

So, in Yorubaland the system was first introduced in Benin and later in Oyo with certain difficulties.⁽¹⁸⁾ In Abeokuta, the project was met with great agitations. In 1918, the Egba rose up, tearing up the railway line and looting trains, resulting in the death of 500 natives. In Iboland, on the other hand, the British could only apply the system by bringing together a number of villages, arbitrarily, into larger units and recognizing some traditional councils as Native Authorities. Yet, this measure was greatly unpopular, causing a series of disturbances.

It is clearly apparent that the development of Indirect Rule as a machinery of native administration wasn't a uniform process in Nigeria, and that its use in certain areas was greatly problematic. Nevertheless, its impact in consolidating colonial rule couldn't be denied.

The relative success of Indirect Rule in Nigeria, particularly in the South, marked, hence, the end of the last obstacle towards amalgamation. Indeed, Lugard's constitutional reform was a remarkable step in socio-political engineering. This meant the bringing together of independent and different polities to form a modern state. Lugard's purpose, however, was totally far from nation building. It was rather the quest for an efficient and rational colonial administration. Amalgamation, thus, brought into life two loosely-affiliated areas, whose historical differences were, further, deepened with the Indirect Rule system, which tended to refrain the North from any modern change challenging Muslim values.⁽¹⁹⁾ Besides, the Nigerian Council, theoretically conceived to discuss and legislate for the new territory, was simply a consultative body where the natives had no powers over legislation. This shows that Lugard had no project for political amalgamation in the sense to prepare the Nigerians for assuming their roles in modern institutions. Not surprisingly, these people, above all the educated class, began to foment protest and claim their right of participation in the government. Thus, when Lugard's successor, Clifford, arrived certain demands had to be conceded.

Lugard's successor, Sir Hugh Charles Clifford, was a man of noble background with a liberal spirit. He was a professional administrator ⁽²⁰⁾, credited for a judicious governorship in the Gold Coast.

His appointment to Nigeria coincided with a changing international climate, above all the First World War which had impacted deeply the conditions of the civil servants, as harnessed a movement of agitation both in West Africa. He convened, therefore, the members of the Legislative Council to get a clear insight about the government of the country. He was greatly struck by the unrepresentative character of the existing Council, and the great concentration of powers within the hands of the Governor, instead of delegating some to the Lieutenants-Governors. These deficiencies made change a great necessity. He was also appalled by the lack of a Central Secretariat which he remedied by seeking the approval of the Secretary of State for the creation of this office.

Clifford's next consideration was the great state of unrest within the public service. This situation was basically the product of the War which had entailed the collapse of the system of international trade and the decline of the revenue.⁽²¹⁾ To settle this, he decided first to review the government's financial prospects, then he appointed a committee to revise the salaries of the public service officers.

Once these problems had been cleared out, Clifford set himself the task of elaborating new constitutional reforms, a reflection impacted not only by his personal experience, but by the new colonial policy, the trusteeship doctrine, itself born out during the aftermath of the War, and the nationalists' aspirations for participation in the government.⁽²²⁾ According to that doctrine, the industrialized countries were to provide protection for the natives until such a time when they became independent.⁽²³⁾ This was to be based on three principles: welfare, education, and development.

Clifford's approach in constitution-making differed slightly from Lugard's in the sense that colonial Governors had to comply with the, then, colonial policy, that is the principle of gradualism. His work culminated in the promulgation, in 1922, of a new constitution, known as the Clifford's Constitution.

According to this constitution, the Governor was always to head the colonial government without the title of Governor-General, and with more powers delegated to the Lieutenants-Governors.

The Executive Council remained unchanged, that is a body formed exclusively of officials. The admission of the natives was totally out of question since they were believed to be incapable of

governing themselves.⁽²⁴⁾ Another possibility was that the Africans had never formulated such a quest at that time.

A new Legislative Council was to replace the old council. It was significantly more important in three respects: in its enlarged membership, in the extension of its competence to the Southern Provinces, and in the inclusion, for the first time, of the principle of election. The aim of the council was to 'satisfy legitimate aspirations, and help produce a healthier political atmosphere'.⁽²⁵⁾

Membership of the Council was to increase to forty-six members with a majority of officials, i.e. twenty-seven versus nineteen unofficials. Among the latter, four Africans with certain qualifications, notably higher education, were to be elected by adult males in the larger towns enjoying municipal freedom,⁽²⁶⁾ three from Lagos and one from Calabar.⁽²⁷⁾ The other fifteen seats were to be distributed as follows: six nominated European members to represent the Chamber of Commerce and other communal interests, and eight members, including six Africans to represent eight territorial divisions.

The Legislative Council was to cover only the Southern Provinces. The Northern Provinces, on the other hand, were to be vested in the Governor, except in issues of money where he would see the advice of the Northern members, namely the Secretary of the Northern Provinces and one member nominated by the Kano Chamber of Commerce. This implied that the Northern Protectorate was to have no African spokesman.

As to the administrative division of Nigeria, it was to remain as before, that is a Colony and three groups of provinces (Northern, Western and Eastern). There was, however, a slight change in this administrative arrangement brought about by a portion of the Cameroons , a mandate territory, which was to be administered as follows: the northern area was to be integrated within the Northern Provinces, while the southern area was to part of the Southern Provinces.

As far as local government was concerned, Clifford's approach was opposed to Lugard's. Clifford was against the extension of judicial freedom to the Emirs, arguing that he did not ' consider that their past traditions, and their present backward cultural conditions afford to any such experiment a reasonable chance of success'.⁽²⁸⁾ He believed that the North should be introduced to the benefits of

Western civilization. The Colonial Office, however, where Lugard still enjoyed the reputation of an expert on Indirect Rule, rejected his views.

Broadly speaking, Clifford's constitution marked a relatively fresh departure from Lugard's. It was a cautious reform based on the gradual participation of the Africans in the government, according to their age and maturity. ⁽²⁹⁾It paved the way for steady political progress according to needs and constraints. It would be interesting to see the extent of that progress in the period after Clifford's.

5/ Constitution-Making from 1925 till 1945:

The era stretching from Clifford's governorship till 1945, which saw the succession of three Governors, ⁽³⁰⁾didn't witness any notable change in constitutional reform. It is true that the British had, prior to 1885, declared that the objective behind their presence in West Africa was to prepare the subject peoples for self-government. However, there was no commitment to a precise date. According to Lugard, the primitive tribes had to be subjected to many years or generations of bureaucratic rule before they would be granted self representative institutions. ⁽³¹⁾As late as 1939, Malcolm Macdonald (1938-194) declared that it might take generations or centuries in order to teach the Africans to stand on their feet. ⁽³²⁾

According to the trusteeship doctrine, political progress could not be attained without socio-economic development. With this purpose in mind, the British decided to withdraw from their policy of self-sufficiency, and evolved the 1929 Colonial Development Act which provided for the annual allocation of £ 1 million to help the colonies. Yet, little development was effected by this Act. Apart from the small boosting of transport and public health services, no interest was given to the development of industries or the promotion of education. This contributed to clinch the pre-1929 colonial economic policy, whereby colonies were treated as a reserve for raw materials and a market for British products.

If the promotion of socio-economic conditions was a condition sine qua non for political development, how did the British conceive the latter? British concept of self-government envisaged, barely, parliamentary institutions. Progress had to be made along native institutions. Yet, given the fact that Indirect Rule could not cope with modern services there was a necessity to reform it.

Many endeavours were made in this scope. Governor Cameron, in his 'Principles of Native Administration and their Application', believed that a Northern Protectorate, kept from external contact, was not really what the British desired. He proposed reforms of the Native Authorities, including the reorganization of courts, the increasing democratization of the Native Authorities through the integration of the educated elite.⁽³³⁾ Margery Perham, an academic writer and expert in the affairs of West Africa, advised the granting of more responsibilities to the Native Authorities which should be encouraged to form federations, first on a regional, and then on an inter-regional basis.⁽³⁴⁾ Governor Bourdillon dwelt on the same ideas. In his memorandum 'Political Development of Nigeria', he stated that the actual system of Indirect Rule would not permit evolution towards independence. To link the central and local governments, he suggested the creation of Regional Councils, which might later become Legislatures with a Federal Council in Lagos.

All in all, British views as to constitutional development in the inter-war period converged around the reformation of the Indirect Rule system, and basically the participation of the educated elite in that apparatus of local government. The possibility of granting responsibilities at the level of the central government was a matter belonging to a distant future, requiring a policy of socio-economic betterment. The outbreak of the Second World War produced an upheaval of constraints which altered these views, urging ultimate reforms in the post-war era. The questions of how this change occurred, and how new visions were considered for political evolution form the chief concern of the second chapter.

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- 1- Such was the case between 1905-1909 when several expeditions were sent into the hinterland
 - 2- This will be viewed subsequently
 - 3- In Egerton's original dispatch, he proposed that the Legislatures should remain separate, owing to the fact that the officials in the Legislative Council knew nothing about the Southern Protectorate.
 - 4- This division was grounded on the fact that the small number of provinces would permit the appointment of a small number of officials with a reasonable salary. I.F.Nicolson, *The Administration of Nigeria*, Clarendon Press, 1977, p 102.
 - 5- *ibid*, p 104

- 6- Nicolson believed that this was primarily due to Lady Lugard's influence on the, then, Secretary of State, Harcourt, who was possibly hoping to acquire a great fame through the Lugard's writings. Ibid, p 181
- 7- F.D.Lugard, A Speech by Governor-General on the occasion of the declaration of the constitution of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, January, 1, 1914, quoted in Kirk-Green, AHM, Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria, London, 1968, p 261
- 8- This title was reserved only to Lugard
- 9- ibid, p 267
- 10- These were respectively the Sultan of Sokoto, the Emir of Kano, the Alafin of Oyo, Chief Douglas Numa, and two educated Nigerians representing Lagos and Calabar.
- 11- quoted in Nicolson, op.cit, p 219
- 12- <http://www.vanguardnig.com> Constitution-Making Power and National Struggles.
- 13- The use of direct rule was out of question if there was to be compliance with the principle of peaceful penetration.
- 14- the tax collected constituted the tax revenue which was then divided between the Native Authorities and the central government
- 15- For instance mutilation of limbs as a punishment for theft was replaced by terms of imprisonment based on the market value of the items stolen; blood money in lieu of homicide (diya) by imprisonment or capital punishment, and retaliation of personal injury was changed by a fine or imprisonment. Peter.K.Tibenderana, the Irony of Indirect Rule in Sokoto Emirate , Nigeria', in African Studies Review, V 31, N 1, 1988, p 80
- 16- Adebayo Oyeade, The Foundation of Modern Nigeria, p 17
- 17- Norton Cook attributed Lugard's success in his enterprise to his subordinates, namely: Burdon, Temple, Palmer, and Orr, Norton Cook, a brief extract reproduced in Richard Oakley, 'British Enterprise in Nigeria' as seen by a Professor of Temple University, in West Africa, April, 1945, p 303
- 18- This was, in particular, in Oyo where the Alafin was incommunicado to his people.
- 19- Lugard conceived the Native Authorities as the structures within which development would take place according to indigenous lines. His successors, however, gave independence to the Native Authorities by reducing administrative intervention as much as possible. They considered that modern innovations of the kind introduced in the South were destructive. This is why they opposed Western education and the missionaries, believing that Muslim schools were more appropriate.
- 20- He served in a number of colonies: 1888, first British Resident of Pahang; 1889, Governor of North Borneo; 1903, Colonial Secretary in Ceylon; 1912, Governor of the Gold Coast.
- 21- An important part of the Nigerian budget was devoted to imperial defence

- 22- Activities mainly of Herbert Macaulay who was criticizing the Nigerian colonial government and the endeavours of the National Congress of British West Africa for African participation in the government.
- 23- Defining the idea of trusteeship, J.H.Harris said: ' the whole idea of trusteeship and tutelage implies that that a day is coming, remote as it may be, when the 'ward' or the pupil will arrive at a stage of manhood in which he will be capable of managing his own estate and in every other respect taking good care of himself and his interests', G.Hetherington, British Paternalism: 1920-1940, London, 1970, p 51
- 24- Sir Bernard Bourdillon, later Governor of Nigeria precised that their presence would hamper the present form of discussion. CO 584/244/30453, 1930, Bernard Bourdillon, The Future Political Development of Nigeria, p 12
- 25- Clifford's dispatch dated July 7, 1922, quoted in ibid, p 8
- 26- Persons eligible to vote were British subjects or native residents of one year who had an income of not less than £ 100 a year.
- 27- The suffrage allowed for 3,000 voters
- 28- <http://www.country-data.com>
- 29- This condition was to be determined by the British who were very proud of their capacities: 'to our race has been given to build an Empire on the basis of freedom to lead the way in representative and democratic institutions', quoted in Hetherington, op.cit, p 746
- 30- these were Donald Cameron, Bernard Bordillon and Maxwell Burns
- 31- Quoted in R.V.N Albertini Decolonisation Administration and Future of the Colonies, Garden City, 1971, p 134
- 32- Malcolm Macdonald declared: 'it may take generations or even centuries for the peoples in West Africa to teach them and encourage them always to be able to stand a little more on their own feet ', quoted in Denis Austin the Transfer of Power Why and How', in G.Fisher and Moris Jones, Decolonisation and After the British and French Experience, London, 1980, p 7
- 33- Quoted in Opeyemi Ola, 'The Study of West African Government', in The Journal of Modern African Studies, V 6, N 2, 1968, p 236
- 34- R.V.N, op cit, p 138