

nature of the ground ahead. Nigeria has often seemed only welcome but vital. Then, Yiguel, then Lord Lugard, published anonymously, but it was in fact written by Flora Shaw, who spent eight years in Printing House Square as an expert on colonial affairs. Later, in 1902, she married Sir Frederick Lugard, then High Commissioner of the Northern Nigerian Protectorate.



"John Holt entered the West African trade in 1862.

Even in those early days he regarded his business as a partnership between himself and his African traders.

Today, the independent company he founded has developed this principle to a high degree and its policy of close co-operation with the

national interests of Nigeria remains unaltered."

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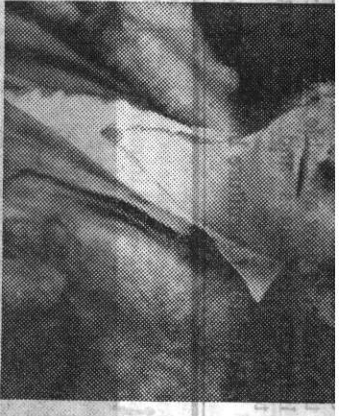
India Buildings Liverpool 2

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WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Before the name Nigeria was put forward, this area of the Western Sudan had been known under a variety of titles, including the Niger Empire, the Niger Sudan, the Central Sudan, and the Hausa Territories. The following argument was put forward by Flora Shaw in the course of her article, which was headed "Nigeria":

In the first place, as the title "Royal Niger Company's Territories" is not only inconvenient to use but to some extent is also misleading, it may be permissible to coin a shorter title for the agglomeration of pagan and Mohammedan states which have been brought, by the exertions of the Royal Niger Company, within the confines of the British Protectorates, and thus need for the first time in their history to be described as an entity by some general name. To speak of them as the Central Sudan, which is the title accorded by some geographers and travellers, has the disadvantage of ignoring political frontier-lines, while the word "Sudan" is too apt to connect itself in the public mind as the French *hinterland* of Algeria, or the vexed questions of the Niger basin. The name "Nigeria," applying to no other portion of Africa, may, without offence to any neighbours, be accepted as coextensive with the territories over which the Royal Niger Company has extended British influence, and may serve to differentiate them equally from the British colonies of Lagos and the Niger Protectorate on the coast



and from the French territory of the Upper Niger.

Flora Shaw's first article for *The Times* was on Egyptian finance, sent in under the signature "F. Shaw", so that her sex should not stand against her. It was held to be a lucid exposition of a complicated subject, and was published. Miss Moberly Bell, in her biography of Flora Shaw, describes a meeting with the then editor of *The Times*, in which she suggested that the "Foreign and Colonial" column should be headed "Colonial and Foreign". It was changed immediately, later becoming "Imperial and Foreign" until this year, when it was changed to "Overseas News". In May, 1890, Flora Shaw began writing a regular fortnightly article for *The Times*, and became the newspaper's first woman correspondent when she travelled to South Africa and Australia. She resigned from the permanent staff in September, 1900, though she travelled to South Africa for the paper again in the following year.

British High Commissioner

By Our Political Correspondent



Lord Lugard, who among other things is a devoted and capable naturalist, would not be surprised when his Commons colleagues began by noting that he had always had the luck to stand high in the pecking order. It remained for him to show as the new member for Cashalton (again, a safe Conservative seat, enviably near to Westminster) that if he had been blessed more than most with opportunities, he was certainly not succeeding fortuitously.

That soon became clear. In the few opportunities that a backbencher has to make an impact, Brigadier Head quickly began to show that he was a singularly powerful and unsteriotyped thinker on defence problems, with a wit and facility of language.

THE many-sidedness of military men often surprises civilians, and of those who turned to politics at the end of the war none proved to be more surprising in the range of his gifts and interests than Lord Head, the first High Commissioner in the independent Federation of Nigeria. When he entered the Commons there was a tendency to see in him the synthesis of nearly all about professional soldiers; when he left in July, his qualities of intellect and character were as profoundly respected by those who differed from him as by those who agreed with him.

It was easy for members of the House of Commons, particularly the new generation of Labour members who still had more than their share of theoretic prejudice, to be misled about Brigadier Anthony Head, for the bare record suggested that he was one of those fortunate men to whom all the prizes of life came without effort. From Eton to Sandhurst and a prize cadetship, and then a posting to the Life Guards, where the pleasures of horsemanship and the social routine did not impede his sure progress to an adjutancy.

In 1933 he rode in the Grand National; in 1935 he married into the aristocracy; in 1936 he shipped before the mast in a four-masted barque for Australia; in 1939 he passed Staff College; in 1940 as a Brigade Major, he won his Military Cross in the Guards' retreat to Boulogne. The pattern could hardly have been improved on.

At this point his military career took a turn that was to become important for him. He became a planner of raiding operations, and then a principal devil in the tail all the plans for future operations and grand strategy. So, for the first time, he eventually had an opportunity to let his clear mind play on international politics from a position near the summit, for he attended the conferences at Quebec, Cairo, Yalta and Potsdam as a staff officer in the War Cabinet secretariat.

of his original gospel of indirect rule. In peace time, so great was his courage and tenacity, he might have defeated even their combination. But, weighed down by his other heavy preoccupations and overwork, with little home leave, he was forced to compromise. There is a second charge, close to the first. Lugard neither foresaw nor desired the development of parliamentary government, with its inevitable sequel of independence. It should however be remembered that he had lived nearly all his working life very far away from Britain, which, in any case, in the first two or three decades of this century was very far in equality and democracy from the Britain of today. He saw his task, in the years 1900-1918, as the creation of a state structure to be built over this huge area, with its tribes of every size and political character and without any vestige of unity. This structure, in concept and character, was an import from Britain, but within its framework he would build up, on the basis of the only political material that existed, that of emirate and tribe, local governments of increasing competence and responsibility. Is it surprising that he did not recognize, in the first western-educated politicians of Lagos, either present partners in the task or precursors of the future, or that he sometimes felt it his duty to restrain them?

As the years of the new Nigeria go by, its historians and public men may come to evaluate impartially the contribution Lugard made to an end that he could not foresee. Perhaps, in the minds of Surrey, I saw much of him in his later years, and I realized that though he may not have had a passion for democracy, he had one for justice and humanity. Slavery, forced labour, African land rights, settler domination, these were some of the many issues on which he worked. Eminent Nigerians from north and south visited his home, Governors of Nigeria came to consult him. His advice was always aimed against developing the emirates into native states. Towards the end of his life he met some of the younger men from Northern Nigeria, in whom new liberal ideas were stirring, and he afterwards corresponded with them with a sympathetic desire to understand them. To the day of his death in 1945 he continued to work far into the night. He died in his 87th year. The immediate cause of his death was that he seriously overworked himself in the effort to re-organize the affairs of the International African Institute before resigning the chairmanship, which he had held from its beginning. But for this he might, like his elder sister, have lived to be over a hundred, and thus have seen Nigeria advance at last to the eve of independence. If he had, he could justly have been proud. Many men, Nigerian and British, have played their parts in building the great structure that now attains its formal completion. Yet, though Lugard did not consciously work for such a culmination, it could hardly have been achieved in the short span of 60 years if it had not been for the amount of solid work he put into the foundations.

Mr. Macmillan had then just succeeded Sir Anthony Eden as Prime Minister, and he wanted his Minister of Defence to carry out the radical policy outlined in the 1957 White Paper. Brigadier Head, in the years that followed, scrupulously avoided debate about the difference, and he characteristically did and said nothing to embarrass Mr. Macmillan at a difficult time. But it is clear that Brigadier Head considered the new policy would weaken the conventional forces and rely too emphatically on the nuclear deterrent. This is a view that has gained ground on both sides of the Commons recently, and in his last year or two as a member of the Commons, Brigadier Head's contributions to defence debates have been Parliamentary occasions.