

Imperial Globalization and Colonial Transactions: “African Lugard” and the University of Hong Kong

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I

In his novel, *Anthills of the Savannah* (1984), Chinua Achebe anatomizes the culture of misrule in the fictional post-colonial nation of Kangan. There is a reference in the novel to Lord Lugard College where the three male protagonists, the leaders of Kangan, were educated, and through this reference, the novel identifies colonial education as a source of malaise in the new nation state.¹ Established by the British, Kangan’s former colonial masters, the college is the training ground of the indigenous élite and institutionalized many of the inequities under colonialism which its graduates, confident in their own privilege, cannot perceive or comprehend even as they take up the reins of leadership. Lord Lugard College is very likely the fictional name of King’s College Lagos, established by the British in southern Nigeria in 1909. In 1919, the last year when he was Governor-General of Nigeria, Frederick Lugard observed that the college, “with a staff of three British masters, afforded the highest and most expensive education for the sons of leading

1. Chinua Achebe, *Anthills of the Savannah* (London: Heinemann, 1984). The reference is in a comment by a sycophantic Attorney General to the Kangan president, Sam: “As for those like me, Your Excellency, poor dullards who went to bush grammar schools, we know our place, we know those better than ourselves when we see them. We have no problem worshipping a man like you. Honestly, I don’t. You went to Lord Lugard College where half of your teachers were Englishmen” (22).

natives, or for boys of marked ability who had obtained scholarships. Some of its pupils completed their education in England....”²

Anthills of the Savannah is not the only work by Achebe in which Lugard’s dubious memory is invoked; the reader can track at least three other references to Lugard, implicit or explicit, in Achebe’s writing.³ In the context of Achebe’s life-long critique of the destructive effects British colonialism wrought upon indigenous African cultures, it is hardly surprising that Lugard should emerge as a point of reference. The name of Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, later Lord Lugard of Abinger, is inextricably associated with Britain’s military and colonial expansion in Africa in the last decades of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. He was born in India in 1858, his parents being evangelical Anglicans who worked in India. After public school and Sandhurst, he joined the British army in India, where he fought in the Afghan campaign of 1879 and later the Burma campaign in 1886. Disappointed in love, and apparently nearly driven to suicide, Lugard left India and sought employment in Africa with various Charter companies pursuing trade and trade-related military activities. He established himself as the leader of a number of successful campaigns first in East Africa — in Nyasaland and Uganda — and then in West Africa — in Nigeria, and Cameroons. At the same time, his reputation grew in Britain with the publication of articles he wrote about his campaigns in which he promoted military expansion, and justified his arguments in the name of humanitarian causes like anti-slavery. These publications, together with his speeches and lectures to professional organizations like the Royal Geographical Society and at various other interested public assemblies, earned him the reputation of being one of Britain’s leading experts on Africa. Swayed by the expansionist Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain — “Pushful Joe” — and in face of intensifying French competition, the British government decided to proceed with the annexation of the territories that would become the protectorate of North Nigeria, and Lugard obtained the political appointment he had been seeking: he became High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria in 1900, a post he held until 1906. In 1912, as Governor of

2. Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, “Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration, 1912–1919, presented to Parliament, Dec 1919” in *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria: A Documentary Record*, compiled and introduced by A. H. M. Kirk-Greene (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1968), 147.

3. These include, for example, the well-known final chapter of Achebe’s first novel, *Things Fall Apart*, which relates the arrival of the first of the British colonial district officers, and his report on the “pacification of the peoples of the lower Niger” (*Things Fall Apart* [London: Heinemann, 1958]). “Pacification,” according to I. F. Nicolson, was Lugard’s “own preferred euphemism” for the suppression of resistance against British military expansion in Northern Nigeria (*The Administration of Nigeria 1900–1960: Men, Methods, and Myths* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969], 124). To Nicolson, the euphemism draws a veil over what was in fact the massacre of thousands of practically unarmed peasants in the last “hectic months” of Lugard’s

Northern and Southern Nigeria, he wrote the proposal for the amalgamation of the two regions that he went on to implement as Governor-General of Nigeria between 1914 and 1919. His colonial service career ended in 1919 when he resigned — or according to his critics, was dismissed — and returned to England.

An important break in his African career, for the purposes of this essay, was Lugard's governorship of Hong Kong between 1907 and 1912, and what is widely perceived as the enduring legacy of these five brief years, the founding of the University of Hong Kong in 1911. There are continuities to be drawn between the African and Hong Kong Lugard which scholars have not seriously attempted before. This essay is motivated by my own twofold interests, as a post-colonial scholar, in Achebe's fictionist critique of Lugard and the empire, and the imperial origins of my own institution, the University of Hong Kong. My purpose is to situate the university project in relation to significant aspects of the "African Lugard" as a way of conceptualizing the globalism of the British Empire at a particular historical conjuncture, in the transactions between two specific colonial locations widely perceived as disconnected. The significant question that this study raises and would seek to address is: what does the connection between the African and Hong Kong Lugard tell us about the British Empire as a global project in the decade before World War I, which is widely considered to mark the height of British imperialism? To put it in another way: how is the globality of the British Empire constituted in the form of specific colonial interconnections?

The study of colonial interconnections has for long fallen victim to the division of labour between scholars interested in the centripetal dynamic of imperialism and others who focus on separate and discrete colonial locations. Complicating this division are the ideological vantages and politicized agendas that pitch scholars who study empire as the space and dynamic of modern progress against those for whom colonialism is the nexus of Eurocentric exploitation and racist domination of indigenous peoples. Lugard scholarship in the twentieth century exemplifies in many ways the split between metropolis and colony and

rule in Northern Nigeria in 1906. Another novel, *Arrow of God*, set in colonial Nigeria, contains a tragic account of how Lugard's policy of Indirect Rule, which enables the British to rule through appointed native chiefs, actually destroys the traditional Igbo social system and the protagonist, the Igbo priest Ezeulu, who refuses his appointment (*Arrow of God* [London: Heinemann, 1964]). And in a more recent essay, Achebe speaks scornfully of Lugard's praise of the novelist Elspeth Huxley for "her exceptional knowledge of African life," for he sees Huxley's work as another example of the complicitous relationship between literary representations of Africa and imperial hegemony ("The Empire Fights Back," in *Home and Exile* [New York: OUP, 2000], 68). In a series of letters, Huxley and Lugard's biographer, Margery Perham, shared knowledge and exchanged views about colonial Kenya, and when their correspondence was published, Lugard wrote an introduction. See *Race and Politics in Kenya, A Correspondence between Elspeth Huxley and Margery Perham with an Introduction by Lord Lugard* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1944).

the contrary perceptions of the empire as the agent of progress or exploitation.⁴ Until the early 1960s, Dame Margery Perham's two-volume biography represented the definitive view of Lugard as the principled official of the empire and the effective agent of its civilizing mission.⁵ The subtitles of the two volumes of the biography, *The Years of Adventure* and *The Years of Authority*, establish the dualism in Lugard's personality and career as military leader and administrator and the keynote of command that makes the man of action and the man of policy a single unified subject. Perham's Lugard is no mere factotum of colonial service; he is an adventurer in the romantic tradition of Livingstone and a builder of the empire like Stanley and Rhodes but superior to both of them by virtue of his liberal imperial lineage which commits him to anti-slavery and later to the system of Indirect Rule through "native" chiefs.

The idea of Indirect Rule was not original to Lugard, but he developed and instituted its practice in Northern Nigeria and subsequently used it as a model for the Amalgamation, to the end that it can, in Perham's words, "claim to be the most comprehensive, coherent and renowned system of administration in our colonial history" (*The Life of Frederick Dealtry Lugard*, vol. II, 138). Framed by her other publications as the British Empire's African specialist, Perham's biography focalizes Lugard's career as exemplary of the vigour of British imperialism as it expands beyond the settler dominions into both Africa and Asia. Her vantage,

4. The division between the study of empire as an imperial and metropolitan enterprise and as discrete colonial projects has come under sustained critique from scholars interested in the historical forms of globalization under the aegis of empire. Taking off from Ronald Robinson's concept of informal empire in "The Excentric Idea of Imperialism, with or without Empire," in *Imperialism and After: Continuities and Discontinuities*, eds. Wolfgang J. Mommsen and Jürgen Osterhammel (London: Allen & Unwin, 1986), 267–89, the paradigm of cooperation or collaboration has been developed in relation to a number of different colonial locations by the economic historians P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins in *British Imperialism 1688–2000* (1993), 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 2002). In their subjectification of gentleman capitalists in the metropole and their counterparts in élite colonial agents, Cain and Hopkins are exclusively interested in the financial economics of empire rather than in broader cultural interconnections, and pay little attention to the deterritorializing processes of financial development upon indigenous economic and social systems in the colonies.

The critical historiography of V. G. Kiernan and theoretical illuminations of Edward Said, among others, have not only made earlier identifications of empire with benevolent progress impossible to sustain but have, importantly, opened up explorations of the cultural history of empire in the interactive impact of metropolis and colony on each other. More recently, the work of Ann Laura Stoler in, for example, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1995), and *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, eds. Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1997) has shown the hybridized genealogies of certain cultural production processes and discourses and how they criss-cross European and colonial boundaries and divisions.

5. Margery Perham, *The Life of Frederick Dealtry Lugard Later Lord Lugard of Abinger*, 2 vols. (London: Collins, 1960).

largely consistent with Lugard's own self-presentation, permeates accounts of Britain's late imperial achievement even as the empire itself was confronted with successive acts of nationalist anti-colonial resistance.

Perham's vantage was not uncontested during Lugard's lifetime, mainly by former colonial officials like Leonard Woolf⁶ and, as we shall see, from within Nigeria itself; but it is no coincidence that the radical revision of Lugard's African career and legacy developed its greatest momentum in the post-independence decades of the sixties and seventies, especially from within Nigeria itself, fuelled by academics who worked or had experience of working in the country. In the vanguard is I. F. Nicolson, who worked in the Nigerian administrative service until 1962, and his book, published in 1969, is a powerful counterblast to the imperial ideology that Lugard embodies and articulates, both as colonial governor and subject of Perham's exemplary narrative. Nicolson shows that the crediting of Lugard for the systematization and success of Indirect Rule, and the resulting "myth of [his] wisdom"⁷ across the imperial world, were carefully propagated by Lugard himself and his wife, the *Times* colonial correspondent Flora Shaw, whom he married in 1902, in their prolific speeches, broadcasts, articles, books, and other privately circulated papers. Armed with "local" evidence, Nicolson is the first to fashion the image of Lugard the autocrat, which would be taken up and enhanced by later scholars, and their post-colonial rewriting of Lugard's record has so much reversed his earlier reputation that, by the end of the twentieth century, his name is often invoked as a by-word for what went wrong with British colonialism in Africa.⁸

The post-colonial, Nigerian critiques of Lugard found a place among regional studies of colonial British Africa.⁹ After the independence decades of the fifties

6. Leonard Woolf, *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (1920) rpt., vol. VII of *The Empire and its Critics, 1899–1939*, ed. Peter Cain (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998). For Nigerian criticisms, see documents collected in Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria*.

7. Nicolson, *The Administration of Nigeria 1900–1960*, 143.

8. See, for example, A. E. Afigbo, *The Warrant Chiefs: Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria, 1891–1929* (Harlow: Longman, 1972); J. E. Flint, "Frederick Lugard: The Making of an Autocrat 1858–1943," in *African Proconsuls: European Governors in Africa*, eds. C. H. Gann and Peter Duignan (New York: The Free Press and Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1978), 290–312; and more recently, "The Meaning of Indirect Rule," in *Empire and the English Character*, ed. Kathryn Tidrick (London: I. B. Tauris, 1992), 194–221; Harry A. Gailey, "Lugard and Abeokuta," in *The Man on the Spot: Essays on British Empire History*, ed. Roger D. Long (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995), 63–84; and John W. Cell's article, "Colonial Rule," in a reference work, vol. IV of *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, eds. Judith Brown and William Roger Louis (Oxford and New York: OUP, 1999), 232–54.

9. See, for example, Gann and Duignan, *African Proconsuls*. For a comparative approach to how different African chiefs were selected as bearers of "authentic" indigenous traditions under Indirect Rule, see E. J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1983).

and sixties, the nation state succeeded the colony as the unit of scholarly investigation, and its boundaries unfurl only to the extent of its incorporation into regionalized areas of study that replicate, in many ways, the colonial division of Africa into Anglophone, Francophone, and other spheres of influence. Valuable as they are in elucidating and critiquing colonialism, the micro-foci and often, micropolitics of national and regional studies offer little room for critical comparative explorations of colonial interconnections, and thus for conceptual formations of empire as a global enterprise that challenge centripetal imperial narratives.

Given this regional incorporation, it is hardly surprising that Lugard's African critics completely ignore his Hong Kong years. And among Lugard's scholarly supporters, Perham is the only one to refer in any detail to his Hong Kong career in her biography. To Perham, his tireless work for the university project offers yet another illustration of a dynamic imperial career, but the choice of the project itself, even to her, is unexpected. In one of her last published essays on Lugard, she writes,

From his vast raw block of tropical Africa Lugard was transferred in 1907 to the minute, island emporium of Hong Kong, with subjects drawn from the ancient civilization of China.... [Hong Kong] stood on the fringe of the intense diplomatic and political activity concentrated upon China and was a favourite resort of globe-trotting celebrities of all kinds and nationalities. He [i.e., Lugard] dealt with the very big business of the small island, built a railway on the mainland, added to his study of the liquor traffic in Africa a knowledge of narcotics and of certain local practices which rounded out his deep knowledge of slavery. But most surprising as a bequest from African Lugard was the university which he founded in the teeth of opposition and even derision, local and metropolitan, in the hope that it would be a meeting-place for Chinese and western culture.¹⁰

It is clear that, while Perham sees the building of the railway and the interest in "narcotics" and "certain local practices" as consistent with Lugard's work in Africa, the university project comes as something of a surprise, an isolated endeavour.

The twofold disjunctions, first, between imperial and post-colonial historiography, and second, in colonial connections beyond specific regions, are also evident in the Hong Kong scholarship on Lugard. Though Hong Kong remained a colony until 1997, a vitriolic attack on Lugard and the founding of the university appeared in the global decolonizing decade of the 1970s, and was similarly inspired by nationalist anti-colonial sentiments.¹¹ However, the attack is

10. Perham, Introduction to *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922) (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1965), xxxvi.

11. I refer to Fung Ho Keung's article, written in Chinese and published in an anthology commemorating Hong Kong University's sixtieth anniversary. (Fung, "Diguo daxue: Cung lixi

isolated, for, while doubts have been expressed about Lugard's governorship, studies of his role in the founding of the university continue to be positive in tenor.¹² More recently, work has been done to shift the emphasis from Lugard as prime mover in the university as an imperial project to the collaboration, especially in fund-raising, of local and overseas Chinese.¹³ Neither of these contrary tendencies pays much attention to African scholarship on Lugard, and the disjunction between the African and Hong Kong Lugard has so far remained unaddressed by Hong Kong as by African scholars.

II

Though the Hong Kong university project cannot compare in scale or duration to Lugard's institutionalization of Indirect Rule in Africa, a study of its declared objectives and as event opens up several original vantages on the connection between the African and Hong Kong Lugard. One of these vantages focuses on Lugard's subjectivities as imperial agent as they are played out in Nigeria and Hong Kong. Along this inter-colonial axis, Lugard, as political official, embodies the empire's globalization in the transfer of sets of beliefs, ideas, affects — one may say, the structure of feeling — that is named "imperial"; at the same time, he also produces and reproduces this structure in his actual colonial policy and practice. In studying the evolution of the colonial service throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, historians of colonial administration have

kan xianggang daxue di benji" [Imperial university: an historical vantage on the nature of Hong Kong University], in *Gangda liushiliu: qianzhan yu huigu* [Hong Kong University 66: prospect and remembrance], ed. Lu Renhong [Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Students Union, 1978], 19–23.)

12. The most detailed of these studies is Bernard Mellor's *Lugard in Hong Kong: Empires, Education and a Governor at Work 1907–1912* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 1992), and the earlier *The University of Hong Kong: An Informal History*, 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 1980). Mellor's positive valuation of Lugard needs to be viewed in the context not only of his long administrative service in the university and his position at retirement as the university's registrar, but also of a traditional tendency towards focalizing Hong Kong history through the perspective of its colonial rulers rather than actors and agents in society at large, a tendency represented by G. B. Endacott's *A History of Hong Kong* (London: OUP, 1958); P. B. Harris's *Hong Kong: A Study of Bureaucratic Politics* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1978); and *Hong Kong: A Study of Bureaucracy and Politics* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1988).

13. See Alfred H. Y. Lin, "The Founding of the University of Hong Kong: British Imperial Ideals and Chinese Practical Common Sense," in *An Impossible Dream: Hong Kong University From Foundation to Re-establishment, 1910–1950*, eds. L. K. C. Chan and Peter Cunich (New York: OUP, 2002), 1–22. In the context of more recent challenges to the ruler-centred tradition of Hong Kong historiography, see, for example, Ngo Tak-wing, ed., *Hong Kong's History: State and Society Under Colonial Rule* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

often focused on the careers of individual colonial governors and debated the nature and extent of their conformity to Whitehall.¹⁴ Systemic accounts of the colonial service proceed as examinations of the degree and manner in which the service replicates itself from centre to periphery, and from one colonial location to another. But what are thrown up in the idiosyncratic performances of different governors are recurrent histories of ambivalent engagement whereby centre and colony displace each other from the initiative in actual decision-making. This is but one of the reasons which underline Jürgen Osterhammel's view of empire as a "patchwork quilt of ad hoc adaptations to particular circumstances."¹⁵

From one point of view, the agency of the governor is the function of his office in its replication of imperial order and authority on indigenous ground. From another vantage, it is the governor's interpretation and representation of the indigenous situation that orients, determines, and lays down the actual trajectory of replication. Lugard's colonial service coincides with the pivotal moment, according to Anthony Kirk-Greene, when following the "vigorous incursion of Europe into Africa the demand for overseas civil servants" became "the catalyst" for the revolutionizing of the British colonial service.¹⁶ Out of this transition, which is both a moment of instability and opportunity, Lugard appears as an outstanding member of that élite corps of colonial governors who are not only credited with practical administrative ability but also with the theorizing capacity to integrate the disparate sections of the colonial service into a coherent totality and to chart a singular course of policy for the globalizing empire. Among his contemporary supporters, Lugard was widely known as the theorist of Indirect Rule. However, Lugard scholars — both his supporters and detractors — also point repeatedly to the serial conflicts between him and the Colonial Office that marked his colonial career. This contradiction alone should alert us to his troubled subjectivities as a colonial governor who reached beyond his position as man on the spot to trans-imperiality.

Lugard's trans-imperial agency is formed out of an edifice of representations vis-à-vis indigenous societies and cultures. Indirect Rule involves the retention of

14. See, for example, John W. Cell's earlier work, *British Colonial Administration in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Policy-Making Process* (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1970); A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, "On Governorship and Governors in British Africa," in C. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *African Proconsuls* (209–64), *On Crown Service: A History of HM Colonial and Overseas Civil Services 1837–1997* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 1999); and *Britain's Imperial Administrators, 1858–1966* (London: Macmillan, 2000). Critiques of colonial administration with a literary-cultural orientation include David Bivona, *British Imperial Literature 1870–1940: Writing and the Administration of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998) and Kathryn Tidrick, ed., *Empire and the English Character*.

15. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (1995), trans. Shelley L. Frisch (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers; Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 4.

16. Kirk-Greene, *On Crown Service*, 11.

indigenous leaders and systems of authority in the colonial territory but reorganized in ways that would establish the power of the British representative and his officers as paramount. As a system of government, Indirect Rule imbricates a specific form of inter-cultural relations under asymmetrical power. It begins with the identification, or recognition of indigenous systems of authority, and their representation as political organizations, which Lugard, through his experience of contact and conquest, was supposedly uniquely advantaged to make. As a military campaigner, Lugard departs from the typical careers of civilian governors who were patronage appointments or promoted from cadet officers. Based on his singular experience on the ground, Lugard was supposed to have the knowledge of indigenous societies and cultures and, on the basis of that knowledge, could propose a practical and practicable scheme of rule after conquest that would secure the territory as British against European competitors. On his representation of the African societies and cultures he encounters, Lugard enacts his self-representation as African specialist to a metropolitan audience.

P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, following from I. F. Nicolson, have called Lugard "the leading imperial propagandist of the day."¹⁷ In representing his own experience of indigenous societies as specialist knowledge, Lugard also sought to empower his representation through its appeal to a metropolitan audience. The members of the Royal Geographical Society and the readers of *The Times* in London, two of the audiences to whom Lugard often made his pitch, were exhorted to think of the empire as the frame of British national politics and global prestige. The discourse of Indirect Rule and the university project have their common ideological wellsprings in the imperialist values or creed that Lugard shared with some of his contemporaries. Projected as pan-imperial, these values were, however, already problematized at source for their marginalization from metropolitan British politics, especially after the defeat of the Conservative government of Balfour in 1905. From this point of view, the effort by Lugard and his friends to institutionalize a specific imperial creed in different colonial locations takes on the appearance of a politics of exile. Perham's view of the university as an isolated endeavour thus contains an implicit and unintentional irony: as discourse, the university's mission seeks to represent its own pan-imperiality when imperialism, rather than being a global programme directed from the metropolitan centre, resonates with calls from the wilderness from disparate colonial locations like Northern Nigerian and Hong Kong, whose only connection appears to be the migrating political official out of favour at the centre.

Looking beyond the individual official as colonial agent, an examination of Lugard's guidelines for Indirect Rule and the objectives of the university project will open up, as we shall see, another vantage on imperial globalization as it

17. Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism*, 571.

fashions its own legitimacy as an educational and cultural enterprise. The seminal work of Robertson, and more recently Cain and Hopkins, has focused attention on historical globalization in the British Empire, like its late twentieth-century successor, as an exclusively economic phenomenon.¹⁸ Though requiring substantial funding, neither the institutionalization of Indirect Rule nor the university are capital schemes in the strict sense of being directly engaged in the business of trade, commerce, and finance. Instead, they need to be seen as investments in imperial cultural capital; that is to say, as infrastructural projects that enable asset accumulation in terms of developing the human resources required to territorialize expanding colonial frontiers. Both are designed to educate and train political administrators and officials who can act as colonial agents of British rule. In the university project, the provision of Western training for the medical, science and engineering, and teaching professions in China is presented as strategic to advancing British interests in the Far East and central to the university's mission. In moulding colonial subjects through what are supposedly progressive, and specifically British, models of education and cultural advancement, what the two schemes share is the imperial ambition not only to educate consent but also to educate desire.

In his representations of African, and specifically Nigerian, societies and their political culture, Lugard is trying to locate and validate the European map of "civilized," "uncivilized," and "semi-civilized" races drawn by a leading authority of his time, the educationist, academic, and politician, James Bryce, in his work *The Relations of the Advanced and the Backward Races of Mankind* (1902).¹⁹ To Bryce, globalization under the British Empire can be seen as the latest stage of a long history of "race-contact," but the difference, as he pronounces with a confidence proleptic of Francis Fukuyama's, is that this stage also marks the "completion of a process by which all the races of the world have been affected and all the backward races placed in more or less complete dependence upon the more

18. See n.4.

19. James Bryce, *The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind*, Romaines Lecture 1902 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902). Bryce was a historian, jurist and Liberal politician. He was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford between 1870 and 1893, published the standard history of the Holy Roman Empire and *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* (1901), and was associated with the founding of *English Historical Review*. In his long public career, Bryce supported a number of liberal causes. As a Member of Parliament, he advocated working-class education, often spoke out against Chamberlain in matters of imperial policy, and supported Home Rule of Ireland. He held a number of cabinet positions, and in 1907, was appointed ambassador to Washington. In 1888, he published *The American Commonwealth*, and *Modern Democracies*, a complementary volume, in 1921. Bryce's views in *The Relations of the Advanced and Backward Races of Mankind* show how, in the decades leading up to World War I, liberal and conservative imperialists differ not so much in basic conceptions about the dependency of the "coloured" races upon advanced European civilization as on the policies of rule that should issue from these conceptions.

advanced" (7–8). The nature of this dependency, as Bryce's discourse moves from race to class, is such that "the hitherto backward nations are taking a place analogous to that which the unskilled workers have held in each one of the civilized nations." Bryce submits that his teleological thinking is far in advance of his own time and that the dependency of backward upon advanced races, generated by "new economic factors in its progress," is "an event [which] opens a new stage in world history," the full significance of which has not been adequately grasped "either by the thinker or by the man of action" (9) among his contemporaries. In this, Bryce is implicitly countering skeptics like J. A. Hobson, whose highly influential critique of imperialism as an economic phenomenon, published the same year as Bryce's work, attacks the empire as a material drain upon Britain's resources, and a loss-making enterprise which merits little justification and defense.²⁰

It is doubtful that Bryce's theory of imperialism which coordinates race with civilization, in which the empire is systematized as a hierarchy of civilizations, structured by a culture of dependency, and projected as total civilizational advance, was taken up and acted upon by the policy makers in Whitehall after 1905. Nor did it appear to have become the inspiration of a coherent imperial policy. Instead, it was widely circulated and endorsed by Lugard and some of his influential *Pax Britannica* contemporaries and found favour among the conservative believers of the empire whose champion was Joseph Chamberlain. The resignation of Chamberlain in 1903, followed by the downfall of the Balfour government in 1905, brought an end to a long period of Conservative rule in Britain. These successive defeats, coupled with the acrimonious intra-party debates about the Free Trade policy, threw into disarray the champions of the empire as the central platform in British domestic politics, and an interventionist colonial policy undergirded and sanctioned by quasi-Brycean ideologies.

These champions, consisting of senior colonial officials and colonial barons, and their clients, rallied and took their propaganda to the imperial centre through tireless speech-making, public appearances, pamphleteering and publications. Joining his friends and patrons, these activities preoccupied Lugard and his wife, Flora, in the interim between Nigeria and Hong Kong. Their effort was comparable to — and, as speech-makers, excelled — that of someone like Alfred Milner, who, as High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor-General of Cape Colony since 1897, and Viscount since 1902, outranked Lugard in the colonial pecking order and metropolitan renown. Earlier in 1892, Milner had published *England in Egypt*, a social Darwinian justification of the necessity and benefits of greater British involvement in a supposedly autonomous territory under traditional indigenous rule. Reissued in 1904, *England in Egypt* established Milner not only as the champion of the British African cause but an ideologue of the empire.

20. J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1902).

The Nation and the Empire, a collection of the speeches and public addresses Milner made after his departure from Africa in 1905, demonstrates his energy at propaganda after the Conservative defeat.²¹ In political exile, Milner unsurprisingly sees British party politics as the impediment to the consideration of the “imperial question.” “Over and over again,” he complains, “questions of great Imperial interest have been pushed off the board to make room for matters of infinitely minor importance, or, worse still, have been used as footballs in the party scrimmage” (xxiv). The split between “local” and “Imperial” (xiii) disables a British subject from identifying himself as “a citizen of the Empire” (xii), and Milner proceeds to detail the ramifications of this split as it adversely affects all levels of Imperial relations — from defence in which “Imperial patriotism has to maintain itself against the hydras of particularism and party spirit” (xxi), to politics and administration where different communities in the empire are left to fend for themselves in face of possible aggressors (xxv), to the more nebulous but also most significant issue of “imperial sentiment” (xxv). This sentiment Milner defines as “a sense of solidarity of the scattered communities of the British race,” and it is in this definition that we can see how his concept of imperial relations maps onto Bryce’s racial-civilizational hierarchies.

Imprisoned by the tunnel vision of party politics, the opponents of Imperialism fail to perceive the true spirit of the imperial question. Milner also carefully distinguishes himself from those jingoistic supporters of the empire among his own party who cannot see beyond conquest and extension of territory. Imperialism, he states, “is a question of preserving the unity of a great race, of enabling it, by maintaining that unity, to develop freely on its own lines, and to continue to fulfill its distinctive mission in the world” (xxxii). That this race is scattered all over the empire is an accident of history which needs to be superseded by a self-consciousness about its present situation and future destiny. Racial dispersal is also a source of weakness, for it makes unity difficult to maintain, and for communities that have many similarities, a failure to stand together cannot but lead to self-destruction; it is, Milner observes melodramatically, “as unnatural as suicide” (xxxiii).

Though the constitution of the national subject and the borders of the nation are extendable beyond their historical centres, the predication of imperial unity upon racial identification reinscribes the centrist organization of empire, or the sovereign-dependent model of trans-imperial relations on an expanded geographical scale that takes into account two contemporary geo-political developments. The first is the example of the United States, which began as British colonial settlements, and the developmental path it lays down for the other white settler dominions demanding and achieving increasing autonomy from direct

21. Alfred Milner, *The Nation and the Empire Being a Collection of Speeches and Addresses: With an Introduction by Lord Milner* (1913), rpt. (London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press, 1998).

British rule. From one point of view, Milner's version of a racialized Imperial union can be seen as both justification and structure for reincorporating the departing dominions into the fold of Britain's national interests. From another point of view, he is articulating a trans-colonial challenge to a metropolitan political culture perceived as retrenching away from the empire and peripheralizing his life-long work and that of his fellow colonial officials. To define the nation as imperial is to shift the paradigm of British politics away from party struggles to an integrative politics of empire and race, thus opening up the way for their return from the wilderness.

While the British settler dominions are to be recast in the role of youthful members of a racially integrated imperial union, Milner also draws the boundary between them and others for whom race is a permanent barrier to any consideration as potential or full-fledged partners in the union. As mentioned earlier, the failure of union is comparable to an act of suicide, and this, in turn, is an unpardonable dereliction of duty because

the British race has become responsible for the peace and order and the just and humane government of three or four hundred millions of people who...do not possess the gift of maintaining peace and order for themselves. Without our control their political condition would be one of chaos, as it was for centuries before that control was established. The *Pax Britannica* is essential to the maintenance of civilized conditions of existence among one-fifth of the human race.... It is the British race which built the Empire, and it is the undivided British race which can alone uphold it. (xxxiii-xxxv)

As Milner submits, the teeming millions in Africa and Asia have long been dangers to themselves and will continue to be so until the civilization of the British race has been bestowed upon them in the form of "just and humane government." But like the *Pax Romana*, the ideology of *Pax Britannica* addresses the unarticulable presence of barbarian others who, though pacified by conquest, have yet to be subjugated as dependents within the empire.

Constituted as a single nation, the British race, Milner further admits, does not have the resources to fulfill its civilizational obligations. But as an empire, the currently dispersed energies of the race can be coordinated so that the mission of civilization, rather than being a burden, can open up "the field of public action" (xlv) in which guardianship of the "more backward races" (xlviii) will be actualized as trans-colonial policies of rule. In turn, a coherent system of political administration, backed up by an imperial constitution — the chief recommendation of Milner's essay — will guarantee the empire a united front in its work of expansion across widely disparate colonial frontiers.

From the vantage of exile, Milner seeks to reconceptualize the empire as the space of release from democratic party politics, and of direct action in different socio-cultural domains. In another speech on "Empire Education" delivered in

1907, Milner clearly states that the purpose of education should be to inculcate and nurture British subjects who can put whole before part, that is to say, who can conceive of their “British-ness” not through the nation-state but in imperial terms. This self-identification will transform “anxiety” (173) about disunity into unifying energy, and any complacency about civilizational privilege into the dynamic of obligation to the less civilized. Though not explicitly stated, Milner’s imperialism issues in projected cultural re-engineering of the individual British subject through education. As we shall see, Lugard’s Indirect Rule and university schemes extend into the colonial domain the production of subjects whose self-identification would be appropriate to a trans-colonial culture of dependency in the racialized map of the empire.²²

III

The writings of Lugard on Indirect Rule suggest that Bryce’s theories of racial dependency, endorsed by Milner, are actively produced and tested from the colonial laboratories on the expanding frontiers of the empire. This can be seen in Lugard’s ranking of the “tribes” he encounters in his conquest of Northern Nigeria: those with a recognized political system of hierarchized authority and coherent religious outlook, like the Islamic Fulanis, are, in his measure, far in advance of the pagan tribes for whom chieftainship appears mobile, and the latter are, in turn, superior to those whose leaders are hard to identify and who seem to be engaged in constant intra- or inter-tribal war.²³ Lugard clearly thinks that the business of colonizing Africa involves not just the establishment and

22. Bryce and Milner are by no means the only public figures who contributed to the discussion of the relation and contradictions between “nation” and “empire.” The novelist, John Buchan, who, as a cadet in South Africa, became a product of Milner’s “kindergarten,” dramatized the context of exile and the ideological soul-searching among expansionist imperialists in his novel, *A Lodge in the Wilderness* (London, Edinburgh, and New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1906). Most of the characters in the novel are supposedly inspired by real-life political figures, one of whom is Lugard’s wife, Flora. The novel reveals serious unease among those who supported imperial expansion about empire’s exile from the national imaginary, and the disorientation that afflicts even its most seasoned supporters and officials. Buchan’s novel articulates a crisis of confidence that impels imperial introspection about its own convictions, identity in the world, and a new realism that can issue in actual policies of rule. It is left to a colonial campaigner like Lugard to translate Buchan’s literary discourse and its structure of feeling in the fields of action of Northern Nigeria and Hong Kong, and in the course of doing so, to demonstrate his own undoubted fitness to rule.

23. Lugard, “Northern Nigeria,” *The Geographical Journal* XXIII, no. 1 (January 1904): 5–30, originally a paper read at a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on November 4, 1903. See also Flora Shaw’s *A Tropical Dependency: An Outline of the Ancient History of the Western Soudan with an Account of the Modern Settlement of Northern Nigeria* (London: James Nisbet

administration of British rule but the full compass of work that would enable natives, like the Fulanis, who have been identified as the most civilized, to receive the first benefits of European tutelage.

Right from the start in Northern Nigeria, when Lugard put the system in place and monumentalized it in his writing, it is apparent that he conceived of Indirect Rule as far more than a system of colonial political administration. As theory and practice, Indirect Rule is heavily implicated in demonstrating imperial racial supremacy and its self-assigned mission of civilizing the “subject races,” and nowhere is this better seen than in the repeated emphasis on the importance of education. Before Nigeria, based on the experience he garnered of native cultures during his military campaigns in East Africa, Lugard is of the view that, after “pacification,” “internal control in Uganda” is best achieved by erecting an edifice of administration so that the country will be ruled “through its own executive government.” But this is a contingent measure, to be adopted in the early stages of colonization when there is insufficient political staff, and “we must utilise the existing machinery,” though in the endeavour to “improve” this machinery, as Lugard goes on to urge, the civilizing mission can be said to be inaugurated even at this early point.²⁴

The details of Indirect Rule, as theory and practice, are inscribed in Lugard’s *Instructions to Political and Other Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative*, first published in 1905, reissued in 1906, and further revised and reissued as *Political Memoranda* in 1919, the year he resigned as Governor-General of the amalgamated Nigeria. The *Political Memoranda* would be further revised, abridged, and extracted from on numerous occasions throughout Lugard’s life.²⁵ The

& Co., 1905), in which she refers to Lugard’s judgment of “the upper class Fulani of the northern states...[as] deserving in every way of the name of cultivated gentleman.... There could be no question to his mind” that the Fulani chiefs represented “a wholly different standard of civilisation to that generally accepted in the southern emirates” (454).

24. Lugard, *Instructions to Political Officers on Subjects Chiefly Political and Administrative* (London: Waterlow & Sons Ltd., 1906), 265; hereinafter referred to as *Instructions*.

25. The first edition of the *Instructions* was actually issued 12 February 1905. The extant 1906 copy in the Rhodes House Library is therefore, strictly speaking, the revised second edition, although most studies of Lugard refer to this as the first. The *Instructions*, with substantial additions and revisions, was reissued as *Political Memoranda* in 1919, and it is by this name that the book is best known. A third edition with an introduction by Margery Perham was published in 1970. Interestingly, the 1906 edition opens with the strict injunction that its contents, the series of “Political Memoranda...will be considered confidential” for circulation only to political officials or to other departments at the discretion of the High Commissioner, “but on no account will they be given to the press.” The public issue of these confidential memoranda would not happen until Lugard left colonial service, when they were presented as the signal achievement of an imperial agent and the evidence of good rule and established order in the empire.

Instructions is an exercise in and a display of what Chamberlain calls “the faculties and qualities which have made of us [the British] a great governing race.”²⁶ In showing how the system of Indirect Rule can enable teaching and learning at a number of interrelated levels, the *Instructions* seeks to establish the intellectual leadership that would retrospectively justify the use of military coercion on the one hand, and secure British domination through the cultivation of indigenous consent on the other.

First of all, the British public — converts to imperialism or otherwise — and colonial officials need to be taught the meaning of government and what it entails on the frontlines of the empire; second, officials in Nigeria, whether they are seasoned transferees from other parts of the empire or new recruits, need a manual of instruction developed with specific reference to local conditions but which might have pan-imperial applications; and last but not least, natives, in the process of their reproduction as colonial subjects, need to learn by example and involvement the practice of British rule and to become tutored in its benefits. In order to resituate the Hong Kong university project, the educational mission of Indirect Rule, which has not received much attention so far from Lugard scholars, requires elaboration.²⁷

In *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922), Lugard offers what can be seen in many ways as a retrospective account and ideological justification of his Nigerian policies, further enshrining Indirect Rule as his principal achievement, despite the end of his colonial career.²⁸ In Lugard’s characteristic

26. Joseph Chamberlain, “The True Conception of Empire,” *Foreign and Colonial Speeches* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1897), 244.

27. Perham’s chapter “Lugard turns Educationist” (Chapter 25, *The Life of Frederick Dealtry Lugard*, vol. II) comes after the chapters on Hong Kong and Hong Kong University, as if the issue of education only occurred to Lugard as important after his return to Nigeria in 1912.

28. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (1922), third ed., intro. Margery Perham (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1965). In 1922, Lugard had already embarked on his third career — after soldier and colonial official — as British representative on the League of Nations Mandates Commission. In face of post-war democratic challenges, *The Dual Mandate* reasserts the imperial mission of guided and gradual development for subject peoples. In the “Preface” to the first edition, Lugard addresses the book to those interested “in the development of the British empire.” His objectives, he states, are twofold: to give “an outline of the system under which those [imperial] responsibilities have originated and are being discharged, and some idea of the nature of the problems confronting the local administrator,” and “in discussing these problems...to make some few suggestions, as the result of experience, in the hope that they may be found worthy of consideration by the “men on the spot” — in so far as the varying circumstances of our Crown colonies and protectorates may render them in any degree applicable” (vii). Perham suggests that the immediate context of *The Dual Mandate* is Leonard Woolf’s critical account of British exploitation of Africa (xxvii), but the timeliness of the book is clearly designed to bolster Lugard’s credentials as a pan-imperial spokesman and statesman on the world stage by forging the seamless continuity of these two roles with the theorist of Indirect Rule.

tone of command, *The Dual Mandate* reiterates imperial responsibility to civilization and its issue in the pedagogical mission:

The responsibility is one which the advantages of an inherited civilisation and a superior intellectual culture, no less than the physical superiority conferred by the monopoly of firearms, imposes upon the controlling Power. To the backward races civilisation must be made to mean something higher than the aims and methods of the development syndicate or the assiduous cultivation of new wants....The moral obligations to the subject races include such matters as the training of native rulers; the delegation to them of such responsibility as they are fit to exercise; the constitution of Courts of Justice free from corruption and accessible to all; the adoption of a system of education which will assist progress without creating false ideals; the institution of free labour and of a just system of taxation; the protection of the peasantry from oppression, and the preservation of their rights in land, &c.²⁹

The publication of Lugard's writing in London, together with his and Flora's tireless public appearances, led to the eventual identification of his name with Indirect Rule throughout the empire as the system was adopted to varying extent — and varying discontent — in different territories. Lugard's education of British officialdom — both at home and in the colonies — and the British public in the glory and merit of Indirect Rule, continued with unabated vigour all through his life. As for the third aspect of teaching and learning, that relating to the civilizing of the "backward races" which is clearly central to Indirect Rule as an educational system, and a system of cross-cultural relations under the empire, neither Perham nor Lugard's detractors have much to say.

In Northern Nigeria, to meet the urgent need of incorporating recently annexed territories into British political control, and in the absence of colonial educational institutions, Indirect Rule operated in effect as the site for training both British officials and native agents. In the early years of British rule, it enabled Lugard as supreme official in a newly colonized area to exercise control — unmediated by the usual institutions of education — on what the natives needed to be taught and how, as the *Dual Mandate* later states, to "assist [their] progress without creating false ideals." Indirect Rule offers a theory and a system articulating effective political control with the process and mechanics of teaching and learning; it became the institutional space for education during the primitive days of British rule before formal training was instituted in schools and colleges. In the early years of his Uganda campaigns, even before becoming High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, it is evident, in *The Rise of Our African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (1893), that Lugard was already thinking of Indirect Rule as a model of administration for newly pacified areas. Characteristic

29. Lugard, *The Dual Mandate*, 58.

of Lugard's writing, his motives and arguments are embedded in the discourse of practical necessity, the judicious estimation of the man with first-hand experience. "With regard to internal control in Uganda," he declares after the lengthy account of his expeditions against slave raiders and traders and French forces,

...the object to be aimed at in the administration of this country is to rule through its own executive government. The people are singularly intelligent, and have a wonderful appreciation of justice and legal procedure, and our aim should be to educate and develop this sense of justice. I think myself that, by careful selection, even now the various provinces could be ruled by chiefs, who would rapidly conform to European methods. Such selection I myself exercised in the appointment of chiefs after the war, and I think that such men... would soon, under our tuition, make just as good subordinate rulers as the average *tehsildars* and petty magistrates in India....³⁰

Here, as in other statements, Lugard's belief in the superiority of British — and European — "methods" cannot be disentangled from a subjective purposiveness which turns belief into justification for acts of conquest and subjugation of non-western others. For Lugard, this superiority is self-evident and does not require interrogation. What does need to be made clear is the justification of practical need, that is to say, an explanation of how this intervention could be both effective and seen to be so. Lugard had proved himself as a military campaigner but was as yet a novice in political administration. To establish this new profile in his imperial curriculum vitae, all actions taken or needing to be taken have to be justified and justifiable. In many ways, his writing on Indirect Rule before and after Hong Kong — the different versions of the *Political Memoranda* and *The Dual Mandate* — and the university project are themselves object lessons on how to write — and write at length on — administrative justifications.

One crucial justification that runs through Lugard's writing is the responsibility of teaching and educating the natives in the practice of "civilized" government. In the above quotation, Lugard speaks of education to develop the native's supposedly natural "sense of justice." As for his proposed treatment of native chiefs, it is clear that the act of transforming them into colonial administrators requires their subjection to colonial tutelage. A further passage from *The Rise of Our East African Empire* presents these aims in the positive terms of having been formed with due consideration for the native's inherited culture:

In a country like Uganda, so possessed by traditions and customs, it is only right and just that the Resident should be in full possession of the native views regarding any contemplated measure — views which are

30. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire: Early Efforts in Nyasaland and Uganda* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1893), vol. 2, 649.

often the very reverse of what one would anticipate.... An arbitrary and despotic rule, which takes no account of native customs, traditions, and prejudices, is not suited to the successful development of an infant civilisation, nor, in my view, is it in accordance with the spirit of British colonial rule....³¹

The fundamental presumption here, again, is the measure of an “infant civilisation” against the advancement represented by “European models.” What closes the gap is an educational process in which the native subaltern learns to imitate the example of his colonial superior. This is announced clearly and unambiguously in Memo Number One of the 1906 *Instructions*: “A Resident, as the name implies, is an officer charged with political rather than with strictly Administrative functions...Generally speaking, it will be his endeavour to rule through the Native Chiefs, and to educate them in the duties of Rulers according to a civilized standard.”³² In Lugard’s pedagogical model, the British official is master not only in the sense of overlord but also master-teacher, the moulder and shaper of untutored native intellects in the mechanics of government.

His instructions to the British political officers are precise and detailed and extend to their personal comportment in the exercise of their duties and contact with the native staff. But this heavy investment in the rectitude of the colonial official carries its own risk of exposure; an incompetent official is much more than just a personal failure but may bring the entire belief-edifice of advancement into disrepute. If the early political officers “fail to establish the character of the white man on a basis superior to any the savage has yet known, it will take long to eradicate the impression and to re-establish our ascendancy”— shades of anxiety about the moral degeneracy of the white man in tropical outposts. And to drive the point home, Lugard declares, “I would far sooner place a good reliable native in a position of responsibility than a weak or vicious European.”³³

Indirect Rule would hardly be credible or even possible should a British officer be found so deficient right from the start that he needed replacing by a “native.” To forestall this possible need — and in any case, it is doubtful whether “a good reliable native” could be found at short notice — a training manual for the self-governance of the officers is necessary, and in many ways, this is the function performed by the 1906 *Instructions*. The formal structure of this educational process confirms and augments the political hierarchy of Indirect Rule for, at the same time the Residents adopt the *Instructions* as a manual of self-rule, they “will spare no effort to instruct young officers posted to their staff, and will see that all read and are familiar with the Proclamations, G.S.Os, and these Memos. These constitute the laws and usages of the Protectorate, which all

31. *Ibid.*, 651.

32. Lugard, *Instructions*, 7.

33. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, 657.

Political Officers are bound by their oath to impartially enforce.”³⁴ Lugard’s *Instructions*, or “these Memos,” had the force of law, and in this regard, education, defined in the orthodox terms of imparting and obeying instruction, is the cornerstone not only of the political and administrative but also legal and juridical edifices of the emergent colony.

As for the formal training of the “natives,” the 1906 manual does not have a section on “Education,” presumably because the plans for colonial education and its articulation with native schools that were in place had yet to be worked out. (Indeed, it would be another three years before King’s College Lagos — Achebe’s Lord Lugard College — was established in the earlier colonized south.) In the absence of formal institutions of education, the *Instructions* perform the crucial task of laying down those principles and objectives that direct the immediate project of civilizing the native chiefs, and the progressive course in the longer term of their incorporation as British agents. In a significant Memo on “The Position of Native Chiefs” (No. 9) in the 1906 *Instructions*, Lugard writes,

[The] calm of the Pax Britannica [might] induce a spirit of ennui.... Our object should be to give them [i.e., the Chiefs] an interest and an object beyond the routine performance of their duties, to interest them in the scheme of government, to teach them to recognize the new order of things, to show them common interests, to engage their sympathies in our efforts for secular education and to promote a legitimate rivalry in civilised progress and even in sports.³⁵

As teachers, Lugard’s officers have not only to offer the example of their own rectitude but to be fully conscious of their responsibility within a larger scheme of things, where native subjection needs to be transformed into voluntaristic incorporation into the *esprit de corps* of civilized British administration. But Lugard had little confidence that the newly appointed chiefs would have the capacity to realize the full benefits of British education. Memo No. 18, “Fulani Rule,” which refers to No. 9, maintains that not much can be hoped for from the chiefs of the first generation; rather “[i]t is from the rising generation that we must hope to produce the elements of real progress and enlightenment.” For this reason, Lugard continues, “I think it of great importance that the successor to each important Emirate or Chiefship should be brought as much as possible in contact with ourselves....[I]t is of still greater importance to devote attention to prospective heirs and to train them while they are as yet but small boys.”³⁶

The training of the young: it is with this training — another cognate of “instruction” — in mind that the reference to Memo 9 is made, for the earlier mémo outlines the institutional model that could best facilitate the long-term

34. Lugard, *Instructions*, 8.

35. *Ibid.*, 202.

36. *Ibid.*, 265.

accomplishment, beyond the current generation, of incorporating the natives as colonial agents. Lugard refers approvingly to a scheme for having the sons of chiefs taught in schools, especially in English, and in writing their indigenous language in the Roman character; most important of all, they should be boarders. "I hope," Lugard writes,

that they would thus be taught not merely to read and write, but to acquire an English Public School boy's ideas of honour, loyalty and, above all, of responsibility. It is by such means (See Memo.18) that I hope that the next generation of Fulani rulers may become really efficient, reliable and honest co-operators with the British in the Administration of the Protectorate.³⁷

The values of "honour, loyalty and...responsibility" and the aim of culturing "efficient, reliable and honest co-operators" represent clear extensions of the design to enable the first generation of native chiefs to appreciate the "calm of the Pax Britannica." Such values and aims would invest the subjects of education with the necessary cultural and ideological motivations or, more broadly, what Pierre Bourdieu calls "dispositions"³⁸ that would make their engagement in Indirect Rule voluntaristic rather than, as with their fathers, the imposed condition of military defeat. In inheriting their patrilineal positions, the next generation of chiefs would become bearers of a double tradition: what is native, and what has been inculcated by a colonial education supposedly adapting a hallowed metropolitan institution and its best practices.

IV

The civilizing mission and pedagogical imperatives of Indirect Rule, plans for native education, were potent forces driving Lugard in his years in Northern Nigeria. Encoded in the 1906 *Instructions*, Lugard's plans, barely outlined as they are, have the status of law to which the political officers are subjected themselves and which they are duty-bound to enforce on various native others, wherever they might be geographically and in the ranks of the colonial hierarchy. Within the very different circumstances of Hong Kong, which had been an established colony

37. *Ibid.*, 199. See Tidrick, *Empire and the English Character*, especially Chapter 6, "The Meaning of Indirect Rule," which assesses, often satirically, how young men in English public schools grow up into particularly appropriate officers of Indirect Rule, and how, in turn, not only do the public schools become the main source of recruitment for such officers, but that the system of Indirect Rule itself can be seen to continue and extend the influence of English public school culture in the empire.

38. See, among Bourdieu's works, his *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977), 214.

for over half a century, Lugard's freedom of manoeuvre and to lay down the law is far more curtailed than in Nigeria, and in this context, the educational dynamic of Indirect Rule was temporarily arrested before it could find the infrastructural space where it could be given active and legitimate expression.

Perham and other Hong Kong scholars also draw attention to the sense of dislocation Lugard felt in his move away, or exile, from the African theatre, one which he revealed to his brother, Edward. In a letter, "To Edward at Sea," he writes, "The day after tomorrow we reach Hong Kong and to you I will confess that as I look back over my life I do not know that I can easily recall any task upon which I have entered...for which I feel less aptitude, and from which I shrink more than the one which begins tomorrow...." In the interstices between Africa and Hong Kong, Lugard appears estranged, by his own admission, both from his prior African experience and from what awaits him in the colony — he is, indeed, "at sea." The letter goes on to reveal that his doubts about his own "aptitude" are closely bound up with his perception of the nature of the job which awaits him: "The thing that matters is the daily disagreeableness of one's task and environment and the effect which work under such conditions has on one's character and temper."³⁹ Lugard clearly regards himself as no mere functionary of colonial service but as someone who already occupies an authoritative vantage ground of imperial civilization. In further letters to Edward, he draws recurrent contrast between the minutiae of routine service in a well-established crown colony like Hong Kong and the quasi-epical grandeur of his African theatre of command: "The Governor has little initiative so far as I can see," he writes shortly after arrival, "and after my long Nigerian experience when I was the *fons et origo* locally at any rate, and indeed of my experience since 1887, one feels horribly circumscribed."⁴⁰ To the maker of the empire, as he looks towards Hong Kong, it seems that the empire is about to unmake him.

No attention has been paid to Lugard's account in "To Edward at Sea" of his stopover in Japan en route to Hong Kong. The account is fascinating, for it suggests a very specific anxiety that maps Lugard's memory of his youth onto cultural preconceptions about the "orient," a mapping that will have significant issue in the university project. Earlier in the letter, as we have seen, Lugard is worried about how Hong Kong might adversely affect his "character and temper." "Character" is very much the implicit concern of his Japanese narrative in which he describes a dinner party of

some forty to eighty courses....We had dancing Geishas & Japanese music & the whole scene was certainly a novel and curious one to me, & still more to the ladies. For me it seemed v. incongruous that I should

39. "To Edward at Sea," 26 July 1907, MSS. Brit. Emp. s.66: *Lugard Papers*, 37, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.

40. 5 August 1907, *Lugard Papers* 37.

be sitting cross-legged...as Governor of Hongkong with a British consul to act as shewman, while nautch [*sic*] girls danced & the surroundings brought back scenes of unregenerate days when I was a subaltern of few years' service & less morals — of Ismailia & of Bombay & days of "greater freedom & less responsibility."

Unable to eat much of his dinner, Lugard went back "pretty empty to a sandwich on board" the boat.⁴¹ Japan, India, Lugard's own youth — all flow into seamless continuity to reterritorialize the disjunctions between past and present, Africa and Hong Kong, and in the empire's globalizing geography. The mechanics of reterritorialization is that of classic orientalism in which a Japanese dinner, at first "novel and curious," is identified with a familiar prior space of decadence, "unregenerate" and morally dubious. Once this recognition is produced, the space in total can be consigned, as with youth, into an abandoned past against which the present mature and responsible "Governor of Hongkong" asserts his singularity. There is little hint of the colonial official as disoriented subject, as Lugard withdraws to the austere personal satisfaction of a "sandwich on board"—the "shewman"-ship of youth can have no purchase on the performance of the imperial proconsul as character actor.

Interestingly, Africa, or Nigeria, is not included explicitly in the orientalized space of degeneracy that is India and Japan; at the same time, it appears to exert different demands, or a different fascination, over character than colonial Hong Kong does. A month and a half after arrival, Flora reports to Edward that Lugard was "gaining a certain amount of interest in the work," but as she continues, her note of lament echoes that of her husband: "[I]t is not such interesting Empire building as Nigeria, and I am afraid it is impossible that, work for work, he [i.e., Lugard] could ever like it so well."⁴² This African lament is recurrent in both their letters from Hong Kong, and is counterpointed only when negotiations with the Colonial Office over Lugard's return to Nigeria are almost complete: "'African Lugard!'" Flora exclaims to Edward, "The words have been like a refrain to my thoughts."⁴³ This consistent African orientation seems to justify the general scholarly neglect or the turn away from Lugard's Hong Kong career.

Through his migrations as governor, Lugard is supposed to enact some of the most vital connections that enable the empire to achieve global administrative totality. Beyond subjective disorientation, the letters show how imperial totality is fissured by differently incorporated colonial locations, and migration as a moment of rupture in which the mechanics of integrating centre and colony, and colonies with each other, is threatened with dysfunction by its very global application. From

41. 26 July 1907, *Lugard Papers* 37.

42. 21 September 1907, *Lugard Papers* 37.

43. 5 December 1911, *Lugard Papers* 37. For an account of the events and the reasons leading to Lugard's return to Nigeria, see Kirk-Greene's *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria*, 7–9.

a contrary perspective, the disorientation can argue precisely for an exploration of what has been mobilized, replicated, or transformed in the middle passage between Africa and Hong Kong. The closure of the Japanese episode belies Lugard's expression of doubt and loss of purpose and the *agon* with his subordinate, Colonial Secretary Francis Henry May, which is another recurrent theme in the letters. May had already been in Hong Kong for twenty-six years and had been acting governor more than once. As Lugard said to Edward, he is "much in [May's] hands, indeed no more than a puppet," and "[n]o one here [in Hong Kong] really counts except the Col. Secy [*sic*]." "I can address no one except through him," Lugard complains, "and he resents my speaking to anyone on official subjects unless he is present." Untutored about the colony, and subject to May's superior local knowledge, Lugard felt his initial disempowerment keenly. This is only one side of the picture, for in the letters, Lugard also reiterates to Edward that "the object is to get the Colony as well governed as we can," and even more significantly, he writes appreciatively of May: "[h]e is a desperate keen sportsman and as hard as nails...white right through."⁴⁴ In this view, Lugard demonstrates the colonial official's practice of self-rule in a strategic containment of a local intra-racial skirmish — the deterritorialization of the self and the reinstitution of those qualities of character that best exemplify the empire's racialized creed, and the colonial burden — or mission — of whiteness itself.

Lugard scholars see the university project as his assertion of authority and autonomy against May; it is the case that May, representing the opposition of British commercial and trading interests, objected to the project on grounds of cost at the beginning.⁴⁵ But neither the rivalry with May nor the need to demonstrate his agency as a new governor is reason enough to explain Lugard's specific choice of an educational project rather than any other. The drama of imperial character and the performance of the exemplary imperial agent require, for its enactment, the production of the native subject as the legatee of rule — and importantly, on the success of this production as the visible evidence of good rule. This is as urgent a project in Hong Kong as it is in Northern Nigeria. The rest of this section concerns the initiative for reterritorializing Hong Kong as "Africa" through the university project.

There are two related areas of concern as the project begins: first, the initial capital investment needed to set up the facilities for producing native subjects as imperial agents, and second, the availability of suitable native, or colonial, material which can be remoulded through training. The first of these concerns which issues in the campaign for an endowment fund has been studied by various scholars,

44. 3 September 1907, *Lugard Papers* 37.

45. The views of the traders were voiced quite openly in English language newspapers. See, for example, a series of editorials in *Hongkong Telegraph* on 17 February, 5 March, 5 June, 3 July 1909, querying the viability of the university as a financial proposition and the possible success of the appeal for funds.

and I will outline this aspect of the university as a capital venture before turning to the issue, which has not really been attended to, of the production of imperial agents and the university as symbolic capital in the global territorialization projected by an expansionist imperial creed.

Studies of the University of Hong Kong all point to the initial offer of HK\$150,000 from the Parsee businessman, Hormusjee Mody, early in 1909 as the originary moment when the university takes on substance as a capital venture. Apart from Mody, the main founding donors include local Chinese, the Qing government on the Mainland, and Chinese from the Straits Settlements. As for British expatriate interests, John Swire and Sons, under its manager J. H. Scott, donated the largest amount of £40,000; Scott was also the chairman of the British Chinese Association based in London, to whom Lugard appealed.⁴⁶ Bernard Mellor's narrative about the fund-raising process shows how much the pursuit of capital defines the university project, and how, time and again, it is the likelihood that such capital might not be forthcoming which threatens the project's accomplishment. Mellor credits Lugard as the driving force not only in seizing Mody's initial offer but in pursuing the possibilities it opened up with the full authority of his gubernatorial office and personal intervention. His account of the Swire donation suggested that it was meant indirectly to pacify discontent about the reported killing of a Chinese passenger by a member of the Portuguese crew on board a steamer sailing between Hong Kong and Canton. Swire was agent for the steamer's owners, and when the incident was reported in the Chinese press, it led quickly to a wide boycott of British shipping and goods. It appears that the Chinese donors responded to Lugard's speeches, memoranda and other publicity that appealed to their desire to advance Chinese education and modern progress, and the Qing government's endorsement of the project.⁴⁷

The point at issue is not the complicitous involvement, witting or unwitting, of the different parties in the university project but how to reinscribe the project in the imperial matrix of territory, race, and cultural supremacy, and the colonial apparatuses by which this matrix seeks to propagate globally. As an event, the Hong Kong university project clearly predates Lugard's arrival in 1907. Despite having been a Crown Colony for over fifty years, Hong Kong was underdeveloped

46. Besides Mody and Swire, the statement of the endowment fund as of 11 March 1910, lists thirty-six subscribers and a total fund size of \$691,986.77. These include \$200,000 from the Viceroy of Canton, \$13,608.39 from the Chinese government, \$92,764.25 from residents in Weichow in southern China, \$16,971.08 from Chinese residents in Canton, \$198,000 from Chinese residents in Hong Kong, \$50,000 from the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, and \$25,000 from Jardine, Matheson & Co. Chinese residents in Saigon subscribed \$10,000 and those in Australia, \$1250.36. See Lugard, *Hong Kong University: Objects, History, Present Position and Prospects* (Hong Kong: Noronha, 1910), 26.

47. For the steamship incident, see Mellor, *Lugard in Hong Kong*, Chapter 8; and for the Chinese fund-raising process, see Lin, "The Founding of the University of Hong Kong."

in terms of an educational infrastructure that could provide a steady source of undergraduates. Only five years before Lugard's arrival, an education committee on the setting up of a high school on Western lines for children of "respectable Chinese families" declared that the time for developing higher education in Hong Kong had not yet arrived.⁴⁸ Ho Kai, the Chinese unofficial Legislative Councillor, who put forward the scheme for the school together with seven leading Chinese, was a member of the committee together with the Registrar General, A. W. Brewin, and the Inspector of Schools, E. A. Irving. The committee's report refers at length to Irving's account of the educational system and the contemporary provision of different types of schools with different languages of instruction for British, Chinese, and other ethnic minorities.

A crucial concern of the committee is the fluctuating Chinese student population and the associated queries about whether students from families on the Mainland who are not colonial subjects have a claim to education funded by the Hong Kong taxpayer. Irving puts it bluntly in a later memorandum: "The Chinese, as a rule, comes here [i.e., Hong Kong] for what he can make, so we must educate his sons for what we can make of them. How much is that?"⁴⁹ Though the tone is unequivocal, the language also resonates with double meaning: "how much" refers, of course, to financial outlay, but also points to the extent to which these Chinese "sons" can be, or need to be, remade; and on this issue, the 1902 report offers two vantages. The first is colonial: what counts as a good investment to the Hong Kong taxpayer, usually the expatriate merchant, "who is solely alive to his own profits"—all he would require are "intelligent clerks" and he would pay for schools "which turned out a good stock of these...with a thorough mercantile education."⁵⁰

At the same time, the committee is imperative that this colonial view needs to be surmounted by an "imperial policy" which demands much more of education. This is particularly apposite to English-medium schools where not only clerks and interpreters for the government offices are to be trained but "raw material" needs to be created "to fill the posts of masters" in government and grant-in-aid schools. The "broadest" imperial view

48. Recommendation 93 of the report states unambiguously: "There should be no attempt to provide any sort of University education, until a far firmer grounding for it can be found than now exists in the schools of Hong Kong." (E. A. Irving, "The System of Education in Hong Kong," a reprint of the 1902 report [Univ. of Hong Kong], 114). See also Anthony Sweeting, *Education in Hong Kong Pre-1841 to 1941: Materials for a History of Education in Hong Kong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong UP, 1990), 216.

49. E. A. Irving, *Educational Systems of the Chief Colonies not Possessing Responsible Government: Hongkong* (Imperial Education Conference Papers) (Hong Kong: Noronha, 1914), 10.

50. "The System of Education in Hong Kong," 80.

may regard every boy passing out of its schools with a practical knowledge of the geography and history of the world as a potential missionary of the empire — assuming that the British policy desires a strong because enlightened China....All secondary education can be justified in the same way, including scholarships enabling the holder to study at an English university. (81)

To this, Irving adds his own belief that “no child can have spent two years in a Government or Missionary school without having acquired a glimmering of respect for English men and methods.” The report coordinates and hierarchizes colonial expectations with imperial desire, in which colonial schools are incorporated into an imperial civilizational infrastructure, and financial outlay in local education rechannelled into asset accumulation for imperial cultural capital.

From this point, it is but a short step — both geographically and in imperial logic — towards extending educational horizons beyond Hong Kong to the Chinese mainland. This is the argument invoked by the Governor, Henry Blake, in his despatch to the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, seeking the latter’s approval for Ho Kai’s scheme for the school. Echoing Irving, Blake submits that this school, if it succeeds, will attract boys from China, “some of whom will probably form part of the official class of the future [and] the consequences may be far-reaching, and the benefits to this country [i.e., Britain] may amply repay the small outlay that the scheme demands.”⁵¹ Students from mainland China who desire education on a Western model are a key target group not only for the schools but in Lugard’s projection of the university’s mission and finances.

Irving’s 1902 report had begun to move the imperial arguments into place and prepare the ideological ground for the university project, though this is counteracted by its own recommendation that university education should not be contemplated until “a far firmer grounding” in schools education is achieved. In other ways, the colonial ground remains unpropitious, as doubts about the number of suitably qualified students for a university education in English continue to be raised. Besides May, serious questions about the viability of the project were expressed by Ho Kai. In 1908, Ho tried to forestall Lugard’s initiative by proposing an alternative scheme that, in parallel with the main university curriculum, secondary courses taught in Chinese should be offered leading not to degrees but licenses or certificates. These courses would “produce the nucleus of trained students for the university course proper, the absence of which at present was next to the lack of funds, the greatest obstacle in the way of

51. Despatch no. 380, dated 24 September 1901, reprinted in “The System of Education in Hong Kong,” 124. Chamberlain’s despatch, in which he gives his consent to the scheme, is dated 6 December 1901, also reprinted, 125. Even before the committee’s report was published in Hong Kong, the case for the scheme had been made and decided.

establishing a true university.⁵² Ho's main arguments were that students from China chose to go to Japan rather than Britain for their university education because, in Japan, they could be taught in Chinese through interpreters and translations, and that since most students from the Mainland had limited English, they would not be able to follow instruction at the Hong Kong university, which would discourage them from enrolling and this would, in turn, have an adverse impact on the university's income.

On the issue of medium of instruction, Lugard would not budge. Teaching in Chinese would mean there is little difference between a university in Hong Kong and the Mainland; students could just as well be taught in Chinese in a university in Canton and "be entirely disassociated from British influence."⁵³ He also directed attention to the inaccessibility of teaching in the vernacular, that is, Cantonese, to students from other parts of China, and in making this point reveals that he projects the university's horizons well beyond Hong Kong and its neighbouring Chinese province to the full reach of the Chinese empire. Lugard conceded that a small Chinese staff might be engaged to explain lectures to students, and in later revisions of the scheme, he added a proposal for the establishment of a Chinese Department in the Arts Faculty in an implicit act of appeasement to what he perceives as Ho's ethno-linguistic concerns. Though Ho withdrew his vernacular scheme shortly after he first put it forward, he continued to express reservations about the university as a financial project.⁵⁴ When the campaign for endowment funds for the university began, Lugard made Ho the chair of the sub-committee charged with raising money from the Chinese community.⁵⁵ The question of student source, or to put it differently, the availability of native subjects who could be entered into processes of production and training that would eventuate in the institutionalization of a strategic outpost of imperial progress, is the burden of Lugard's copious rhetoric on the university project, as we shall see in the next section.

52. Hong Kong. Committee for the Establishment of a University for Hong Kong, *Papers Relative to the Proposed Hong Kong University* (Hong Kong: Noronha, 1908), 4.

53. *Ibid.*, 17.

54. *Ibid.*, 12–6.

55. Even as late as 1911, the year of the university's founding, the local school infrastructure appeared ramshackle to Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the well-known Fabian social reformers who visited Hong Kong and stayed with the Lugards at Government House and, despite their party differences, were full of praise for their hosts. "We went over schools in Hong Kong," they record, "to very little profit....The premises were dreadfully inadequate, the teaching seemed poor, the instruction was wholly copied from English without intelligent adaptation, and the attendance was in effect confined to children above the wage-earning class. We could not help thinking that the Japanese Government would have done it more efficiently." (*The Webbs in Asia: The 1911–1912 Travel Diary*, ed. George Feaver [London: Macmillan, 1992], 171).

V

In his choice of an infrastructure project like the university, Lugard is consistent with the educational imperatives of Indirect Rule and its institutionalization of native education within the system of native government under the empire. "Native" government has a specific meaning in Hong Kong and China as in Northern Nigeria, and I shall turn to this in a moment. When Lugard first broached in public the idea of a university, the civilizing rhetoric which is clearly observable in his Nigerian instructions reappears in a different guise.⁵⁶ His first reference to the possibility of a university in Hong Kong was made in his December 1907 speech at a prize-giving ceremony at St. Stephen's College, a secondary school for boys set up by the Anglican Church. Lugard's main point of reference in the speech is not the training of native subjects in Hong Kong to serve in the colonial administration. Significantly, he looks to China to highlight the reformist quest for new learning belatedly revived by the Qing court and to position British Hong Kong in this quest:

I believe myself in the awakening of China and in the opportunities for reciprocal benefits which that awakening will give to us and I believe that we must either now take those opportunities or leave them for others to take.

In the winds of a new political direction in China, Lugard perceives the opportunity for a personal intervention and policy initiative of his own making:

China wanted a new class of men and a new class of learning.... I hope that Hong Kong and this College [i.e., St Stephen's] may become the embryo University of Western learning, not merely for our own Colony but for the great and friendly empire which is on our frontier.⁵⁷

56. The idea of a university in Hong Kong, like Indirect Rule, is not original to Lugard. The idea first appeared in an editorial in one of the local English language newspapers, *The China Mail*, 15 December 1905, written by its Australian editor, W. H. Donald.

57. Quoted in Mellor, *Lugard in Hong Kong*, 55–6. Since the late nineteenth century, the Qing government had from time to time sent students abroad, to both the United States and European countries and later to Japan, for university education. The first group of 120 officially funded students was sent to the United States in 1872–75; most were expected to acquire the latest knowledge, especially in science and technology and, on their return, to use that knowledge in service of China's modern development. The Qing support for such development was by no means consistent, and reactionary opposition against the westernization of the students had set in after the first wave of enthusiasm in the 1870s, so much so that the second batch of students sent abroad were recalled in 1881 before most of them could complete their university degrees. Besides the students with official sponsorship, increasing numbers of privately funded students were finding their way to American and European universities, and for those with more restricted means, to Japan. The trauma of the Boxer Rebellion and the invasion of Peking by a joint force of European and Japanese imperial powers dislodged the reactionaries from

Lugard's belief in China's quest for change may very well have been prompted by the abolition in 1906 of the imperial examinations which were based on knowledge of Confucianist classics and used by the Qing government for the selection of its scholar officials. The speech gives an early indication of the synchrony between the objectives of the university project and those of Indirect Rule: a historical opportunity for disseminating the empire's civilizational imperatives, and confirming the beneficence of British rule against competition from "others." In Nigeria, Lugard had to counteract increasing French encroachment, while in China, news of a possible German-backed university in Shandong Province in the north provided the necessary competitive spark. There is a third and significant dimension to the university project: the strategizing of Hong Kong as the centre of British education in the Far East so that the colony would exceed its traditional subordination as the junior trading partner of Canton, and be transformed from just a transit port for goods and commodities in and out of China to the ground of imperial action that could open up the hinterland of the Chinese empire.

Beginning as a project for the "maintenance of British prestige in the Far East," Lugard argues that the university discharges "imperial obligations...common to both the British and Chinese Governments."⁵⁸ As the project takes shape, China as orientation and objective emerges into increasing prominence and becomes the platform on which Lugard represents the university as globally significant. In the opening to his essay, "The Hong-Kong [*sic*] University," written for a London audience, Lugard cites the endorsement of the British Colonial Secretary, Lord Crewe, who characterizes the project as "an intellectual development for which there is no precedent."⁵⁹ Hong Kong cannot go the way of the self-governing Dominions but through the university project, it is aligned with global developments in the empire, and can make a contribution that "would prove no inconsiderable factor in world politics." China, he argues, has already made considerable use of the educational facilities in Hong Kong, especially missionary schools like St Stephen's or the secular Queen's College, for the training of officials, and graduates from these schools have assumed high

court and propelled the reformists back into power, a situation which led to the renewed quest for Western learning that Lugard referred to in his speech at St Stephen's College. See *Boundless Learning: Foreign-educated Students of Modern China*, edited and produced by Hong Kong Museum of History (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of History, 2003).

58. Lugard, "Objects in View," in *Hong Kong University*, 2.

59. Crewe and the Colonial Office were antipathetic to the university scheme right from the start and saw it as another attempt by Lugard to assert his authority as governor. See Perham, *The Life of Frederick Dealtry Lugard*, vol. II, 344–6; and Lin, "The Founding of the University of Hong Kong," 10–1. It must have given Lugard satisfaction to assign to Crewe the role of an enthusiast for the scheme.

offices of state. The university is projected as a further stage of this academic training which would not only help disseminate British influence within China's political institutions but also, in Lugard's view, remove the necessity for the Chinese to venture outside of imperial confines in order to acquire a higher education. After all, in coming to Hong Kong, they would need only to step across the border between the two empires.

There is a clear line of continuity between Lugard's interest in the preservation of the Qing government and the retention of native rule in Northern Nigeria, and a similar connection between his aversion to foreign-educated Chinese and the Europeanized African. His first target is Japanese-educated Chinese students. Further education in Japan has been "much discredited," he says, because Chinese students have returned "with less than a smattering of any learning" but "developed proclivities for revolutionary propaganda and proved themselves a danger and a trouble to the authorities."⁶⁰ If traditional Japan is the space of degenerate dinner parties, modern Japan is the cauldron of anti-government insurrection; the former threatens character, or the moral rectitude of the empire, the latter, its political integrity. It is difficult to see how this binary representation can enable Lugard to explain, in realpolitik terms, Japan's emergence as an Asian power that had recently defeated not only China in 1895 but also Russia in 1905, the first non-European victor over a European imperial power. Rather, it is as a cultural construct that this representation takes on importance, for it speaks to the anxieties of an imperial agent as he confronts what lies outside of the patronage and pacification of the imperial mission. But in its loss of explanatory power for the non-European other's performance in the global imperial contest, Lugard's binary formation of Japan functions only to misrecognize and misrepresent, and thus, to disorient those strategic decisions made in the name of the British empire and Western civilization.⁶¹ In many ways,

60. Lugard, "The Hong-Kong University," *Nineteenth Century and After*, vol. LXVIII, July–December (1910), 648.

61. In their diaries, Sidney and Beatrice Webb made interesting observations about Japan vis-à-vis China. The Webbs were profoundly impressed by Japan and its institutions, which appeared to them to blend tradition and modernity, while in contrast, China appeared corrupt and degenerate. Noting that most of the Europeans they met, including Lugard, praised the Chinese above the Japanese, they observed that the Europeans did not like the former so much as they disliked the latter. The reason is that the Japanese "claim to be regarded as equals, and to be treated as the equals of all other nations; and are making good their claim.... To be faced by this determined assertion of co-equality by a 'yellow' race, and to feel themselves now and again actually beaten by the Japanese...is gall and wormwood to the Europeans, and even more to their wives. And, by contrast, the Chinese, who put forward no such claim to equality, and who (if they speak English and come at all into contact with Europeans) take up a position of conscious inferiority...seem an agreeable and a 'like-able' [sic] race." See *The Webbs in Asia*, 370; original italics.

the university project replicates not only the empire's civilizing mission but those patterns of misrepresentation and misrecognition that structure Lugard's cognition of native cultures and his designs for native education.

Turning to Chinese students educated in Europe and America, Lugard adopts another line of argument that would augment his privileging of traditional systems of indigenous rule and the political conservatism earlier expressed. Many of these "foreign-educated youths," he observes disparagingly,

returned completely denationalised, and with a contempt for the institutions of their fatherland, and wholly out of touch with their parents and families. In China the family is the basis and unit of the whole social fabric. Reverence for parents and worship of ancestors, and the cult of the ancestral shrine, are the mainsprings of Chinese action in life and ambition in death. It was a hard price to pay for Western education that the student himself should live for eight or ten years in isolation as an exile in an alien land, that his guardians should have to...[pay] for his maintenance, and finally that he should return rather as a hybrid European than as a Chinaman.⁶²

The political conservatism that abjures revolutionary change further justifies itself in a particular representation of Chinese ethnic tradition as ancestral, and in the name of preserving that tradition. This political conservatism, as it relates to non-Western others, has its well-springs in Western imperial superiority and this is already evident in his very first annual report in 1900 as High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria:

in all...matters affecting subordinate races, I hold strongly that the hasty introduction of revolutionary "improvements" is to be deprecated and I have impressed upon Residents that systems eminently suitable for Europeans, or for Asiatics are often opposed to the prejudices and root ideas of Africans.⁶³

Writing in 1900, Lugard seems to distinguish between "Africans" and "Asiatics" on the basis of the latter's readiness for more revolutionary progress; but by 1910, it has become clear that he is including the Chinese as one of the "subordinate races" who, like the Africans, are fundamentally ill-prepared by their ancestral culture — "root ideas" — for radical change. This argument derives greater force from Lugard's reservations about the Chinese university project in Peking; the project has little hope of success because, he declares categorically, "the soil of China is not congenial to exotic growths." Interference from "Chinese officialdom, and the dead hand of mandarin domination in a matter which they cannot possibly understand forbid hope of real progress and liberal

62. Lugard, "The Hong-Kong University," 648.

63. Quoted in Perham, *Native Administration*, 57.

development."⁶⁴ Such development "will come by-and-by" when there are enough Chinese educated on Western models, and it is from the vantage of this evolutionary logic that radical change is premature and should be resisted. To the stronghold of ancestral tradition, Lugard adds the stranglehold of Qing bureaucracy, and so far, his arguments seem to favor the retention and preservation of the "root" culture and only the transformation of the bureaucratic superstructure through the training of new agents. But in positioning native culture as an anti-revolutionary and disciplinary force over the students, he opens the way for its complicitous involvement as a junior partner in the empire's civilizational project.

To move this logic of rule into place, "India, Egypt, and...parts of Africa" reappear from another vantage, not as positive *exempla* of British imperial endeavor but contrarily, as object lessons of past failure to secure the collaboration of native cultures, and produce consenting native subjects. The crux of this failure, according to Lugard, is the secularization of education in these colonies. He laments the loss of moral certitudes in the displacement of religion from traditional cultures that follows from secular education, a lament that is frequently heard in the late nineteenth century from critics of the Western humanistic curriculum in India. To the guardians of the empire and British prestige, the disastrous political consequence of this curriculum for British rule in India is nowhere more evident than in the nationalistic resistance against the Raj gathering momentum in northern India. Lugard's friend, and Flora's former editor at *The Times*, Valentine Chirol, makes this connection explicit and urgent in his polemical tract, *Indian Unrest* in 1910, the same year as Lugard's essay. Chirol visited Hong Kong as guest at Government House in 1909, and in a paper read at the first congress of the universities of the empire in 1912, Lugard cites at length from Chirol's tract.⁶⁵ The immediate political crises which Chirol addresses are the anti-colonial protests in Maratha and Bengal, but it is the latter province, where agitation against the British proposals for partition are led by intellectuals and professionals, most of them subjects of British education, that produces the greatest shock and concern. The history of the British government's promotion of Western education in India, Chirol warns, "is a story of grave political miscalculation, containing a lesson that has its significance for other nations which have undertaken a similar enterprise," in other words, for someone in Lugard's position.⁶⁶

64. Lugard, "The Hong-Kong University," 649.

65. Lugard, "The Problem of Universities in the East in regard to their Influence on Character and Moral Ideals," *Congress of the Universities of the Empire 1912: Report of Proceedings*, ed. Alex Hill (London: Univ. of London Press, Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 128–36. See also Mellor, *Lugard in Hong Kong*, 108, 171–6.

66. Valentine Chirol, *Indian Unrest* (London: Macmillan and Co. 1910), xiii.

To Chirol, the onslaught of secular education in India throughout the nineteenth century has de-centered religion from traditional Indian culture and systems of belief, and loosened irreparably those bonds of affiliation which place Indian youth within a network of communal obligations and responsibilities. Through his education, the young Indian is released into an unruly space of Western ideas of democratic political and social relations and representative government for which his Indian provenance ill-prepares him, and in turn, these ideas are bound to fail — and to fail him — because they are derived from alien traditions. Chirol had little doubt that the secular content of the university curricula and the entire institutional organization of the universities, which physically displace the students from villages to unsupervised urban habitats, have produced a version of whole-person education inimical to the formation of the colonial subject as good imperial citizen.

Between Africa and Hong Kong, the Indian experience according to Chirol speaks of the disorientation of the imperial mission and its outcome in resistance to the empire, and to Lugard it is this error that must be rectified and shown to be reversible in order for the mission to establish itself on new frontiers. To avoid “the baneful results which critics aver have followed the spread of secular education” in India, Lugard writes, the Hong Kong university must set as its “foremost ambition the training of the character of its students and the inculcation of a high moral standard and discipline” (652). In Hong Kong, the students will be able “to live in their own environment, and in vacation visit their own homes, and thus parental control may be maintained. Here they will neither suffer isolation as aliens nor become denationalised” (650). To remake the native subject, traditional native culture must first be reterritorialized as a joint-venture partner.

In an implicit contrast with India, Lugard is very insistent, not only in the 1910 essay but also in other speeches and papers, that what the Hong Kong university offers is practical rather than humanistic; that its curriculum is modeled on the new provincial universities in northern England rather than Oxbridge; and that, in the interest of character training, all students must reside in university accommodation. In the last of these provisions, where students will be put in hostels under close supervision by British staff, and subject to a fixed daily regimen, Lugard establishes the space of institutional discipline, modeled on the public school, to complement and accentuate native or ancestral discipline mediated by the family.⁶⁷ The student hostels will be run by the missionary organizations of different Christian denominations, and they are to be formed

67. The Chinese Prospectus of the University issued circa 1914 contains details about residential requirements — twelve terms for arts students — and a full set of twenty-two hall regulations including prohibition against attending political gatherings without the warden’s permission, or forming or joining organizations of a political, military, or social nature. *Xianggang daxuetang jielue* (University of Hongkong: prospectus).

“with the specific object of opposing the tendency of students to form cliques or societies for the discussion of political subjects.”⁶⁸ In its function of forming character, it is clear that the university is to equate “character” with political subservience to the imperial status quo, both British and Chinese.⁶⁹

Lugard also identifies other practical obstacles to the success of the Peking university project, namely, Chinese prejudice relating to the matter of death that would disable clinical work in medicine, and the existence of numerous dialects which would make instruction in a common tongue impossible. In contrast, a university in Hong Kong would not need to pay due regard to such cultural prejudice, and the linguistic obstacle could be removed by the use of English as the language of instruction. Consistent with the pan-imperial emphasis established in the opening paragraph of the essay, Lugard urges his readers to support the project “which will have the effect of greatly adding to our prestige in the Far East, of increasing our friendly relations with China, and of constituting English as the language of diplomacy and culture of commerce in the Far East.”⁷⁰ The practical utility of English as a medium of instruction is justified in its functionalizing within the overall strategy of fortifying Britain’s imperial position in Asia. Similarly, a complex linguistic situation of mutually incomprehensible dialects also pertained in Nigeria, although the displacement of these dialects by the overriding emphasis on English under Indirect Rule would not be evident until after the Amalgamation.⁷¹ It is arguable that his involvement in the university project in Hong Kong enables Lugard to think through the connections between Indirect Rule as a quasi-educational institution and the actual institutions of formal education and what should be taught in them, issues which, on his return to Nigeria, he begins to engage with in detail.

68. Lugard, “The Hong-Kong University,” 653.

69. It has been argued that the preservation of the Chinese empire is paramount to Lugard because the British interest requires that the Qing government be in place to honour the unequal treaties that have been signed. See Lin, “The Founding of the University of Hong Kong,” 3. This is an issue of macro-political consideration that Lugard, as a senior imperial agent, is no doubt well aware of. At the same time, it is arguable that his conservative and conservationist attitude towards specific “native” cultures can be a function of his belief in their value in sustaining a civilization as ancient as the Chinese as much as a means of strategizing them in the long game of British imperial rule.

70. Lugard, “The Hong-Kong University,” 651.

71. In the *Political Memoranda* (1919), 3rd ed. (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, 1970), Lugard writes: “English must be the common language, and though...instruction in English must, of necessity, at first be given through the medium of the vernacular, Government encouragement should not be enlisted to stimulate or preserve the use of these Native tongues. The acquisition of sufficient knowledge of the vernacular to enable the British and Native Staff to teach English or Hausa presents difficulty, and is a cause of delay, but as their use will be confined to the simplest instruction given in the lowest classes, complete mastery of them will not be required” (125).

Of the curriculum at the Hong Kong university, Lugard foresees a nucleus of three faculties: medicine, engineering, and arts “for students desiring to adopt an official career.”⁷² The introduction of the first two disciplines is hardly surprising, given the widely perceived identification, both within and outside China, of Western learning with science and technology, and European domination with its advanced knowledge in these areas. The emphasis throughout is, however, on training for vocational ends: the provision of doctors, mining and railway engineers, and in arts, officials in the Qing bureaucracy.⁷³ The mission of training Hong Kong university graduates as Chinese officials argues that some form of native agency under British influence is being projected for a domain over which British rule could not be exercised directly. At one point in the essay, Lugard comes close to admitting that the university project is designed to enable and extend British control in the affairs of China. Glancing at China’s “grinding poverty,” he goes on to observe,

The civilized nations of the West stand round...[and] have for most part been content to grab at the spoils in the shape of “concessions,” and whisper words of great wisdom in each other’s ears anent [*sic*] “the Yellow Peril.” Meanwhile the leaven of unrest spreads and ferments in the seething mass of humanity, and none does aught either *to arrest or to direct its action*.

Nations are actuated neither by motives of evangelism nor of philanthropy, but it is not consonant with the traditions of Englishmen to stand aside and refuse secular help to “a nation rightly struggling to be free” from the trammels of ignorance and superstition. It is the pride of ignorance which to-day prevents the Chinese from benefiting...by the scientific knowledge of the West. To-morrow, when this phase of prejudice is past, China will recognize the debt she owes to those who have assisted her.... What England has done for India and for Egypt...she can help China to do for herself.... And in doing so she will strengthen the bonds of friendship both now and hereafter, and reap a material reward in the development of the future.⁷⁴

The philanthropic motivation — to offer help — is inextricable from the desire to gain an upper hand over other European competitors in directing China’s future. The reference to India and Egypt suggests an equation, in Lugard’s mind, between China and these major British colonial administrations and, hence, the possibility of Britain replicating in China its role elsewhere as colonial overlord and benefactor. The Hong Kong university project is the first act of this master-

72. Lugard, “The Hong-Kong University,” 651.

73. At this stage in 1910, it is hardly envisaged that the university would prepare its arts students for an official career in the Crown Colony; the localization of the university as the training ground for civil servants in Hong Kong would not take place until after the World War II.

74. Lugard, “The Hong-Kong University,” 651–2.

strategy — through the institutionalizing of Western learning and its diffusion inside China, to bond Chinese subjects in a long-term debt of gratitude to their British creditors. This allegiance of minds and hearts represents the furthest extension of the meaning and ramifications of ruling indirectly.

While Lugard's public rhetoric grandly discourses on the objectives of the university, he addresses the question of why assist China much more ambivalently in a letter to the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey. "I confess I cannot myself find an altogether satisfactory and logical answer" to the question, he submits, and departing from his public rhetoric, he acknowledges that, even if China poses no threat militarily at present, "there remains the industrial Yellow Peril." The "usual answers" to the question, he said, are that "it is immoral to arrest the development of a people" and that if the British don't do it, "someone else will," and he has used these arguments himself, but "they do not wholly satisfy me," he admits. As for the university, he continues,

I am fain to fall back on the Tristram Shandy plea that it is "such a little one" it can do no harm, and will assist our Nation very materially in the competition of the future by the predominance of the English language. But to the question, How is the West to assist China to obtain real progress without real danger to itself? I can only find one satisfactory reply — however impracticable and that is, "By partition and separate control."⁷⁵

There is an addition in Lugard's handwriting to the letter that attempts to explain or explain away the advocacy of partition — an African model of the European imperial scramble for possession — as "the only answer," as it seems to him, to his "hypothetical question." This is at least preferable to the alternative view that the introduction of "western civilization leads an Oriental race to the adoption of extreme luxury, and other forms of decadence" which he claims to dismiss as a "somewhat cynical view."⁷⁶ The letter further seals the gap, which is already visibly closing in the public rhetoric, between imperial philanthropy and self-interest. In relation to the university project, it plunges vertiginously from the vantage of epic to that of the mock-heroic, and telescopes an entire university curriculum into the study of the English language.

Concluding his address to the first congress of the universities of the empire in 1912, and clearly looking forward to his return to Nigeria, Lugard reiterates the pan-imperial significance of his educational work, and focalizing his discourse once again through character training, situates Hong Kong and Africa in relation to each other. "[W]e have before us a problem of immense interest in Nigeria..." he avers,

75. The letter is dated 11 August 1910, in *Lugard Papers* 37.

76. It is impossible to decipher, from the extant document, whether the additional sentences in Lugard's hand were inserted at the time the letter was sent to Grey, or later.

in the creation of an educational system which shall achieve the same results in the formation of character, and the adaptation of pupils to their environment and duties in life which I have expressed the hope that the University in Hongkong can achieve. In Nigeria...opportunity is...afforded for religious instruction in the creed of the parents — the creed of Islam. And in Africa perhaps more than in any other part of our Empire, we have to admit to-day that the system of education adopted in the past has been a failure, and that new methods and new ideals are essential.⁷⁷

The two coordinates of his educational discourse, a specialized representation of native cultural tradition, and of the past as a history of error which needs urgent correction, are translocatable in an imperial vision in which racial and cultural differentiations are taken into account only to the extent of their varying adaptability to the systemic environment that the empire is engineering. For Lugard, as administrator and maker of the empire, further claims to truth are the subject of continuous restatements of first purpose rather than the validation of changing historical events.

What Lugard never attempts to explain, and nor do his imperial or colonial sympathizers, is the coincidence of the founding year of the university — 1911⁷⁸ — and the year of the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty, the feudal empire which he has committed the university to support. This coincidence shows the chasm between Lugard's representation of the Chinese, as culture and contemporary reality, and the incendiary revolutionary ferment within China itself. Lugard's representation, or misrepresentation, has its outcome in the disorientation of the university's founding mission and, indirectly, its recurrent financial crises in the decades up to World War II. After the first couple of years, promised donations or students from mainland China never materialized, and fees from these students on which the university was supposed to rely for a substantial portion of its recurrent expenses dried up. Even as early as the 1920s, less than a decade after its opening, the lack of funds meant that resources for the residential provision were under constant strain, so much so that the second vice-chancellor of the university, William Hornell, writing in 1925, had to admit that "the working of the hostel system has been disappointing." Shortage of money has led to the appointment of men unsuited for the job of wardens, "sometimes with the most unfortunate results." Furthermore, Hornell feels it incumbent upon himself to

77. Lugard, "The Problem of Universities in the East," 8.

78. The foundation stone of the main building of the university paid for by Mody was laid in 1910; in 1911, the ordinance of incorporation was passed by the Legislative Council in Hong Kong and the university was legally recognized. It was opened in 1912 to receive its first batch of students. 1911 was, of course, also the year of the publication of "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock."

add: "The University accounts show annually a profit on University hostels. This...is entirely fallacious."⁷⁹ The training of "character," for which supervised residence is the key, and which is in many ways the *raison d'être* of Lugard's educational vision and the cornerstone of the university's mission, is thrown into serious, though not openly acknowledged or perhaps acknowledgeable, doubt. Republican China, contrary to Lugard's dismissal of the Peking University project, not only established universities to train its own scientists and officials but also continued to see an outflow of students overseas rather than to Hong Kong.

If Hong Kong University has to discover, through the trials and tribulations in the decades following its opening, the fundamental misrecognitions of Lugard's imperial vision, the reaction to his attempts at enacting this vision as policy in Nigeria was much more immediate. Both *The Lagos Weekly Record* and *The Lagos Standard* greeted with undisguised jubilation the news of Lugard's retirement as Governor-General in 1919. The editorials of these two newspapers lay down the critique of Lugard as autocrat both in his resolute belief in the righteousness of his ideas and the enforcement of his own selective misrepresentation of native cultures upon the actual circumstances of their differentiated histories and encounters with the West. The challenge of this early critique, marginalized by imperial narratives, would be taken up in the vigorous post-colonial reexamination of Lugard's African record. Turning its eye, as Lugard does, on the empire in its contemporary post-World War I formation, *The Lagos Weekly Record* pronounces, in the year of Lugard's retirement from the colonial service, the demise of his projects for imperial civilization: "Judged by the light of the modern conscience in its treatment of subject races, Sir Frederick is a hopeless anachronism; so hopeless indeed that as the product of a bygone age, cast upon a time that would not understand him, yet he persisted in his fitful attempts to force the new wine of the law of social expansion for subject races — the inspiring ideals of twentieth century civilization — into the old bottles of military subjugation, domination and terrorism....Thus it is that Hong Kong in China and Lagos in Nigeria — centres of light and leading [*sic*] amongst their respective native communities — have proved, one after the other, the effective graves of his autocratic and militarist ambitions."⁸⁰

79. W. W. Hornell, *The University of Hong Kong: Its Origin and Growth* (Hong Kong: Ye Olde Printerie Ltd., 1925), 35.

80. "The Retirement of Sir Frederick Lugard," *The Lagos Weekly Record*, February 1–22, 1919; see Kirk-Greene, *Lugard and the Amalgamation of Nigeria*, 272.

