

EVOLUTION OF NIGERIA AS A POLITICAL UNIT

Introduction

The political evolution of Nigeria has to do with the processes and motions or dynamics which served to create the emergence of Nigeria. These include the introduction of written constitutions and by extension, organized laws. The idea was to create an enabling environment that would induce an open channel of communication and interactions between the British colonialists and the indigenous peoples. This was with the intention of planning and executing development projects and programmes purposely for the benefit of the British government and to a lesser degree, the indigenous peoples.

This chapter intends to x-ray the evolution of Nigeria as a political unit. The Lagos Legislative Council, indirect rule in the northern and southern Nigeria, drawbacks of indirect rule, the amalgamation of 1914 by Lord Lugard, formation of political parties in Nigeria, the use of national political power, nationalism as a concept, nationalists movements and struggle for independence in Nigeria and factors that necessitated or stimulated nationalism in Nigeria and finally conclusion.

The Lagos Legislative Council

The British annexed Lagos in 1851 and made it a crown colony, ten years later in 1861. Prior to this, the British had successfully applied the crown colony system of government in the West Indies and India.

In Lagos, the crown colony system was tried in October, 1862 through the intr

roduction of a legislative council. The Chief Justice, Colonial Secretary and a senior military officer who was in-charge of British forces in the Lagos colony, were members of the council (Ota, 2019).

Though it served as the major organ of the central administration, the Lagos Legislative Council was everything but representative. Because, western education was considered a *sin qua non* for membership, the members of the legislative council were all British. However, there were few Nigerian returnees who had acquired western education and some knowledge of western type of politics. They were the few who held African membership of the legislative council until 1928. It had to be pointed out that the Lagos Legislative Council merely acted as an advisory body, which was restricted to the colony of Lagos. It has even ex-officio members, two Africans and two Europeans. Between 1872 and 1922, African returnees who became members of the council were Captain James Pinson, Labulo Davies, C. J. George, James Johnson, C. A. Sapara Williams and Dr. Obadian Johnson. Those who became elected members of that council were also either repatriates or returnees, included J. Egerton Shyngle, E. O. Moore and C. C. Adeniyi-Jones (Olusanya, 1999). Political leadership in the colony of Lagos was, thus, dominated by an elite group.

The appointment in March and December of A. H. Porter, G. Hutchinson and Captain James Pinson, Labulo Davies, respectively as nominated and unofficial members of the legislative council was a landmark step in the evolution of the crown colony system of government in Nigeria. while Porter was a Lagos-based English merchant, Labulo Davies was the first African to be nominated as an unofficial member of the council. The composition of the council remained u

unchanged from 1872 till 1874. Even when there were agitation for the introduction of elective principles in the council by Lagosians, given its new status as a colony, the British colonial government refused to grant the demands. Instead, it gradually increased the number of the council's unofficial members such that by 1900, there were six unofficial members, though, the number of official members remained the same. But by 1902, the number of official members was also increased to six.

Indirect Rule

Indirect rule is a system of administration which the British and French used to control parts of their colonial empires, particularly, in Africa and Asia, through pre-existing local power structures. These dependencies were often called "protectorates" or "trucial states". The colonial government adopted it as its colonial policy, in dealing with the people by using the traditional rulers, the traditional political institutions – administrative, cultural and judicial structures – as intermediaries, while the British officials (usually a small number of them) mainly advised and where necessary, enforced colonial regulations. Britain claimed that the system involved not governing the people directly, but through local traditional rulers and chiefs.

The ideological foundations as well as the practical application of indirect rule in Nigeria are usually traced to the work of the High Commissioner of the protectorate of Northern Nigeria from 1899 to 1906. Frederick Lugard. After the British conquered the Sokoto caliphate at the turn of the century, Lugard instituted a system whereby external affairs, in military and tax control was operated

by the British. Most other aspects of life were left to local pre-British aristocracies who may have sided with the British during or after their conquest. According to Wikipedia (2016), the theory behind this solution to a very practical problem of domination by a tiny group of foreigners of huge population is laid out in Lugard's influential work, "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa" (Edmund, Ofor, Samuel and Ibiam, 2017).

Flora Shaw, Lugard's wife formed the name 'Nigeria' after the amalgamation. Lugard later became the first Governor of Nigeria and was referred to as the "Father of Indirect Rule System".

Features of Indirect Rule

- (i) Traditional rulers and chiefs were used in governing the people.
- (ii) The traditional political system or government in place was utilized in ruling the people.
- (iii) Customs and traditions of the people played a significant role in the administration.
- (iv) Cultural values of the people were respected by the British officials.
- (v) British officials, e.g. resident and district officers were to guide and where need be, enforce colonial regulations.
- (vi) Traditional rulers were respected and given exalted positions in the administration, which made it easy for the colonialist to op

erate and rule.

- (vii) The cost of administration was not high because those involved were paid peanuts. The traditional rulers and chiefs were poorly remunerated.
- (viii) The whites made use of natural agricultural produce in the collection of taxes.
- (ix) Native courts were used for administration of justice.
- (x) Native police and prisons were utilized in the system.
- (xi) Officers or chiefs were appointed where there were no traditional chiefs or rulers and
- (xii) The system did not disrupt the existing traditional system of administration and political order.

Indirect Rule in Northern Nigeria

Northern Nigeria was the first soil of West Africa on which indirect rule was tried. Certain circumstances made its adoption necessary. Onwubiko (1978) opined that, first Lugard was confronted by an acute shortage of trained European staff to help him run the administration of the vast territory which he had conquered. The shortage of staff was even made worse by the Boer War (1899 – 1902) and, by which mortality rate caused by the tropical climate and diseases among Europeans.

Secondly, even if the European staff were available, the funds at his disposal

were too meager to finance large scale direct administration. Thus, shortage of staff and funds made direct administration impossible at the time.

Thirdly, Lugard was helped out of his difficulty by the existence of large Fulani emirates which had institutions that were easily adaptable to a system of indirect rule.

Finally, social conditions in northern Nigeria at the time easily suggested the adoption of a system of indirect rule, for in a pre-dominantly illiterate community where people cannot readily learn through the radio and the press about the daily activities of government, indirect rule recommends itself as the best system of administration.

Lord Lugard took advantage of the existing political set up and so retained the Fulani Emirs and chiefs in their positions as the governing class. Those native rulers were however, to be advised or directed by British administrative officers – Residents, District Officers and Assistant District Officers attached to their courts.

In other words, Lugard and his assistants ruled the Emirs, while the Emirs rule their people and British officers were to interfere in the government of the Emirates mainly to check abuses of power.

Again, the Emirs were allowed to continue to collect taxes for the Emirate treasury. Part of the revenue thus collected was sent to the central government of the protectorate for use in the general development of the territory while the remainder was kept for local development projects such as markets, schools, railways, roads, agriculture, health services and for the payment of salaries of

ocal Emirate staff.

Moreover, the Emirs continued to administer justice through the Emirate courts while British officials regulated punishments. The chief features of the system in the north therefore, were the Emir and his court, a native treasury and a native court all under the control of the Emir whose government was supervised by British officials operating in the background.

On the whole, the system proved successful in the northern emirates of Nigeria where Lugard had merely taken over and consolidated the Fulani administration with their highly centralized organization and their hierarchy of officials for the maintenance of justice, law and order and their well-developed procedures of tax assessment and collection. Its success have enabled Britain to control the territory cheaply and effectively.

According to Edmund *et al.* (2017), summarized the reasons for the adoption of indirect rule as follows:

- (1) **Lack of Personnel:** Lack of British personnel was one of the reasons that forced Lugard to introduce or adopt the indirect rule system in Nigeria.
- (2) **Its Success in other Countries:** Lord Lugard thought it wise to use the system because of the significant success, the system recorded in countries like India, Uganda, etc. where it was first introduced.
- (3) **Lack of Fund:** Lack of adequate fund was one of the reasons that

forced Lugard to adopt the indirect rule system.

- (4) **To Preserve Traditions and Customs:** The indirect rule was established by Lugard in order to preserve the traditions and customs of the people of Nigeria. In the opinion of Lugard, the British system of indirect rule in Nigeria was to maintain her cultural status quo.
- (5) **To Involve Traditional Rulers:** The system was also established because Lord Lugard wanted to bring traditional rulers into the art of governance. He thought it wise that any system of government that isolates the people being governed will not succeed.
- (6) **Its Cheapness:** The indirect rule system was adopted in Nigeria because economically, it was not expensive.
- (7) **Favourable Political Atmosphere:** The political atmosphere in northern Nigeria at the period was favourable for the introduction of the system. The method of traditional administration at that time was very difficult for the British to displace Emirs from their positions so abruptly. The Emirs were respected by their people and the British did not want to attract the hatred of the people of northern Nigeria by destroying the Premier position occupied by the Emir.
- (8) **Language Difficulties:** The indirect rule system was also adopted in Nigeria by Lord Lugard in order to reduce the problems posed by language. He was aware that the people of Nigeria at that time did not speak nor understand English particularly the northerners and therefore, going through traditional rulers and chiefs to govern

them would reduce the language problems.

- (9) **Vast Areas Involved:** The large areas of Nigeria, especially, the northern Nigeria where the system was first introduced contributed to the adoption of the system of indirect rule.
- (10) **Poor Transport and Communication System:** Lack of roads, airports, postal services, etc. prevented Britain from adopting direct rule system, instead, they opted for indirect rule system.
- (11) **Poor Climate:** Poor climate conditions also aggravated the situation. many British citizens refused coming down to Africa to be involved in the administration due to poor climate and the presence of mosquitoes. These factors earned Africa the nickname "the White man's grave".
- (12) **To Satisfy their Economic Needs:** The colonialist wanted to create market for their goods and to encourage West Africans to produce those raw materials.

Indirect Rule in Southern Nigeria (Western Nigeria)

Unlike the north, there was no absolute centralized authority and systematic taxation in Yorubaland. The Oba had no absolute authority over his subjects because he was responsible to his senior chiefs in administering his kingdom. If he tried to wield too much power to rule at the expense of the wishes and interest of his senior chiefs, he would be made to drink poison and commit suicide. The position of Oba was a leader without absolute power over his subjects. C

ompliance with the virtue of his position as spiritual head which could not allow him to appear publicly, it was always difficult for him to be a successful head of the administration.

Again, Okafor (1981) is of the opinion that in Egbaland where there was an influential class of western-educated elite and where the British government had signed a treaty in 1893, granting a quasi-independent status to Abeokuta, Lugard, disregarding the 1892 treaty brought Abeokuta under the protectorate government in 1914. Then, he extended indirect rule to Egbaland. This roused a great deal of resentment and protest, especially from the educated class who began to suspect British intentions. In 1918, the protest built up into a serious riot.

Reasons for the Partial Failure of Indirect Rule in Western Nigeria

Indirect rule was a partial failure in the western part of Nigeria because of the following reasons:

- (i) The limited powers of Obas and their subjects were not submissive to them.
- (ii) The level of education in the western region made the people too detest colonial rule.
- (iii) It was believed that the attempt made by Lugard to restore authority to the Alaafin of Oyo instead of Ooni of Ife contributed to the partial failure of indirect rule in the west.
- (iv) Absence of highly centralized administration contributed to the

partial failure of indirect rule in the west.

- (v) The absence of well organized system of taxation made it difficult to raise money for the administration to thrive well since the British government was not ready to involve heavily in financial responsibilities in its colonies.
- (vi) Christianity, which was the dominant in the west was and still is more democratic than Islamic religion. People detest authoritarianism.
- (vii) Lugard's mistake of trying to make Ibadan which had been recognized as a Yoruba state in the 1890s a subordinate to Oyo contributed to the partial failure of the system of indirect rule in the western region, etc.

Indirect Rule in Eastern Nigeria

The introduction of indirect rule in Eastern Nigeria in 1928 proved a complete failure. In the first place, in Igboland, the units of society were too small to shoulder the responsibilities expected of an Emirate in the north. Again, because of the Igbo system of village democracy and the egalitarian nature of its society, there was an absence of traditional authorities able to command the obedience of their people. Moreover, by the time of its introduction in Eastern Nigeria, many of its people were already used to British ideas of direct administration to a considerable degree owing to the inland extension of British protectorate authority since 1893.

However, the British tried to solve the problem of the absence of traditional rulers by creating "Warrant Chiefs" and gave them powers unknown before in Igbo society. With their arbitrary powers and control of the courts, the Warrant Chiefs became tyrants and most unpopular. The use of these unpopular chiefs to introduce taxation in the East led to the Aba riots of 1929, and the main target of attack were the chiefs and the native courts.

The Aba Riots (1929 – 1930)

Towards the end of 1929, a certain Warrant Chief, Okugo of Oloko near Aba following directives from the British administration began to assess the taxable wealth of the inhabitants of the village, and in the process counted women, children and domestic animals. Rumour quickly spread that the counting of women was the preparation for the taxation of women, for the original poll tax of 1927 had been preceded by a census the purpose of which was not made known to the people at the time of counting.

Like wide fire, rumour about the impending taxation of women spread and soon the women of Aba and Owerri divisions were up in arms against the British administration and the native authorities in the ensuing riot, shops were looted, native courts and their documents were burnt down and Europeans and unpopular Warrant Chiefs were attacked. It looked a miniature French Revolution with the peasant women rising against the new oppressive aristocracy of Warrant Chiefs and their European supporters.

The riots spread to Calabar and Opobo by December 17, 1929, troops are called in to help the police in quelling the disturbances and in the process, fifty unarmed women were killed and about the same number wounded. This figure came of course from official sources (Okolie, 2003). It is most likely that many people must have been killed or injured.

The riots were however, provoked not only by the fear of taxation of women but also by the low prices prevailing economic depression in Europe.

The significant thing about the riots which were spontaneous was that they had shown how illiterate women were able through the age groups societies to organize themselves far more effectively than the local British administrators who were completely ignorant of the structure of indigenous societies.

An official commission of inquiry was set up to investigate the causes of the riots and make recommendations. Two Africans – Sir Kitoye Ajasua and Mrs. Eric Moore prominent Nigeria barristers were members.

The report of the commission was a condemnation of the system of indirect rule as applied to Eastern Nigeria. It recommended a reorganization of the system to base it more closely on the customs of the people. The outcome was that anthropological surveys of the area were conducted and the reorganization which followed was based on the traditional social organization of the people. But the Warrant Chiefs remained. It was not till the 1940s that an enlightened system of local government was introduced.

It should be noted that in 1925, a similar movement though not as violent had been organized by Igbo women in almost the same areas as the Aba riots. It

was what Coleman (1965) described as “a nativistic religious movement...allegedly a response to a miraculous message from “chi-ukwu” (God). Bands of women marched up and down the country denouncing such innovations as British currency and native courts and demanding a return to the customs of olden times”. Perhaps it is this trait in Igbo women and the egalitarian fearless nature of the Igbo people in general that have earned them such description as “the most troublesome of West African peoples”, by the British colonial administrators. It was a tragic misunderstanding of the people and a distortion of historical facts.

Criticism of Indirect Rule

Having understood indirect rule in British West African countries, e.g. Nigeria, it is important that we look at its merits and weaknesses.

On the credit side, it has been claimed that indirect rule served as a useful purpose in enabling the British to extend their control over northern Nigeria and in helping to win the confidence of the Asante people because the British made use of the existing African administrative set up which commanded the respect of the people. It has also been claimed that indirect rule is an easy and cheap way of ruling illiterate communities who cannot easily understand the daily acts, laws and intricate set-up of a modern system of government. The system again, preserves native institutions, integrates them in the machinery of the central government and above all, trains native rulers in the art of government at a higher level.

Yet, the system has so many inherent weaknesses for which, it has been several

y criticized, especially by educated Africans and nationalists. First, its effects on Nigeria have been disruptive rather than integrative. In fact, it complicated the task of wielding the diverse elements of Nigeria into a strongly united Nigerian nation. A comparison with neighbouring former French territories shows a striking contrast. By indirect rule, the British colonial administration encouraged a parochialism which has been difficult to eradicate especially in the former regional and central parliaments of the country. Even in the north itself, British officials undermined the unity achieved by the jihad by their policy of building up the independent power of the Emirs to the extent that the Emirating was moving towards a separate independent state. If Donald Cameron had not checked this development, the outcome would have been disastrous for the north and Nigeria. In short, indirect rule was anti-unity, anti-nationalism in practice.

Secondly, it is clear that indirect rule was a system for retarding progress to self-government and perpetuating European rule rather than for preparing Africans for self-rule. It excluded educated Africans from participating in the government of their own people. This was why the educated class in Nigeria and Ghana were so critical of it. We have also seen too, how the north and the protectorate regions of Sierra Leone and Gambia were isolated from educational influences from the coast so that a leadership class would not arise to agitate for self-rule (Tamuno, 1999).

Thirdly, the extension of European rule in West Africa brought about increase in trade and wealth and therefore, in standards of living. Africans needed modern amenities – railways and better roads, medical services, education and other social services. In the provision and management of these services, indire

ct rule has been found to be hopelessly waiting and incapable because of its v
ery nature.

Fourthly, the system was in fact a subtle way of imposing a petty British autoc
racy on the people under the guise of training their traditional rulers for eventu
al self-government. Adu Boahen (1948) says that "it was in reality the most in
direct method of ruling directly". Under the system, British officials insulted our
chiefs and elders, for instance, "forcing prominent Yoruba chiefs to supervise
grass cutting along the roads to punish them for their independent views" (We
bster and Boahen); dictated to them, vetoed decisions, imposed taxes arbitrari
ly, deposed and appointed chiefs and interfered with local customs – all in the
name of expert advice! Very soon it became clear that the Emirs and chiefs he
ld office at the pleasure of British official and represented the colonial adminis
tration rather than the people. It was this reliance on the support of British offi
cers rather than on their people which led to a split between the chiefs and th
e educated leaders, especially in Ghana in 1917. This split, according to Ward
was the turning point in the history of indirect rule.

Lastly, it has been observed that one of the serious shortcomings of indirect r
ule was that it was not of universal application. The system which Lugard devi
sed for the northern emirates of Nigeria could not easily be applied to western
Nigeria without modifications; and in Eastern Nigeria, it was a monumental fail
ure or downright failure, though, it attained partial success in Asante, it faced
difficulties in the Gold Coast colony, and parts of the northern territories. In sh
ort, it was "not a universal formula for the planning of the advancement of Afri
can colonies".

The Amalgamation of 1914

By 1900, Nigeria had come to be recognized by other colonial powers as a British colony, this was as a result of Britain being the first to establish an occupation on the area by signing so-called treaties of protection with Nigerian rulers and later by invading and occupying their territories. The desire to achieve a total and effective control over the Nigerian area was in line with the resolutions of the Berlin Conference of 1884 – 1885. To occupy Nigeria, the colonial authorities used both violent and non-violent means.

A major administrative measure taken by Britain to strengthen her rule in Nigeria was amalgamation. Amalgamation meant the bringing together of the various Nigerian peoples under one administrative and political authority. By 1900, there were three separate independent territories (all of which were under British control) in the country. One was the Niger Coast Protectorate (created in 1891 as the old Rivers Protectorate). It was ruled by Consuls who had the headquarter at Calabar and were responsible to the foreign office in London.

The second according to Obiajulu *et al.* (2016) was the colony of Lagos which was ceded to Britain in 1861. The colony was ruled by a Governor who was also responsible to the colonial office in London. From 1866 to 1874, the Governors were resident in Sierra Leone and resident in the Gold Coast up to 1886 when Lagos began to have a Governor of its own.

The third was the Territory of the Royal Niger Company. This was the equivalent of northern Nigeria. the agents of the company who were responsible to a board of directors in London ruled the territory from 1886 to 1900 when the British

sh government declared a protectorate over northern Nigeria and appointed Sir Fredrick Lugard as the High Commissioner.

Before 1900, specifically by 1898, the British Colonial Secretary had set up a committee on the future of the various administrations in Nigeria. The committee headed by Selborne recommended the fusion of the different governments into one Nigeria. Thus, Lugard from the first year in office as High Commissioner showed concern for the amalgamation of what was described as the three Nigerians. The ambition to merge Nigeria as one by Lugard was manifested in his speeches and confidential proposals to the British Secretary of State in 1905 (Adiele, 2003).

Although, the British had desired to amalgamate the various administrative units of the country by 1898, the first policy was manifested in May, 1906 with the creation of the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria. This was the fusion of the colony and protectorate of Lagos and protectorate of southern Nigeria had its headquarters at Lagos and was placed in the charge of a governor. A legislative council was set up to advise the government. Also, three provinces, namely Western, Eastern and Central were created. Thus, the fusion of 1906 brought the whole of southern Nigeria under a single administration, leaving Nigeria to be composed of two administrations: the protectorate of northern Nigeria and the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria. Therefore, there was still the need for an amalgamation that would place all the territories under one political and administrative authority. This was achieved on January 1, 1914. The proclamation was carried out by Sir (later Lord) Lugard, who was also made the Governor-General.

Reasons for the Amalgamation

The primary aim of the British in amalgamating the northern and southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 was economic. Compared with the colony and protectorate of southern Nigeria, the protectorate of northern Nigeria proved a relatively poor neighbour. Northern Nigeria had no direct access to the sea and so could not raise revenue from there. She had a large area and population and spent much on railway construction and river dredging. She thus, could not find sufficient funds to maintain her administration. The imperial treasury in Britain and the South provided some subsidy or grants in-aid for Northern Nigeria. Britain hoped that the amalgamation would relieve the imperial government of this financial burden.

On the other hand, the South was relatively richer than the North. Amalgamation made it easier to utilize the revenue from the South for the development of the whole country. It would also save costs because the duplication of certain technical and administrative departments would be avoided. Also, the boundary adjustments which accompanied the amalgamation left some geographical imbalance between the North and the South thereby creating some adverse impact on subsequent nation-building efforts.

Again, the absence of central legislature after the amalgamation meant that respective Nigeria groups did not have much that could bring them together to discuss the affairs of their country. A certain level of separateness was thus nurtured among Nigerian groups and their administrations. This aspect of the amalgamation was to have two opposite effects. In the first place, it laid the fo

undation for Nigerian federalism. Secondly, it showed the culture of parochialism in national affairs, this parochialism has continued to pose problems to our national development.

The Emergence of Political Parties in Nigeria

Political parties began to emerge in Nigeria from the 1920. Prior to this period however, political party activities throughout the British West Africa were organized on West African regional basis. In other words prior to this period (1920) political party activities were organized in such a manner that all the British territories in West Africa were regarded as one unit with the whole of the British West African constituting one unit. Indeed during this period the National Council for British West Africa acted as the only political party throughout the entire British West Africa encompassing the Nationalist leaders of the various British colonial territories in West Africa. It was indeed this National Council for British West Africa (NCBWA) which constituted the instrument with which the various nationalist leaders as a collectivity, made demands on the British colonial masters regarding such issues as:

- a) The demand for internal self-government for each of the various British colonial territories in the West African sub-regions.
- b) The demand for the establishment of institutions of higher learning of University level.
- c) The demand for the abolition of discrimination against Africans in matter

s of appointment into, and promotion into higher position in the colonial civil service of the various colonial territories.

- d) The demand for the vesting of the authority for the appointment and removal of chiefs in the various territories in the hands of the Africans rather than the Europeans.

Indeed, in addition to the various conferences which it organised and sponsored, the NCBWA also sent a strong delegation to London to meet the Secretary of State for the Colonies to press for the demands mentioned above.

In all, from 1923 upwards, following from a number of changes then taking place in colonial policies, there began to emerge a number of political organizations in each of the various colonial territories in West Africa. And as expected, the newly emergent political organizations in each of these colonial territories concerned themselves exclusively with matters and issues affecting their respective immediate territories. Thus, in effect. From about 1923, the Pan-Africanist nature of the nationalist leaders demands within the British West African region, began to give way to the emergence of political organization and demands which connected issues and matters affecting their immediate specific individual territories.

With particular reference to Nigeria the emergence of political parties dates back to 1923 following the impetus given by the Hugh Clifford's Constitution which provided for elective principles. In specific terms, the Hugh Clifford's constitution provided for four, (4) elective seats into the Nigerian legislative council in Lagos. Of these four, three (3) seats were for the Lagos area, and one (1) for t

he Calabar/Ogoja area. It was indeed this particular provision occasioned by the Clifford's Constitution which was the first of its kind that led to the formation of the first political party in Nigeria. This party was the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP). It was founded and led by Dr. Herbert Macaulay. This party fought the 1923 election and won all the three (3) seats meant for Lagos. The party also controlled the Lagos city Council. From that period onwards, the NNDP dominated the political party activities in Nigeria as a whole especially Lagos area.

The membership of the NNDP included many other prominent nationalities leaders during the period under review. However, NNDP's dominant role in Lagos politics did not last forever as it began to be challenged by especially from the 1930s. The only challenge however came primarily from another political organization called the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM).

However, the activities on of the NNDP more or less were restricted to Lagos area and indeed it concerned itself mainly with matters and issues that concerned Lagos and Lagos areas. It must be pointed out however, that during this period under review political party activities were centred mainly around Lagos and to lesser degree Calabar/Ogoja areas. This, perhaps explains why the NNDP seemed to be mainly concerned with Lagos affairs.

The Lagos Youth Movement (LYM)

The Lagos Youth Movement was the next important political organization to emerge as a political party after the NNDP. The LYM began pose serious challenge to the NNDP from the 1930s and just like the NNDP, the LYM also seemed

to concentrate its attention on Lagos area with most of its demands being those that affected Lagos areas though of course it also made some demands on issues that concerned Nigeria as a country. However the LYM became prominent only from about 1934 following from the expansion in its activities and its membership and leadership. It was during this period that dynamic nationalist leader such as Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Samuel Akinsanya, Ernest Ikoli and Chief Obafemi Awolowo and a host of others joined this organization.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and a few others who had just come back from the United States, and Britain became members of the Executive of the LYM. And with Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe's dynamism the scope of the activities of the LYM witnessed remarkable expansion with the party taking on issues that concerned Nigeria as a whole. In short, at this point in time. The LYM began to make demands which transcended the Lagos areas.

As a consequence of this state of affairs, the Lagos Youth Movement (LYM) changed its name to Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM). It gained more popularity and national followership establishing offices in several parts of the country. And indeed from 1934 the NYM defeated the NNDP in all elections and thereby relegating the NNDP to oblivion, The NYM remained strong throughout the remaining part of 1930s and early 1940s. However, the movement which suffered some set-backs from which it could not recover following the introduction of ethnicity and tribalism into the Nigerian politics, In fact, this problem arose from the disagreement between Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo over the appointment of a successor to take over the position left by one of the nationalist leaders who was proceeding to Overseas. The bitterness and

acrimony generated by this disagreement was so intense that DR. Azikiwe resigned his position in the party's executive and later from the party entirely. Dr. Azikiwe's resignation saw a mass move or exodus of the Easterners from the NYM leaving the NYM more or less as a Yoruba affairs.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe however, with the support and assistance of a large prominent nationalist leaders including Dr, Herbert Macaulay and some Nigeria students abroad, formed a new political party called the national congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons NCNC between 1944 and-1946. To this party we now turn.

The National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC)

The NCNC was formed in 1944 but it came into prominence between 1946 and 1947. At the time of its formation, Dr, Herbert Macaulay was its national president while Dr. Namdi Azikiwe was its national secretary-General, The NCNC caught the imagination of Nigerians when it organized national tour in which its leadership travelled round the country rallying support against the Sir Arthur Richard's constitutions especially against both the way and manner it was imposed as well as against some of its provisions.

However, before it concluded this tour, its president - Dr, Herbert Macaulay died and was succeeded by Dr, Azikiwe. In furtherance of its opposition, the NCNC led a delegation to London to meet the Secretary of State for the colonies but its efforts in this direction met with little success.

The NCNC had large national followership with membership cutting across the whole country. Indeed the NCNC both in terms of its general membership in

cluding its executive as well as the issues which it stood and fought for, was the first and, indeed, the only national political party during that period and up to and throughout the early period of the First Republic. In addition to people joining the party as individuals, some organizations - both cultural, ethnic unions were also members. Some examples included the Ibibio State Union, the Igbo Union and others. The party was particularly popular and had offices in all parts of the country.

The NCNC was one of the most important parties that achieved political independence for Nigeria. And right from the period of internal self-government, it was the party in power in the Eastern Region and remained so throughout the period of the first Republic. Besides, it also throughout the same period was the junior partner in the coalition government at the centre.

Moreover, following from the creation of the Midwest region, it captured political power and ruled that region until the collapse of the first republic. And above all, at a stage, it was in a majority in the Western Regional House of Assembly and was to form the government of that region but for the carpet crossing of some of its members to join the Awolowo's Action Group party which was master-minded by Chief Awolowo himself. In short the NCNC, throughout the First Republic, was the strongest party in the country. However, following from a number of factors especially as generated by the other political parties - the Action Group (AG), and the Northern Peoples Congress (NPC) the NCNC later became a regional party like the AG, and the NPC.

The Action Group (AG)

The next major party was the Action Group (AG). It was formed in 1948 and was itself an off-shoot of the Yoruba cultural association known as Egbe Omo Oduduwa which was formed in London in 1945 by Chief Obafemi Awolowo himself who then was a student. This cultural organization was founded to protect the interest of the Yoruba nation. Thus, the Action Group which emerged as a political party had the primary aim of fighting for the interest of the Yoruba people rather than the interest of all Nigerians. However while this assured the Action Group the control and rulership of the Yoruba-speaking Western region, it made the party unpopular throughout the other parts of the country as it was seen rightly as an ethnic party.

As regards its membership, the Action Group was predominantly made up of Yorubas with little followership from non-Yoruba people. Its membership was essentially dominated by Yorubas of the business class of merchants, transporters, contractors and educated elites of Yoruba origin.

In all, notwithstanding its cultural nationalism, the AG's hold on the Yoruba was not as strong as the NCNC's in the East or the NPC's in the North. Thus for example, Ibadan the capital of Western region remained lost to the AG until 1958. The same thing was the case with Ilesha, Akure and Oyo. Besides, other than in 1959 federal elections, at no time did the AG poll up to 50 percent of the votes in the West. However, the AG did secure some support from such minority areas as Calabar, Ogoja and Rivers provinces of the East.

Throughout the period of the first republic the Action Group party was in opposition in the federal parliament.

The Northern People's Congress (NPC)

The Northern People's Congress was the third major political party that emerged and played important role in the politics of the first republic, The NPC was formed in 1951. And indeed, somewhat like the A.G, the NPC was an off-shoot of a cultural association - the Jamiyya Mucanen Arewa (JMA) which literally meant "the association of peoples of the North. The JMA itself was formed in 1948 by members of the North's intelligentsia to provide a forum within which political changes then taking place could be discussed.

"It was in the attempt to found a platform to contest the 1951 election that the JMA was converted into a political party - NPC. Because, most NPC members were also native authority (NA) functionaries, the NPC became closely wedded to the structure of the Native Authority system of the North. And since the NA system was the only effective administrative system in the North at that period, the party and the native administration became one and the same thing hence the NPC's slogan- "One North, one people. In all, the NPC restricted its membership to only the people of Northern Nigerian descent".

The NPC's leader was Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto and he remained the premier of the Northern region until his death in the 1966 military coup. Thus, unlike the NCNC, and the AG whose leaders - Dr. Azikiwe, and Chief Awolowo, respectively, left the premiership of their regions, Sir Ahmadu Bello never left his premiership of the Northern region to come to the centre. Rather Sir Ahmadu Bello allowed his party's deputy leader, Sir Abubakar Balewa to become the first Prime-Minister of Independent Nigeria and he remained so

until his death in the military coup of January 1966.

In all, the NPC, like the AG, concerned itself primarily with the interest of the North and its peoples especially the far-north, consequently as soon as it captured national political power the NPC employed it to advance and perpetuate the interests of the North and its peoples at the expense of the country as a whole.

The NPC remained in control of the Northern region as well as the senior partner in the coalition federal government at the centre until the collapse of the first republic following the January 15th military coup,

Other Political Parties

In addition to the political parties described above, there existed some other parties such as the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) which was led by MR. J.S. Tarka, the Northern Elements Peoples Union - NEPU led by Mallam Aminu Kano; the Borno Youth Movement - BYM; the Kano Peoples party-KPP, the Akintola's Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) led by S.L. Akintola himself. Of course this Akintola's NNDP should not be confused with the earlier Herbert Macaulay's NNDP. There were also some small parties in the East.

In all however, these parties were somewhat insignificant in terms of their strength and the issues which they stood for in their respective efforts in the Nigerian politics. Indeed, their only significance was that they provided avenues for one or the other dominant parties through alliances by means of which they could extend their respective electoral reach into regions outside their principal spheres of control and influence. Thus for example the NCNC the ruling party i

n the East and Midwest tried to ally with the NEPU while the AG - the ruling party in the West was in co-operation with the J.S. Tarka's UMBC in the North as well as the UNDP in the East. In the same vein, the NPC - the ruling party in the North was co-operating with the Akintola's NNDP in the West.

The Use of National Political Power

Having captured national political power, the NPC went on to use it to its own advantage and by implication its own region, so disproportionately and at the detriment of the other parties and their regions by implication and indeed to the disadvantage of the NCNC, its coalition partner in the federal government such that in the first six (6) year National Development, most of capital expenditure projects were all situated in the North. This was a state of affairs which made the NCNC Eastern Regional government to protest to the federal government so vehemently in the following words.

Take a look at what they (NPC) have done in the North with the little power we surrounded to them to presume a unity, a unity which does not exist, Kainji Dam project – about £150 million pounds all our money when completed all in the North, Bornu Railway Extension – about £75 million of our money, when completed – all in the North, spending over £50 million pounds on the Northern Nigeria Army in the name of the federal republic military training and all ammunition factories and installations are based on the North, they by using your money to train Northerners to fight Southerners building of road to link the dam site and the Sokoto cement work £7 million pound when completed all in the North: Total on all these for projects about £282 million pound. Now, they have ref

used to allow the building of an Iron and steel industry on the East and instead paid experts to produce a distorted report.

In this way, the NPC totally alienated the NCNC its coalition partner in the federal government. However, the NCNC contemplated to withdraw completely from the coalition federal government, but did not do so for two reasons.

1. It was afraid that should it leave, the AG would quickly take its position by offering to go into coalition with the NPC federal government and in such a case its loss would be AG's gain.
2. That whatever the disadvantages of belonging to the ruling coalition might be for it, the advantages of membership still outweighed the disadvantages.

In 1962, the census that was conducted, and which altered the national population figure showing contrary to what was being claimed, the population of the Northern Region was indeed less than the population of the South. However, these census figures were rejected by the Balawe NPC led federal government and hence the census was cancelled and a recount was ordered for 1963. The 1963 figures restored the Northern superiority over the South and hence acceptable to the NPC federal government. But this was rejected by both the East and West. Meanwhile, the events in the West was becoming serious as the ideological split between Chief Awolowo and his Deputy – Chief Akintola was becoming quite unsettling as this also resulted in a split within the party.

An attempt by the Awos faction to remove Chief Akintola from the premiership of the western region and to replace him with Chief Adegbenre resulted in s

serious disturbances in the Western House of Assembly and thereby providing the NPC federal government the much awaited opportunity to dissolve the House of Assembly, suspending the government of the region and proclaiming a state of emergency in the region. By this act, the federal government assumed full powers to rule the West and so it appointed a loyalist – Chief Majekodunmi as a sole administrator to administer the West.

However, the NCNC cashed on this state of affairs in the West and moved a motion in the federal legislature demanding the carving out of Midwest from the West and constituting it (Midwest) into a separate region. This motion was passed and subsequently approved by the legislatures of East and North and ratified by the sole administrator of the West.

Having completed these legislative procedures, a referendum was held in the Midwest in which about 832 of those present voted and asserted to the Midwest being made a separate region thus becoming in 1963, the fourth region in the country and it quickly came under the NCNC control, with Chief Dennis Osadebe, an NCNC party leader as the first premier of the new region.

In the West itself, after the expiration of the 6 month state of emergency, Chief Akintola was restored premier. But since his faction of AG which was renamed UPP did not have majority, it tried to rely on the support of the NCNC member in the Assembly thereby forming a coalition government of UPP/NCNC in the region. Thus by 1963, the NCNC was the strongest party in the federation being in control of East, Midwest and in coalition in the West.

This situation was perceived by the NPC federal government as a direct and g

grave threat to its position especially with the impending 1964 federal election and the 1963 census figure still unrectified. As a result, it decided to act by first destroying the UPP/NCNC accord in the West. This it succeeded in doing by pressuring Chief Akintola and offering to join with the Akintola's UPP in a coalition. Akintola accepted this and dissolved the UPP/NCNC alliance and renamed his party NNDP and then offering the NCNC coalition members of the chance of either joining the new NNDP or being removed from the government of the region. This worked and the NCNC members accepted this carpet crossing because:

1. Most of them were not sure of being re-elected should the Assembly be dissolved and new election ordered and most of them would be economically worse off if not re-elected.
2. Those already in government even if re-elected, were not sure of retaining their cabinet position.

With the new NNDP West regional government, the NPC federal government got the west to rectify the disputed 1963 census figures. And with a threat of losing federal aid, the Midwest also was forced to rectify the 1963 census also. And with all these, the NCNC Eastern regional government acquiesced and accepted the figures as well. However, it hoped to effect change after the 1964 federal elections which it strongly believed it would win.

Again, the crown lands (amendments) ordinance and the public lands acquisition ordinance under which lands acquired by the government in the country were declared crown lands and their control and use were vested in the office of

the governor. More so, the mineral ordinance which gave the governor responsibility for and the control of mineral oil and other minerals in Nigeria. As already stated before the composition and powers of the executive council still remained the same. It was essentially a council for Europeans.

However, there are important changes in the legislative council which now was enlarged to include members from the north. In general, the legislative council had an unofficial African majority, some of who were elected, some appointed, some chosen and nominated as follows:

Official – 16 all were appointed by the governor

Lagos – 3 elected Africans (Nigeria)

Calabar – 1 elected African (Nigeria)

Northern Nigeria – 9 member chosen by the North Regional Assembly

Western Nigeria – 6 member chosen by the Western Regional Assembly

Eastern Nigeria – 5 member chosen by the Eastern Regional Assembly

Special members – 4 nominated by the governor

Nationalism as a Concept

The concept, nationalism has no generally accepted definition, this is because, individuals and scholars define nationalism in a manner that will suit their milieu, to reflect the time and place. For instance, in some situations, nationalism is taken to mean determination, commitment and resolve to make earnest

contributions towards the development of one's state. In another sense, nationalism is seen from the dominated by foreigners and the desire to be free from such colonial bondage.

In view of the divergent views of nationalism, it will be important and germane to provide some definitions that will capture the subject matter. Okafor (1981) believes that, nationalism may be described as the conscious awaking of a people to project their image in and out of the borders, to assert their separate existence and group individualism in world affairs expressed through self-determination, political and economic independence.

Coleman (1965) has equally explained the meaning of nationalism. He said that it includes sentiments, activities and organizational developments aimed, explicitly at self-rule or government and independence of Nigeria as a nation.

He goes further to highlight its distinguishing features:

- a. The explicit goal of Nigeria self-government;
- b. The concept of Nigeria government;
- c. The predominance of westernization elements in leadership groups;
- d. The development of permanent political association to pursue nationalist objectives; and
- e. The predominance of modern political values and ideal

Again, like many other concepts in political science, nationalism, depending on

usages and application, has many definitions and connotations. However, for the purposes of this study, we will adhere strictly to the application of the term to interpret political consciousness. Here, nationalism in Africa in general and Nigeria in particular connotes some sort of policy framed by indigenous Africans to achieve national self-determination by the complete removal of alien rule.

If viewed in a wider sense, nationalism is really the sentimental as well as the practical activities directed strictly towards the achievement of independence and nationhood or statehood. Thus, driving the colonial rule in West Africa, nationalist agitation was regarded as a conscious effort among people living together and sharing common cultural heritages in their states, to wrest power from the colonial rulers. As Africans shared common beliefs in their existence and hopes in their destiny, as they possessed a very deep sense of belonging, keen feelings of loyalty to their societies, the desire to eliminate the colonial rules and thereafter contribute to the welfare of their states so as to recover their lost glories, here indeed, were serious motives for agitation.

Taiwo (1982) in essence, is of the view that nationalism among West Africans was purely an act of political consciousness primarily concerned with achieving independence for the different countries from the foreign rulers. It was a desire for personal and proper emancipation of the African personality. Nationalism was thus, a claim for equality of status and of rights for personal dignity. It was a clarion call for self-respect for Africans and their full participation in the things of the material world. Nationalism for West Africans was a consistent effort to rescue Africans from the inferior position into which they have been cu

nningly pushed by the European imperialists. In fact, African nationalism, indeed, West African nationalism was in its totality, nothing short of the spiritual state of mind designed for the attainment, retention and maintenance of political, economic, social and cultural independence from alien rulers. Thus African nationalism is at any time, the driving force to achieve an objective for the common good among a group of people who possess the same historical past, share common traditions and culture and have the same aspirations for the future. The nationalist movements thereafter, were such associations organized to achieve self-government for the people whom their members and leaders claim to represent.

Nationalist Movement and Struggle for Independence in Nigeria

Nigerian nationalism or nationalist movement in Nigeria began not after the amalgamation of 1914 but prior to it. In agreement with this view Olusanya (1980:545) wrote that:

The essence of Nigeria nationalism predated the establishment of effective British rule over the whole country now known as Nigeria. This is because, the various areas which now constitute modern Nigeria were acquired at different time and certain forces and conditions favouring the emergence of the nationalist idea were already at work before 1914

when Nigeria became an administrative unit.

Nigeria human rights lawyer and professor of law, Itse Sagary, wrote in his article titled prelude to the creation of Nigeria:

The bulk of what is now Nigeria became British Territory between 1885 and 1914, although some autonomous communities were not conquered and incorporated in the protectorate until the early twenties. Between 15th and 19th centuries, European relationship with West African states was trade/commercial, with little or no political undertones. The Europeans depended on the coastal rulers not only for securing trade, but also for the safety of their lives and property. Thus, European traders went out of their way to ensure they were in the good book of native rulers.

It should be noted that the main commodity during this period were human beings. This was the era of slave trade. It was in a bid to protect the lives, properties and trade of British traders that the British prime minister, Palmerstone appointed John Beecroft as British Consul in Nigeria in 1849. This was the beginning of piecemeal British colonization of the independent nations of what later became Nigeria.

This was followed by:

Gunboat diplomacy for the enforcement of one-sided agreements for the protection of interests of British traders and;

The signing of the notorious protection treaty which led directly to colonialism.

Nationalist Organizations in Nigeria

Prior to Nigeria's independence in 1960, a number of nationalist organizations were involved in the campaign for self-rule. These include;

1. The West African Students Union (WASU)
2. National Congress of British West Africa (NCBWA)
3. Pan-African Movements
4. Gold Coast Aborigines Right Protection Society
5. Nigeria Youth Movement

Factors that Stimulated Nationalism in Nigeria

A number of factors contributed to the rise of nationalism in Nigeria that eventually lead to the achievement of political independence in 1960. Those factors according to Osuagwu (2014) includes the following:

a. Constitutional/Political Development

Following the introduction of the Clifford constitution in 1922, Nigerians were granted elective principle for the first time in Nigeria history in the Lagos and Calabar areas. As a result of this, four Nigerians were elected, one represente

d Calabar areas while three represented Lagos. Although this constitutional arrangement provided elective principle, it was highly criticized by the Nigerian nationalists. Importantly, despite the criticism, it stimulated further nationalist consciousness. This is because following the elective principle, elections were to be held on party platform. It was this that led to the formation of the first Nigeria National Democratic Party (NNDP). The founder was Herbert Macaulay. This party dominated the political scene especially in the Lagos area through its elected members. This party was however criticized for the fact that it was neither democratic nor national. The party was further criticized because it did not adopt the masses and urban workers whose varied ideas mattered during the period. The leadership of the party was further criticized on grounds that it did not seek the immediate end of British rule.

b. The Rise of Political Parties

As a result of these constitutional developments, which had given at least elective positions to Nigerians on the legislative council, it led to the formation of political associations and parties. The first political party to be formed in Nigeria was the National Nigeria Democratic Party (NNDP). The leader of the party was Herbert Macaulay. However, following the decline of the party, it was then replaced by the Nigerian youth movement. The decline of the Nigerian youth movement led to the formation of another party called National council of Nigeria and Cameroons. In 1945, the party supported a general strike against the British Government. In 1947, the party further sent a delegates to England to protest against the Richards' constitution of 1946.

In 1949, the Northern People Congress (NPC) was formed by Aminu Kano, a N

northern radical. In 1950, he formed the Northern Elements Progressive Union (NEPU). In 1951, Chief Obafemi Awolowo formed the Action Group (AG). It must be observed that although, these parties later became ethnic in their activities, the constitutional development led to increased political activities. Importantly, the party activities further provided the grounds for attacking the British government by the Nigerian nationalists.

c. Rise of the Press

The press fulfilled the same essential function as that of the elected members of the legislative council. These included criticisms and information gathering. Journalism, like law was one of professional the educated elite could pursue successfully outside the confines of government employment. Journalism, it is said thrives on grievances, Nnamdi Azikiwe served as the medium for expressing informed anger segments of the Nigerian society on the evils of colonialism, hence it contributed to the growth of nationalist consciousness in the country.

d. The Influence of the Nigeria Students Abroad

It is very interesting to note that many Nigerian nationalists studied abroad. Having obtained their education abroad, they therefore needed to use such to provide the challenge needed against the colonial masters. What is very striking is that while abroad, these students joined the West African students union. This union was founded in London in 1925 by a Nigerian law student Ladipo Solanke. As part of the strategy for mobilizing against the British colonial government, Solanke toured Nigeria and other West African countries to raise funds

or his union. The union constantly published its journal which seriously supported the agitation for self-rule in Nigeria and other British West African countries.

It was this great Nigerian and members of his union that stressed cultural nationalism. As many Nigerian traveled abroad for studies, they were therefore influenced in the activities of the students union. Consequently, when they returned to Nigeria, they joined the nationalist struggle. Such other notable figures that studied abroad and joined the nationalist agitation when they returned included Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo. Thus, the West African pilot, a newspaper founded by the great zik became the mouthpiece for the agitation for independence not only for Nigeria but also for other African countries.

Furthermore, for the fact that Nigerian students and other African students suffered forms of racial discrimination, hence when they returned, some of them became more militant in their agitation for political economic, social and cultural freedom. From this, it can be seen how the West African students union abroad contributed to the rise of nationalism in Nigeria.

e. The Last Stage of Colonialism

In the 1950's, Nigerian nationalist and politician turned their energies from attacks on the government system to seizing benefits within it. For instance, in the East, the unpopular system of indirect rule had been replaced by the English system of local government. There was then a dividing line between Northern and Southern politicians. In 1932, a motion was introduced in the central le

legislative council calling for self-government in 1956 by Chief Enahoro. While the Northern opposed it. From this point, it became clear that what started as a nationalist struggle had tilted towards tribal or ethnic struggle.

In 1960, Nigeria became an independent country with the various ethnic groups being members of the new polity. Generally, it was expected that independence would usher in economic justice, political development and socio-cultural relationship between the various groups.

These expectations appeared illusive as the new Nigerian political leaders became engrossed by sectional interests. By 1966, the Nigerian nation witnessed the first military coup. The outcome of the coup further posed a new challenge to national cohesion and unity. Thus, although Nigeria had emerged as a nation of different ethnic nationalities, the major challenge became how to achieve national integration.

Conclusion

The Lagos legislative council was set up by the British colonial government as an advisory body. It had no legislative powers and had a few Africans as members. Lugard's appointment as high commissioner of Northern Nigeria in 1900 led to the introduction of indirect rule in that part of the country called Nigeria. It also resulted in the introduction of some administrative structures and aspects of the British legal system in Northern Nigeria.

In core Northern Nigeria, the indirect rule system succeeded very well because

e of the existence of centralized system of administration prior to the advent of colonialism which watered the ground for effective took off of the indirect rule.

In the West, the civil wars of the 18th century greatly impacted on the powers of the Alafin of Oyo, whose powers were no longer stable because the Obas of the various component units began to assert their independence from the once powerful Oyo Empire. This led to the partial success of the indirect rule system in the West.

In the East, the introduction of indirect rule was a monumental failure. This is because, there was a conspicuous absence of any form of centralized political authority and where the British colonial government resorted to the imposition of warrant chiefs. The Aba Women's War of 1929 was against the excesses of the warrant chiefs. It also led to the abandonment of the indirect rule system in the Southern provinces and a reorganization of colonial rule which now had to include the hitherto ignored educated elites. Eventually, in 1914, the protectorates of northern and southern Nigeria were amalgamated under the supervision of Lugard.

However, the amalgamation was informed more by economic considerations than political expediency. Admittedly, it created a common political head for the amalgamated protectorates in the person of the governor general. But the major economic reason for the amalgamation was the inability of the Northern protectorate to generate enough revenue to fund both the administration and economic development in its areas of influence.

The emergency of political parties in Nigeria and the use of national political power by the Northern People's Congress led administration against their junior coalition partner National Congress of Nigeria and Cameroon (NCNC) in such a way and manner that generated agitation and protest against NPC led national government. This situation led to nationalist movement and struggle for independence, with many factors stimulating the desire and consciousness of the nationalist to seek for self-government, which was eventually achieved in 1960.

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