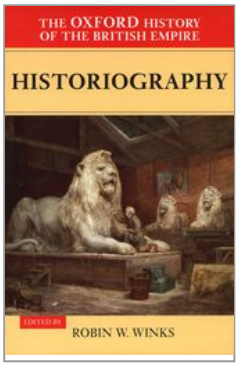

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Britain and the Scramble for Africa

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Abstract and Keywords

From the beginning the historiography of the British role in the Scramble for Africa was a controversy between apologists for expansion and their critics, and this has remained a profound influence upon most who have written about the Scramble. Each generation reinterpreted events in the light of changing concerns — the economic depression at the end of the 19th century, the origins of the First World War, Nazism and racist theory, decolonization, and African nationalism. The First World War produced important changes in attitudes towards the Scramble for Africa, and in the historiography. By the late 1960s, a considerable wealth of regional case studies of the Scramble had been amassed, and co-operative volumes began to emerge.

Keywords: Britain, Scramble, Africa, historiography, First World War, Nazism, racist theory, decolonization, African nationalism

From the beginning the historiography of the British role in the Scramble for Africa was a controversy between apologists for expansion and their critics, and this remained a profound influence upon most who have written about the Scramble. Each generation reinterpreted in the light of changing concerns—the economic depression at the end of the nineteenth century, the origins of the First World War, Nazism and racist theory, decolonization and African nationalism. Equally important after 1920 was the progressive release of the archives of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices, in fits and starts up to the 1960s, which governed the quantity of academic studies of the Scramble, and their complexity.

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The first article of substance was a piece of ‘futurism’ written in 1877 by W. E. Gladstone, whose government, ironically, would occupy Egypt five years later. Gladstone attacked Edward Dicey’s view that Britain should occupy bankrupt Egypt, arguing that this would lead inevitably to the creation of a vast British Empire in Africa:

> our first site in Egypt, be it by larceny or be it by emption, will be the almost certain egg of a North African Empire, that will grow and grow until another Victoria and another Albert, titles of the Lake-sources of the White Nile, come within our borders: and till we finally join hands across the Equator with Natal and Cape Town, to say nothing of the Transvaal and the Orange River on the South, or of Abyssinia or Zanzibar, to be swallowed by way of viaticum on our journey.[1]

Gladstone’s argument that Egypt would drag its occupiers deep into tropical Africa would intrigue almost all subsequent historians.

With the onset of annexations and Protectorates in the 1880s, writing about the Scramble was largely polemical. From the first there was moral opposition and arguments that expansion provided careers, or profits, for privileged groups at British taxpayers’ cost. Seymour Keay’s *Spoiling the Egyptians: A Tale of Shame*, **(p.451)** published in London in 1882, portrayed the Cabinet as pawns to bondholders and financiers; this was another idea with a long history thereafter. Explorers and Proconsular figures responded with reminiscences, and with articles in the gentlemen’s magazines which stress the need to forestall competitors or lose trade, and to ‘civilize’ Africans.

In the 1890s the new British chartered companies produced a number of these early works, and assisted others. They had particular axes to grind. P. L. McDermott’s *British East Africa, or IBEA*, published in 1893, stressed the huge costs the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA) had incurred in bringing ‘civilization’ to Uganda and pleaded for Imperial reimbursement should the company go bankrupt. When the Royal Niger Company (RNC) faced an end to its charter, its chairman, Sir George Goldie wrote an eloquent foreword to S. Vandeleur’s account of the Company’s wars against Nupe and Ilorin, arguing that the RNC’s policy of ruling through African authorities was in fact more effective and humane than French practices.[2]

The first attempt at an overall account of the partition, by Sir John Keltie, Secretary of the influential Royal Geographical Society, in 1893,[3] also received help from Sir John Kirk, the former Consul-General in Zanzibar and director of the IBEA, from other officials of that Company, and from Goldie of the RNC as well as from officials of the Colonial Office. Strongly supporting British expansion in Africa, Keltie echoed earlier criticisms that without more determination Britain would lose valuable areas. Nevertheless, Keltie’s study,

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though the Scramble was far from complete, pinpointed themes discussed by most later historians. He described activity before 1875 as slow, often ‘unofficial’ (later writers would call it ‘informal’), and suggested that missionaries and explorers, to him heroic figures, served to create conditions for later annexations. Keltie saw the partition as a sudden profound change in European policies. He dated its beginning at 1875, with the coming together of H. M. Stanley and King Leopold of the Belgians; the Brussels Conference of 1876 was ‘epoch-making’, and led to the struggle over the Congo mouth. Leopold’s international stance ‘rapidly degenerated into a national scramble’, pushing Britain to secure Protectorates on the West African coast against France, and pulling Germany into the picture. The German entry was a ‘natural’ result of her unification in 1871, her industrial growth, the search for new markets, and a desire for prestige, coupled with a popular ‘fever for colonization’. With Germany in, the Scramble became an inevitable rush to peg out claims for the future.

Little was added to Keltie’s overall narrative or interpretation by subsequent **(p. 452)** popularizers,[4] former Proconsuls[5] or Colonial Office officials such as Sir Charles Lucas, who carried forward Keltie’s general approach to cover the years from 1893 to 1914.[6]

The predominance of semi-official accounts was partly a result of the dearth of archival sources open to those less privileged.[7] Before the 1920s only two governmental series of published documents were open to scholars, the annual reports of colonial governments and Foreign Office Protectorates, and *Parliamentary Papers*. The former said little about territorial acquisition; their main use was for statistics of imports, exports, and revenues. *Parliamentary Papers* were fuller, with selected official correspondence printed for use in Parliament in forthcoming debates, major crises, and international conferences like that in Berlin in 1884–85 on West Africa and the Congo. They were, however, of limited value to scholars. Selected by officials, ‘sensitive’ documents were omitted, and published papers often lacked crucial passages, had wording and even dates altered, and, though rarely, could contain concocted *ex post facto* documents.

Nevertheless, annual reports and *Parliamentary Papers*, combined with Board of Trade figures and other economic material, were ammunition for critics of expansion in Africa. Such evidence, particularly for South Africa and Egypt, was mined by J. A. Hobson’s *Imperialism: A Study*, published in London in 1902. Hobson’s book was not, however, about the Scramble for Africa, though it was later often treated as such.[8] Rather, it was a hostile analysis of ‘imperialism’ by a radical liberal deeply opposed to the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902. Hobson argued that the sectional interest of finance capitalism, bankers, Egyptian bondholders, and Transvaal gold companies had usurped control of the state to create secure markets for their investments. Hobson’s *Imperialism* was to have a

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lasting impact on the historiography of the Scramble. By focusing on who benefited from imperialism, Hobson set up a problem which future historians of African partition had to address. Later, with better archival access, it became common sport to demolish Hobson, for financiers were conspicuous by their absence in tropical Africa, before and after the Scramble. For South Africa and Egypt, however, Hobson was not so easy to undermine.

The First World War produced important changes in attitudes towards the **(p. 453)** Scramble for Africa, and in the historiography. The carnage of the war led to obsessional concerns about its causes and who was 'guilty' of provoking it. There was widespread condemnation of 'secret diplomacy', characteristic of the Scramble and the alliance system in Europe. Further to the left, Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* argued that 'imperialism' (seen as the latest stage of monopolistic industrial capitalism) was the cause of the war. Even Sir Charles Lucas could suggest, in his *Partition and Colonisation of Africa* in 1922, that the Scramble and its rivalries 'were among the determining causes of the War of 1914'.[9] The cynicism about diplomacy was simplistically married to Hobson's, and even Lenin's, versions of financial interests as the 'taproot' of imperialism in books like H. N. Brailsford's *The War of Steel and Gold* (London, 1914). Leonard Woolf, a renegade former Colonial Officer in Ceylon, in his *Empire and Commerce in Africa: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (London, 1920, reprinted 1968), focused on the activities of the three British chartered companies in Africa, picturing them as capitalist-imperialists nakedly exposed.

Before 1923 academic historians, lacking access to archives, contributed nothing to the historiography of the Scramble.[10] This changed when the former belligerents began publishing collections of diplomatic documents from their archives of the period from 1870 to 1914. Prompted partly by the new communist government in Russia, which published the details of Tsarist secret agreements, governments now wished to justify their own records in the events which led to 1914. Germany, condemned in the peace settlements as the aggressor and as an unfit colonial trustee, was the first to act, publishing forty volumes of documents between 1922 and 1927.[11] The British began their series in 1927,[12] as did the French two years later.[13] These collections, though selective, were much more valuable than *Parliamentary Papers* and the like. Volume editors in all countries were senior and respected academic historians, concerned to document significant historical trends. They concentrated on high policy, but included much on the rivalry over African partition. Documented studies of the Scramble were now possible, but such sources ensured that the Scramble would be seen as a purely European phenomenon, written by diplomatic historians.

(p.454) A surprising result was the domination of the field until the late 1930s by historians from the United States.[14] Parker Thomas Moon's *Imperialism in World Politics* [15] was a college textbook of a high order, which made extensive

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use of the volumes of *Die Grosse Politik* as well as the previous literature. Two hundred and thirty-three pages were devoted to the Scramble for Africa. The book became a standard text, unchanged, for American undergraduates for almost forty years, with its twentieth printing in 1964. Moon emphasized the view that 1870–1914 witnessed a feverish ‘new imperialism’, in stark contrast to the peaceable, free-trading ‘anti-imperialism’ of the mid-Victorians. The Scramble was driven by economic and social forces among the ‘nation-empires’, among whom, rather surprisingly, he included the United States.

It was another American, William L. Langer, who came to dominate the field with his mastery of the newly published documents. In two massive studies[16] he examined the secret diplomacy from 1871 to 1914. His focus was the catastrophe of 1914, but readers were now presented for the first time with detailed accounts of the Scramble for Africa. Langer also contrasted the ‘new imperialism’ with mid-Victorian times, and characterized Britain as pushing to secure and expand export markets. The partition reflected the forces of the new imperialism and was a watershed in modern history. Langer stressed the role of Egypt in the story, seeing Arabi’s movement of 1881–82 as an embryonic nationalism, and the British occupation of Egypt as catalyst of the Scramble.

The British historian A. J. P. Taylor, in a brilliant monograph on Bismarck’s decision to acquire colonies,[17] explicitly argued that the Scramble was not a cause of the war. Taylor argued that Bismarck was not pulled into expansion by popular clamour, fear of a Reichstag defeat, or German economic interests. Rather, German colonies were an accidental by-product of Bismarck’s wish to build an *entente* with France, by opposing Britain on colonial issues, to complete a German diplomatic system guaranteeing security. Taylor extended this into a broader argument that imperialist expansion reduced the danger of European war by diverting rivalries into peripheral areas. Africa was not worth owning, even less worth fighting for. Taylor saw Egypt and South Africa as the only major **(p.455)** British interests, and suggested that new acquisitions were made to protect them.[18]

In 1930 Foreign and Colonial Office documents were opened to 1885.[19] This allowed a number of monograph studies of the early Scramble.[20] Reginald Coupland made use of this material to outline early phases of European rivalry in East Africa.[21] Sybil Eyre Crowe wrote a well-documented study of the Berlin West African Conference of 1884–85,[22] which convincingly demolished many nostrums, in particular the view that the Conference defined rules for effective occupation. Her study of the diplomacy between Germany, France, and Britain during the Conference also appeared to strengthen Taylor’s view of Bismarck’s motives.

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The Second World War and its aftermath produced changes which transformed the historiography of partition. Colonial reforms in British Africa ushered in the era of African nationalism, parties, and elections, and the founding of new universities.[23] If Africa were to be decolonized, the origins of colonial subjection became of general interest. Archival access was transformed in 1948 when the government records for 1885–1902 were opened. Young research students of the postwar generation rushed to stake out their protectorates in an academic scramble. The result was a flood of academic monographs, starting in the mid-1950s, and reaching high levels in the 1960s and 1970s.[24]

Before these could appear, Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher produced in 1953 their famous article on ‘The Imperialism of Free Trade’, starting their continuing reconceptualization of imperialism, its periodization, and its causation.[25] **(p.456)** The article challenged all previous work by denying that there was a mid-Victorian age of anti-imperialism, reeling off a list of places annexed between 1840 and 1870, and seeing an essential continuity of expansion during the so-called period of ‘new imperialism’. They saw annexations as transitions from informal to formal means of control. From this emerged a new definition of imperialism as ‘a sufficient political function of integrating new regions into the expanding economy’.[26] For many young researchers this helped to explain the continued reluctance to expand in the supposed age of ‘new imperialism’, and it provided clues to the puzzle of why so many strange forms of Imperial rule emerged after 1880, chartered companies, Protectorates, protected states, and the like. Finally, it suggested the need to search for local causes of a shift from informal to formal rule; if integrating new regions into an expanding economy was a constant, precipitants of annexation might lie in the collapse of local institutions, or in their resistance to economic penetration.

The large number of monograph studies which began to appear after 1955 were for the most part studies of how particular areas fell under colonial rule, such as those of K. Onwuka Dike, John E. Flint, and C. W. Newbury on West Africa,[27] Alexander John Hanna on British Central Africa,[28] or Roger Anstey on Britain and the Congo.[29] More-senior scholars were also exploiting the newly released archives, generally for themes with a wider geographical import, as in G. N. Sanderson’s steady flow of new work on the Nile valley,[30] or the important biographies by Roland Oliver[31] and Margery Perham.[32]

The most original contribution to the field came in 1961 with the publication of Robinson and Gallagher’s *Africa and the Victorians*.[33] The book was massively documented from the British official archives, and sought to display the motives leading British officials and politicians to impose formal rule on areas hitherto **(p.457)** informally controlled, and to extend control into their hinterlands. In this sense it took the concepts of the earlier article into the later period. However, Africa was not seen as an area which now needed a ‘sufficient political

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function’ to integrate it into Britain’s expanding economy, for Robinson and Gallagher saw Africa as worthless economically, and were not even ready to concede economic motives in Egypt or the new mineral resources of South Africa. The motivation was strategic, to protect the routes to India through the Suez Canal and around the Cape. What prompted the ‘sufficient political function’ for the occupation of Egypt, and later the war in South Africa, was the challenge of indigenous nationalism, Arabi’s movement in Egypt, and the threat that the newly rich Transvaal republic would dominate all South Africa, including the Cape. Of these two nodes, it was the occupation of Egypt in 1882 which touched off the continental partition, for once in Egypt, the protection of its life-blood, the Nile valley, began a domino process which led Britain into Uganda, into Kenya to control coastal access to Uganda, and ultimately to the conquest of the Sudan. France, outraged by the loss of influence in Egypt, was compensated by steady British concessions in West Africa. The British motives in the partition were thus strategic, and a ‘gigantic footnote to the history of India’. Economic imperialism in Africa came later, with railway building, settlers in Kenya, and cotton in Uganda, all designed to raise revenues to pay for the new governments. In similar manner, the imperialist political movement was an *ex post facto* rationalization for what had already taken place. The causes of the Scramble lay in Africa, in the emergence of proto-nationalist regimes in Egypt and the Boer Republics.

Criticism of this brilliantly written book now became an academic industry. Reviewers pointed out that scrambling had begun on the Congo as early as 1875, on the upper Niger from 1879, in the Oil Rivers and Lower Niger in 1880, and that France occupied Tunis in 1881, all before the occupation of Egypt.[34] Historians of West Africa challenged the view that partition there was a sideshow provoked by Egypt.[35] Marxists dismissed it as a whitewash over economic imperialism.[36] Others stressed that the book said nothing about the dynamic that drove other European powers into rivalry over Africa, if Britain’s position was defensive.[37]

(p.458) In 1962, in their chapter on African partition for the *New Cambridge Modern History*, Robinson and Gallagher extended their arguments to the other European partitioners.[38] Proto-nationalisms provoked French intervention in Tunis in 1881, which was strategically motivated to secure France’s Mediterranean position. Muslim resistance offered throughout the Sudanic belt, in East Africa, and the Congo basin was similarly seen as proto-nationalist awakenings, luring the European partitioners into the so-called age of imperialism.

These two works were published just as British, French, and Belgian colonies in tropical Africa became independent. African scholars at the new universities were much attracted to the new interpretation, despite its strictures against economic explanations. If there was one thing Africanists hated more than the

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Eurocentric view that Africa had ‘no history’, it was the assertion that historical change in Africa was exclusively the work of European agency. Robinson and Gallagher seemed to turn this upside-down, explaining European scrambling in Africa as the result of African initiatives. Moreover these were ‘proto-nationalist’ and thus appealed to those who were attempting to provide the contemporary nationalisms with historical depth.

In general, African scholars had shown little interest in the processes of European rivalry and scrambling for African territory. They preferred the search for origins in missionary and social history, where could be found the early nationalism of educated élites. The outstanding exception is Godfrey Uzoigwe’s well-documented study *Britain and the Conquest of Africa*, published in 1974.[39] Resistance to partition and colonial rule, however, proved to be much more attractive to African scholars, and Robinson and Gallagher’s approach helped to stimulate such studies. Even more so the controversial article by T. O. Ranger in 1968,[40] which argued that there was a connected history of nationalism from the primary resistance to European occupation, through secondary rebellions, millenniary movements, élite nationalism of educated elements, up to modern mass nationalism. Much work on Central and Southern African resistance followed, though it appears that West Africans were more sceptical of the thesis.[41] Resistance studies established themselves as a sub-theme of partition history in the 1970s, **(p.459)** with a large number of monographs, often by Africans, which argued that patterns of African resistance or collaboration shaped the nature of partition.[42]

By the late 1960s a considerable wealth of regional case studies of the Scramble had been amassed, and co-operative volumes began to emerge. Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis edited volumes stressing comparative studies of the colonial powers, with material on partition which remains of great value.[43] L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan’s first volume of *Colonialism in Africa* contained chapters on the Scramble by European, American, and South African authors.[44]

Detailed studies of local scrambles were virtually completed by the end of the 1970s,[45] including John S. Galbraith’s books on the British chartered companies in East and South Africa[46] and Iain R. Smith’s on the Emin Pasha relief expedition.[47] The debate about motives and causes continued unabated. D. K. Fieldhouse, in his *Economics and Empire*,[48] extended the Robinson and Gallagher thesis, while rejecting its stress on Egypt and proto-nationalism outside Africa to argue that imperial expansion everywhere after 1880 was caused by simultaneous crises in the periphery, themselves the result of earlier European informal penetration. John Hargreaves began publishing his magisterial work on West African partition in 1974,[49] which reinforced the view that France and Britain had diverse interests to maintain long before the Egyptian occupation.

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The 1980s saw attention among scholars shift to South African partition, as South Africa became *the* political issue of the continent. Liberal-Marxist polarization became central to controversies over interpretation, with the left provocatively led **(p.460)** by Shula Marks,[50] triggering responses by Robert V. Kubicek,[51] A. N. Porter,[52] and D. M. Schreuder.[53] A. Keppel-Jones published a massively documented study of the white occupation of Zimbabwe,[54] while Robert I. Rotberg wrote the fullest and best documented biography of Cecil Rhodes yet to appear.[55]

Recent years have seen a shift among historians of the Scramble into studies of decolonization, which many of them see as a 'mirror image' of their earlier work.[56] Consequently, recent co-operative works dealing with the partition tend to be reflective assessments and syntheses. Outstanding among these is Volume VI of the *Cambridge History of Africa*.[57] The volume is dominated by partition themes, with attention to the role of all the European powers from French and Belgian authors, and important contributions from G. N. Sanderson, John D. Hargreaves, Shula Marks, and John Lonsdale, each of whom writes from distinctly individual perspectives. Read in conjunction, the result is the fullest and most recent survey of partition.

The same year, 1985, also saw the publication of Volume VII of the UNESCO *General History of Africa*, entitled *Africa under Colonial Domination*, edited by the Ghanaian historian A. Adu Boahen. All but three of the contributors were Africans, with G. N. Uzoigwe providing an overview chapter discussing previous interpretations of partition and conquest and stressing the need for an African dimension'. This theme is set up in T. O. Ranger's chapter on African initiatives and resistance, which forms the framework for all the subsequent regional chapters. The volume is thus more a history of African resistance than of the Scramble itself. Another notable co-operative volume was produced by the scholarly conference in Berlin on the centenary of the Berlin Conference of 1884–85.[58] This brought together many of those who had pioneered the academic study of the Scramble, and included a significant number of African contributors.

While researchers have by now thoroughly mined the main archival collections and major new 'revelations' are unlikely, the field continues to be lively with **(p. 461)** continuous reappraisal. Earlier interpretations re-emerge in a new light, as in the innovative attempt by P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins to build a new interpretation of British imperialism as a product of 'gentlemanly capitalism'.[59] Taking Hobson's dictum that 'finance is the governor of the imperial engine', Imperial history is viewed from the City and the partition of Africa reinterpreted away from Robinson and Gallagher's strategic imperatives. The occupation of Egypt was not a conspiracy of bondholders, but it was a matter of restoring public finances there. Similarly, Southern Africa was occupied as a result of British investments and the crucial role of gold for the pound sterling. Even

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‘useless’ tropical colonies provided safe havens for cautious investors in colonial bonds. The debate continues.

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Notes:

([1]) W. E. Gladstone, 'Aggression on Egypt and Freedom in the East', *Nineteenth Century* (Aug.–Dec. 1877), pp. 149–66.

([2]) S. Vandeleur, *Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger* (London, 1898).

([3]) Sir John Scott Keltie, *The Partition of Africa* (London, 1893).

([4]) See chap. by A. D. Roberts, notes 15 and 16.

([5]) e.g. Sir Harry H. Johnston, *A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races* (Cambridge, 1889).

([6]) Sir Charles P. Lucas, *The Partition and Colonisation of Africa* (Oxford, 1922).

([7]) In 1909 Foreign and Colonial Office archives from 1780 to 1837 were opened.

([8]) Eric Stokes, 'Late Nineteenth Century Colonial Expansion and the Attack on the Theory of Economic Imperialism: A Case of Mistaken Identity', *Historical Journal*, XII, 2 (1969), pp. 285–301, drew attention to the way Hobson's views and V. I. Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Moscow, 1917), had been misunderstood.

([9]) Lucas, *Partition and Colonisation*, p. 105.

([10]) The first academic account, essentially narrative, was W. H. Dawson's chap. in Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch, eds., *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, Vol. II, *1783–1919* (Cambridge, 1923).

([11]) Johannes Lepsius,Albrecht Mendelsohn Bartholdy, and Friedrich Thimme, eds., *Die Grosse Politik der europäischen Kabinette, 1871–1914*, 40 vols. (Berlin, 1922–27).

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([12]) G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley, eds., *British Documents on the Origins of the War*, Vol. I (London, 1927), reproduced documents relating to the Scramble.

([13]) Ministère des affaires étrangères, *Commission de publication des documents relatifs aux origines de la Guerre de 1914: Documents diplomatiques français, 1871–1914*. 1re serie (Paris, 1929–). The series is still incomplete.

([14]) George Louis Beer, the distinguished historian of the ‘old colonial system’, served as President Wilson’s adviser in the Versailles peace settlement. On Beer see Wm. Roger Louis, ‘The United States and the African Peace Settlement of 1919: The Pilgrimage of George Louis Beer’, *Journal of African History* (hereafter *JAH*), IV (1963), pp. 413–33. The best account of the repartition of Africa after the war is Louis’s *Great Britain and Germany’s Lost Colonies, 1914–1919* (Oxford, 1967).

([15]) Parker Thomas Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics* (New York, 1926).

([16]) William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments, 18/1–1890* (New York, 1931) and *The Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1890–1902* (New York, 1935).

([17]) A. J. P. Taylor, *Germany’s First Bid for Colonies, 1848–1884* (London, 1938), published at the height of Nazi Germany’s demand for the return of Germany’s former African colonies.

([18]) Ibid., p. 7.

([19]) More liberal access began in 1919 when the Foreign Office and Colonial Office archives were opened to 1860, and in 1925 this was extended to 1878. Public Record Office, *Records of the Foreign Office, 1782–1939* (London, 1939), p. 93.

([20]) For examples see chap. by A. D. Roberts, notes 52–54.

([21]) R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa, 1856–1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble* (London, 1939).

([22]) S. E. Crowe, *The Berlin West African Conference, 1884–1885* (London, 1942).

([23]) See chap. by Roberts, pp. 474–79 for a discussion of the effects of the new university colleges in Africa. A full study is Apollos Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe, and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africans, 1860–1960* (London, 1998).

([24]) Jean Van der Poel, *The Jameson Raid* (Cape Town, 1951), was perhaps the first to use these new sources, exposing evidence linking politicians such as Chamberlain and Rosebery with Rhodes’s plans. In several of the years in the

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1960s and 1970s more studies were produced in a single year than in the fifty years before 1945.

([25]) With Hobson, Robinson and Gallagher are the only authors in this field about whom an entire book of critical assessment has appeared. Space prevents a full assessment of their significance here, but this has been achieved with some brilliance in Wm. Roger Louis, ed., *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy* (New York, 1976), particularly in Louis's own introduction, 'Robinson and Gallagher and Their Critics', pp. 2–51, which outlines their ideas as a developing continuum. This vol ume also reprints on pp. 53–72, the article 'The Imperialism of Free Trade', originally published in *Economic History Review* (hereafter *EcHR*), Second Series, VI, 1 (1953), pp. 1–15.

([26]) Louis, *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher Controversy*, p. 59.

([27]) See K. Onwuka Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830–1885. An Introduction to the Economic and Political History of Nigeria* (Oxford, 1956), which argues that the transition from infor mal to formal rule lay in changed economic conditions behind the delta of the Niger. John E. Flint, *Sir George Goldie and the Making of Nigeria* (London, 1960, repr. 1966) continued Dike's story into a study of the emergence of the chartered Royal Niger Company. C. W. Newbury, *The Western Slave Coast and its Rulers* (Oxford, 1961) encompassed areas partitioned between Britain and France.

([28]) Alexander John Hanna, *The Beginnings of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, 1859–95* (Oxford, 1956).

([29]) Roger Anstey, *Britain and the Congo in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1962).

([30]) Culminating in G. N. Sanderson, *England, Europe and the Upper Nile, 1882–1899* (Edinburgh, 1965).

([31]) Roland Oliver, *Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa* (London, 1957).

([32]) The first volume of Margery Perham's Lugard, subtitled *The Years of Adventure, 1858–1898* (London, 1956) was a study of Lugard's role in the Scramble in eastern, central, and West Africa.

([33]) Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher with Alice Denny, *Africa and the Victorians: The Official Mind of Imperialism* (London, 1961; 2nd edn., 1981).

([34]) For a fuller discussion of these attacks see Wm. Roger Louis, 'Robinson and Gallagher and Their Critics', in *Imperialism: The Robinson and Gallagher*

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Controversy (New York, 1976), pp. 2–51, as well as the selected reviews and comments of other authors.

([35]) e.g. C. W. Newbury, 'Victorians, Republicans and the Partition of West Africa', *JAH*, III, 3 (1962), pp. 493–501; A. G. Hopkins, 'Economic Imperialism in West Africa: The Case of Lagos, 1880–92', *EcHR*, Second Series, XXI, pp. 580–606; John E. Flint, 'Britain and the Partition of West Africa', in J. E. Flint and G. Williams, eds., *Perspectives of Empire* (London, 1973).

([36]) V. G. Kiernan, 'Farewells to Empire', *Socialist Register* (New York, 1964), pp. 259–79.

([37]) Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 56–67.

([38]) 'The Partition of Africa', in F. H. Hinsley, ed., *New Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. XI (Cambridge, 1962).

([39]) G. N. Uzoigwe, *Britain and the Conquest of Africa: The Age of Salisbury* (Ann Arbor, 1974).

([40]) T. O. Ranger, 'Connexions between "Primary Resistance" Movements and Modern Mass Nationalism in East and Central Africa', *JAH*, IX, 3 (1968), pp. 437–53, and *JAH*, IX, 4, pp. 631–41.

([41]) Michael Crowder, ed., *West African Resistance: The Military Response to Colonial Occupation* (London, 1971), suggested in the introduction that these West African case studies would show Ranger's thesis as applicable to West as well as Central Africa, but few of the contributors seemed to share this view.

([42]) Early examples were R. A. Adeleye, *Power and Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria, 1804–1906* (London, 1971); Francis Agbodeka, *African Politics and British Policy on the Gold Coast, 1868–1900* (London, 1971); and B. O. Oloruntimehin, *The Segu Tukulor Empire* (Ibadan, 1972). Boniface I. Obichere, *West African States and European Expansion: The Dahomey–Niger Hinterland, 1885–1898* (New Haven, 1971), was directly concerned with the way African states helped to shape the partition. See also Obichere's article 'The African Factor in the Establishment of French Authority in West Africa, 1880–1900', in Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *France and Britain in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule* (New Haven, 1971).

([43]) Prosser Gifford and Wm. Roger Louis, eds., *Britain and Germany in Africa: Imperial Rivalry and Colonial Rule* (New Haven, 1967) and *France and Britain in Africa*.

([44]) L. H. Gann and Peter Duignan, eds., *Colonialism in Africa, 1870–1960*, Vol. I, *The History and Politics of Colonialism, 1870–1914* (London, 1969).

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([45]) A full listing of works relating to the Scramble published before 1984 can be found in Roland Oliver and G. N. Sanderson, *The Cambridge History of Africa*, Vol. VI, *From 1870 to 1905* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 824–91.

([46]) John S. Galbraith, *Mackinnon and East Africa, 1878–1895: A Study in the 'New Imperialism'* (Cambridge, 1972) and *Crown and Charter: The Early Years of the British South Africa Company* (Berkeley, 1974).

([47]) Iain R. Smith, *The Emin Pasha Relief Expedition, 1886–90* (Oxford, 1972).

([48]) D. K. Fieldhouse, *Economics and Empire, 1830–1914* (London, 1973).

([49]) John D. Hargreaves, *West Africa Partitioned*, Vol. I, *The Loaded Pause, 1885–89* (London, 1974)- Vol. II, *The Elephants and the Grass*, appeared in 1985.

([50]) See her article 'Scrambling for South Africa', *JAH*, XXIII, 1 (1982), pp. 97–113.

([51]) Robert V. Kubicek, *Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice: The Case of South African Gold Mining Finance, 1886–1914* (Durham, NC, 1979).

([52]) A. N. Porter, *The Origin of the South African War: Joseph Chamberlain and the Diplomacy of Imperialism, 1895–1899* (Manchester, 1980).

([53]) D. M. Schreuder, *The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877–1895* (Cambridge, 1980).

([54]) A. Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe, 1884–1902* (Kingston, Ont., 1983).

([55]) Robert I. Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Pursuit of Power* (Oxford, 1988).

([56]) See chap. by John Darwin.

([57]) Oliver and Sanderson, eds., *Cambridge History*, VI.

([58]) Stig Förster Wolfgang J. Mommsen, and Ronald Robinson, eds., *Bismarck, Europe and Africa: The Berlin Africa Conference, 1884–1885, and the Onset of Partition* (Oxford, 1988).

([59]) P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism* (London, 1933), Vol. I, *Innovation and Expansion, 1688–1914;* Vol. II, *Crisis and Deconstruction, 1914–1990*.

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