

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF IMPERIALISTIC STRATEGIES: ROMAN
NORTH AFRICA (2ND CENTURY B.C -1ST CENTURY AD) AND BRITISH
WEST AFRICA (1884-1956).

BY

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of Arts, College of Humanities and Legal Studies, University of Cape Coast,
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degree in Classics.

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DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this University or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: Date:

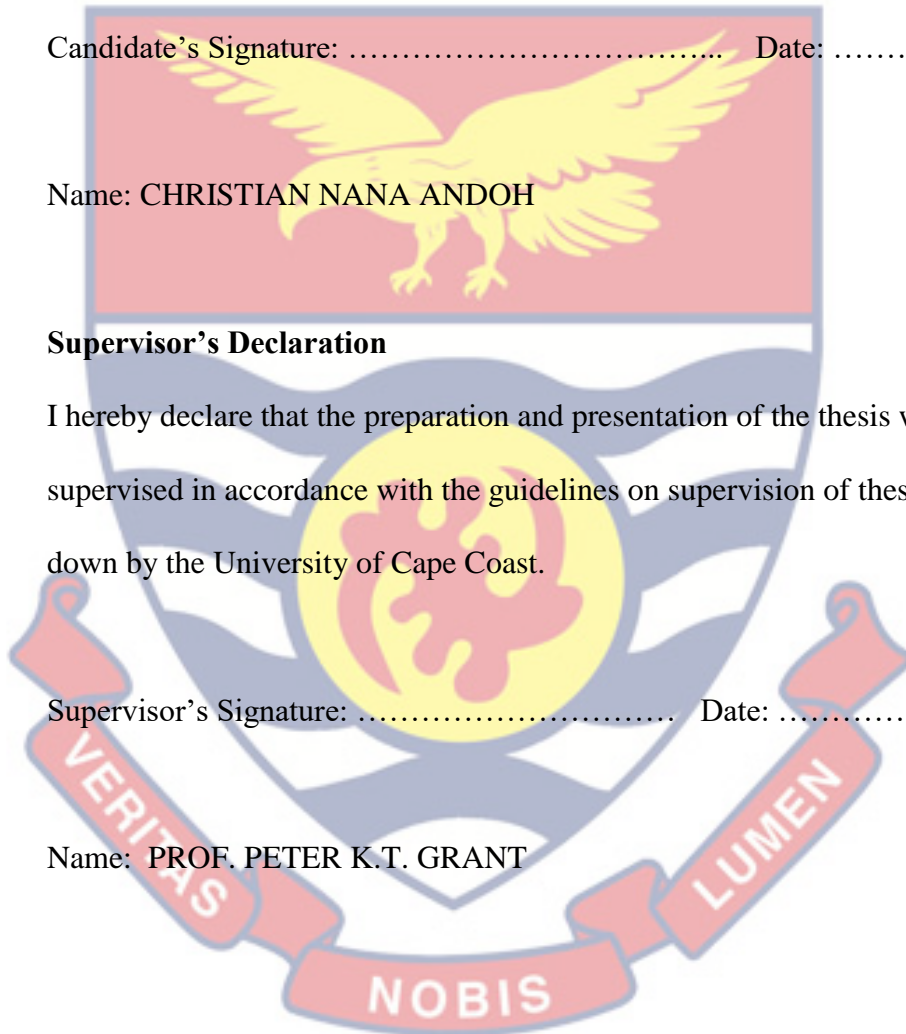
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Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

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ABSTRACT

The strategies of imperialism used by both Romans and British are very fascinating. However, these events happened in different eras, which have led Brunt (1965) and Miles (1990) to conclude that these strategies used by both imperialists are not comparable. For this reason, the research focuses on strategies of imperialism of the ancient Roman society from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. and British imperialism from 1884 to 1956. This has resulted in the research title: *A Comparative Study of Imperialistic Strategies: Roman North Africa (2nd Century B.C -1st Century AD) and British West Africa (1884-1956)*. To bring these strategies to light, a comparative analytical method was employed to answer the research questions. Moreover, in answering these questions, the research made use of Comparativism as a theory to reflect and compare the imperial histories of both the Romans and the British. The method and theory have therefore helped the research to draw the similarities and dissimilarities among the imperialistic strategies used by both Imperialists. Although the imperialism of the Romans and British happened in a different era, with the help of the theory and methods employed, the research findings have refuted what Brunt and Miles opine that their imperialism cannot be compared. Hence, the research concludes that Roman and British imperialistic strategies are comparable.

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Ut Benedicat tibi Deus.

DEDICATION

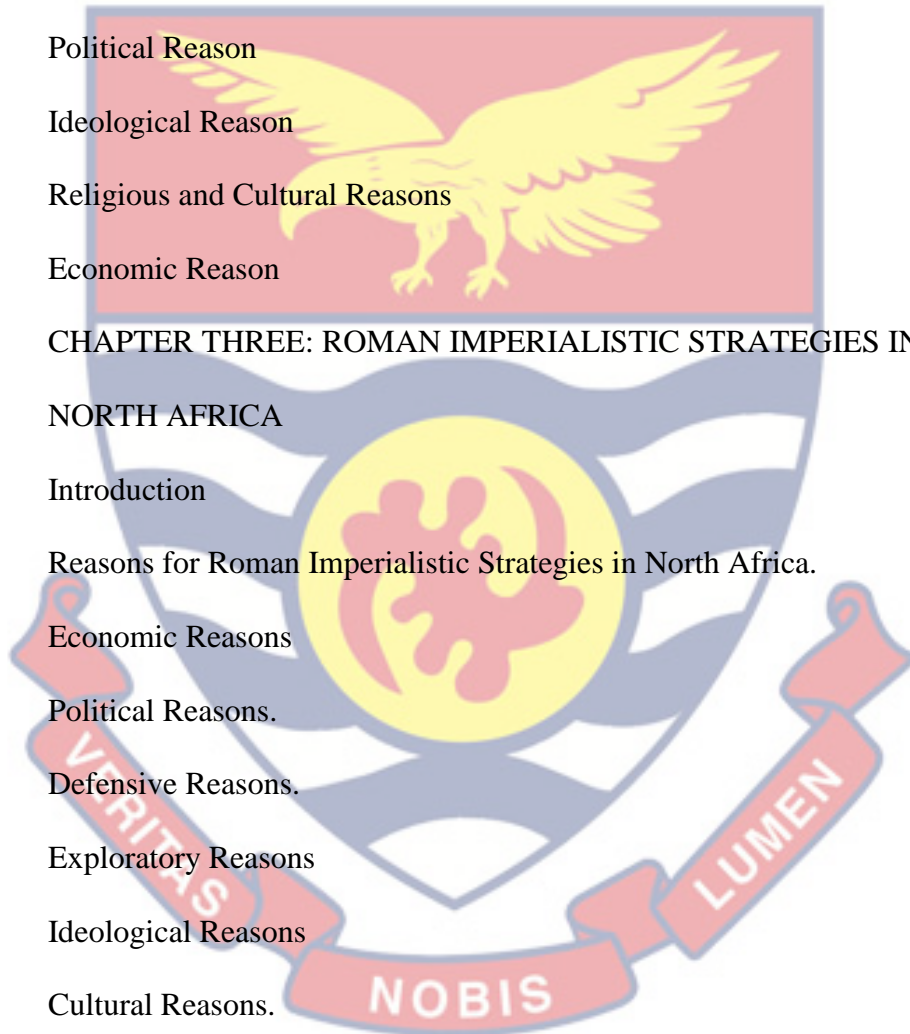
This work is dedicated to my family, friends, loved ones and all my well-wishers.



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

Studies on Ancient Roman society have always been interesting and fascinating due to the complexities of their governance systems from the monarchical period to the republican era, and from the republican era to the imperial era. Issues that unfold during these periods are too broad for one to comprehend all at once. However, when we make a piece-by-piece study of the issues of the Roman systems, be it social, cultural, economic, or political, we would be able to comprehend the reasons why the Romans engaged in certain activities. For this reason, I have tasked myself to focus on issues of imperialism of the ancient Roman society from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D. Also, by examining and analysing the issues of imperialism during these periods of Rome, I am highly motivated to compare the strategies put in place by the Romans to succeed in their imperialistic agenda to that of the British imperialism from 1884 to 1956 since their philosophy of engaging in this imperialistic adventure, and strategies were similar. By this, my motive is to place side-by-side the Roman and British imperialisms to see if there are issues that are comparable or otherwise. This has resulted in the research title: *A Comparative Study of Imperialistic Strategies: Roman North Africa (2nd Century B.C -1st Century AD) and British West Africa (1884-1956)*.

My major motivation for choosing this research title comes from two angles. (1) from scholars who believe or hold a position that the Roman imperialistic reasons and strategies cannot be compared to any other nation that came after it, and (2) from my own conviction that the Roman strategies of

imperialism can be compared to several nations, particularly, the British imperialism. Per my findings on both Roman and British imperialism, I can make the assumption and hold the position that British imperialism is a legacy of Roman imperialism. As a result of the similarities gathered and reference to their strategies, I am compelled to make a detailed investigation of these two events in order to respond to the opinions of scholars like Brunt (1965:267-288) and Miles (1990:629-656) who believe that these two nations cannot be compared with reference to imperialism. The scholars who hold this opinion have suggested that Roman imperialism is different from that of British imperialism because these events happened in different eras. Indeed, the Roman and British imperial periods did not happen at the same time, yet we can find some legacies of Roman imperialism in that of British imperialism that makes it more similar with few disparities. It will therefore suffice for us to look at the meaning of the term “imperialism”.

Imperialism according to Akinboye (2014), “is the policy whereby stronger nations extend their supremacy by acquiring territories and by establishing economic and political hegemony over other nations, countries or colonies. This is done either through direct or indirect territorial conquest as in the case of the ancient Roman conquest of North Africa and the British conquest of West Africa. Also, through the methods of influencing and controlling the political economy and cultures of other nations as evidenced in the Roman imperial expansion and later, nineteenth and twentieth-century European exploitation and supremacy in Africa” (Akinboye, 2014:15-16).

The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2020), also define imperialism as “a state policy, practice, or advocacy of extending powers and

dominion, especially by direct territorial acquisition or gaining political and economic control of other areas” (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020).

According to Edwell (2013), in his *Definitions of Roman Imperialism*, categorically state that imperialism is the process of creating and keeping an empire. That is in analysing imperialism we focus on the strategies, process and outcome of this endeavour (Edwell, 2013).

Notwithstanding all the above manifestations, 'imperialism' “is a modern term from the Latin word *imperium*, which means the authority employed over other city-states or nations. And it is a word from which expressions such as 'imperial', 'imperialism', 'imperator', 'empire', and 'emperor' all descend” (Akinboye, 2014:15-16).

It is worth noting that the supremacy of a country is based on territory, economic independence and political hegemony. For this reason, imperialism as a term describes imperial powers and their policy of dominance over distant lands, for example, Africa, Asia, and Europe. Imperialism takes into account the action by which one country controls a foreign territory. It is accomplished through military means, and force to gain certain advantages such as the exploitation of natural resources and raw materials (economic). This could be seen in the imperial movements of the Romans and the British who hunted the grains and other products of Africa to feed their large population. Imperialism generally aims, not only at dominating or acquiring the natural and human resources or labour but also at exploiting lands and markets of conquered population or territory as done by Rome and Britain during their era of expansionism.

“The Romans have exposed to their rule not portions, but nearly the whole of the world and hold an empire which is not only infinitely greater than any which preceded it, but need not fear opposition in the future”. Polybius, *Histories*. (bk III:111)

The above quote from Polybius clarifies a foreigner’s perception of the enormous expansion program of the Roman state that had already happened by the 150s BC. Polybius observed first-hand the Roman expansion as a conquered Greek magistrate. From 300 BC to AD 100, the Roman state piloted unceasing warfare, colonization, and economic exploitation in their imperialist expansion across the Mediterranean world. Many scholars have referred to this expansion as Roman imperialism. The Roman state’s quick expansion brought about the conditions for the Roman imperial period and the fall of the Republic.

The Roman Republic expanded their political supremacy from their Italic city-state to closely the entire Mediterranean world before ever being considered an empire from 509 to 30 BC. Republican Rome’s expansion led to the conversion of its political system, which scholars often mark as the beginning of the imperial period (Champion, 2004).

In the case of Roman imperialism, Rome extended her territory outside Italy to the North of Africa, which we normally refer to as Roman North Africa. The Roman Empire consisted of various provinces: from east to west Egypt, Cyrenaica (Libya) Africa *Proconsularis* (Tunisia) which also included the narrow coastal strip of Tripolitania (west Libya) then also Numidia (Algeria), Mauretania *Caesariensis* and Mauretania *Tingitana* (Morocco) (Cilliers, 2007).

In this regard, according to ancient Roman history, Cilliers stated, “the first North African territory acquired by Rome corresponds to modern-day Tunisia. This was obtained in 146 BC, following the destruction of Carthage at the end of the Third Punic War. The Province originally consisted of the territory that had been subject to Carthage in 149 BC; it covered an area of about 5,000 square miles. The Kingdom of Numidia is divided in the west by a trench and ridge that runs southeast from Thabraca (modern Tabargah) to Thaenae (modern Thinah). Around 100 BC, the Provinces' boundary was extended further westward. This can be compared to the current Algeria-Tunisia border” (Cilliers, 2007:34-40).

According to Cilliers (2007), “during the 1st Century BC, the province grew in reputation when Julius Caesar and later the emperor Augustus found a total of 19 Colonies in it. The prominent among these was the new Carthage, which the Romans referred to as, *Colonia Julia Carthago*; later along the line, Augustus extended Africa’s borders southward as far as the Sahara and eastward to include Area Philaenorum, at the southernmost point of the Gulf of Sidra. He combined the Old province of Africa *Vetus* (old Africa) with what was designated by Caesar as Africa *Nova* (New Africa) the old Kingdom of Numidia and Mauretania all in the west so that the province’s western boundary was *Ampsaga* (Modern Rhumel) River in modern northeastern Algeria” (Cilliers, 2007:34-40).

The province maintained its original proportions until the late second century AD when a new province of Numidia was founded in the west end of Africa. Moreover, this was official during the reign of Emperor Septimius Severus. Diocletian reorganized the empire a century later, forming two

provinces, Byzacena and Tripolitania, from the southern and eastern parts of the former province. The ancestral Libyans who remained in small settlements inhabited the initial territories annexed by Rome (Cilliers, 2007).

In 122 BC, according to Encyclopaedia Britannica, (2018), “Gaius Sempronius Gracchus' attempt to colonize Africa piqued the interest of Roman farmers and stakeholders. Roman colonization, combined with Augustus' successful quelling of aggressive nomadic movements in the region, created the conditions for four centuries of prosperity in the first century BC. Between the first and third centuries, many public buildings were constructed, and the export industry of cereals, olives, fruit, and hides flourished. Many urban Libyans were Romanized, and many groups received Roman citizenship before it was extended to the entire empire in AD 212. As a result, Africans became part of the imperial administration, and the region produced an emperor, Septimius Severus, who ruled from AD 193 to 211. A.D. The province also claimed an important Christian Church, which produced priests and Catholic Church fathers such as Tertullian, Cyprian, and St. Augustine of Hippo by AD 256. The numerous and magnificent Roman remains found in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya attest to the region's prosperity under the Roman rule” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018:1-2).

The Roman state furthermore expanded across the Mediterranean from 2nd Century BC to the 1st Century AD, a period in which the Romans unified North Africa into their empire. During this period, the Romans had a series of constant warfare, colonization, and economic exploitation in their imperialist development through the Mediterranean world. Many scholars have referred to this expansion as Roman imperialism, but with little agreement with the

strategies used. Taking this period into consideration, we will, therefore, realise that this is a period in which Roman expansionism outside Italy is practically seen. This period, luminate Roman imperialism in North Africa. In addition, how Rome as a single city-state gradually expanded their territory as the mistress of the Mediterranean. Even though the Romans started their expansion program prior to this period of study where Sicily was the breadbasket of Rome, yet it is important to note that when talking about Roman proper hegemon in the Mediterranean, then we are talking about Roman-North Africa where Rome's socio-economic, and political needs were taken care of. Thus, during this period (2nd Cent B.C- 1st A.D) of Roman expansion in the North African region, Rome was able to gain more wealth from there than any other Roman territory. In addition, aside from the economic gains or benefits, Rome gained political supremacy and cultural influence on the colonized. Also, this period under study as mentioned is where major Roman imperialistic strategies are realised.

Moreover, taking British intrusion in West Africa into consideration it is important to note that, “the European rush for Africa culminated in the Berlin West Africa conference of 1884-1885. The conference was called by German Chancellor Bismarck to lay the groundwork for the eventual partition of Africa. European nations were summoned to discuss free navigation issues along the Niger and Congo rivers, as well as new claims to Africa's coasts. The European powers signed the Berlin Treaty at the end of the conference. This laid the groundwork for the European occupation of African territories. According to the Act, any European claim to any part of Africa would only be recognized if it were effectively occupied. With this, the Berlin conference laid the

groundwork for European military invasion and conquest of the African continent. Except for Ethiopia and Liberia, the entire African continent was subject to European colonial rule” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018).

According to Crowder (1969), the aim of the imperialists and their coming to Africa is centred around five major themes: the establishment of European colonies, consolidation of political authority, the development of the colonies through forced labour, cultural and economic transformation of West Africa, and West Africa resistance. After the conference on which Africa was partitioned, the British occupied the West of Africa and had many colonies such as “The Gambia, Ghana (Gold Coast), Nigeria, Southern Cameroon, Sierra Leone, and the Western Togoland (British Togoland) currently known as Volta Region in the Republic of Ghana and these were termed as British West Africa” (Crowder, 1969:10). The British operation in Africa concentrated in these areas. In the course of my study, I have elaborated on it in chapter four that looks at the British imperialistic strategies in West Africa.

In addition, the British extended their imperialism in the region of North Africa in areas like Egypt and Sudan from 1880-1910. British occupation at the place was not as compared to the other African states. The British in North Africa did not stay in the region for long as compared to their occupation in West Africa. For this reason, it was prudent for my research to concentrate on the areas of British occupation where much of British involvement and strategies could be seen.

Thus, the period under study (1884-1956) regarding British imperialism in West Africa is very important. We see the British occupation and the strategies used in West Africa at work. The year 1884-1885, is the official

partition of Africa at the Berlin Conference as stated earlier on. Moreover, this period (1884-1956), which this research has examined, is the period West African states were subjugated under British Rule after the Berlin Conference. Thus, from 1884-1956 we can see British imperialistic strategies employed in the West Africa to achieve their aim for coming to the region. In addition, from 1956 the British experienced series of discontent from the natives. This brought about the redraw of their imperialistic strategies from the West Africa that led to the independence of the various West African colonies that were under British rule. Looking at British imperialism in West Africa, it is of importance to choose this period under study and as I mentioned earlier on that is where the imperialistic strategies are seen. And this is why this research concentrates on it. Also, my choice for African continent is to give the study an African sentiment or to situate it to Africa.

Furthermore, per the demands of this research, both the Romans and the British considered several imperialistic strategies. Now when we talk about the imperialistic strategies basically, we are looking at the methods or ways by which Rome and Britain expanded their territories in their respective regions of Africa. Also, we can say that imperialistic strategies are forceful measures put in place by Rome and Britain during their imperialism. These methods or ways by which Romans and the British considered played a major role in their occupation of North Africa and West Africa respectively. For instance, there were wars of conquest and military defence where the imperialists had to embark on many wars before gaining access to their targeted territories. In addition, there was the formation of various colonies under which the imperialists categorized their subjects and in the case of the Romans made some

Roman citizens occupy those colonies. Another strategy or method used especially by the Romans was the building of garrisons and military posts. The British had military camps as well since there were wars of conquest. That is, both imperialists kept several soldiers in these camps to serve as a deterrent and watchdogs on their subjects.

Moreover, the imperialists signed treaties and alliances with their subjects. Thus, as a form of strategy to get the subject's loyalty, they need to ally and signed treaties with them. This is exactly what the Romans did in North Africa and the British in West Africa. In addition, granting of citizenship was very common among the Romans as they embark on their imperial expedition. Through this, the Romans were able to get more allies to incorporate them into Roman society by granting Roman citizenship. Aside from the granting of citizenship to the subjects, the imperialists devised a strategy, which we call client-king alliance or indirect rule. Thus, the imperialists used the existing institutions such as the various kings in order to rule behind them. Especially where it becomes very difficult and expensive to go, the client-kings will be ruling in the place of their masters. Also, to avoid conflicts and other inherent problems, the imperialists used another strategy called divide and rule. This enabled the imperialists in dividing their subjects into component units for easy control.

Furthermore, aside from the strategies used in expanding their territories, various reasons that gave rise to the creation of these strategies are also a considerable factor. This includes the economic reasons by which the imperialists gained a lot of wealth from their colonies and were able to feed their citizens. Also, the imperialists did not come here for only economic purposes

but rather, universal dominion through a political lens. Thus, both the Romans and the British wanted to spread their tentacles across the globe. As a matter of fact, the imperialists wanted to map new places and to know new places for that matter developed an explorative reason. The imperialists held this strategy to know and map new places in order to get their economic gains. The spread of religion and culture was an essential reason in order to get access to the natives to get rid of their native religion and culture in order for the imperialists to replace theirs so that they can manipulate the natives and take from them what they (imperial powers) wanted. As the imperial powers rise against others, they probably fear external aggression, for that matter, developed a defensive or military reason and tactics for embarking on their imperial programme.

Statement of the Problem

Historical, political, economic, social, and cultural studies done on past societies have been able to present to the current generation how our forefathers steered their affairs of states and the reason for which some policies were put in place. By looking at past events too, we are able to make comparisons or juxtapose events and issues that are worthy of study. Political, economic, and socio-cultural are the major areas scholars try to delve into. It is well known that when it comes to these areas, the major issue that we encounter is dominance (i.e., political dominance, economic dominance, and socio-cultural dominance). Studies done on past human interactions have also shown that people often try to dominate others politically, economically, or culturally in order to gain supremacy. The Roman and British past events do not relegate issues of this kind to the background. This is to say that when it comes to political, economic,

and cultural dominance, supremacy, or imperialism, the Roman Empire and the British Empire stand at/on the same scale.

Now, some individuals hold the view that both the Romans and the British engaged in imperialism but their strategies cannot be compared since these events happened in different eras. The major problem is that, per such viewpoint, it seems to suggest that when it comes to the Roman and the British imperialisms, there is nothing to be compared. Such a view is held by Brunt (1965) and Miles (1990). Thus, they are of the views that, the British as compared to the Romans, had more powerful enemies. The British did not levy tribute like the Romans except for relatively brief period. The British were more deliberately active than the Romans in diffusing their knowledge and ideas. The Romans as compared to the British lacked the spirit of nationalism. The Romans cared too little for liberty. The Romans lacked solidarity. The Romans lack professional classes as compared to the British. The as compared to the British could not transform their native societies. The Romans lacked Technologies. Above all, the events happened in a different eras by Brunt (1965: 267-288) and Miles (1990: 629-656). Contrary to this perception, this research delved into details to examine and analyse the strategies put in place by the Romans and the British with reference to political, economic, and cultural imperialism. And in order to address such a problem, similarities and differences among these two societies were brought to bare.

Thesis Statement

This study justifies that there are similarities between Roman and British imperialistic strategies. Thus, it establishes the fact that Roman imperialistic strategies are a legacy for British imperialism. For this reason, we can say that the Romans bestowed upon the British some imperialistic strategies.

Research Questions

The research answers the following questions.

- What strategies did the Romans use to establish their imperial programme?
- What strategies did the British adopt in establishing their imperial expansion?
- Are there any similarities and dissimilarities between the strategies used by both Romans and the British in their imperial expansion?

Methodology

The research is deeply rooted in the Roman and British imperialistic strategies. As a result, it compares Roman and British activities in Africa and draw similarities and differences. In line with this, the research employs historical and content analysis of ideas and definitions; this could be defined as the understanding of why events take place in a historical arena (Moodie, 1971). By this, the research looks at the events that took place under a period of discussion. It will enable one to understand why the imperialists made certain decisions and why they developed such strategies for expansion. In addition, the research employs qualitative comparative analysis (QCA); this involves a systematic analysis of similarities and dissimilarities across cases, and examine

the conditions under which a state of affairs is realised. Moreover, it provides an examination of cases from diverse angles and arrives at ideas about how they relate (Ragin 1987). Better still; a qualitative comparative analysis involves the analysis and synthesis of similarities, differences and patterns across two or more issues and cases that share a predominant focus to achieve a general goal (Goodrick, 2014). The use of this method is significant to this study, as the work compares Roman and British imperialistic strategies in Africa, drawing similarities and dissimilarities among these imperialists and their strategies. It has helped the work to examine the assertion of some scholars on how they perceived Roman imperialistic strategies differently from that of the British.

Theoretical Framework

Comparativism

The research uses Comparativism as a framework. Comparativism is defined as a positive comparative fact that describes how something is rather than how it is not. A comparative fact tells us something positive about how two events relate (Chang, 2016). Also, Comparativism could be defined as an examination between two events as these events relate to each other (Short & Bettini, nd). Comparativism also defines as a framework that analyses two or more systems of relation for common patterns and distinctions in a historical arena (Griffiths, 2007). Using this framework helped me to juxtaposed Roman and British imperialistic strategies. As a matter of emphasis, the study reflects on the imperial histories (events) of both Romans and the British in Africa, drawing the link between them that therefore, constructs the major similarities and dissimilarities.

Limitations and Delimitations

The study focuses on Roman imperialism in North Africa and British imperialism in West Africa respectively. One limitation of this research is the inability to interpret primary sources exhaustively due to my lack of in-depth knowledge of the Latin Language in the case of Roman imperialism. In view of this, the research uses translated versions of primary texts that are relevant to the study.

Organisation of Contents

The work is organized in six chapters as follows;

Chapter One: Introduction. This chapter include the background to the study, statement of the problem, thesis statement, research questions, methodology, theoretical framework, limitations and delimitations, and organization.

Chapter Two: Literature Review. This chapter reviews some related literature on the subject.

Chapter Three: Roman Imperialistic Strategies in North Africa. The chapter analyses the Roman imperialistic reasons and strategies in North Africa.

Chapter Four: British Imperialistic Strategies in West Africa. The focus of this chapter is to also analyse British imperialistic reasons and strategies in West Africa.

Chapter Five: Roman and British imperialism compared. This chapter compares Roman imperialism and British Imperialism in Africa, and then draw similarities and dissimilarities between their imperialistic strategies.

Chapter Six: Conclusion. In this chapter, the study therefore based on the issues discussed and then draws a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of the literature review is to demonstrate an in-depth knowledge of imperialism from a general perspective in the area of the research. By that, the research addresses issues thematically. By thematic, the study examines the conceptualisation of imperialism in perspectives. Also, it looks at the historical overview of imperialism which comprises ‘old imperialism’ which could reflect Roman imperialism and the ‘new imperialism’ by which the British imperialism takes its form. Furthermore, it discusses the various types of imperialism and some reasons for imperialism from a general perspective. In addition, the literature is used as a yardstick to expose or demonstrate the major issues as far as imperialism is concerned. Thus, the research exposes the strategies of imperialism, which enabled me to compare the Roman and British imperialisms as the study demands. However, before discussing the aforementioned issues, it will be prudent to know the major argument put forth by Brunt (1965) and Miles (1990) as to why Roman and British Imperialism not comparable.

Brunt (1965) and Miles (1990), are of the view that both the Romans and the British engaged in imperialism but their imperialism and imperialistic strategies cannot be compared since these events happened in different eras. Also, the British as compared to the Romans, had more powerful enemies. The British did not levy tribute like the Romans except for relatively brief period. The British were more deliberately active than the Romans in diffusing their knowledge and ideas. The Romans as compared to the British lacked the spirit

of nationalism. The Romans cared too little for liberty. The Romans lacked solidarity. The Romans lack professional classes as compared to the British. The as compared to the British could not transform their native societies. The Romans lacked Technologies. Above all, the events happened in a different eras by Brunt (1965: 267-288) and Miles (1990: 629-656).

The major problem is that, per such viewpoint, it seems to suggest that when it comes to the Roman and the British imperialisms, there is nothing to be compared with. Therefore, per the objectives of the literature review, this research delved into details to examine and analyse imperialism in a general perspective to compare both imperialisms without biases. With this, the literature is able to come out clear on the position of aforementioned scholars as whether their position is true or false. Let us turn our attention to the objectives of the literature as stated in the first paragraph of this chapter.

The Conceptualisation of imperialism in perspectives

Mathew (2012), gave us an overview of the concept of imperialism and how modern scholars see it. According to him, 'Imperialism' as a term was first used to demonstrate political developments in Europe between the 16th and 19th centuries. Later, some scholars found evidence of such political advancement throughout human history and began to fill the term with several concepts. The result is a compound concept, which has led to different definitions, conflicting and competing theories; all of which created a need for categorisation (Mathew, 2012).

From Mathew's point of view, one will realise that most of the existing theories of imperialism developed from various dimensions of the economic desires of society. Although we have had theories which took political or cultural

viewpoint, such views have also been promulgated in an economic sense (thus, political economy or cultural economy).

As a result, imperialism as a concept had a dual experience, resulting from intra-racial and inter-racial political-economic behaviour of European governments both at home and abroad. Consequently, we now have a single term to describe all cross-border activities. As previously mentioned, after coining the term, European historians and academics looked to history for examples that could be compared to their own and to justify their concept of imperialism. Such activities were not exclusive to Europe at the time. They were acts that happened both in ancient Roman history and in modern times. As a consequence, when extended to the Romans, Greeks, and other ancient civilizations that exhibited a myriad of variables that could be attributed to European international practices, the concept has become obsolete (Mathew, 2012).

To Mathew, most scholars associate imperialism with other social phenomena such as colonialism, capitalism, and slavery. Colonization, for example, would be less burdensome to colonialism if it were studied objectively. Similarly, some writers, including Munkler and Howe, have argued that there are strong distinctions between imperialism and hegemony. These scholars assist us in better understanding of globalization by excluding it from the ethical entanglements of colonization, bigotry, and slavery (Mathew, 2012).

Mathew (2012), opines that, to others, imperialism is defined as a relationship between societies that causes the economic, political, and social institutions of subordinated societies to be preoccupied with serving the interests of another, has played a critical role in the development of a single

comprehensive economy and the current state system. Imperialism has assumed a lasting economic sense, but it has also become a central term in explaining contemporary military, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, legal, and even ecological hierarchies. As a result, imperialism is now generally regarded as having an almost entirely negative connotation, despite the fact that it was once as likely to be regarded as a favourable or even optimistic word denoting a revolutionary and educational power in history (Mathew, 2012).

Moreover, the sense of the term imperialism has evolved. The term's widespread use dates mostly from the late nineteenth century, in reference to European empires, the United States, and Japan's competitive model of dividing the world into formal and informal spheres of control. In this context, it was almost synonymous with colonialism. Recently, globalization has been separated from colonialism. Whereas colonization (Colonialism) is synonymous with the transition of people from a metropolis to a province, as well as the formal transfer of political authority to the colonial force, imperialism refers to a more verbose and informal mode of relations in which one society comes to dominate another. Imperialism, according to this term, is a wider category in which hegemony and monarchy are embodiments (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020).

According to Galtung (1971), imperialism has been an important term in Marxist studies of capitalism since the early twentieth century. This legacy is largely responsible for the term's economic and normatively derogatory connotations. Imperialism is still a contentious but profoundly ingrained term in global studies. It is often invoked as a trigger or as a result of a variety of existing global processes, despite the fact that its precise existence remains

unknown. Any critical or progressive academics see imperialism as inextricably linked to, and even synonymous with, liberalism and globalization. This access provides a short historical summary before moving on to the more important analytical accounts of imperialism (Galtung, 1971).

Historical Overview

As a historical progression of the modern world, imperialism has conventionally been divided into two as “old imperialism” and “new imperialism.”

Old Imperialism

The first phase relates to the integration of European countries into the economic and political structures of other world regions beginning in the mid-1400s and peaking in the mid-eighteenth century. This was the mechanism of maritime conquest, by which European powers dominated the New World. They founded overseas trade posts and small colonies in Asia and Africa, often referred to as "old imperialism." (Matthew, 2012).

This first wave of colonial globalization coincided with the competitive growth of federal and exclusive government authorities in the form of states throughout Europe. Mercantilism dominated economic relations between European countries during the early imperial century. International trade relations were subordinated to the accumulation of state authority and monetary riches under the mercantile rule. Each state competed with the others in order to amass resources in the form of a monetary and trade surplus. This fuelled the rise of European countries in search of plunder and commerce. By the end of the first century of colonization, European influence had been spread to the Americas, as well as portions of Africa, Asia, and Oceania (Mathew, 2012).

Furthermore, according to Firmin-Sellers (2000), between 1776 and the 1820s, much of the New World gained political independence from European interests, and the age of mercantile hegemony ended. Until the late nineteenth century, European empires added very few new territories. Europe was ruled by a peaceful balance of power and the rise of liberal nationalism, and industrializing Britain was free to follow its global economic growth. Britain's privileged status as the world's first industrial force, the "workshop of the world," allowed it to recast its colonial determinations as a dedication to independent free trade. Instead of formal occupation, politically decentralized regions' economic structures became gradually exposed to Western capitalism. As the Chinese learned during the Opium Wars of 1856–1858, opposition to free trade could be faced with a military response. (Firmin-Sellers, 2000).

New Imperialism

The second wave of imperialism, known as modern imperialism, is generally considered to have occurred between the 1870s and 1914. "Over the course of four decades, a further one-sixth of the earth's surface was subjected under official European influence or even a fifth if informal "spheres of concern" are considered, largely by seven countries: The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, the United States, and Japan. As a result, Britain rose to prominence as a distinguished colonial force, establishing an empire that by 1922 occupied one-quarter of the world's land and a comparable proportion of its population. Japan remained the only non-European power to effectively turn to imperialism". The colonial powers divided the African continent among themselves in 1885, and by 1900, almost no region in Africa was left under self-rule. "The unification of the world into

an authoritarian regime confirmed that much of the world would be dragged into a mostly European war in 1914. It was during this period that the first methodical attempts to theorize imperialism were made” (Hosawi, 2018).

Types of Imperialism

There are many types of imperialism, which this study could consider. Here, the work concentrated on Military imperialism, Cultural and Religious imperialism, economic imperialism, Political imperialism, and Social imperialism.

Military/ Defensive Imperialism

Military imperialism “is a form of imperialism that uses military conquest to gain countries, and the new influence gained as a result of such conquest is then transformed by another battle for imperialistic purposes, as Rome did. Individuals and groups such as Alexander the Great, the Arabs of the 7th and 8th centuries, Napoleon, and Hitler, for example, all shared a passion for united expansion”. This form of imperialism, according to Augustus (1998) and Akinboye (2014), “attempts military domination, economic exploitation of other people's capital, the overthrow of established political structures, and cultural displacement by another as a means to the same imperialistic end. In reality, the aim is always to seize control of the status quo that is, to manipulate and reverse the relationship between the colonial and its subjects”. This goal can be achieved by overt military action or by indirect economic exploitation and cultural subversion of the victims, either as individuals or as a group (Augustus, 1998 and Akinboye, 2014). With this in mind, Hobbes gives the classical analysis of desire for power through military arms as follows:

“... First, I advocated for a common feeling felt by all humans, namely, an unquenchable and restless desire for dominance after power, which could only be satisfied by death. And the reason for this isn't always that a guy wishes for more happiness than he already has, or that he can't guarantee the strength and means to live well that he already has without possessing more. And from then on, the most powerful kings devote their energies to ensuring it, either at home by laws or abroad through war...”

(Hobbes, 1679: 49).

This type of imperialism could be seen in the era of Roman imperialism in North Africa and British imperialism in West Africa respectively. Looking at the Romans and their military engagement with the Carthaginians on the occupation of the North African regions and the British intrusion of West Africa, military or defensive type of imperialism comes to play.

Cultural and Religious Imperialism

Cultural imperialism, on the other hand, is adaptable. And if it ever succeeds on its own, will be the most powerful mode of imperialism. This is because imperialists are involved not only in capturing territories and in using their natural wealth but in conquering and manipulating tribal minds and civilizations in order to dominate them economically. Imperialists hope that by doing so, they can alter the power relations between the two nations. This antiquity definition was used by the Egyptians in their Egyptianisation of the

Nubians and by the Romans in their Romanisation of Africa *Proconsularis* (Akinboye, 2014).

Cultural and theological hegemony refers to the practice of fostering one country's culture and language over another's culture and language. The previous is typically a large, economically and militarily powerful nation, while the last is a less important one. It can be articulated as part of a systematic approach or as a general mindset. It can take the form of imposing foreign religion, culture, schooling, food, or clothes. The Western media, whether in film, television, or fashion, is undermining local customs, erasing our cultural values in African nations, and causing a generational rift among purists and the young ones universally (Said, 1994).

It now exists merely under the guise of economic interests generated by supporters of those firms, whose primary aim is to maximize revenues by expanding their activities whenever possible. The worldwide expansion of American fast-food such as McDonald's and KFC are a classic example. Today, the world has a multitude of consensual or collective free trade agreements, making it easier for some businesses to do business in previously inaccessible areas. More trade treaties are being signed between countries, with more on the way that has a major Western cultural effect on indigenous cultures that were previously isolated from such impacts (Said, 1994).

The internet has also played a significant part in the spread of those influences, as more people around the world obtain access to the internet and stream Hollywood movies online, or watch YouTube or Netflix to see what the next movie or TV show in the English-speaking world is. Even in contemporary Ghana, for instance, people now have taste for European or foreign movies such

as Game of Thrones, Kukumbagya, Money Heist and many other series than our Akan drama, concert parties and the likes. Some women today choose short skirts, torn jeans, or low-cut blouses that reveal their breasts in order to resemble westerners because they believe it is fashionable and makes them feel classier than ever. Men also emulate their favourite singers by wearing a lot of chains around their arms, which helps them look and behave like them. This is occurring because traditional values of dress and mannerisms are dwindling for a variety of reasons, all of which can be attributed to the word cultural hegemony on a global scale (Said, 1994).

According to Rodney (1973), “cultural imperialism is nothing new, and it has its origins in the spread of Christianity in Africa, Asia, and other areas of the world through very active and aggressive missionaries. They instilled in the locals the idea that being bare-breasted was a sin that required them to cover up. They told them that Western clothing, morality, and religious views were superior to their native clothing, religion, cults, and manners, and they kidnapped thousands of children from their parents in order to teach them “better values” and convert them into good Christians” (Rodney, 1973).

Also, children were taken away from their native lands and from their parents and made to learn English Language, French, Latin and other languages of which now have become the official language for many African countries. These children were also banned to speak in their native tongue and all such cultural practices were banned so that they could learn the Western way of life. Our African sense of communalism and family ties were torn apart by such cruel acts by the so-called “gooders”. They looked down on anything they perceived in Africa as wrong, immoral, sinful and evil. This kind of cultural imperialism

has been in existence for a very long time. And this has made a detrimental impact on the natives, their language and their traditions (Rodney, 1973).

Said (1994), established that “when Columbus, Pizarro, and other such expeditions arrived in the new world, that (the Americas), they claimed the land in the name of their King and Queen. They did so, use their military and were often followed by missionaries recruited from the mob in Europe who forced their brand of Christianity on the locals using force, paving the way for custodianship” (Said, 1994).

According to Rodney (1973), the imperialists' cultural influence, which was exported to many nations in the name of spreading Christianity and thereby saving lives, resulted from their unwavering belief that they were a superior race and that only they understood what was right, ignoring the magnificent local culture and traditions. Despite the fact that these imperialists did more harm than good, it would be irresponsible to overlook their positive legacies as well. As a result, they established modern laws and an administrative structure that taught locals how to govern their country, as well as various colleges and universities and the sending of many young people to England to study. Some also helped to build infrastructure, such as railways and roads, which helped to connect the region. Overall, they declared obsolete rituals unconstitutional and passed laws to protect women and children from abuse (Rodney, 1973).

Said (1994), assert that "I have always thought that the argument that one culture is superior to all others is quite ancient. But there was a time during the colonial era in Asia and Africa when some European countries colonized other countries for the benefit and stayed for a long time to leave a lasting imprint on the country's art, culture, literature, clothing, and even food." (Said, 1994).

Economic Imperialism

According to Pliny the Elder (1855) and Akinboye (2014), this is a form of imperialism in which imperialists use military and cultural power to extract riches or capital from other countries. It was a dominant feature of colonial policy in the UK, Germany, France, and the US during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. This was also the case in Rome during the Republican and Imperial times. Global imperialism strategies are distinguished by their motivations to seize power, exploit nations, and overthrow the status quo by economic dominance. This form of imperialism happens when two imperialists compete for economic wealth in the same area, as Rome and Carthage did over Sicily and the Mediterranean trade route in North Africa. The long-running military competition between the United Kingdom and Russia for control of oil-rich Iran could serve as an example here (Pliny the Elder, 1855 and Akinboye, 2014).

Roberts described this situation in Iran, which was then called Persia before World War I, as follows:

“Russia presses on her from the north, while Great Britain presses on her from the south, despite the fact that the two powers' strength is vastly different. Great Britain controls the majority of Southern Persia's foreign trade and claims possession of the whole Asiatic Coastline from Aden eastwards to Baluchistan... Russia now controls the majority of trade with northern Persia thanks to the growth of the Volga's navigation and the construction of the Trans Caspian railway. However, Russia's commercial

arms are subject to a monopoly and prohibition. She has imposed a ban on the construction of railroads in Persian territory and has consistently rejected steps that would help the country regenerate.” (Roberts, 1910, p 490).

Clearly, only Great Britain's economic and political competition seemed to have stood in the way of Iran's complete integration into the Russian orbit. Concerning the power of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Mediterranean trade, the Roman and Carthaginian interests are in conflict. With this Morewood - Dowsett observes:

“Taking the motives which shaped the policy of ancient Rome in her dealings with the African States into account, Rome had no desire to postpone it because her commerce in the western Mediterranean was strangled by the presence of the Carthaginians in Corsica and Sardinia while their domination of Sicily gave them a convenient base for an attack on Italy.”

(Morewood-Dowsett J. p143)

Moreover, the geographical position of Carthage in Africa, her control of Lilybaeum and Messana, both in Sicily, would enable her to have a stronghold on the East-West Mediterranean trade routes. (Akinboye, 2014).

Political imperialism

A more powerful nation gains political dominance and hegemony over a poorer country by this mechanism. Political hegemony is a type of international influence based on the power in the hands of wealthy and developed countries, such as ancient Rome and the United Kingdom. With this, Galtung (1971, 92) asserts:

“some nations produce decisions, others supply obedience.
It is like an international division of labour in politics.”

According to Mitchener (2008), political imperialism derives its influence from economic capital, and the economy, in the sense that economic imperialism is the most prevalent type of imperialism, offers the material resources for other types of imperialism to function. When we investigate the constitutional imperial powers, we will find that they are mostly economic imperial powers. This form of diplomatic partnership can be articulated in two ways: either by the Core nations' assistance and assistance to the natives or simply by a voluntary emulation process by the subjects, with "a special atmosphere of merit to any suggestion originating from the Center." (Mitchener, 2008).

The core phenomenon of this process, according to Mitchener (2008), known as "political dependence," and is vital to the workings of the capitalist world-imperialist regime. If a nation's or region's status in the global system is to be recognized, these complexities and how that country or region interacts with the system must also be considered. Developed countries use political hegemony to construct and use words like "development," "democracy," "modernization," "human rights," "freedom," and "expected obsolescence,"

among others, and enforce them on other countries as ecocultural standards that everybody must follow. These concepts also help to legitimize developing countries as the “Core” of the global economy. However, colonial powers must establish these definitions of "democracy," "modernization," and so on. When a country rejects these principles, it is labelled as a "rebel" that imperial powers must battle and subdue, either by exclusion or direct and hostile action (e.g., coup or a military invasion). During the Roman and British colonial eras, this was also apparent (Mitchener, 2008).

Social Imperialism

This refers to the use of social amenities as a tool for controlling other nations. With this more especially the Europeans used a means of controlling the natives to gain wealth. Education, Science and Technology, Diplomacy and foreign policies were key factors in social imperialism. In education, this was used as a form of imperialism. The Romans in North Africa used this as a means of spreading Romanisation and this made a lot of influence as far as Roman education is concerned. Also, the westerners such as the British used any form of education be it formal or informal to impose their will on the Africans. The imperialists gave the sons of the natives education to be able to exploit them. Meaning they used these formally educated sons to reach their parents and made them abolish their own culture through their education. A classic example is the Chinese presence in Africa, teaching their language and spreading their cultures. Now many of our public Universities and Senior High Schools in Ghana host the Confucius institute which if care is not taken in the coming years, the Chinese language will now be part of the so-called official languages in Ghana.

Science and technology have also led to the subjugation of people with lesser forces. Technology basically refers to how humans use modern methods, resources, and energy to meet their needs in ways that go beyond what their bodies can do. Science and technology have replaced many facets of life. At first, they were no use of certain things like the telephone, which now has destroyed the communication channel between people, the unity and communal life among them. Prior to imperialism, people do get time for their neighbours; they spend quality time together and have a healthy interaction. During this period of imperialism, for instance, Mobile phones have destroyed such relationships and when friends meet nowadays, they would all be busy with their phones, forgetting the reason why they have met (Mair, 1969).

Furthermore, our outdated technology has been erased and replaced by ostensibly better ones. They referred to as superior because they allow the owners greater control of nature. For example, being able to travel faster, talk more easily, and kill more effectively than those who do not have it. Because of their superior technologies, they were able to rule the natives, causing some of them to leave their homelands in ships and out of their comfort zones. About the fact that no technology can order its users, a fresh and strong temptation to do so can. Despite its advantages, automation has limited manpower, leaving men idle. Men are currently reluctant to use their own power to accomplish certain functions, preferring to focus on machines. Technology has aided the West in the conquest of its allies. When the Europeans landed in Africa, they were able to subdue the natives with the use of technologies (Mair, 1969).

Reasons for Imperialistic Strategies

In relation to imperialism, for someone or a superpower to extend their influence on others or rule them, there must be a mindset or rationale or a reason behind their actions. Such reasons or rationale empower or motivate them to carry out their actions and most of the time fulfil their dreams. These reasons are what we can say that motivated the Romans to extend their boundaries and supremacy to North Africa, and gave the British the impetus to extend their hegemony in the West of Africa. These reasons were carved out of the existing types of imperialism discussed earlier on. With this in mind, there are more reasons, which could be discussed, but the study limited it to Exploratory, Political, Ideological, Religious and Economic.

Exploratory Reason

Here, the imperialists had in mind to map new territory or to know new places. And to locate new people especially the indigenes or the native people. According to Pliny the Elder (1855) and July (1980), the imperialists also had in mind to identify natural resources available in a different land. This is one of the desires of every great nation. Moreover, the imperialists and their citizens wanted to explore, for that matter to be where they have not been yet, what is called 'travel and see'. They did this in a sense of adventure and claim territory and compete with other imperialists for personal and national glory, which serves the imperialists goal of expansion and exploration. Imperialism brought the Europeans to explore and met new lands and new people, of which the land was full of exotic and animals they have not set eye on before. And with this, many of which served as medicine, and scientific purposes (Pliny the Elder, (1855 and July, 1980).

This is evidenced in David Livingstone a British Explorer and first European to travel through Africa's speech.

"There are several medicines in use among the natives, but I have never been able to find out which were useful, and which were of no value.

We find medicine in use by a tribe in one part of the country, and the same plant used by a tribe a thousand miles away for the same medicine. This surely must be a result of some natural virtue in the plant. As we still have no cure for cholera and some other diseases, it might be worth the investigation of those who visit Africa to try and find other remedies." (Livingstone, 1857).

The above quote shows how explorative the Europeans who came to Africa were. This actually testifies that their reasons for exploring in Africa were not to lose but to gain.

Political Reason

Politically, the imperialists had the reasons for claiming the land for their mother country, which will help them achieve their goals of expansionism. This is to make sure that their mother country gets more resources than any other country in order to control or subdue another country's government. This was done through the sense of patriotism each imperialist had for his country, and personal political ambition.

Fage (1969), suggested that the growing imperial powers had the intention of competition, that, they had in mind of competing with their

colleague imperialists for supremacy. This is a matter of national prestige, pride and security. Empires needed strategic advantage and territory to ensure access to their navies and armies around the world. The empire must be expanded and defended. National prestige to be the best and have the largest empire ever is the intention of most imperialists more especially the Romans and the British during the empire. Every country wanted hegemony and the nation's greatness is been measured by the quality and quantity of its colonies or allies. The Imperialists, therefore, realized that there is greatness in establishing an empire for that matter had this rationale behind it (Fage, 1969).

The quotation below from Cecil Rhodes, a British and Jules Ferry a French, explain their stands on imperialism.

"I believe that the British are the greatest race in the world. And that the more of the world we occupy, the better it is for humans; ... " Cecil Rhodes, Confession of Faith, 1877.

The speech from this European depicts the political reason for the imperialists. And how they intern to exercise their political powers on the colonised nations. In addition, it is possible to say that politically, both imperialists wanted universal dominion in the era of their imperialism. For instance, the Romans aimed boldly at universal dominion and power and achieved their purpose (Polybius, 1966).

Also, Sallust (1921), is of the view that Gaius Marius who took over from Metellus as a commander of the Roman army against Jugurtha had a personal ambition to gain success, military glory, national prestige and honour (Sallust, 1921). We can also say that one of the imperial reasons that propelled

Caesar to attack the Gauls was to honour the invitation by Rome's Gallic allies to help subdue the Helvetians who were on a conquering spree (Plutarch *Caesar*, 1864). Also, Caesar had an intention to use his personal ambition to boost his political career.

With this, Plutarch stated:

“Gaul was of significant military importance to the Romans as native tribes both indigenous to the Gaul and further to the north had attacked them several times”. (Plutarch *Caesar*, 1864)

According to Plutarch, whoever conquers and finally subdue such tribes would gain unprecedented prestige. Caesar sought to achieve this in order to gain such prestige, political honour and advantage. This, therefore, means that, aside from that, the imperialists' government wanted universal dominion, prestige and glory, some individuals also wanted to achieve these in order to climb the political ladder and this motivated them to embark on imperial programmes.

Ideological Reason

July (1980), asserts that many imperialists had an ideology that they were better than the non-Europeans were. For that matter, they had a belief that it was right and their duty to ensure growth and civilisation in their so-called primitive and barbarian countries. For an imperialistic reason, the Romans, as well as the British, had an ideology that Africans more especially are living on trees and in caves and they are not real humans but rather liken to animals. With this in mind, it was their intention to improve the lives of the non-Europeans and to make them look like them and to adopt their perspectives that is

Romanisation and “Europeanisation” respectively (July, 1980). The quote below attests to this imperialists rationale for coming to Africa.

“I say again, superior races have a right because they have a responsibility. They have a responsibility to civilize the underdeveloped races...” Mommsen (1981).

This is their ideology and how the Imperialists certainly saw the Africans, of which they develop their rationale of coming here.

Religious and Cultural Reasons

The imperialists had a religious intention to spread Christianity but rather used it as a means to an end. They had in mind that Christianity is superior to all other religions and this landed them in Africa to spread it. The imperial powers felt the need to acquire territories in order to change the people (natives) to the Christian religion, which was the case of the British, and the spread of Romanisation as far as the Romans are concerned. They saw Asian and African religions to be inferior for that matter needed to be restored. This is the question they asked, “Has the African a God”? To them, Africa knew no God until their (imperialists) arrival and the spread of new religion. The most sarcastic part is that, the imperialists spoke of spreading the good news, yet they profit minded. Missionaries believed that Christianity would end the so-called “evil practices” of the people including slavery. Christian missionaries for instance established Churches and schools in the conquered territories during the 9th Century in order to control the natives and spread their language in order for the natives to forget about their mother tongue as we could see in our contemporary times. The imperialists convinced the natives that their religion is evil and not to affect the

next generation. Therefore, they forced them (Africans) to embrace Christianity.

The following speech quoted attest to it.

"May the Catholic faith and Christian religion be exalted and spread throughout the world, that souls be cared for, and barbarous nations be overthrown and converted to the faith itself." (Muldoon, 1978).

"I was particularly shocked that the chief was all too happy to accept Christianity at my suggestion, preaching in the reality of Christianity while behaving honestly and morally in all aspect of life for the next two and a half years..." (David Livingstone 1857).

This is the rationale behind the spread of Christianity in more especially Africa and it made Africans looked like evil entities. Even in the present day, anything black is devilish and anything European is of God. In the case of the Romans, everything non-Roman is barbaric and uncivilized but anything Roman became superior and acceptable.

Economic Reason

Aside from all the discussed reasons for the imperialist's movement to Africa, there is another key reason by which the Romans and the British considered before coming to their respective territories in Africa (North and West Africa) and this is the economic reason. This helped the imperialists to make money and able to feed their citizens. For the imperialists to achieve their goals they needed to obtain raw materials which will help their industries to

produce goods, supply them to their citizens and sold them to the natives. The imperialists, aside from selling these goods to the natives also, used some as an exchange for goods that are more even valuable from the natives, which we called the batter trade.

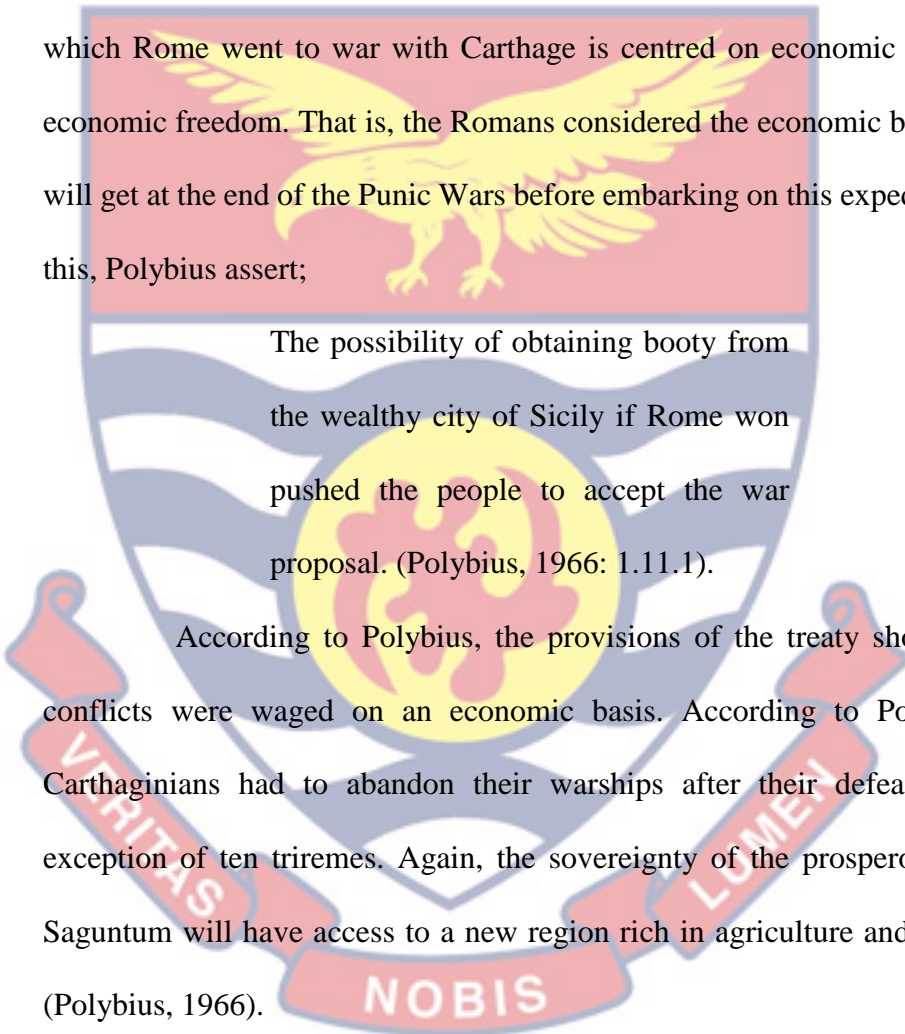
Also, according to Crowder (1969), the colonial government and certain private corporations under those governments were compelled to increase profits. For these factors, economic growth needed and demanded cheap labour, as well as market access to sell, purchase, and trade goods. Following the industrial revolution, colonized countries continued to supply raw materials to European factories and markets, especially. The imperial merchants also built trading posts and factories, and they started to move raw materials and people to work on their farms and factories. Imperial forces also competed with one another for the best available capital, markets, and commerce. The industrial nations needed raw materials or natural resources from the central African rainforest, such as gold, rubber, cotton, and many others, to feed their factories (Crowder, 1969).

The following is a quote from Jules Ferry to the French monarchy to build a second colonial empire in 1890.

“The industrial revolution gave birth to imperial policy. It is required in wealthy countries where capital (money) is abundant and accumulates (grows) quickly, where the industry is steadily expanding, and where even agriculture must become mechanized to survive. Exports (goods sold to other

countries) are essential for public prosperity (wealth) (wealth). Both demands for labour and the opportunity for capital investment (starting new businesses) depend on the foreign market. ...

According to Polybius (1966), for instance, looking at the motives of which Rome went to war with Carthage is centred on economic motive and economic freedom. That is, the Romans considered the economic benefits they will get at the end of the Punic Wars before embarking on this expedition. With this, Polybius assert;

The watermark is the crest of the University of Cape Coast. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with spread wings at the top. Below the eagle is a blue and white wavy pattern. In the center of the shield is a yellow circle containing a red and white emblem. A red banner at the bottom of the shield contains the word 'NOBIS' in white capital letters. Two red banners on either side of the shield contain the words 'VERITAS' and 'LUMEN' respectively.

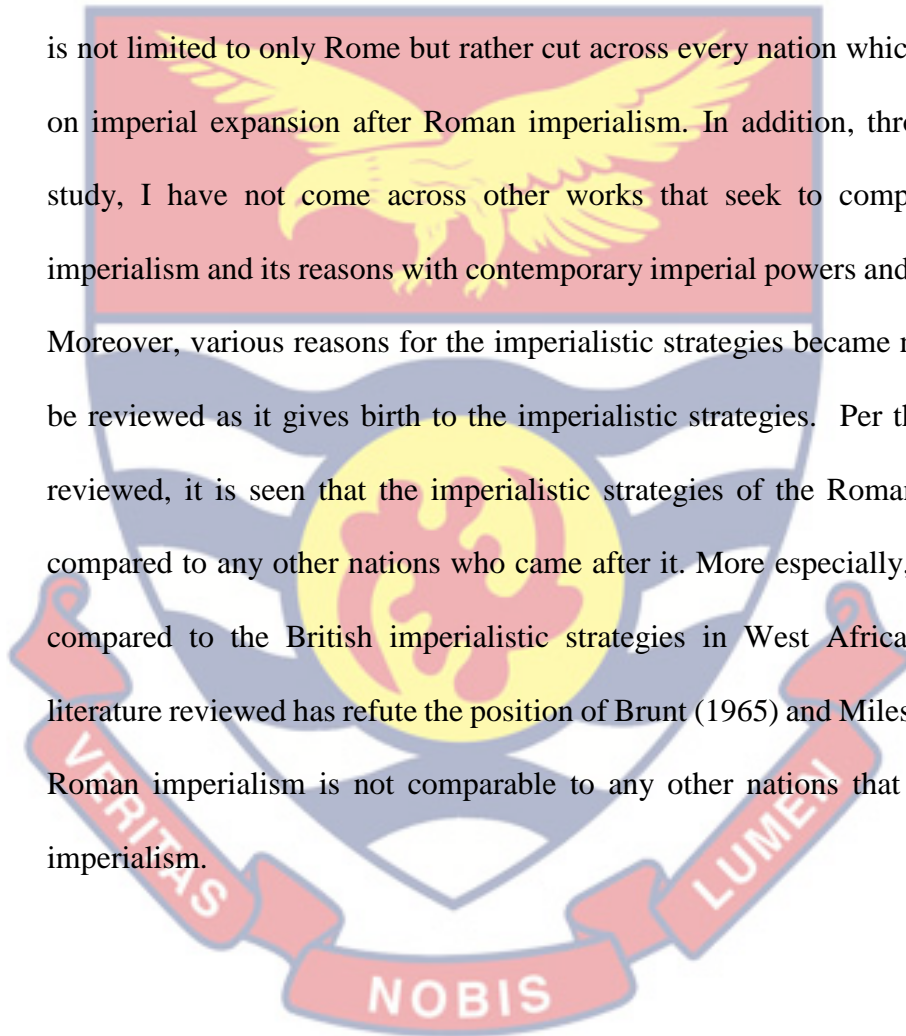
The possibility of obtaining booty from the wealthy city of Sicily if Rome won pushed the people to accept the war proposal. (Polybius, 1966: 1.11.1).

According to Polybius, the provisions of the treaty show that the conflicts were waged on an economic basis. According to Polybius, the Carthaginians had to abandon their warships after their defeat, with the exception of ten triremes. Again, the sovereignty of the prosperous state of Saguntum will have access to a new region rich in agriculture and commerce (Polybius, 1966).

Economic factors were among the most essential reasons for powerful countries to create empires. At this point, we could see that the economic strategies were the very reason why the imperialists came to Africa and this is the reason why they needed to abolish everything African. Moreover, this is to enable them to exploit Africa economically. With this strategy in mind,

there was a great need to destroy African religion and spirituality, culture and education in order to get access to economic resources. This is exactly what the Romans did during their imperial program in North Africa. Likewise, the British also used the same motive in their occupation of West Africa. With this, they painted the Africans black.

Per the above literatures reviewed, one will realize that imperialism is not limited to only Rome but rather cut across every nation which embarked on imperial expansion after Roman imperialism. In addition, throughout the study, I have not come across other works that seek to compare Roman imperialism and its reasons with contemporary imperial powers and its reasons. Moreover, various reasons for the imperialistic strategies became necessary to be reviewed as it gives birth to the imperialistic strategies. Per the literature reviewed, it is seen that the imperialistic strategies of the Romans could be compared to any other nations who came after it. More especially, it could be compared to the British imperialistic strategies in West Africa. Thus, the literature reviewed has refuted the position of Brunt (1965) and Miles (1990) that Roman imperialism is not comparable to any other nations that engaged in imperialism.



CHAPTER THREE

ROMAN IMPERIALISTIC STRATEGIES IN NORTH AFRICA

Introduction

“The rise and fall of a great empire cannot fail to fascinate us, because we can all see much of our own time in such a tale.

However, of all the empires that have come and gone, the Roman Empire has immediate appeal. It pervades our lives today, and its legacy can be seen everywhere.”

(Barry W. Cunliffe, *Rome and Her Empire*).

Expansionism was the spirit Romulus injected into Rome’s veins. As a legendary father, his creation of asylum, the rape of the Sabine women organised for his menfolk, and wars on the *Veii* and *Fidenae* were efforts put in place to set the foundation of the expansion of Rome. Tullus and Ancus also added to this with wars, treaties and assimilation. This expansion spirit was the imposition of Rome’s imperium on other states. The expansion of Rome’s power beyond the *Pomerium* began with the annexation of Ostia, and then proceeded in the form of alliances with the neighbouring cities of Latium (Akaah-Ennin et al, 2005). This shows that prior to Rome’s imperialism in the North of Africa, Rome already had reasons and strategies for expanding its territory. Starting from inside Italy and later outside Italy in which North Africa is seen.

This chapter analyses Roman imperialistic strategies in North Africa. Before the strategies, it, therefore, gives an overview of Roman imperialism in

North Africa, highlights some reasons behind the imperialistic strategies and finally looks at the various imperialistic strategies put in place by the Romans in their territorial expansion.

“From 509 B.C. to 14 B.C., the Roman expansion policy and the struggle for dominance lasted roughly 500 years.

At the start of this century, Rome was a tiny republic in central Italy. Five hundred years later, it was the thriving heart of a vast empire. At its peak, the Roman Empire ruled over much of Europe, as well as North Africa, Egypt, most of the modern Middle East, and Asia Minor.

The empire's expansion occurred steadily and at a cost. To protect their expanding empire and invade new territories, the Romans had to battle numerous battles. Rome itself evolved along the way”. (Gruen, 1970:23).

The Romans once took pride in being ruled by a Republic of elected representatives. They had heroes or men who contributed to the preservation of the Republic. By 14 B.C., the Roman Republic had faded into obscurity. The power was concentrated in the possession of a single, absolute monarch, the emperor (Gruen, 1970).

Rome's development from a Republic to an empire has four main stages. The first stage of the expansion dated from 509 B.C. to 264 B.C., during this era Rome throng out the last of the Etruscans king and Rome became a Republic. The Romans had in mind to protect their borders and gain more land. They conquered their Latin neighbours in central Italy. The Romans wisely concluded a pact with their Latin neighbours, guaranteeing future peace. The

Romans defeated the Etruscans to the north after 100 years of war. They also fought against the Samnites and other Greek city-states to the south. Rome's occupation of the Italian peninsula was complete by the end of this century. It was also during this time that Rome was destroyed by a band of warlike people from the north known as the Gauls. The Gauls defeated the Roman armies, sacked Rome, and burned it down. This persuaded the Romans that they needed a larger, more capable army. The army had to be strong enough to maintain a permanent army in Rome as well as send troops to protect occupied territories. More and more Romans (mostly plebs) were compelled to join the army. Conquered territories were forced to supply troops and pay taxes to the Roman armies (North, 1981).

The second period of Expansion took place between 264 B.C. and 146 B.C. The advance of Rome posed a challenge to another great force, the North African city of Carthage. Three big series of Wars erupted between Rome and Carthage during this period of expansion. The Punic Wars are the name given to these conflicts. Carthage ruled North Africa, Spain, and a portion of the Sicilian islands when the wars started. Furthermore, Carthage controlled the majority of trade in the western Mediterranean Sea. The Greek city-states of southern Italy often fought with Carthage over trade privileges. When Rome annexed these cities, it became embroiled in a conflict with Carthage. The first war was fought mostly at sea because Carthage also, had a very powerful navy. The Romans also built their navy by imitating and improving upon the Carthaginians' ships. The Romans won a significant victory and gained absolute control over Sicily and other islands. Carthage attacked Italy itself during the Second Punic War. Hannibal, a brilliant Carthaginian general, surprised the

Romans by marching from Spain across the Alps and into Italy. For about 15 years, his army wrestled with the Romans in Italy. Hannibal was forced to return to Carthage to defend against an attack by the Roman army (North, 1981).

The Romans were triumphant once more, and Carthage was forced to cede Spain. During the Third Punic War, Rome invaded and burned Carthage to the ground. Rome was now the most powerful force in the Mediterranean. As a result, he ruled over North Africa, a large portion of Spain, and Greece. However, countless people died as a result of these conflicts. Farms had been lost, and some had been abandoned. Rome was forced to buy grain from other countries because it no longer had enough food to feed its population. Poor farmers were compelled to sell their property to rich landlords (North, 1981).

The third period of Expansion occurred between 145 B.C. and 44 B.C. During this era, Rome ruled over the entire Mediterranean world. General Pompey had extended Roman rule into Asia Minor's eastern territories, including Syria and Cyprus. Julius Caesar had occupied a large portion of Gaul and Egypt. The city of Rome had benefited greatly from these conquests. However, the extension was also causing significant problems. Conquered territories became resentful of having to pay taxes to send troops to the Roman army. As a result, many rebelled, and Rome was forced to control them. Thousands of slaves were brought into Roman territory as captives. Slave revolts were common as a result of the Romans' harsh treatment of them. In 73 B.C., a slave called Spartacus led a famous uprising. The Romans executed thousands of remaining rebels on crosses after crushing his troops and killing Spartacus in combat. Thousands of Roman farmers and labourers were out of work because there were too many slaves to do the work. They swarmed into

Rome. Civil wars erupted between powerful generals over the domination of Rome. Julius Caesar gained control and was named dictator for life by the Senate. With Caesar in control, and after nearly five hundred years, the Republic was at an end. And this ushered in another era, the fourth period (North, 1981).

Around 44 B.C. and 14 B.C., the Republican period experienced the fourth level of Expansion. Caesar's assassination precipitated ten-year Civil War in Rome. When the war stopped, Octavian, Caesar's nephew and adoptive son, was the sole ruler of Rome. This was the start of the Roman Empire. Octavian convinced the Romans that he was restoring the Senate's legitimacy in order to win favour with the voters, but he was in full charge. He was assigned the name "Augustus," which means "honourable," and ruled Rome as Caesar Augustus. According to legend, he was Rome's first emperor. Augustus presided over a population of more than 50 million inhabitants. He expanded Rome's empire further by conquering the eastern kingdoms of Judea and Armenia. He stretched the empire's western frontier to the Rhine and Danube Rivers in order to protect it. Later emperors contributed to Rome's influence by annexing areas of Britain and pushing farther into North Africa. Rome was now the world's largest empire, extending from Britain to the present-day Middle East (North, 1981).

Ancient North Africa Roman territories consisted of the north of the Sahara Desert, west of Egypt, and east of the Atlantic coast of Mauretania. This province included Cyrene, Carthage, Numidia, and Mauretania in the ancient world. Carthage, from 580 to 396 BC extended into a large empire that covered colonies in coastal Spain, the Atlantic coast of Africa, and various Mediterranean islands in addition to their major territory in northern Tunisia. Numidia's territory (modern-day southern Tunisia and Algeria) was frequently

divided into several kingdoms that warred against each other resulting in confederacies under one of the rival kings. The kingdom of Mauretania avoided interaction with the Roman state but mostly cooperated with Numidia, Carthage, and other nations in the region, including the peoples of Spain. Cyrene was a Greek city-state until Augustus annexed it as a province, which included the region that is modern-day Libya. These regions were well-populated with Carthage as the chief power until the end of the Second Punic War (201 BC) (Augustus, 1998).

The available ancient sources describe colonial revolutions and policies in the Roman state's invasion of North Africa; these narrate the Roman Republic's enormous geographical, political, and economic growth from a small city-state in Latium to a Mediterranean empire. According to the facts, Rome exerted political authority and cultural influence on the conquered or annexed territories by the completion of the 1st cent. AD. Rome also devised more strategies to equip them in embarking on this imperial program (Scullard, 1982).

Reasons for Roman Imperialistic Strategies in North Africa.

“The Roman empire was not built in just a day.” Rome had several reasons behind its imperialism and their imperialistic strategies. Thus, for a nation should get up just one day to conquer another nation or extend their influence on a particular city or state, there should be a reason or intention for embarking on such an adventure and this is what influenced their strategies put in place. Various reasons for imperialism are build-out of the various existing types of imperialism as discussed in my literature review. This section discusses

reasons such as Exploratory, Political, Defensive, Ideological, Economic and Cultural.

Economic Reasons

The most predominant form of imperialism is economic. The strategies we called economic imperialism is the main step to achieve power, establish influence, exploit countries and take over the status quo by way of economic control. This type of imperialism is mostly a struggle between two powers for economic resources and political control. Considering Roman imperialism, Rome and Carthage strived for economic resources and control of Sicily and the Mediterranean trade route in North Africa. The economic control ensued the long Wars between Rome and Carthage, which finally Carthage was defeated by Rome. (Akinboye, 2014).

With this in mind, the Romans developed the economic reasons for embarking on their imperialistic welfare.

“Suetonius Paulinus, whom we have seen Consul in our day, was the first Roman General to advance a few miles beyond Mount Atlas... He has claimed that the lower sections of it (Mount Atlas) are covered with a dense and supercilious forest consisting of trees of previously unknown species... A fine fabric, similar to the textiles made from silk-worm produce, may be conveniently crafted with the help of art.”- Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories* (p 123-124).

Pliny the Elder defined North Africa in detail, from Mauretania to the Cyrenian-Egyptian frontier, as well as Africa's Atlantic coastline and the inland regions north of the Sahara Desert. These accounts were based in part on earlier explorers' accounts, such as Hanno the Carthaginian and Polybius. Pliny the Elder represented the goods, citizens, political units, towns, settlements, ways of life, as well as the methods and circumstances of Roman conquest in North Africa. His *Natural Histories* sheds light on the economic factors that drove the Roman invasion into North Africa. Pliny the Elder not only described these trees that could manufacture luxurious silk, but he also wrote of ancient remnants of plantations and vineyards, as well as other items available from other areas, such as marble from Numidia. Pliny in *Natural Histories* covered many of the economic reasons for the Roman Empire, such as the conquest of people for slaves, exotic goods, agricultural production, arable property, luxury exports, and raw building materials (Pliny the Elder, 1855).

In addition, Paul Erdkamp examined the various aspects of Rome's grain markets in his 2005 book *The Grain Market in the Roman Economy: A Social, Political, and Economic Study*. This work offers some ideas about how grain was used economically and socially, but it also portrays arable land for grain production as a colonial incentive for territory conquest. The work further adds to Frank's claim that the need for arable land was a key impetus for Roman imperialism (Erdkamp, 2005).

Also, an analysis of how the North African regions came into Roman proprietorship is required to further understand the economic merits of annexation. In Pliny, the Elder's *Natural Histories* Pliny listed the colonies and *municipia* of Roman- North Africa and their legal rights, which some colonies

are regarded as either *coloniae civium Romanorum* (Roman Citizen rights) or *coloniae Latinae* (Latin rights). The colonization process of Rome provided arable land to the Roman citizens, grain to the empire, and loyal settlements in the new and sometimes recalcitrant region. Also, this depicts the fact that arable land and grain were the primary motives for Roman imperialism in North Africa. As previously mentioned, the economic and political scopes of the Roman and Carthaginian empires collided in 264 BC, resulting in the Punic Wars. The First Punic War was fought for possession of Sicily, which served as an important point in the Mediterranean for commerce, grain manufacture, and access to North Africa, but it gave Rome no African territories. Prior to 264 BC, the Greeks and Carthaginians were the dominant Mediterranean trading forces. The fall of Pyrrhus in southern Italy and the protracted war with Carthage signalled a change in the balance of Mediterranean force against Rome. This and the complete annexation of Italy began a new stage of Roman expansion to a novel region, North Africa (Pliny the Elder, 1855).

From 300 BC to AD 100, the Roman state underwent enormous population growth as a result of conquering cities or inhabitants, giving some of them citizenship, and many more were born into a structure that gave them great prosperity in agriculture. Despite the fact that many people were killed in wars during this period, the Roman state was able to populate its cities. The Romans were seizing land and citizens at this stage for agricultural production, commerce, and luxury. The Roman conflict with the Carthaginians, as well as their expansion into North Africa, strongly demonstrates Rome's economic motivations, with resource extraction and domination of Mediterranean commerce. The value of Roman olive oil and wine production for export is

shown by research on Roman *amphorae* and Cato's *De Agri Cultura*. This was evident in southern Italy, where several villas once stood. The above indication validates the wine-making specifics in Cato's agricultural work. The vast majority of North African districts is critical to the widespread development of olive oil. Taking this into consideration, it is clear that the North African province had a plethora of commodities for exports and food production. These possessions serve as economic justifications for Roman imperialism. As a result, the Romans strengthened Africa's dominated lands for abundant food supply for trade and economic help. Roman expansion into this region allowed for increased food production which other regions could not produce. Here, it is clear to state that the available resources in the North Africa region motivated Roman expansionism in North Africa. The Roman state's constant warfare provided additional major agricultural resources, and slaves (Cato, 1997 and Flower, 2014).

Moreover, during the Jugurthine War, Gaius Marius set the precedent for subsequent *novi homines* seeking influence and prosperity by military campaigns. In this case, military presence in North Africa, an already controlled area, aided Gaius Marius' rise. His military victories paved the way for future men like Sulla, Julius Caesar, and Octavian to reap economic and political benefits. Sallust wrote in his work of the economic gains that Marius shared equally with his soldiers in exchange for their loyalty. According to Sallust, Marius targeted the regions in his second campaign, which helped him win many booties (Sallust, 1963 and Flower, 2014).

Julius Caesar arrived in Africa in 46 BC after the Roman Civil War, a military conflict between the *optimates* and the *populares*. Despite the fact that Rome

had previously controlled North Africa, Julius Caesar conquered other Romans and their auxiliary in the already subjugated area. Caesar confiscated their property in order to finance his campaign in Spain and support the Roman population, after defeating his enemies. After Caesar's death, his successor, Octavian (Augustus), inherited these possessions. Augustus used these possessions to build public works projects in order to maximize jobs and maintain a stable economy (Plutarch, 2001 and Scullard, 1982).

Political Reasons.

Political imperialism is one form of imperialism whereby a superpower or country institutes political hegemony on a weaker power using their political administration.

When we consider the powers of the consuls, the Roman constitution seems monarchical; when we consider the senate, we see an aristocratic form of government; and when we consider the power of the people, we see the practice of democracy.

Polybius, *Histories*.

With this, from a Greek perspective, Polybius explained the existence of the Roman form of government in the mid-second century B.C. The Roman state was made up of various modes of government and power systems that enabled checks and balances to function. The Roman subjugation of North Africa provided numerous opportunities for the advancement of individual agendas in Roman politics. Individual political figures with military expertise, prestige, and titles expanded their political theories and presence in many of Rome's colonies. That is aside from Rome as a nation desired to be renowned in the

Political sphere, individual political leaders and their families also needed political fame and this probably influenced their imperialistic strategies (Polybius, 1922).

The Roman political reasons for imperialism are rooted in their ability to remove colonial rivals and extend political and provincial domination across the Mediterranean. Personal political aspirations propelled Rome's achievement of these objectives. The Roman Republic's political life was focused on power struggles, avarice, and glory rather than political parties. As a result, the primary political impetus for Roman imperialism was human political ambition (Erskine, 2010).

Since the inception of the 2nd cent. BC to the 1st cent. AD, the strategic reasons for Roman imperialism were the absence of colonial rivals (Carthage), dominating North African kingdoms, and acquiring individual political influence. The republican government's institutions compensated individuals for military subjugation with political dominance, resulting in further provincial and political expansion. The overlapping imperial spheres of Rome and Carthage resulted in a series of wars that heightened Roman political and economic ambitions in North Africa. Furthermore, Carthage's annihilation resulted in Roman political dominance by client states in North Africa, as well as a direct rule in the former Carthaginian mainland. Personal political intentions sparked colonial expansion and variations in Rome, which inspired North African political policies.

Defensive Reasons.

This is a form of imperialism, which employs military strategies to gain colonies. More especially conquering by wars or using military cohesion to take

what belongs to another state. In the case of Rome, military imperialism is very kin and Rome was able to conquer many colonies in North Africa with the help of their strategic military force. During the era of Roman imperial expansion, Rome was able to control the Italian Peninsula, defeated the city of Carthage where he had an enduring conflict and later Rome conquered and ruled the North Africa province all with their Military control. This means that the military force of Rome played an essential role in the Roman imperial expansion, which made them gain many colonies. Also, Rome used their strong military might of the state and individual military-political leaders as a defensive mechanism and for that matter able to control the province. The military state used their military to conquer the North Africans after defeating Carthage in the Second Punic War, even though it did not formally annex the region until much later.

The Romans always warred for political control, economic dominance and territorial expansion of nearby regions and government throughout the republican and imperial era. The military played important role in the Roman conquest that is why after capturing a colony, Rome has to build garrisons and military posts over there in order to see to it that no colony will rise against Rome. In North Africa, the use of military imperialism as a form or type of imperialism became more important for a defensive mechanism. And this helped to increase the building of economic infrastructure. This clearly shows that to achieve an economic, political, and defensive motive of imperialism there is a greater need to have a strong and strategic military might.

Also, the Romans, due to their excessive expansion program, feared for that matter there was a great need to devise a strategy in which they can defend

themselves and their allies from external attack. They feared that they would be conquered or attacked by other great empire and powers and subject to their rules for that matter there was the need to embark on wars and defeat nations in other to come under Roman control. Even those that were conquered by Rome and became Roman colonies, garrisons have to be built in other to host some of their military men there which served as a defensive force to ensure security (Birley, 1997).

Exploratory Reasons

The Roman had in mind to map the new territory and also have new colonies and to locate people to these colonies. The Roman had in mind to identify natural resources available in North Africa since that region was economically buoyant. Why did Rome had in mind in exploring regions that do not belong to them? This is because Rome was already aware as said earlier how economic buoyant the North Africa region is and that is why they extended to the region and for that matter conquered them. Moreover, in terms of Agriculture, it was the main source of economic income in the North Africa region. They had products that were exported, they had arable land, fertile soil that made cultivation easily, and a good climate for that matter had a reliable harvest. “The Roman region, on the other hand, was not suitable for cereals or viticulture, the most lucrative agricultural product was Olive. Olive oil was in great demand all over the Empire, it was used for cooking, soap making, oil for rubbing down at baths, perfume and as fuel for lighting. This quantity of oil exported to Italy and other Province was the countries’ source of wealth. For that matter to stop this high demand on the olive that takes about ten years for a

tree to bear fruit there was a great need for the Romans to explore North Africa and to exploit them economically” (Cilliers, 2019).

Ideological Reasons

At this point, “Romanisation” is critical. During the last two centuries, there has been a frenzy of controversy about the Romans' position in North Africa. It must be stated clearly that North Africa, “more than any other province of the Roman Empire, is studied against a philosophical intellectual backdrop due to the hostility of countries such as Tunisia, Libya, and Algeria to colonial history, albeit distant in time”. The colonialist viewpoint, epitomized by Mommsen and others in the 19th and early 20th centuries, maintained that Romanization improved the Roman world by introducing stability and prosperity. The colonialists, on the other hand, “disinherited the North African populations to their cultural heritage by attributing to the immigrants all the good contributions of Roman Africa and depicting the Africans either as passive beneficiaries of a superior civilization or as a nomadic and lawless people incapable of self-government,” according to the post-colonials. Luckily, it seems that the swing of the weight between these two extravagances has now been arrested right in the centre so that the indigenous population's contribution is now acknowledged (Mattingly & Hitchner, 1995).

The primary reason for Rome establishing a colony was usually economic or military. Romanization in the sense of persuading the locals to embrace and follow Roman political structures and standards was the least of her worries. In reality, on a local level, Rome preferred to provide as much liberation to the indigenous people as possible. Furthermore, according to Merryweather & Prag (2002) “only in towns promoted to the status of *Colonia*

or municipium would Latin become the official language. And that, the government would be structured on the Roman model, and the request to be promoted to this level had to come from the town's inhabitants (the incentive was of course that the citizens could receive limited Roman citizenship and could, among other things, qualify to be elected as officials in their town)” (Merryweather & Prag, 2002).

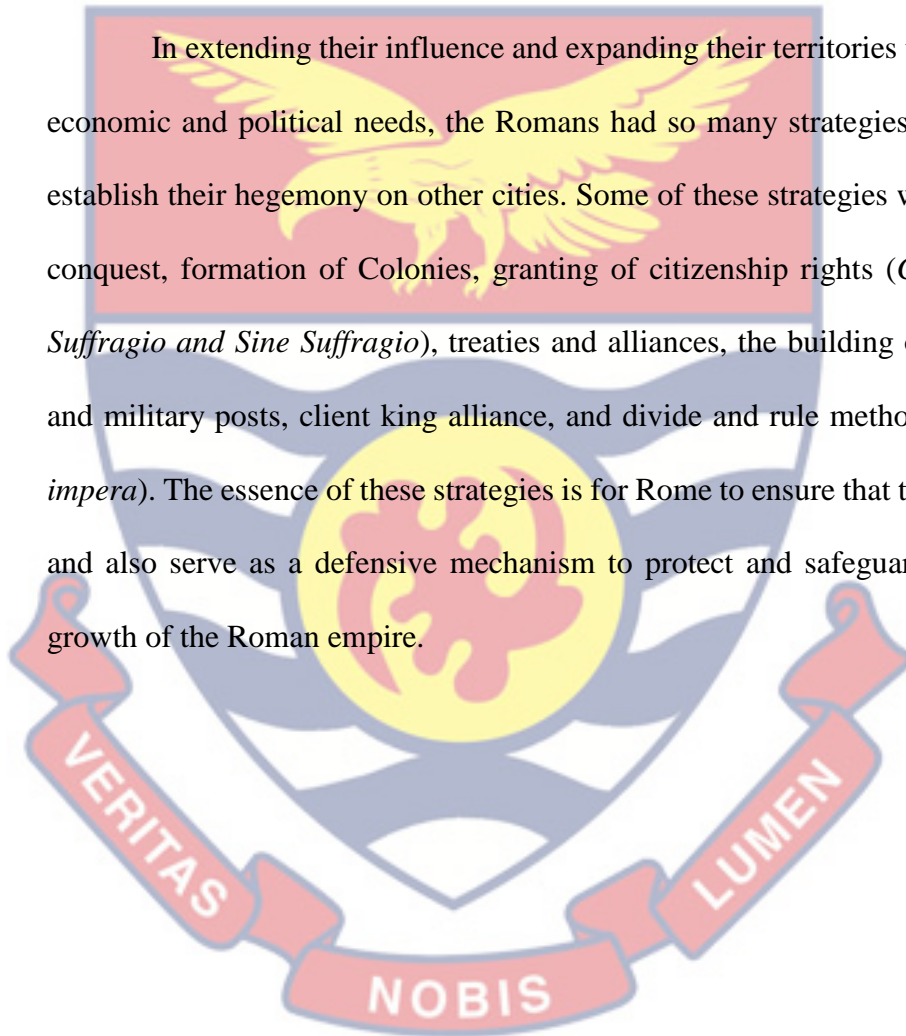
Cultural Reasons.

By enfranchising the North Africans, the Romans replaced the barrier between the local inhabitants and the invaders with money and Romanization as status symbols. As a result, after AD 100, Caracalla's famous edict granted Roman citizenship to all free residents of the Roman empire. The native people had absolute legal equality with the Roman settlers and their heirs, which allowed for intermarriage and equal access to careers in Rome. At the beginning of the third century, about one-sixth of the Roman senators were of African descent. This process of unification culminated in the town-dwellers, regardless of race, identifying as Roman-Africans by the end of the 2nd century. They were overjoyed to become Roman citizens and were proud of Roman culture and religion. Africans also provided their children with a Roman education and Latinized Punic names. The Romans not only spread their dominance through their civilization, but they also embraced some Punic cultures in exchange. Roman education proved extremely beneficial, even elevating some North African people and families to the Roman magistracy. A classic example is the family of Severi from Lepeis Magna, Septimius Severus, a member of an indigenous African family, received Roman education and citizenship. The new Roman-African citizens adopted their cities with magnificent temples and

splendid public baths in the Roman manner. The North Africa province developed with new citizens trying to be Romans than the Romans themselves. Even after the Roman occupation, they still maintained magistracies such as the *duumviri*, and *aediles* and the *Flamines* of the imperial cult when it was no longer useful to the rest of the Roman world (Merryweather & Prag, 2002).

The Roman Imperialistic Strategies

In extending their influence and expanding their territories to gain their economic and political needs, the Romans had so many strategies in order to establish their hegemony on other cities. Some of these strategies were War of conquest, formation of Colonies, granting of citizenship rights (*Civitas Cum Suffragio and Sine Suffragio*), treaties and alliances, the building of garrisons and military posts, client king alliance, and divide and rule method (*divide et impera*). The essence of these strategies is for Rome to ensure that they are safe and also serve as a defensive mechanism to protect and safeguard the rapid growth of the Roman empire.



Wars of Conquest

“Warfare was a significant part of ancient Roman life; the Romans went on war expeditions and military campaigns almost every year. These ceremonies marked the beginning and end of the expedition and campaigning seasons, and elections of chief magistrates (commanders of the army) held on the *Campus Martius*”. (Sallust, 1963).

The Romans were required to serve in the military. Men were required to serve in the army for many years during their youthful age. All troops could receive honours and promotions for bravery in action, but the greatest military honour and achievements, (the triumph), were preserved for officers and generals. Over the first few centuries of Roman’s history, warfare was not particularly successful. Most crusades being minor engagements with other Latin city-states in the immediate colonies, but beginning in the middle of the 4th cent. BC, the Romans won a series of victories that saw them rising to rule all of Italy south of the Po River by 270 BC. Now, following the Italian conquest, the Romans waged war against the major imperial rivals of the time, Carthage to the south and west, and the numerous Hellenistic empires to the east, and by the mid 2nd cent. BC, all Roman enemies has been conquered, and Rome was recognised by other countries as the undisputed controllers of the Mediterranean.

From its beginnings as a city-state on the Italian peninsula in the 8th cent. BC to its growth as an empire spanning most of Southern Europe, Western

Europe, the Near East, and North Africa, to its collapse in the 5th cent. AD, Ancient Rome's political past was inextricably linked with its military history. The centre of the Roman military's campaign history is an amalgamation of various accounts of the Roman military's ground struggles, from the city's initial defence against and eventual invasion of the city's hilltop neighbours on the Italian peninsula to the Western Roman empire's final fight for survival against invading Huns, Vandals, and Germanic peoples. Various historians wrote these histories before and after the Empire's history. Naval battles were less important than land battles in Rome's military history due to the city-encroachment states on the outskirts and unrivalled superiority over the Mediterranean Sea following the First Punic War.

The Roman forces initially fought against its ethnic neighbours and the Etruscan settlements inside Italy, but it eventually came to control the Mediterranean and, at its peak, the provinces of Britannia and Asia Minor. As in other ancient empires, Rome's military performed three functions: protecting its boundaries, exploiting peripheral areas by interventions such as enforcing tribute on defeated nations and preserving internal peace. Rome's military epitomized this trend from the start, and the bulk of Rome's campaigns were distinguished by one or two styles. The first is the imperial expansionist movement, which is usually launched as a counter-offensive. This resulted in the subjugation of vast regions of territory, allowing Rome to expand from an insignificant city to inhabitants of 55 million in the early empire before the expansion came to a pause. The succeeding is a Civil War, which afflicted Rome from its inception until its end (Sallust, 1963).

Furthermore, according to Sallust, “during the Punic Wars against Carthage, a former Phoenician colony that had founded itself on the north coast of Africa and grown into a strong state, Rome first started to wage war beyond the Italian peninsula”. Now, looking at these wars, which commenced in 264 BC, Rome became the most potent state in the Western Mediterranean, with territories in Sicily, North Africa, Iberia, and, with the conclusion of the Macedonian wars (which ran simultaneously with the Punic wars), Greece as well. Following the defeat of the Seleucid Emperor Antiochus III the Great in the Roman-Syrian War (Treaty of Apamea, 188 BC) in the eastern sea, Rome established itself as the ruling Mediterranean power and the most powerful city in the classical world (Sallust, 1963). Looking at the aforementioned it is clear how Rome a single city-state had her way through establishing her hegemony over many powers through many wars of conquest.

During the earlier Punic Wars, Sallust (1963) and Knighton (2016) assert that “Rome acquired vast territories in Africa, which they amalgamated over the next decades. Most of the land had been given to the kingdom of Numidia, a kingdom on the North African coast similar to modern Algeria, in exchange for military aid in the past. The Jugurthine War, waged between Rome and Jugurtha of Numidia, was the last Roman pacification of Northern Africa, during which Rome effectively halted expansion on the continent after touching natural desert and mountain barriers. Rome interfered in reaction to Jugurtha's usurpation of the Numidian throne, which had been a faithful ally of Rome since the Punic Wars. Jugurtha bribed the Romans into supporting his usurpation and was given half the realm as a result. Following further violence and extortion efforts, the Romans sent an army to topple him. The Romans were defeated at

the Battle of Suthul, but did better at the Battle of Muthul, and eventually crushed Jugurtha at the Battles of Thala, Mulucha, and Cirta (104 BC). Jugurtha was eventually apprehended” (Sallust, 1963 and Knighton, 2016). This shows how forceful the Romans were in their quest to create many colonies and extend their territories. Thus, it is worth noting that, the strategy (War of Conquest) used by the Romans is as a way of defending the Roman Empire.

Furthermore, we could strongly say that most of the territories and colonies of the Romans were acquired as a result of the war of conquest. The Romans were warlike people for that matter had series of wars with many cities in order to expand their territory and established their influence on them (Romanization). To the Romans, war is profitable and for this reason, Rome’s occupation in North Africa is a result of wars fought with the North Africans in taken control of the North African territories. For instance, the Romans have to meet the Carthaginians in series of battles known as the Punic Wars. And after the last defeat at the Third Punic War, Rome took over Carthage, Spain and North Africa. Of course, there is a reason why the Romans are remembered and referred to as conquerors, and their nation as the Roman empire. Conquest was very essential to the Romans. Wars of conquest as a strategy brought huge profits to the Romans, that is, to both some individuals and the state at large. War of Conquest also brought slaves, who contributed to the growth of the Roman economy, this is because they worked in the gold mines and farms that constituted much of Rome’s possessions. War of conquest in Rome was a decision of some powerful individuals who especially had political ambitions. To these ambitious men, conquest was a great benefit. The individuals leading the armies obtained wealth, power and prestige as a result. By inspiring the

army, it made these leaders prolific before them, who could be important in the acquisition and sustaining political power in Rome. Julius Caesar's supremacy was powered by his subjugation of the Gauls (Knighton, 2016).

Formation of Colonies

Frank addressed the Roman colonization process, which started in the fourth century BC and lasted until Augustus' rule. He described colonization as a strategy for gaining control of conquered farmlands. He concluded that "the effects of Rome's expansionism" allowed Roman people to "settle new lands and spend their surplus capital in real property." During the middle to late republican times, Roman expansionism made "farmers and capitalists" the most powerful Roman people (Tenney, 1920).

Now, after Rome has conquered or defeated you in battles or wars, your land becomes theirs and for that matter seize it as a Roman land that in Latin called *Ager Publicus Populi Romanus* and that is public land of the Roman people. The Romans, therefore, establishes a colony or the place is changed to be a Roman colony with some of the Roman citizens in charge of the place. The Romans also moved some of their city population to these colonies since Rome was overpopulated. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica (2015), "Colony (*Colonia*) refers to a Roman settlement in conquered territory. The first colonies were coast guard settlements of about 300 Roman people and their families. By 200 BC, a network of such Roman naval colonies patrolled the coasts of Italy. Rather than using a fleet, the Romans chose coastal defence. The settlers retained their Roman citizenship and all of its privileges. The larger Roman colonies were built for defensive purposes outside of Roman territories. For example, about 6,000 settlers, Romans, settled in Placentia and Cremona to

protect the region of the Po River following the conquest of northern Italy in 218 BC. The Romans who moved to such colonies earlier replaced their Roman citizenship for generous land grants, but after 177 BC Latin colonists were granted Roman citizenship” (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). Thus, the formation of colonies is very essential as far as Roman expansionism is concerned. The Romans, as time went by increased in number for this reason there was a great need for them to get places where their surplus population could settle.

As a result, the colonists had full political rights in Rome, which they could use to elect their political officers to various magistracies, who had a minimal legal and economic impact. Rome did not depend exclusively on defeated opponents to rule. In certain instances, as the city of Rome grew, the Romans took land from risky conquered regions in particular and founded colonies, which comprised the Roman urban poor. These Roman colonies were often located in strategic locations. The colonies' aim was to maintain authority, prevent revolts, and secure capital and facilities such as roads and mines. These *coloniae* were places of opportunity, where people could start afresh and re-establish themselves.

In the late 2nd century BC, Livy stated that “colonies were founded not for defensive purposes alone but also to provide opportunities to landless citizens, freedmen and veterans. Julius Caesar and Augustus made it legal to create colonies for veterans and proletarians in conquered territories outside of Rome. The arrival of colonists aided in the dissemination of Roman dominance and culture (Romanisation) among the locals, of which some confirmed and acquired Roman citizenship. This policy was followed until the 2nd Cent. AD”

(Livy, 1905). Thus, to Livy, there Romans had several reasons in founding colonies and these reasons indeed helped the Romans to achieve the imperial aim.

In his *Ab Urbe Condita*, Livy showed the differences between colonies established between 302 and 292 BC. He defined the establishment of military colonies in the territory of newly conquered peoples in order to extend Roman hegemony. Livy also claims that colonies founded later in the same period were established with the goal of “bettering the financial standards of the plebeian order.” The scenarios presented above indicate that the colonies established around newly subjugated regions expanded Rome's political inspiration while reducing Rome's population and reducing landlessness, unemployment, and resource needs. Later, since the plebeians were defiant against the upper classes during this time, it became impossible to distinguish economic policy from political policy. During the Italian Wars, 300 to 264 BC, there was a dispute between the nobility and the plebeians when a few plebeians gained political influence and riches through war participation and economic enterprise. From the late Republican period onward, the North African colonies served commercial, military, political, and defensive purposes. These strategies exist for all of the Roman provinces established, not just in North Africa. The greatest colonies created in North Africa were harbours that ensured the control of domestic and sea trade in their provinces, occasionally not new occupations but ones that had been taken in favour of the Roman state (Livy, 1905).

Following Julius Caesar's conquest of Numidia into the province of *Africa Nova*, Rome strengthened their settlement attempts in North Africa. From 145 BC to 46 BC, Rome and its neighbouring provinces were in anarchy,

with intense strife in Spain, Gaul, and Asia. Prior to this, Africa was subjected to the patron-client system, which guaranteed economic possessions from the Numidian Kingdom and Carthage (Sallust, 1963 and Tom, 2015).

The Romans did not create colonies in North Africa for recreational purposes but for some reasons, which brought merits to them especially economically. As stated earlier, the Romans in North Africa established more colonies in the province. For instance, the Romans created colonies in Berber North Africa, populated by Roman citizens. These colonies primarily established between Augustus Caesar and Trajan's reigns. These colonies were created in the area currently referred to as Tamazgha. That is between Morocco and Libyan Tripolitania. Rome began to establish colonies in North Africa in the 2nd half of the 1st cent BC, because of the increasing population of Roman citizens living in the region (Sallust, 1963).

Furthermore, the following were the reasons for this strategy: first, to regulate the province with Roman citizens, many of whom had been legionaries. Second, the Roman military men who had battled for the Roman Empire were given land and urban properties. The third reason was that the Romans wanted to facilitate the Romanisation of the area and thus the integration of the North African natives, particularly the Berbers, into the Roman Empire's socio-cultural world through marriage and other relationships.

According to Encyclopaedia Britannica (2021), In North Africa, the Romans were able to acquire or create about 20 colonies as follows:

“In *Africa Proconsularis*: Assuras, Carpis, Carthago, Curubis, Neapolis, Simithu, Thuburnica, Madaure, Thubursicum Numidiae and Zama.

In Numidia: Cirta, Arsacal, Rusicae, Sigus, Tiddis, Verecunda, Cuicul, Masculla, Thamugadi and Theveste.

In Mauretania Caesariensis: Caesarea, Cartenna, Oppidum Novum and Rusguniae.

In Mauretania Tingitana: Volubilis, Lixus, Tingis, Banasa, Babba and Zilil.

In Mauretania Sitifensis: Auzia and Sitifis.

In Tripolitania: Leptis Magna”.

Furthermore, Cilliers (2007), assert that “the province rose in prestige during the 1st cent. BC when Julius Caesar and later the emperor Augustus discovered 19 colonies in it. The most predominant of these colonies were the new Carthage, known as *Colonia Julia Carthago* by the Romans; further down the route, Augustus stretched Africa's boundaries southward as far as the Sahara and eastward to cover *Area Philaenorum*, at the southernmost point of the Gulf of Sidra. He merged the former province of *Africa Vetus* (old Africa) with what Caesar called *Africa Nova* (New Africa), the old Kingdom of Numidia, and Mauretania, all in the west so that the province's western frontier was the Ampsaga (Present Rhumel) River in modern northeastern Algeria. The province retained those dimensions until the late 2nd century AD when a new province of Numidia was established in the west end of Africa and was officially under Emperor Septimius Severus' command. A century later, Diocletian reorganized the empire, dividing it into two provinces, Byzacena and Tripolitania, from the former province's southern and eastern parts. Indigenous Libyans who lived in small villages and practised a simple culture populated the initial territory annexed by Rome” (Cilliers, 2007). These regions were areas that Rome

occupied during its imperial administration. The division of the provinces fostered the smooth running of the empire.

In addition, military veterans, *proletarii* (landless poor of Rome), equestrians, and Italic peoples for commerce, agriculture, and settlement occupied numerous present cities, towns, and villages. At this stage, Rome was tangled in all North African political activities. Augustus in the *Res Gestae* described his formation of colonies for over 500,000 citizens who swore an oath of loyalty to him. To add to the formation of colonies, He sent a huge sum of funds to build infrastructure to these colonies, which were beneficial for trade as markets. During the reign of Augustus (30 BC to AD 14) many provincial districts, including the North African regions of Cyrenaica (Cyrene) and Egypt, completely converted as part of the Roman Empire than client kingdoms. Despite Augustus's full annexation, Julius Caesar's previous pronouncement of the African province already achieved the occupation and governorship of the region. Augustus also developed superior integration of these peoples as Romans since they had about a complete century to familiarise themselves with Roman rule (Suetonius, 1957 and Wells, 1992).

To add up, in 1891 Weber published a book titled, *Roman Agrarian History*, in this work, he established the methods and intentions for the formation, survey, and spreading of *coloniae*. Weber established that the system of inspection and supply used, as well as the colony design in general, could determine the motive and legal status of a colony. The initial concepts were for tax-free veteran provinces that substituted land for payment and provided defensible regions that manufactured food products. According to Weber, taxable provinces did not emerge until the reign of Augustus Caesar, at a time

when Rome had already annexed much of North Africa as provinces. The Roman state established *coloniae* in newly conquered territories during the middle and late Republic and early empire to alleviate Rome and the Italian plebeians' financial crisis at the time (Weber, 1891).

The building of Garrisons and Military posts.

Afterwards, the Romans will build garrisons and military posts on the land. One will ask about it important. The main reason by which the Romans established the garrison and the military posts is to keep some of their military men there to serve as watchdogs and train the original settlers of the land in order to recruit them into the Roman army. Why will the military men serve as a watchdog? This is because the Romans fear that the people will rebel against them for that matter in order to stop any future revolts, they have to subdue them under military control.

“During the Principate era, there were military men from field force into garrison troops. This was the result of the mechanism in place for the defence of the boundaries. Augustus, when his imperialistic designs failed, finally decided that the Empire should attain the only boundary protected by natural barriers. These natural defences of the empire were the ocean on the west, the Rhine and the Danube on the north, and the desert on the east and south. At tactical points behind this boundary, Augustus positioned his forces in a large fortified camp, in which both legionaries and auxiliaries were quartered. These camps served as a base of operations, and from them,

military roads were constructed to advantageous points on the frontier to permit the rapid movement of troops for defensive reasons” (Boak & Sinnigen, 1968).

It is worth noting that the Romans founding of colonies and settlement on those colonies needed protection. In view of this, throughout the republican era to the imperial era wherever Rome created a colony, there should be garrisons and military posts to safeguard the Roman Empire.

In addition, Julius Caesar settled many of his veterans in North African colonies, mostly around coastal cities, and, more significantly, founded a military garrison called *Publius Sittius* at *Cirta*, along with many Italians. This is the start of the Romanization of Numidia. The Roman military presence in North Africa consisted of approximately 28,000 troops and auxiliaries in Numidia and the two Mauretania provinces, with some garrisons located in the area (Mommsen, 1981).

Aside from Carthage, urbanisation in North Africa began with the establishment of veteran settlements under Roman emperors such as Claudius, Narva, and Trajan. Tipasa, Cuica, Thamugado, and Sittis were examples of such settlements in Algeria. The Romans built garrisons in the North African colonies as a response to economic needs because the region produced one million tons of grains or cereals per year, according to estimates. Also, we should note that Rome’s expansion was motivated by self-defence and fear of eastern people. The Romans subdued the North African peoples after the defeat of Carthage in the Punic War II, even though it did not formally annex the district until considerable time. The Roman state constantly warred for territorial, political, and economic control of nearby peoples and governments

throughout the republican period. The defence played some role in Roman conquest, but primarily in the regions immediately surrounding Rome. In North Africa, defence became more important after the inception of the principate government and increased the building of economic infrastructure (Mommsen, 1981).

This colonization strategy exemplifies both defensive and offensive foreign policy strategies. Former soldiers with war experience populated the colonies, which were strategically located around the state and served as launching points for military operations. Other goals served by Roman colonies included commerce, residents relocation (from Rome), and the spread of Roman culture into foreign communities. The establishment of these colonies exemplifies a nuanced and aggressive foreign policy, laced with defence complexities, clearly aimed at geographical, political, commercial, and cultural expansion. These strategies dictate that Rome's primary defensive interest and motivation was to create defensive space between the capital and enemy peoples. These colonial and diplomatic designs were also employed in the Roman state's expansion into North Africa, once Carthage was destroyed (Cary & Scullard, 1979).

Alliances and Treaties

Another strategic method used by the Romans in their expansion program is the signing of alliances and treaties with conquered cities. In the alliance, both pledges to be loyal to each other and the subjects also agreed to be under Roman rule, do everything that the Roman does. That is, they accepted the Roman system of government, currency, Roman education, culture and many others (Romanisation).

The Roman subjugation of Italy gave rise to a system of military alliances in which the natives remained sovereign in theory but were reduced to subjects in practice. This affiliation was maintained in alliance treaties signed by the Italians with Rome, on more or less favourable terms depending on whether they entered Rome voluntarily or were defeated in battle. Prior to the Punic Wars, more than 150 treaties had been signed, and all non-Roman-Italian tribes had become *socii*.

While the more equal treaties involved military cooperation, all allies were obligated to assist the Romans by sending parties of troops to battle alongside the legions. These commitments were registered, and it appears they delineated number of soldiers each allied group might contribute if the need arose. Throughout the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, Roman armies still contributed a sizable proportion of allied soldiers, ranging from half to two-thirds. The allies, therefore, received Roman protection (Security) and a share of war booty, especially they were given the right to take part in land allotment and colonies in exchange for their contribution. This undoubtedly demonstrates the notable loyalty of the allies, even when tested to the limit in the Hannibalic War. Rome's relationship with her allies changed, as colonization ceased during the 2nd Century BC. At this point, the profits gained by the empire, in the form of regular tax-paying of the provinces, were controlled by Rome. By the time of Marius, the system had become exploitative and allied discontent in 91 BC, brought about the Social War. This bloody struggle came to an end when the allies were given Roman citizenship (Cary & Scullard, 1975).

Rome had allies outside of Italy from the beginning, especially Carthage and Massilia, and their number grew rapidly after 200 BC as rulers, city-states, and

leagues made alliances with Rome on ostensibly equal terms. Unlike the Italians, these allies did not routinely contribute troops, despite the fact that they were forced to engage in military action on Rome's behalf when circumstances warranted it. When the empire grew, these allies gradually lost their independence and became merely the most privileged class of provincial communities; their numbers also decreased during the Civil Wars 49 BC, when many revolted against Rome and thus lost their privileged status. During the Principate era, the surviving allies were known as *civitatēs foederatae*, while the term *socii* came more and more to be used extensively for all Rome's free provincial subjects (Cary & Scullard, 1975).

Furthermore, since Rome was vulnerable at the time, it was unable to fight a serious war against the Carthaginian Empire until 264 BC. It used various political and diplomatic means, mostly treaties, to achieve certain economic gains. And to regulate the political relationship between them, and also imposed war on these two rival powers (Rome and Carthage). Also, to resolve the conflict in Rome's favour after the three major wars, namely the First Punic War (264-241 BC), the Second Punic War (219-201 BC), and the Third Punic War (149-146 BC). After converting Africa to a Roman state in 146 BC, Rome had to find ways to contain various local forces in Africa such as the Kingdom of Libya and the Moorish tribes of Morocco to control and assimilate the region through diplomatic means as a more effective alternative to fighting military battles in these remote desert areas (Hosawi, 2018).

Moreover, legal diplomatic relations between Rome and Carthage started during the republican period, specifically in the course of the sixth century BC, with the signing of a series of treaties governing their political

relations. Rome had three treaties with Carthage as described by the historian Polybius (200-120 BC). The first of these treaties, in 509 BC, was signed. Polybius noted how tough it was because it was written in ancient Latin, which no one in his day could read. Polybius listed two other treaties but did not provide a time frame for the second. He emphasized that the third treaty was signed contemporaneously with the death of King Berthus (319-272 BC) in the Italian territories. To retain the three treaties mentioned by Polybius, they were carved on bronze boards and hung in the Roman Capitol. Since the Romans were unaware of it prior to his day. Diodore Sicily (90-30 BC) referred to only one peace, the Treaty of 348 BC, as the first treaty between Rome and Carthage. Livy, in his opinion (59 BC - 17 AD). The treaty did not explain its position in the sequence of treaties kept between the two sides, but when he spoke of the Treaty of 306 BC, he found it simply a renewal of the Treaty of 348 BC. Although pointing to the Treaty of 279 BC as a fourth treaty, 509 BC was the first diplomatic treaty between Rome and Carthage (Livy, 1905 and Hosawi, 2018).

However, Roman diplomacy achieved its vital political objectives above it the resistance of Carthage's greed in the Mediterranean Sea through the Treaty. One of the most important items in this treaty was: "Carthage undertakes to avoid exposure to Latin cities for any reason as long as these cities remain in their loyalty to Rome. So, Rome must control Carthage to restore the influence of Rome." In return, "Rome undertakes not to exceed the cost Rome or its allies while sailing in the wellhead, except for compelling reasons such as storms or chasing enemies the Romans are not allowed to buy or acquire anything except

what was necessary to repair their ships or to perform religious rites, they must not exceed five days” (Hosawi, 2018).

The level of rivalry between both powers in the western Mediterranean basin is evident from the treaty. The treaty's goal was to resist the interests of both parties alone, particularly because the Mediterranean basin had been the site of a long conflict between the Romans, Greeks, and Carthaginians. Each side had to assess its status in relation to the other based on political, diplomatic, and economic data. Carthage concluded these treaties with Rome while retaining friendly contacts with the anti-Roman Italians (Etruscans) in Italy. Carthage's diplomatic policy evolved as the situation shifted, especially as an imminent conflict between Rome and the Etruscans emerged as a result of their stance against the Semites and against Rome in the Campania dispute. Carthage abandoned its alliance with the Etruscans in favour of Rome, particularly because the Etruscans sponsored the Greeks in the region, which was detrimental to Carthage's interests. Thus, the Greeks had been attacking the Punic territory greatly since 310 BC, leading to secession from the Etruscans, who had turned their hostility against Carthage by supporting the besieged Syracuse by Carthaginian troops (Hosawi, 2018).

According to Livy, the Treaty of 306 BC is called the third revival of an obscure old treaty, and its renewal seems to be the result of Rome's announcement of its intention to become a naval power after 310 BC. In light of this, Carthage's adoption of the 306 BC Convention is justified. It is common for Carthage to act to ensure Rome's friendship on its side and not to conflict at this time since it is clear that these treaties were aimed at protecting the interests of the two powers against any danger in the area, especially the Greek threat.

This was supported by the last treaty signed between the two parties in 279 BC, which marked a renewal of prior agreements with new terms stipulating that both sides had to support each other against their mutual adversary, King Berthaus, and that no party could conclude a single agreement with him. One of the treaty's clauses specified that if either side sought aid from the other, the force needed had to help in all countries where the war was waged. While the clause allowed each side to provide sufficient supplies to its forces, Rome gained further from the treaty in which one provision specified that no matter who was in need of assistance, Carthage would be obliged to provide ships back and forth, as the Carthaginians had unilaterally supported the Romans at sea whenever they wished (Livy,1905).

However, if previous treaties between Rome and Carthage had played an important role in preserving the balance of power in the western basin of the Mediterranean, Rome was the most valuable of Carthage. This, we can justify Carthage's approval of this Treaty in this way: Rome in this time had no naval force or a navy, which makes Carthage waiting to support them in this area. There was another reason Carthage was willing to provide some assistance to avoid the threat from afar. As a result, Carthage chose to assist Rome in putting an end to the Greek coalition headed by Berthaus (Hosawi, 2018).

Following these treaties, the situation in the Mediterranean changed in a way that shifted the balance of power in Rome's favour, transforming Rome from a regional force into an international power seeking to establish a massive empire on the remnants of Greek and Carthaginian influence. From this point on, Rome began to exclude Carthage, its main opponent in the Mediterranean and was able to smash it in the battle of Zama in 202 BC. Then, for peace, Rome entered into

an unequal deal with Carthage, which reduced Carthage's dominance so that Carthage could never regain its control (Hosawi, 2018).

Granting of Citizenship

Aside from alliances, the Romans had another strategy to entice their allies. In fact, when the Romans became the mistress of the Mediterranean, many cities aligned themselves to them without any Roman force. They did that in order to gain Roman citizenship, for that matter, getting Roman citizenship was something that most of the Roman allies wanted. At a point in time, the Romans refused to grant to some of them the franchise. Moreover, this is the very reason why a social war between Rome and her allies ensued. The Romans granting of citizenship right is in two categories namely *civitas cum suffragio* (citizenship with voting right) and *civitas sine suffragio* (citizenship without voting right). Now before you will be given either the *cum* or *sine*, it heavily depends on your contribution to the Roman state as an ally. Your contribution in terms of paying taxes, supplying soldiers to enlist in warfare and more. If all these please the Romans, then that ally state deserves citizenship with voting right. Even those with voting right they cannot take any decision in the Roman Senate (Cary & Scullard, 1975).

Cary & Scullard (1975), established that “Rome did not grant their newly subject citizenship, as it had to their neighbouring Latin brothers, rather alliance and league. The Romans, therefore, would come to call these allies *Latin-rights* status. The allies would therefore contribute military men to the common defence. In return for which Rome would grant some of the incentives of citizenship: (1) commercial right in Rome (*commercium*) (2) the right to appeal the actions of Roman officials in Roman courts and (3) right to

intermarriage of which their children would be recognised as legal Roman citizens (*conubium*)” (Cary & Scullard, 1975). By this, we could say that granting of citizenship and was an integral part of the imperialistic strategies put in place to achieve their imperial goal. The Romans realised that granting their allies citizenship motivate them (allies) to subdue themselves under Roman rule. Now through the rights given them more especially the right to intermarry and the right to trade with Rome will be an essential part of the strategy in order to spread Romanisation.

Sometime after Carthage have been destroyed in the 2nd cent. BC, a Roman colony was created on the soil. During the next two centuries, ex-soldiers or civilians were sent there (colony) to occupy the place. In the last century BC of the Roman republic, Julius Caesar granted many African individual men of local importance who had served him well citizenship with voting right. He planted the seeds of North Africa's rebirth by being the first to recognize the importance of large-scale citizenship grants, both for Rome and the local population. The policy, according to Scullard, was continued by Augustus (27 BC-AD 14), who elevated towns with a long history of Italian settlement to the status of *municipium* or *colonia*. He demonstrated that “The emperor Claudius (41-54) who was notorious for his lavish grants of citizenship also followed this policy. The development in North Africa in the 2nd century AD, especially under Trajan (98-117) and Hadrian (117-138), was impressive. This, we could say that, reached its zenith under Septimius Severus (193-211)” (Scullard, 1982). This shows the vital role that the granting of citizenship played in the expansion of Rome. By that, it is clear that throughout the Republican era to the imperial era, granting of citizenship was pivotal in the strategies of Rome.

Client- King Alliance

The word "client rulers" refers to a group of non-Roman monarchs and quasi-monarchs who had a friendship with Rome that was harmonious but not equal to that of Romans. Client kings were rulers who were assisted by the Roman state. As a result, the Romans referred to those kings as "mates," and the Roman senate officially recognized them. Magnificent rites seem to have always been associated with such recognitions, both under Republic and Principate. Rome formed such alliances as early as the third century BC to extend her empire in Italy and beyond. King Hieron II of Syracuse is considered the first client king (263 BC), but he most likely had predecessors. Throughout her history, Rome has managed to establish and maintain relationships with client-kings. Many kingdoms did also become regional territory over the years, and the Romans stepped in to regulate local strife when necessary, such as when kings refused to administer their succession, a dynasty ended, or local circumstances changed (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

Client kingdoms were typically formed on the borders of Roman influence, on the outskirts of the empire, or in areas where Rome would find it impossible and costly to govern directly. Client kingdoms were important repositories of manpower, capital, and local expertise on the outskirts. Client-kings were forced to satisfy Rome's demands as she saw fit, but they were not obliged to pay daily taxes. Client-kings expected Rome to secure their local positions in exchange for their allegiance. By virtue of their proximity, the closest Roman armies anticipated the actions of client kings foes, both within and outside. Client-kings were aided by Roman troops, who would later seek safety on Roman territories. At times, Rome may have preferred to make deals

with her client kings' foes, but it was the unspoken pledge of Roman protection that kept client-kings loyal to Rome. In exchange, client-kings occasionally donated their kingdoms to Rome when no other suitable successor was available (for example; Attalus III of Pergamum) (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

Client-kings demonstrated their relationship with Rome through more personal relationships with influential individuals and families in the city-state. During the Principate era, such personal alliances persisted, but the emperor and his family now became the source of patronage for client kings, so that they became preeminent in royal relations as well as in all other matters. Augustus appears to have purposefully made kings more a part of the Roman Empire, following in the footsteps of Caesar and Antony. The majority of client-kings now had Roman citizenship, and by AD 100, they were beginning to enter the senate. Their sons were sent to grow up in Rome, preferably with the imperial and Patrician family (Oxford Classical Dictionary).

Moreover, in 33 BC Bocchus II of Mauretania died, donated his kingdom to Rome. Augustus was not willing to accept this offer just because the place was large and far away. For this reason, to get someone to look after the empire for Rome, Augustus made Juba II the son of Juba I in 25 BC a king to rule and look after the land as a Roman client king. Juba II then ruled until he died in about AD 24.

The Romans installed many client-kings in order to take control of places far and for that matter which will be expensive for the Romans to run. The client king alliance signed by the Romans with many North African provincial kings helped the Romans in achieving their reasons for going to North Africa.

Divide and Rule

Divide and rule strategy (*divide et impera*), also known as divide and conquer, is a strategy used in imperialism to acquire and conserve supremacy by dividing larger groups of power into smaller units that each have less power than the one implementing the strategy. Thus, the use of this strategy is intended to empower the sovereign to control subjects, populations, or factions of various welfares who may oppose his rule.

The Romans were exceptional during the antiques. In that, they eagerly and freely unified newly subjects into their own society, granting them citizenship in order to Romanise and make them keen partakers in the Roman imperial system. The Romans probably did not want to spend much on governance outside Italy especially places that are difficult to go. For that matter preferred inexpensive government and as such chose to control new lands and peoples indirectly, through native representatives, who were given Roman citizenship. This is what the Romans called divide and rule or divide and conquer (*divide et impera*). Because as the name suggests, they divided up subjects into their constituent units (typically tribes and city-states), signed different agreements and truces with them and persuaded each of them, through a complex system of rewards, to act as watchdogs on the others and provide for the common defence (Flower, 2014).

In time, Rome expanded its hegemony by establishing such colonies all over Mediterranean Western Europe, and North Africa. These strategies used by the Romans empowered them with reasons, in order to expand their hegemony, defend their empire and extend their influence on other states.

Hence, these prosperous, military-economic settlements of Rome were the direct replicas for modern European colonies (Flower, 2014).

In sum, the chapter as established in the literature review has discussed major reasons why the Romans needed imperialistic strategies. We realised that these reasons were built upon the existing types of imperialism. The various reasons such as economic, political, ideological, cultural and religious, exploratory and defensive reasons were the intentions behind the Romans takeover of the North African region. Now, these reasons as said earlier on is the brain behind the implementation of the various strategies. Thus, we can say that, without the strategies such as wars of conquest, building of garrisons, treaties and alliances, client king alliance, divide and rule tactics and the granting of citizenship rights, the Romans wouldn't have achieved their aims or the reasons for going to North Africa. As established, the Romans through the use of these strategies were able to achieve especially their economic and political needs and also to spread Romanisation. Now, having said that, the next chapter of the study which is chapter four respectively, also, in the tune of chapter three discusses the various reasons for the British imperialistic strategies and the strategies put in place for the British to extend their influence in West Africa. On this note, let us turn our attention to chapter four.



CHAPTER FOUR

BRITISH IMPERIALISTIC STRATEGIES IN WEST AFRICA

Introduction

In the previous chapter (three), the research discussed various reasons for the Roman imperialistic strategies as well as the Roman imperialistic strategies in North Africa. Similarly, this chapter examines British imperialistic strategies in West Africa from 1884-1956, it therefore, gives an overview of British imperialism in West Africa. In so doing, the study highlights the various reasons for imperialistic strategies and then discusses the imperialistic strategies used by the British in expanding their territories in West Africa. After this discussion, the subsequent chapter (five) compares both Roman and British imperialistic strategies to draw the similarities and dissimilarities, which is the central focus of this research.

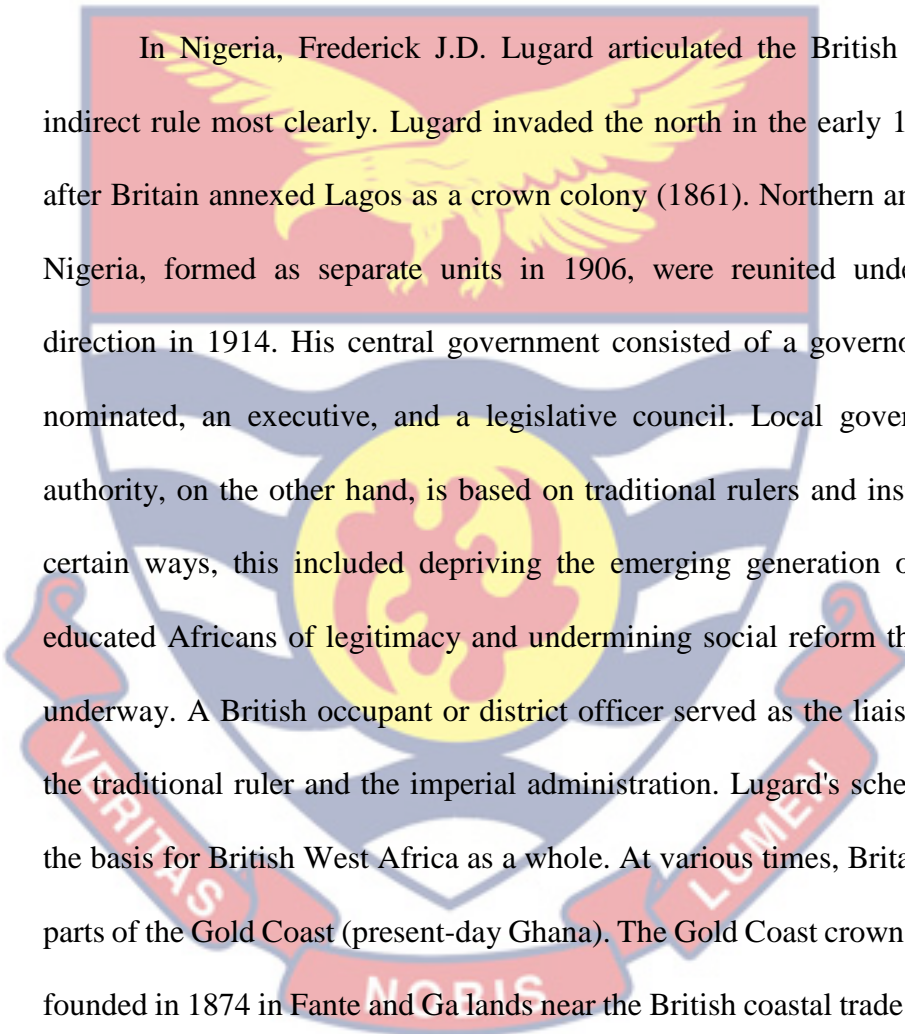
The word 'Imperialism' refers to government domination, economic coercion, and military expansion. That may also require the implementation of a strategy by the colonization of territories by outsiders. Imperialism explains the mechanism by which an empire grows; it can also refer to how an empire maintains itself and the power it wields. Over everything, imperialism is a strength and influence idea. In the 1840s, the term "imperialism" entered the English political lexicon to despise Prince Louis Napoleon's allegedly coercive foreign policy in France (Bunche, 1936).

The British Empire was built up over time, and lands were acquired for a variety of purposes. The Empire also grew unevenly, with some colonies gaining some degree of self-government in order to maintain their cooperation with Britain, while others did not. After the centralisation and accumulation of

political authority in the metropole in the sixteenth century, England followed the example in their quest for new capital. Coastal outposts in North America and the West Indies flourished in the seventeenth century, but the need to create a trade with Asian markets accelerated the process. The Empire as a whole was diverse, and it evolved all over its history. Because of forces within Britain, migrant societies were formed and strengthened settler states, mission stations, plantations, mines, and trading posts. External threats included global competitors, conflicts, revolts, and economic reform. By the 1800s, Britain had redefined its colonial position in response to the economic threat posed by industrialised rivals in Europe and America, as well as the military-naval challenge posed by foreign powers. It seemed to be consolidating and on the defensive at times, but it acquired 5 million square miles and 88 million additional subjects in the last 30 years of the nineteenth century. Strategically important areas were the subject of intensive diplomatic or military actions. When European powers started to rival Britain's far-flung possessions, the existing toeholds were springboards for conquest into Africa and Asia's interiors. The First World War was the twentieth century's first major challenge of the Empire, but after the war, there was a determination to uphold colonial rule by referring to the continuities of past times. The old assumptions were not discarded until after the Second World War. However, decolonization was followed by a desire to establish mutually beneficial relationships that would last after independence (Bunche, 1936).

British West Africa was a collection of widely parted regions in Western Africa that were administered by Great Britain during the imperial era. These included Sierra Leone, the Gambia, Nigeria (with the British Cameroons), and

the Gold Coast (including the Northern Territories, and British Togoland). The British founded the colony of Bathurst at the mouth of the Gambia River in 1816. Both colonies were crucial in the British campaign to halt the slave trade along the coast. Later in the century, British rule extended to Sierra Leone and the Gambia's interior. Both interiors were provinces ruled by their initial kings (Crowder, 1971).

The logo of the University of Cape Coast is a watermark in the background. It features a shield with a yellow eagle with spread wings at the top. Below the eagle is a yellow circle containing a red map of Africa. The shield is flanked by two red banners with white text: 'VERITAS' on the left and 'LUMEN' on the right. At the bottom of the shield is a red banner with white text: 'NOBIS'.

In Nigeria, Frederick J.D. Lugard articulated the British strategy of indirect rule most clearly. Lugard invaded the north in the early 1900s, years after Britain annexed Lagos as a crown colony (1861). Northern and Southern Nigeria, formed as separate units in 1906, were reunited under Lugard's direction in 1914. His central government consisted of a governor who was nominated, an executive, and a legislative council. Local government and authority, on the other hand, is based on traditional rulers and institutions. In certain ways, this included depriving the emerging generation of Western-educated Africans of legitimacy and undermining social reform that was still underway. A British occupant or district officer served as the liaison between the traditional ruler and the imperial administration. Lugard's scheme became the basis for British West Africa as a whole. At various times, Britain acquired parts of the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana). The Gold Coast crown colony was founded in 1874 in Fante and Ga lands near the British coastal trade forts on the Gulf of Guinea. The Asante empire to the north was conquered and made a protectorate in 1900–01. Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who served as governor from 1919 to 1929, introduced indirect rule by restoring the Asante King to his title (Crowder, 1971).

Crowder (1971) stated clearly that, “after World War I, the previous German colonies of Togoland and Cameroon were divided between Britain and France as League of Nations mandates. British Togoland was administered from the Gold Coast, the British Cameroons from Nigeria. In 1946, they were redefined as United Nations trusteeships. British West Africa ended when Western-educated Africans, who were excluded from power under indirect rule, led nationalist movements to independence. Ghana (including British Togoland) became independent in 1957. Nigeria followed in 1960, Sierra Leone in 1961, and The Gambia in 1965” (Crowder, 1971). By that, we can conclusively say that the British intrusion in West Africa was successful as a result of strategies put in place. The strategies here mean forceful measures put in place by the imperialists in order to achieve their goal.

Reasons for the British Imperialistic Strategies in West Africa.

The scramble for Africa and West Africa, in particular, was not just for recreational purposes but for the huge benefit on the side of the imperialist. For a nation to get up just one day to conquer another nation or extend its influence on a particular city or nation, there should be a reason for embarking on such an adventure. That is to say that, there are several reasons on which the imperialists embarked on imperialism and also devised strategies for expanding their territories. On this note, I could say that without these reasons the imperialists would not have probably devised any means for expanding their territories. With this in mind, this portion of the study discusses reasons such as Economic, Political, Exploratory, Defensive, Ideological, Cultural and Religious.

Economic Reasons

“British imperialism has several reasons such as the strategic, cultural, settlement of surplus population, economic and prestige, but the dominant reason is economic and this provided the impetus for the British imperialism in West Africa” (Hopkins, 1968).

One of the major reasons for the British imperialism in West Africa is economic. The economic nature also gives rise to imperialism as exploitative. Hence, British imperialism has an exploitative reason, which exploits labour and generates benefits in an economic sense to the imperialists. Whatever explanation may be given to imperialism cannot do away with economic reason. This made the British travel far and wide to West Africa to rule the province. Economic conditions in Europe provided the fuel for the arrival of the British to the “unknown land”. The reason to protect industries as capitalism spread in England made it necessary for the creation of a market outside Europe, which each particular European country could monopolize. Raw materials to feed their industries made the British travel to the area (West Africa) where raw materials could obtain with ease (Hopkins, 1968).

Moreover, the quest for these resources (raw materials) made them map different places and continents which has a lot of plenty raw materials or resources. The British therefore settled in West Africa to rule them to be able to get access and to take their resources for free, which will help them to make a huge income in the end. To boost their economy, the British needed new markets to sell their manufactured goods (Hopkins, 1968).

The British made an enormous economic benefit by subjugating the West Africans and their raw materials (gold, diamond, palm oil, cotton, timber, tea, etc). Unfortunately, the British search for economic gains led to an implausible harshness and misconduct against humanity (Ocheni & Nwako, 2012).

Also, as a result of the rapid growth of technology, new products were manufactured at a faster rate than the population could devour. In view of this, West Africa became the hub and a ready market centre for such a product. That is to say, economically, West Africa became an abode for the gains of the British in order to develop their country (Britain) (Fage, 1969 and Ocheni & Nwako, 2012).

For instance, in the West African Regions, the Gold Coast (now Ghana) was an essential province for the British imperialist because, as the name rightly suggests, the region was full of raw materials especially gold in excess which could meet the economic demands and the intentions of the British. The Gold Coast British-Province, for instance, the southern part of it had an overabundance of gold, diamond, bauxite, timber and many others. Moreover, this actually boosted the morale of the British for their occupation in the region. As far as the British had what they needed in the province of Gold Coast and met their economic needs, they did not intend to go back to their country until the West Africans started fighting for independence (Fage, 1969 and Ocheni & Nwako, 2012).

Religious and Cultural Reasons

I have travelled across Africa and I have not come across even a person who begs, who is a thief. Such wealth I have seen in this

country. They have high moral values, people of such calibre, that I do not think we can ever conquer this country. Unless we break the very backbone of this nation, which is her spiritual and cultural heritage. Therefore, I propose that we replace her old and ancient education system, her culture, for if the Africans think that all is foreign and English is good and greater than their own, they will lose their self-esteem, their native culture and they will become what we want them, a truly dominated nation (Macaulay, 1835).

The above speech addressed to the British Parliament on the 2nd February 1835 by Lord Macaulay attest to Religious and Cultural reasons by which the British used in their imperialism in West Africa in order to get a foothold here.

Cultural imperialism is a type of imperialism where the imperial states influence the natives by their foreign culture. In so doing, they make every conscious effort to let the natives accept that their own native culture is barbaric and archaic for that matter. In Cultural imperialism, there is one aspect that also dominates it and that is Religion. In the case of the British occupation in the West Africa land, religion also played a major role. The spread of Christianity played an important role as far as Cultural and Religious imperialism is concerned. Also, the spreading of culture, language, clothing and other ways of life was forced on the natives in order to give up theirs.

According to Crowder, the missionaries in West Africa during the British imperialism had a dual purpose and that is to promote trade between the West Africans and the British and also to convert the West Africans to Christianity (Crowder, 1962).

During the British imperialism in West Africa, it was clear that some missionaries connived with the imperialists in taking advantage and cultural suppression of West Africans. Walter Rodney in his work titled "*How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*", stated that the Christian ministers were agents of imperialism. He asserts, "The Christian Missionaries contributed to the imperialistic forces in West Africa to explore and trade. Missionaries were the agent of imperialism in the practical sense." (Rodney, 1972). This we could say was the very reason why the imperialists needed some strategies in order to gain a strategic advantage in their occupation.

To Rodney, missionaries teach how to be humble and how to be submissive in the face of gross injustice, inhumanity and dehumanization. The missionaries preached peace, forgiveness and good neighbouring relations while the British traders were exploiting the West Africans. With this, Rodney assert;

Missionaries prevented genuine rebellion, self-preservation and determination. The Missionaries, therefore, worked towards the preservation of the status quo and upholding of Mater-Servant relations between the West Africans and the British. (Rodney, 1972).

Culturally, the British had in mind to civilize the West African natives, by giving them European education. Since the missionaries considered education as

necessary for production in our society, they civilized the natives while Christianizing them. The British forced the natives to accept the European culture more especially, to reject many of their customs and useful native institutions.

Political Reason

Some nations produce decisions, others supply obedience. It is like an international division of political labour (Galtung, 1971).

Political imperialism is the type of imperialism by which a stronger nation expresses its political supremacy over a weaker one in order to achieve its economic needs. Here, the growing imperial powers compete with others for political hegemony, seek national pride, prestige, glory and security. With political imperialism, the imperialists sought strategic advantage in another territory to ensure access for their military force around the globe, to defend and expand their empire (Galtung, 1971).

The British, like any other European country, wanted political hegemony or supremacy, for this reason, have to acquire new lands and rule them. This is because the more colonies or lands you acquire determines your political influence.

Furthermore, an equally known political factor for the British imperialism in West Africa was Legitimate Trade. These European mercantilists sought opportunities for monopoly and thus, supported imperialism. They lobbied and pressured their governments to exercise political control over areas of interest to aid them, the merchants, exercise monopoly over the same areas (Boahen & Webster, 1967).

Exploratory Reasons

... a phase in the evolution of Africa characterized by intensive geographical explorations, ... (Okon, 2014:193)

This is the type of imperialism where the imperial nation or its citizens wanted to explore new and unknown territory. In so doing, the Imperialists did this as a sense of adventure, to explore, discover the map and claim new territory before the imperial struggle for national and individual glory and these served as a strategy for British expansionism in West Africa.

As the name connotes, the British intended to map new territories and explore their natural resources, control their land and extended their cultural and political influence on the natives. This reason goes in line with the British economic reason in that the British like any other European imperialists came to West Africa with the reason of exploiting their natural resources and raw materials in order to boost their economic crisis back home (Lynn, 1986).

Also, the market for growing manufactured goods is an exploratory reason for the British to therefore set their eyes on the West Africa region. To map new territory, to locate indigenous people and identify natural resources and raw materials available and these are the exploratory reasons by which the British imperialist came to West Africa (Lynn, 1986).

All great and superior nations with the fullness of their strength have desired to set their mark upon the so-called barbarian lands. This was also the desire for the British to step foot in West Africa. The British also, had in mind to find out what different areas were the West African like (Lynn, 1986).

Furthermore, agriculture was the main source of income in the West Africa region. They had products which the British exported back home. West African had arable land, fertile soil for easy cultivation and human resources. And these resources motivated the British for coming to West Africa in order to explore them economically (Johnson, 1974).

Ideological Reasons

This type of imperialism holds that the imperialist had in mind that they have the right to ensure the progress and civilisation of their so-called primitive and barbarian countries. With this ideological type of imperialism, that the British modelled their strategies for coming to West Africa.

Since the British and even the Europeans as a whole perceived Africans and West Africans for that matter as barbaric and lived on tress, this idea empowered the British to travel down to West Africa in order to improve the natives' way of life, make them like Europeans and also make them adopt European perspectives. The British saw the West African territory as a chaotic continent. So, in order to ensure law, order and stability on the continent due to inter-tribal wars, civil strife within the West African states and the activities of other undesirable beings. Also, they held a view that West Africans were incapable of providing for themselves any form of protection and security through a well-organized government for that matter, they must be guided by the greater political organization of European nations (Okon, 2014).

The British and other Europeans held the idea that imperialism was a necessary step to provide for the institutionalization of organized structures and institutions to regulate human behaviour, protect lives and property, and assure liberty. The vision here was that the West African states would help them to

acquire political and economic control over the West African region (Awinsong, 2015).

Defensive Reason

“Every imperialist country was worried about its own national security: The competition among imperialist powers was vicious. One had to protect one’s own country and its colonies.”
(Awinsong, 2015).

Defensive or Military imperialism is the form or type of imperialism where the imperialist employs military strategies to overcome or conquer and gain nations, power, and supremacy over other nations. This type of imperialism seeks military conquest to defend and ensure security over their mother country and to achieve their economic aims. With this Awinsong (2015) established;

“The Berlin Conference, therefore, set the stage for the eventual European military imperialism and subjugation of the African continent. Aside from Ethiopia and Liberia, the entire African continent came under European colonial rule. Imperial powers such as Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal were major powers involved.”

Defensive reasons for imperialism was a key factor as far as British imperialism and expansionism are concerned. It is important to note that even the imperial powers feared their opponents would attack them and confiscate

their property. For this reason, needed to protect themselves, their colonies and the occupants.

These were the various reasons why the British imperialists needed imperialistic strategies as they embark on their imperial programs. Now, having looked at the various reasons for the imperialistic strategies, let us turn our attention to the strategies themselves.

British Imperialistic Strategies

The British used several strategies to control the West Africans. This section looks at various strategies used by the British in expanding their colonies in what we call British West Africa. Details of this, however, concentrate on their policy of indirect rule, the policy of assimilation, the policy of divide and rule, treaties and alliances, military subjugation/ wars of conquest and military camps/posts. The significance of these strategies is for the British to ensure that they are safe and also serve as defensive mechanisms to protect and safeguard the rapid growth of the British empire.

Policy of Assimilation

The first point of discussion on the strategies is the policy of assimilation. The word "assimilation" is derived from the Latin term "*assimilatio*", which means, "to make similar". Assimilation was used as an imperial strategy to prove that British society was superior to that of its non-European colonies. The numerous European imperial powers Britain, Germany, France, Holland, Spain, and Portugal had assumed the responsibility to civilize the world's "barbaric" populations as the primary motivation and strategy for colonial expansion. The British were able to keep hold of their colonial possessions in West Africa in part because they were able to effectively project

their cultural dominance through language, sports, and social clubs; many Indians found British culture appealing (Crowder, 1968).

“...Thus, the grand strategy of the British was to assimilate Africans into European civilization. The policy created a western class of black Englishmen who were supposedly British partners in religion, trade and administration. These African "British men," especially Creoles, rose in the colonies of Freetown, Bathurst, Southern Ghana and Lagos to important positions in the church, commercial firms and the colonial government. However, with the growth of European racism, Western-educated Africans (elites) found that they were increasingly discriminated against in administration.” (Crowder, 1968).

From Crowder’s point of view from the above extract, it is clear that the British wanted to incorporate the West Africans to put on the British culture by putting away the rich African culture. In order for the West Africans to get rid of African culture, and embrace the British or European culture, the policy of assimilation was introduced.

The British government began to hire European administrators to fill positions previously held by Africans. Creoles and other Western-educated Africans were even forced out of the civil service. The British colonial office stated in 1910 that because Englishmen naturally expected to enjoy the fruits of their conquests, they should be preferred over Africans in senior positions. The issue was that there were not enough Englishmen willing to serve as colonial

administrators in Africa. As a result, the British quickly adopted the policy of Indirect Rule (Lange, 2004 and Lee & Paine, 2019).

Indirect Rule

Indirect rule was an imperialistic strategy used by the British during their time of imperialism in order to control some parts of their colonies through the native power structure, which was in existence. Using this strategy, the day-to-day administration of governmental responsibilities were left in the guardianship of the traditional rulers. These rulers got their prestige, stability and security afforded by the *Pax Britannica*, at the cost of losing control of their external affairs, and often of taxation, communication, and other matters, which they usually had a small number of the European consultants effectively overseeing the government of large numbers of the people spread over extensive areas. While some British colonies were ruled directly by the colonial masters, others were ruled indirectly through local Kings and were supervised by the British advisors behind the scenes (Lange, 2004).

In West Africa, for example, Nigeria and the Gold Coast (Ghana), Britain structured its colonies at different levels such as the central, provincial, and regional or district levels. To ensure the smooth running of their day-to-day administration, they had a governor or governor-general at various capitals of the colonies. The governor then ruled with a selected executive and a legislative council consisting of both native and foreign members. The governor was responsible to the colonial office and the secretary in London, from whom laws, policies, and programs were received. However, the governor made some local laws and policies. Colonial policies and directives were employed through the colonial secretariat, with officers liable for different departments such as

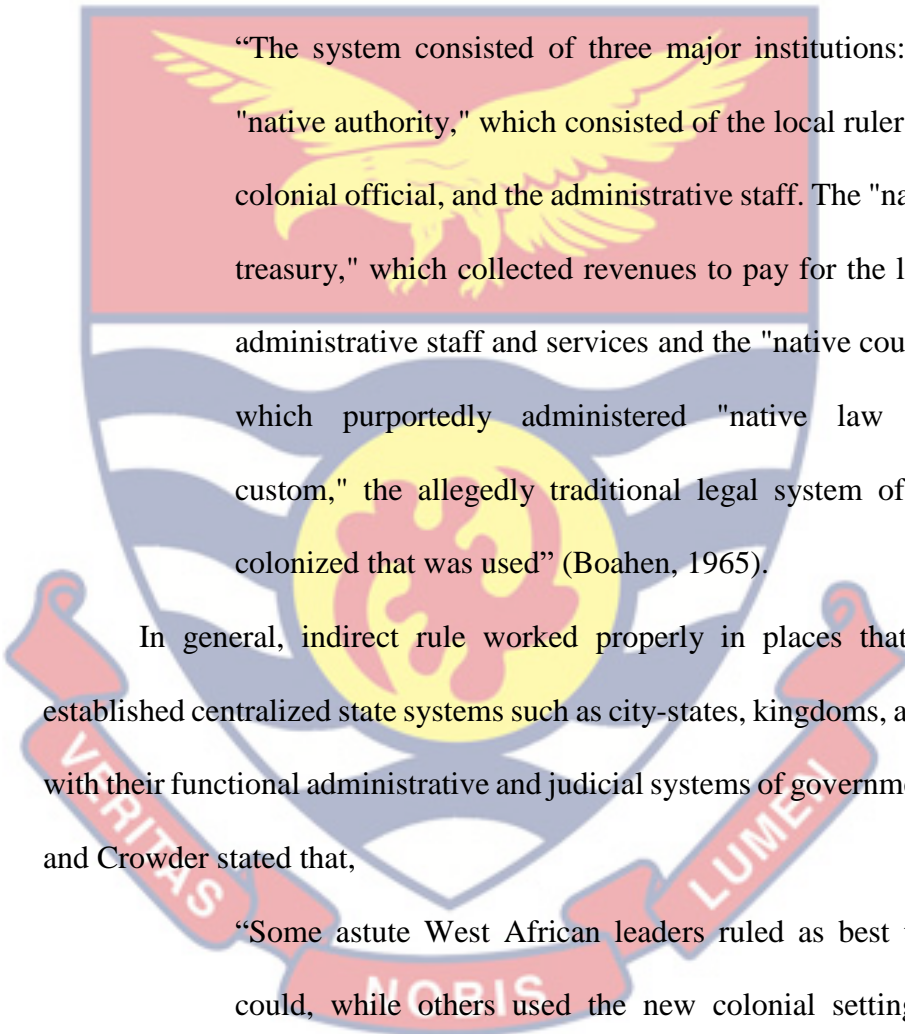
Revenue, Agriculture, Trade, Transport, Health, Education, Police, Prison, and many others (Lange, 2004).

Moreover, Boahen stated that “the British colonies were split into provinces controlled by provincial commissioners, and then into districts supervised by district commissioners. Laws and policies on areas such as taxation, public works, forced labour, mining, agricultural production, and other matters were made in London and sometimes in the colonial capital and then passed down to the lower administrative stages for implementation” (Boahen, 1965). By that, the British wanted the smooth running of their administration in West Africa. For this reason, it became necessary for them to allow some of the natives (Kings) to rule on behalf of the British government.

The British created the system of native government (indirect rule) at the provincial and district level. This method operated in harmony with already existing political leadership and institutions. For instance, in the Gold Coast, the Ashanti Empire to the north was conquered by the British and made a protectorate between 1900-1901 including the far north. In view of this, the then governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1929), introduced indirect rule by bringing back the Asante king to his position in order to rule on behalf of the British Administration (Crowder, 1968).

Lord Lugard, the British high commissioner for northern Nigeria who later became Nigeria's governor-general, is widely associated with the theory and practice of indirect rule. He discovered a recognised and efficient administrative system in the Hausa/Fulani emirates of northern Nigeria. Lugard simply and astutely adapted it to his purposes. It was inexpensive and convenient. Regardless of attempts to portray indirect rule as an example of

British administrative genius, it was anything but. It was a pragmatic and frugal decision based in part on the use of existing functional institutions. “The decision was also influenced in part by Britain's unwillingness to provide the resources needed to administer its vast empire. Instead, it fostered the perverse notion that the colonized should pay for their colonial dominance. As a result, the indirect rule was chosen” (Boahen, 1965). With this, Boahen stated:

The watermark is the official crest of the University of Cape Coast. It features a shield with a red top section containing a yellow eagle with wings spread. Below the eagle are three horizontal wavy bands in blue, white, and blue. At the bottom of the shield is a yellow circle with a red emblem inside. A red ribbon scrolls across the bottom of the shield with the Latin motto 'VERITAS LIBERABIT VOS'.

“The system consisted of three major institutions: the "native authority," which consisted of the local ruler, the colonial official, and the administrative staff. The "native treasury," which collected revenues to pay for the local administrative staff and services and the "native courts," which purportedly administered "native law and custom," the allegedly traditional legal system of the colonized that was used” (Boahen, 1965).

In general, indirect rule worked properly in places that had long-established centralized state systems such as city-states, kingdoms, and empires, with their functional administrative and judicial systems of government. Boahen and Crowder stated that,

“Some astute West African leaders ruled as best they could, while others used the new colonial setting to become tyrants and oppressors, as they were responsible to British officials ultimately. In decentralized societies, the system of indirect rule worked less well, as they did not have single rulers. Because the British colonizers were unfamiliar with these novel and unique political

systems and insisted that African "natives" have chiefs, they frequently appointed licensed leaders known as warrant chiefs, as in Igboland" (Boahen, 1965 and Crowder, 1971).

Taken the above into account, one will realise that as a result, the British used indirect rule to maintain control over their colonies. This means that they delegated their work to African tribe leaders while they remained safe in Britain. Initially, this improved relationships between Africans and the British, but when too many rebellions broke out, they were forced to direct British combatants to the colonies and impose harsher rule.

Alliances and Treaties

Most West African leaders aligned with the British imperialists, in an effort to develop their commercial and diplomatic gains. King Jaja of Opobo, for instance, resorted to diplomacy as a means of struggle against European intrusive imperialism. Jaja was an ex-slave of Igbo descent. After his master's death, Jaja was elected king of the Anna Pepple House in Bonny, Niger Delta, in 1863. Soon after, a feud between the Anna Pepple House and the Manilla Pepple House erupted, resulting in the outbreak of civil war in Bonny in 1869. Because of the war, King Jaja fled to the inland kingdom of Opobo, which was located in the palm oil producing hinterland. Jaja was a self-proclaimed nationalist who was hell-bent on dominating his political domain's trade. He was adamant about keeping Europeans out of the interior. He also wanted to keep the Opobo oil markets out of the hands of foreign traders. In order to accomplish this, King Jaja signed a trade treaty with the British in 1873. Part of the treaty stated as follows:

“After April 2, 1873, the king of Opobo shall allow no-trade established in or off Opobo Town, or any trading vessels to come higher up the river than the Whiteman's beach opposite Hippopotamus Creek. If any trading ship or steamer proceeds further up the river than the creek above mentioned, after having been fully warned to the contrary, the said trading ship or steamer may be seized by King Jaja and imprisoned until a fine of 100 puncheons (of palm oil) be paid by the owners to King Jaja” (Boahen, 1965).

By signing the treaty, the British accepted Jaja as the king of Opobo and the dominant middleman in the Niger Delta trade (Boahen, 1965 and Fage, 1969).

The subsequent rush for Africa in the 1880s, on the other hand, shook people's perceptions of Africans. British traders and officials were no longer willing to recognize Jaja's hegemony in the Niger Delta hinterland. Instead, they went into the hinterland to promote free trade, making a clash with Jaja unavoidable. British consul Harry Johnson lured Jaja to a British gunboat for talks in 1887 but then exiled him to the West Indies, where he died in 1891. Furthermore, in the treaty, the European agent would guarantee that his government would protect an African ruler from invasion, and the African ruler would promise not to enter into similar treaties with any other European power. Imperialism had to be as cunning and deceitful as the biblical snake of the

Garden of Eden at this point because imperialism's survival depended on the art of cunning and deceit. Perham and Bull (1963) cited in Boahen (1987, p.38) write that in his diary, Lord Lugard, one of the most respected British colonials admitted a typical trick played by the British East African Company on the Kabaka of Buganda in 1892 as follows;

“No man if he understood it would sign it, and to say that a savage chief has been told that he cedes all rights to the company in exchange for nothing is an obvious untruth. If he had been told that the Company will protect him against his enemies, and share in his wars as an ally, he has been told a lie, for the Company have no idea of doing any such thing and no force to do it with if they wished”.

Lord Lugard's diary makes it clear that the negotiations were nothing more than lies written on paper to trick West African rulers in order to deprive them of their sovereignty. Since each West African state had several rulers, concluding alliances with different rulers rather than the states to which they belonged meant that colonial borders did not always align with West African state boundaries. Moreover, in their quest to subdue the entire Gold coast, for example, George Ekem Ferguson from Anomabo was commissioned by the British administration to survey the entire Northern part of the Gold Coast in order for the British to sign a treaty with them. He, therefore, persuaded the Northern Chiefs to accept British protection. In view of this, he further

contended that the French and Germans could possess their land and rule them if they refuse British protection. Therefore, by 1901, the entire Northern part of the Gold Coast had signed treaties accepting British rule.

In 1891, Prempeh flatly refused to sign a security treaty that meant British control of Ashanti. His words to the British envoy attest to this:

“The suggestion that Ashanti in its present state should come and enjoy the protection of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress of India is a matter of very serious consideration and I am happy to say we have arrived at this conclusion, that my kingdom of Ashanti will never commit itself to any such policy. Ashanti must remain independent of old . . .”

To exert force in 1897, King Prempeh was exiled, and the Ashantis were told that he would never be returned. He was first taken to Elmina Castle. From there, he was taken to the Seychelles Islands.

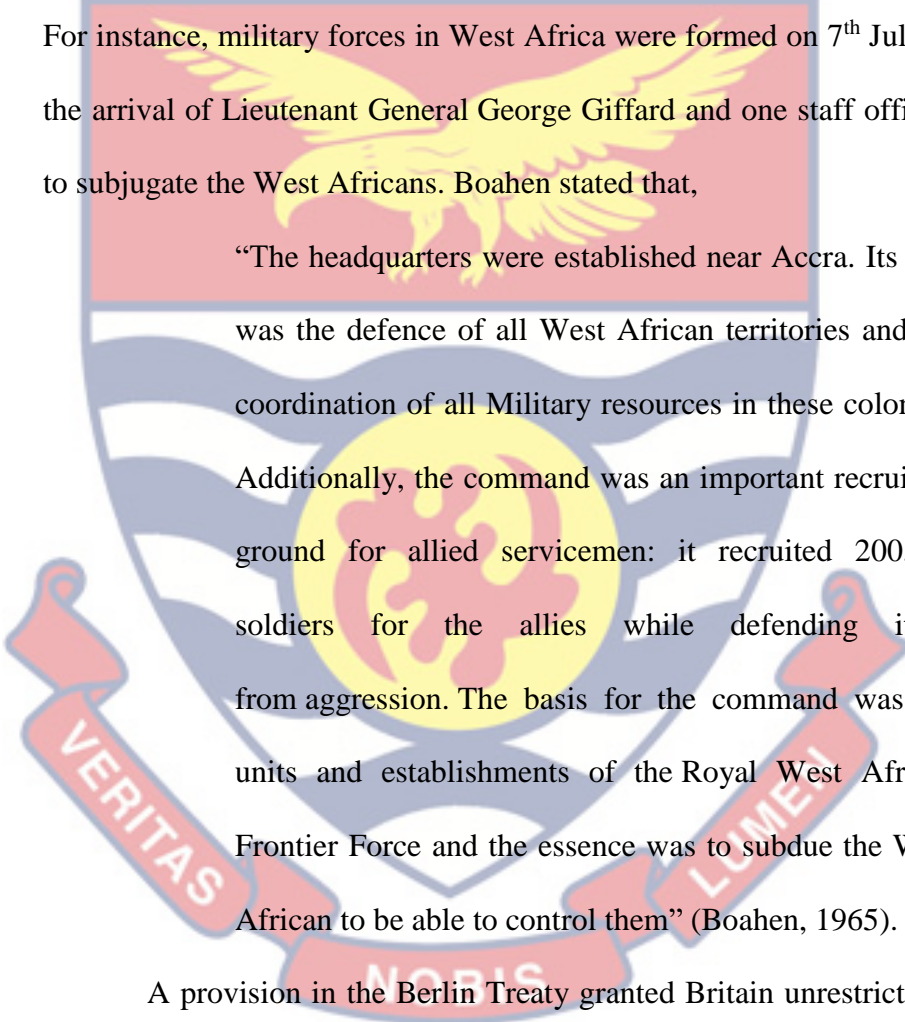
To further humiliate the Ashanti people in 1899, the British governor Sir Frederick Hodgson was sent to Kumasi to demand the Golden Stool. The Golden Stool was a symbol of Ashanti unity. In view of this demand, the Ashanti chiefs held a secret meeting at Kumasi. And Yaa Asantewa, the Queen Mother of Ejisu, was present. Yaa Asantewa saw that some of the bravest male members of the Ashanti kingdom were cowed. In her famous challenge, she asserted:

How can proud and brave people like the
Ashantis sit back and look while white men

took away their king and chiefs and humiliate them with a demand for the Golden Stool? The Golden Stool only means money to the white man; they searched and dug everywhere for it . . . If you, the chiefs of Ashanti, are going to behave like cowards and not fight, you should exchange your loincloths for my undergarments (Boahen, 1965).

The aftermath of this meeting was the beginning of the “Yaa Asantewa War”. The final battle began on September 30, 1900, and ended in the bloody defeat of the Ashantis. Yaa Asantewa was captured, and exiled to the Seychelles, where she died around 1921. The British then gained control of the environs of the Gold Coast (Ghana) at the end of this war. It is clear that most West African states fought aggressively and bravely to retain control over their countries and societies against European imperialist designs and military invasions. However, the African societies eventually lost out. The nineteenth century was a time of intellectual and even progressive shifts in African political geography, marked by the disintegration of old West African kingdoms and empires into various political units. Some old West African communities were rebuilt, and new African societies were developed based on various ideological and social premises. As a result, West African economies were in turmoil, and many were politically dysfunctional. As a result, they were unable to mount a successful resistance against the European invaders (Fage, 1969).

Furthermore, after World War I, military forces in the four British West African colonies (Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia) were under the control of the individual colonial governments. The regiments of the four colonies were all under the umbrella of the Royal West African Frontier Force. An Inspector General of African Imperial Forces was appointed to oversee their training and act as military adviser to the imperial governments. For instance, military forces in West Africa were formed on 7th July 1940 with the arrival of Lieutenant General George Giffard and one staff officer in order to subjugate the West Africans. Boahen stated that,

The logo of the University of Cape Coast is a shield-shaped emblem. At the top is a yellow eagle with wings spread. Below the eagle is a blue and white wavy pattern. In the center is a yellow circle containing a red map of Africa. At the bottom of the shield is a red banner with the Latin motto 'VERITAS LIBERABIT VOS'.

“The headquarters were established near Accra. Its task was the defence of all West African territories and the coordination of all Military resources in these colonies. Additionally, the command was an important recruiting ground for allied servicemen: it recruited 200,000 soldiers for the allies while defending itself from aggression. The basis for the command was the units and establishments of the Royal West African Frontier Force and the essence was to subdue the West African to be able to control them” (Boahen, 1965).

A provision in the Berlin Treaty granted Britain unrestricted authority to use military force to conquer West African territory. The years 1885-1914 saw European conquest and the amalgamation of pre-colonial states and cultures into new states. British imperialists persisted in their earlier treaty-making processes, which resulted in West African regions becoming British colonies. West African kings used a variety of tactics to prepare for British colonization,

including mediation, coalition, and, where everything that failed, military conflict (Boahen, 1965 and Fage, 1969).

The British arrived in West Africa at a time when colonial forces were at odds. The British monarchs promoted the growth of nationalism as a new source of prosperity and political dominance. Other reasons that added to the political justification for British imperialism in West Africa included national pride and glory. The nineteenth century was characterized by European nationalism. The European powers were struggling for powers and prestige for this reason brought about the First World War. That is to say that the national prestige of the Europeans caused the British arrival in the West Africa region with the reason for political supremacy and this made them fought many wars of conquest with some natives and other European rivals.

Military Camps/Posts

The British like any other European imperialists established military camps or posts in the various colonies. This imperialistic strategy became very crucial to the British imperialists in order to achieve their reasons for coming to West Africa. Following WWI, the respective colonial governments controlled the British military forces in the four British West African colonies (Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia). The Royal West African Frontier Force encompassed the regiments of the four colonies.

“An Inspector General of African Colonial Forces was appointed to oversee their training and advise colonial governments on military matters. Lieutenant General George Giffard and one staff officer arrived on July 7, 1940, to establish Headquarters Military Forces West

Africa. The headquarters were established on 15 July near Accra. His task was the defence of all West African territories and coordination of all Military resources in these colonies”. (Watterson, 2008).

Furthermore, the command served as a significant staging area for allied servicemen. When defending itself from the Vichy attack, it trained 200,000 troops for the Allies. The Royal West African Frontier Force divisions and institutions served as the command's foundation. For example, after the British took over the Elmina Castle in 1872, it has been used for a number of purposes. For example, it hosted the Ghana Police Recruit Training Centre for several years (Watterson, 2008 and Womber, 2020). This, all in the name of protecting or defending their territories against external attacks.

Furthermore, beginning on May 31, 1944, a Royal Air Force communications squadron was stationed in the region and was at times closely affiliated with the West Africa Command. The West Africa Communication Squadron of the Royal Air Force was created on 31 May 1944. It was Disbanded in July 1945 and renamed twice, reformed on 1 October 1946 at RAF Waterloo in South Africa, and finally disbanded on 25 September 1947. It was later designated as the strategic domain of the West Africa Command. Owing to a shortage of funds, postwar proposals to raise an infantry division in West Africa as part of a British strategic reserve were never realized. It would have required 1,200 British officers and NCOs, construction-totalling £13 million, and take four to six years to establish (Watterson, 2008).

Now after independence, West Africa Command's infrastructures were kept and used by the new Ghana Army. The Command's *insignia* (a leaning palm tree)

is still worn today by members of the British Peace Support Team in Ghana, including army personnel based at the Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Centre (Watterson, 2008).

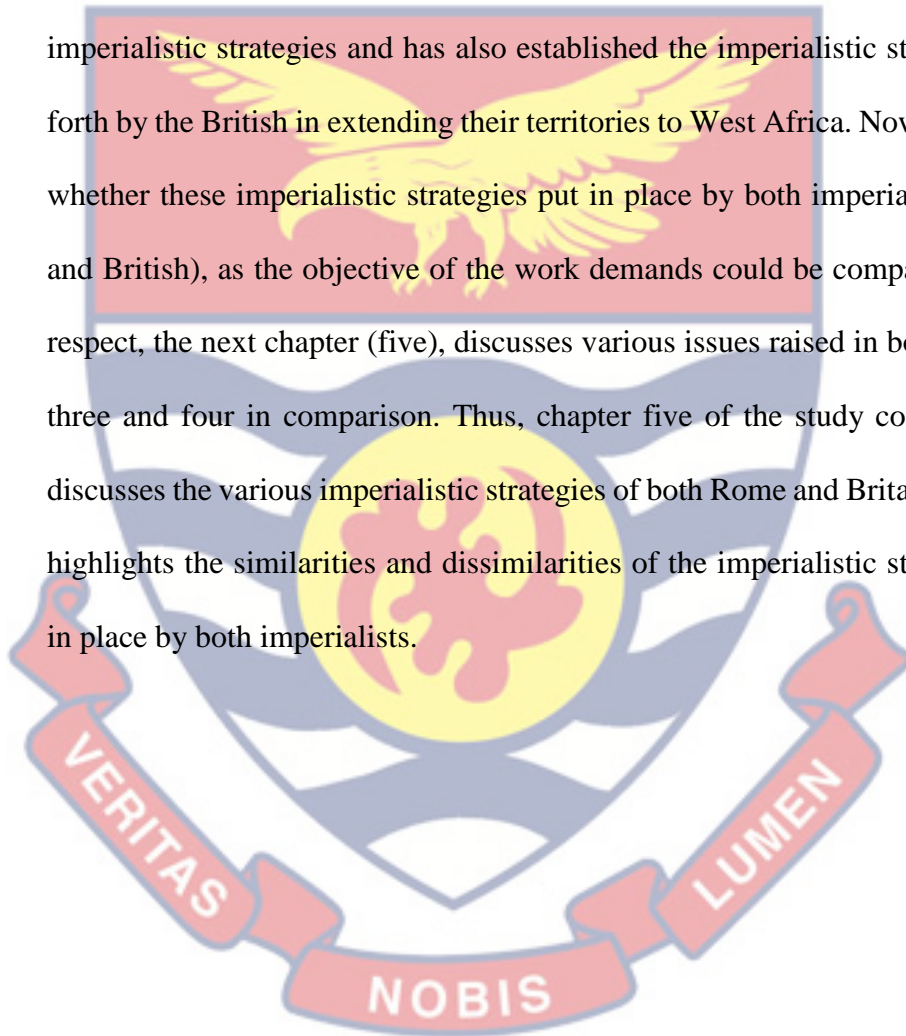
Divide and Rule

The policy of divide and rule, a popular political division created by imperial powers among locals, was much practised by trade companies and British administrative representatives to help provide political advantage conducive for the conduct of trade. On the Gold Coast, for instance, the English respectively propped up the physical confrontations between Asante and the Fante city-states (Howard, 1978).

The British used what we call the Divide and Rule tactics, which in Latin is referred to as *Divide et impera*. This is where the imperial officers gain and preserve power by breaking up larger concentrations of power into pieces that individually have less power than the one implementing the strategy. The British colonial, per experience from the onset, decided to reduce conflicts between the indigenes. As a result of this, the British adopted the policy of “Divide and Rule” in order to separate their allied territories. One community was separated from the other. They divided the people based on their linguistics, religion, ethnicity and skin colour. This was done to group the people into distinct entities to be treated differently. The British officials often draw ethnic boundary lines upon the ground. They also fostered a division of land resources between immigrants and natives. And this was one of the basic functions of the colonial administration. The British therefore partitioned their colonies geographically and this was the ultimate solution in the division of colonial

territory (Waterman, 1987). And with these strategies, the British imperialists were able to achieve their goals for coming to West Africa.

To sum up, in the previous chapter (three) the study discussed various reasons for the Roman imperialistic strategies and also the imperialistic strategies put in place by the Romans during their expansion program. Similarly, this chapter (four) has discussed exclusively the various reasons for the British imperialistic strategies and has also established the imperialistic strategies put forth by the British in extending their territories to West Africa. Now, to be sure whether these imperialistic strategies put in place by both imperialists (Rome and British), as the objective of the work demands could be compared. In this respect, the next chapter (five), discusses various issues raised in both chapters three and four in comparison. Thus, chapter five of the study comparatively discusses the various imperialistic strategies of both Rome and Britain. And that highlights the similarities and dissimilarities of the imperialistic strategies put in place by both imperialists.



CHAPTER FIVE

ROMAN AND BRITISH IMPERIALISTIC STRATEGIES COMPARED

Introduction

In the previous chapters three and four, an attempt has been made to discuss in detail the strategies used by both Rome and Britain in their expansion campaigns. It was identified that both the Romans and the British employed several strategies of imperialism some of which are related, and others unrelated. As a result, and for the purpose and objectives of this research, this chapter compares Roman imperialistic strategies in North Africa and British Imperialistic strategies in West Africa. In so doing, it discusses the major findings in chapters three and four by comparing the strategies used by both imperialists in expanding their territories.

Imperialistic Strategies

Expansion of an empire requires diplomacy and strategies. The most common strategy of expansion is forcibly conquering through war and violence, and this strategy as established in chapters three and four, was used by both Romans and the British. As discussed in chapter four, the British fought with some groups such as the Ashantis of Gold Coast, the Igbos of Nigeria of in West Africa in an attempt to conquer and rule. Comparatively, Rome as demonstrated in chapter three, also embarked on many wars of conquest to be able to annex the North Africa region. To be able to achieve this, Rome had to engage the Carthaginians in series of Wars. Thus, the First, Second and Third Punic Wars respectively. This helped them to gain access and control of the North Africa province. That is to say, that at the end of the Punic Wars Rome defeated Carthage and then conquered North Africa.

Also, we can see that there is no war of conquest without any military involvement. During the British imperialism in West Africa, there was military subjugation. Likewise, the Romans also used the same strategy where Rome after conquering ensured that military posts or garrisons are established in the conquered colonies to exert force on the natives and control them so they would not revolt against Rome.

In chapter three the researcher established that the Romans going to the North Africa region was not an easy task. For this reason, they needed the backing of the military powers as a defensive mechanism or strategy. Therefore, they employed military strategies to gain colonies during their many wars of conquest. The Roman army engaged the Carthaginians in a series of battles which constitute what the Roman imperial history refers to as the First, Second and Third Punic Wars, before getting control of the North Africa Region.

Furthermore, the Romans with their military force was able to suppress the North African colonies and other colonies that Rome extended their territories to. The study establishes in chapter three that, the Romans built military posts and garrisons within their colonies where they kept soldiers to serve as watchdogs and to control the natives regarding any attempt to revolt against Rome. With military force, the Romans were able to remove their imperial rivals (Carthage) in order to gain a foothold in North Africa.

As discussed in chapter three, the Romans due to their excessive expansion were in fear that their enemies will attack them for that matter organised their army that constitutes the Roman citizens and Roman allies, in order to defend Rome at all cost. Building the Roman Empire became a success through the intrusion of the Roman army and the defensive mechanism Rome put in place. Rome

indeed became the superpower and mistress of the Mediterranean after they had defeated Carthage in the Third Punic War.

Like the Romans, the British as discussed in chapter four, were not different from the Romans when it comes to the defensive strategies of imperialism. Like their imperial masters (Rome), the British involved their army in their imperial programme. Like the Romans, the British were exposed to few people who were difficult to subdue. A typical example as stated earlier on, is the Ashantis of the Gold Coast (Ghana) and the Igbos of Nigeria. To be able to gain control over West Africa properly, the British involved their military in order to defeat them.

It has been discussed in chapter four that, on the Gold Coast, the Yaa Asantewa War between the British and the Ashantis ensued as a result of challenges the British encountered. In view of this, the British removed every obstacle to get a foothold in the West African region more especially the Gold Coast. In addition, like the Romans, the British were authoritarian and decided everything for their colonies. All these were possible because of the strong military background that served as a defensive mechanism. Also, as compared to the Romans and the building of military posts and garrisons, the British established military camps and police training academies in West Africa.

In addition, the Romans put force on their conquered and raised an army from their colonies as Roman soldiers. The natives were sent to many wars of conquest as their contribution to the building of the Roman empire. Similarly, the British conscripted the West African natives to join their military force. For example, during the First World War, the West African natives were conscripted to join the British army to fight for their imperial masters.

Moreover, the Romans as seen in chapter three had series of treaties and alliances with their North Africa colonies. Both the Romans and her North African allies pledged to be honest and faithful to each other. In view of this, the North African natives embraced the Roman culture as well since they are under Roman hegemony. This confirms the adage that "do what the Romans do when you go to Rome." The Roman allies received Roman protection against any external attack and also had an equal share of war booty in times of warfare. Likewise, in West Africa, the British signed alliances and treaties with some of the kings and other West African leaders. To have a safe trade with them, for instance, the British signed a treaty with Jaja king of Opobo to foster harmonious trade. Also, they signed treaties with the Fante chiefs in order to gain their favours on the Gold Coast.

As discussed in chapters three and four, another strategy in which both the Romans and the British imperialists used in their territorial expansion is an indirect rule. While the Romans called it the Client-king alliance, the British called it indirect rule. Here we mean that both imperialists used the existing or native power structure to steer the affairs of some parts of their colonies they found difficult and expensive to run. The day-to-day governmental administration was left in the hands of the traditional or native rulers (Kings) to administer on behalf of the imperialists.

Similarly, while some Roman and British colonies had a direct rule, some also had an indirect rule with the reason aforementioned. The British colonies that were ruled indirectly by the native kings had the supervision of the British advisor. Likewise, the Romans had proconsuls and prefects who monitored the affairs of the client kings.

Furthermore, the Romans, as well as the British, as discussed in Chapters three and four respectively, used another strategy called divide and Rule (*Divide et impera*). With this strategy, the Romans gave some individuals who were allowed Roman citizenship to rule some part of their colonies that were far from Italy. The Romans further divided their subjects into units and signed separate alliances and treaties with them. The divide and rule strategy or tactics served as a watchdog in the Roman provinces and colonies. The British adopted the same strategy. In chapter four, it has been established that the British decided to reduce the internal conflicts between the West African natives and for this reason adopted the policy of divide and rule. Here one community was separated from the other and was given a ruler. Comparatively, both the Romans and the British placed their people based on their ethnicity, language and many common cultures. They both portioned their colonies geographically and this was the ultimate solution in the division and controlling of their colonial territories.

Although both empires used wars of conquest and military subjugation as a method and strategy for expansion, each imperial power also had distinctive ways of adding foreign land into their respective territories. The British used colonization to expand into the New World. They sent many settlers to claim land, which does not belong to them for what would later become the thirteen colonies.

Like the Romans, the British also desired political supremacy and for this reason, had to subjugate the West African lands. The British came to West Africa when the Europeans were fighting for political supremacy. In chapter four, we were told that like the Romans, the British in some parts of West Africa,

had to fight the French and the Dutch, in order to take control of the land like the Romans, did to the Carthaginians. This political struggle between the British and their fellow European imperialists ensued in the First World War. All these must happen as a result of their political reason for expansion. Like the Romans, the British wanted national prestige and glory for their political individuals and the British Empire at large, since the nineteenth century was the era of European nationalism. And this is the very reason why the war of conquest and military subjugation was very important in building an empire.

The British as discussed in chapter four, also established trading relationships as an avenue to take over the West Africa land. On the other hand, Rome used a different, yet effective strategy to espouse the North African tribes into their empire. They offered peace treaties, with terms letting the dominated areas keep their own leaders. Also, laws were provided that they would trade with Rome and they also provided some of their citizens for the Roman military. These planted seeds of tolerance that helped Rome retain control of its Empire.

As demonstrated in chapters three and four, both the Romans and the British tolerated other cultures and this was very essential in building both empires. The use of Romanisation and Assimilation allowed both empires to be a little bit flexible in building and maintaining their empires. Both empires embraced tolerance towards settlers, including many of them into the local economy, and both empires intermarried with many of the new peoples being brought to the empire by expansion especially the Romans.

Despite similarities in the use of Romanisation and Assimilation to promote their empires, Rome and Britain differed in some aspects of this policy. Unlike Rome, Britain's tolerance did not extend outside the borders of Britain.

Instead, in all overseas domains, whites were viewed as superior to everyone else, and certain racial and ethnic discriminations began. The British did not grant their colonies citizenship right. They never had any right to contribute to the British House of Senate this was a result of discrimination against the black race, which persists till now. In comparison, Rome welcomed entire conquered people to consider themselves Romans, and in many cases granted citizenship to anyone who wished to embrace Roman ways of living. In addition, unlike most of the world, Romans did not discriminate based on skin colour. And this probably helped the North Africa natives in climbing the Roman political ladder and gained seats in the Roman senates. Some later became prominent Roman leaders (emperors) and scholars. For instance, Emperor Septimius Severus and St. Augustine.

Also, aside from the similarities discussed above and even in chapter three, the formation of colonies was an integral part of Rome as far as their expansion strategies, tactics, and methods are concerned. The Romans as discussed in chapter three of this work, after their war of conquest, also used force to seize the land of the natives to make it Roman property (*ager publicus populi Romani*). Moreover, they established their colony on it, in order to push their excess population to those colonies. The Roman army, building their garrison and military post, guarded those colonies. Like the Romans, the British seized land and made them their colonies. The British with reference to chapter four also built military posts or camps as compared to the Romans.

The study has already established in chapter four that, the British used the policy of assimilation, that is to say, the British planned to have the West Africans assimilated into the European civilisation and culture. In view of this

strategy, the British appointed some native elites to occupy religious and administrative positions. The Romans also used assimilation as part of their tactics to subjugate the North African regions. Even though the Romans and some scholars did not call this strategy assimilation but rather Romanisation. However, whether assimilation or Romanisation, the objective was the same. It has been identified in chapter three that the Romans, through the Romanisation, spread their culture and civilisation, allowed some of the North African natives to rise to certain positions which later became Roman emperors as in the case of Septimius Severus. Thus, granting them Roman citizenship, the Romans further allowed some of their allies to occupy some political positions in Rome. This gave some of the North Africans the impetus to climb the *Cursus Honorum* in the Roman political arena and later became Roman emperors. Distinctively, the British, as compared to the Romans did not grant any West African native British citizenship and also no West African native was able to occupy any political position in the British house.

To sum up, the chapter has discussed the various imperialistic strategies of the Romans in North Africa and the British in West Africa. The research theory (Comparativism) and method (historical and content analysis and qualitative comparative analysis) have helped the research to achieve the purpose and objective of the study. In effect, it has demonstrated the major similarities and dissimilarities of the imperialistic strategies used by the Romans and the British. Undoubtedly, the research has been able to examine the similarities and dissimilarities of the reasons and strategies of Roman and British imperialism. Now, having discussed these issues in comparison, let us turn our attention to the last chapter of the work, which ends the argument.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This chapter draws a curtain on the discussion, *the Imperialistic strategies on Roman North Africa from the 2nd Century B.C – 1st Century AD and British West Africa from 1884-1956.*

The research was guided by the following questions:

1. What strategies did the Romans use to establish their imperial programme?
2. What strategies did the British adopt in establishing their imperial expansion?
3. Are there any similarities and dissimilarities between the strategies used by both Romans and the British?

To answer the above, a comparative analytical method was employed to answer these research questions as demonstrated in Chapters Three, Four and Five of the study respectively. Also, in answering these questions, the research made use of Comparativism as a theory to reflect and compare the imperial histories of both Romans and the British. The same method and theory helped the researcher to draw the similarities and dissimilarities among the imperialistic strategies used by both Imperialists.

However, as stated earlier in Chapter one of the study, the research was principally motivated by the research problem. As a matter of emphasis how scholars such as Brunt and Miles have concluded that since Roman and British imperialism occurred in different eras, we cannot compare them and for that matter, there is a vast difference between their imperialistic strategies.

Based on the research findings especially as seen in Chapter five of the study where the imperialistic strategies are compared, it has indeed challenged the arguments opined by these scholars that these imperialistic strategies could not be compared. By looking at the issues analysed in Chapter five, the similarities and dis-similarities come together when we look at their strategies for embarking on their imperial program.

As the study established in chapters three and four, and to answer the research questions, we realised that to achieve their imperial aims, both the Romans and the British devised strategies to aid them. Of course, the strategies used by both Rome and Britain were very similar. That is not surprising since Rome was once ruling Britain. Thus, Britain in the Roman imperial era was part of the Roman Empire. The British been part of the Roman empire, there is no doubt that as the British also became a European power in West Africa, they modelled their strategies on that of their imperial masters (Rome).

In their strategies, it is seen that both imperialists as established in chapter five of the work embarked on a war of conquest. In the late Republican to the early imperial era, Rome fought many wars to gain control over the Mediterranean. The Romans engaged in many wars with the Carthaginians as their imperial rivals in order to gain a foothold in the North African region and also defend Roman territories from further attacks. In the same way, the British fought their imperial rivals, for example, the French before gaining access to the entire West Africa region. It is therefore recorded that even in West Africa, the British met some of the natives who opposed their operation in the land and for that matter, needed to be defeated before they could settle.

Also, the Romans in their imperial expansion in North Africa had a series of treaties and alliances with them. Likewise, the British also had alliances with the West African kings. They both did this to create harmony between them and the natives. They both used indirect rule even though the Romans called it a client-king alliance and the British called it indirect rule. That is both the Romans the British made use of an existing structure (kings) to steer affairs on behalf of the imperialists especially where they find it expensive and difficult to go.

Moreover, it was also established that both the Romans and the British imperialists used the divide and rule tactics where their subjects were divided into unites, tribes and language in order to rule them. The Romans chose to administer new lands and peoples indirectly, through the native collaborators (such as Kings), in lieu of Roman citizenship and other benefits. The Romans referred to this system as divide and rule (*Divide et Impera*). Thus, they divided up their subjects into component units, signed a separate compact of alliances and treaties with each.

Also, they induced each, through a multifaceted system of rewards, to serve as watchdogs on the others and served as a defence to Rome. The Roman entrusted some of their colonies and provinces to the hands of the client- kings especially, the Numidian kings which the Romans had an alliance. As part of extending their empire, the formation of colonies also became an essential strategy for Roman imperialism. To maintain peace and maintain their colonies, the Romans made good use of their military in such colonies by establishing garrisons and military posts for them. These were later adopted by the

Europeans and modify it, though perhaps the purest examples of the unaltered Roman system are best seen in British imperialism in West Africa.

The study has also demonstrated that both the Romans and the British used military force as a strategy to control their subjects. Thus, they made use of military subjugation in their imperial program to suppress their subjects. In so doing the Romans established garrisons to keep their military force. Likewise, the British also established military camps in the West African regions to control their borders. Also, both imperialists formed colonies in their respective territories.

Furthermore, the British assimilated some of the natives to the British administration to help in putting things in order. In the same way, the Romans upon granting their natives Roman rights were able to climb the *Cursus Honorum* in the Roman political arena.

Distinctively, one major dissimilarity we can talk about is that the Romans granted their ally citizenship right but in looking at the British rule in West Africa granting of citizenship was absent. Also, the force that Roman used was too extreme as compared to the British.

The similarities drawn from the imperialistic strategies of the Romans and the British demonstrate that the ancient Romans cast a long shadow over the peoples of Europe. We could rightly say that even the terminology of modern European expansion is Roman: The words such as *imperialism*, *empire*, *colonialism*, *colony*, *proconsul*, *procurator* all emanated from Rome. In addition, Roman strategies for imperialism towards achievement and administration of conquered territory and individuals laid the foundation, the blueprint, for later European expansion and rule. This was true not just for the

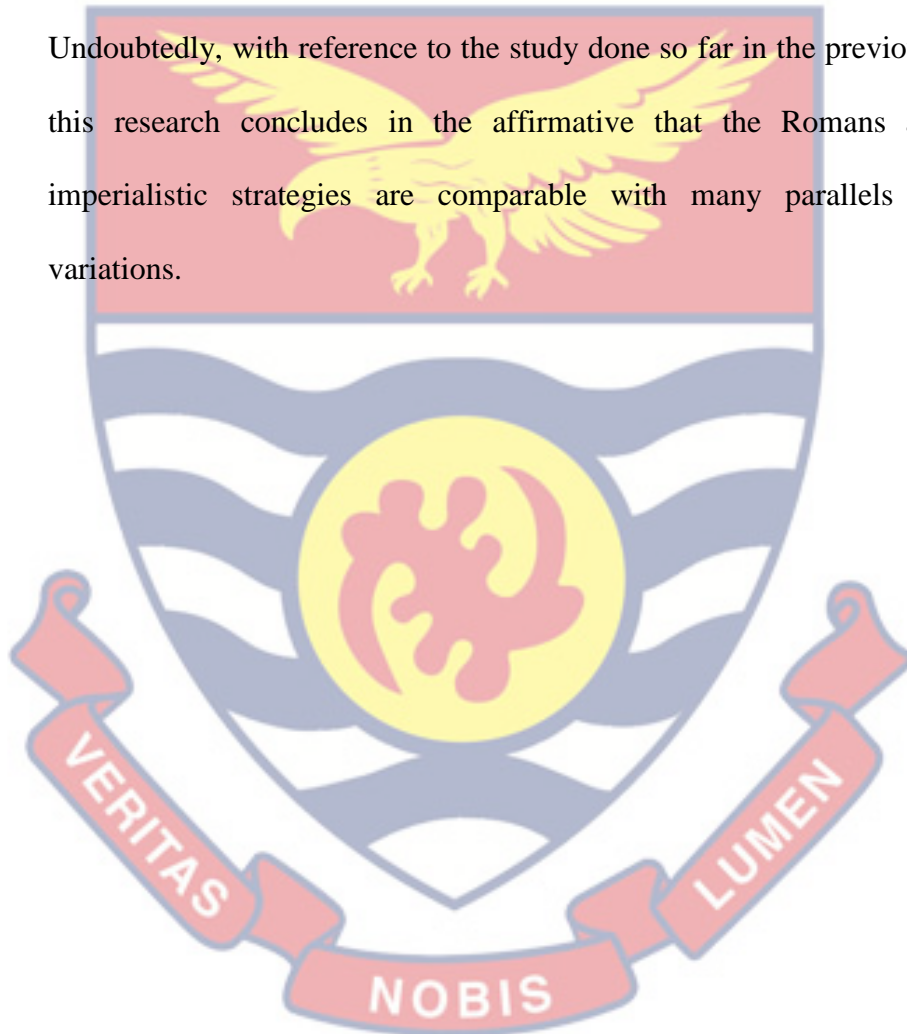
Latin-based cultures, such as France and Spain, where Roman institutions and traditions occasionally survived intact, but also for nations of Germanic ancestry, such as Britain, Holland, and Germany, where the Roman legacy is seen.

Now, these discussions on the various strategies employed by the imperialists (Romans and British) have in no doubt answered the research questions and has shaped the aims and objective of the work. Thus, per the demands of the research questions, the researcher has been able to identify the strategies put forth by both Rome and Britain in their expansion program and how similar and dissimilar their strategies are.

Moreover, we should note that imperialistic strategies are not limited to eras, places, time or countries as demonstrated by Brunt and Miles. One will realise that imperialistic strategies are also not limited to only Rome and Britain but rather many other imperialists nations that came after Roman imperialism. Indeed, a close look at the foreign policies of France during its colonial history and expansionism show that it also modelled itself on Roman Imperialism. However, that is not the focus of the research. Thus, Roman imperialistic strategies aside from comparing it to the British could serve as a model to imperial nations such as the USA, Japan, France, China, Canada and many others.

Hence, per what has been established in the research analysis on Roman imperialism in North Africa and the British Imperialism in West Africa, it will suffice to say that the Roman imperialistic strategies are legacies for the British. Even though these events took place in different eras notwithstanding, it is clear that the British modelled their imperialistic strategies on that of the Romans. As

a result, this study has concluded that even though there are some distinctions between the Roman imperialistic strategies in North Africa and that of the British in West Africa, it is clear that the similarities cast a very big shadow on the differences. For this reason, and in contradiction to Brunt and Miles, we can say that the imperialistic strategies of the Romans and the British are similar. Besides, there are no vast distinctions between their imperialistic strategies. Undoubtedly, with reference to the study done so far in the previous chapters, this research concludes in the affirmative that the Romans and British imperialistic strategies are comparable with many parallels and fewer variations.



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