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No. 516.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

REPORT FOR 1905-6.

(For Report for 1904-5, see No. 476.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
January, 1907.



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No. 516.

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(For Report for 1904-5, see No. 476.)

SIR F. LUGARD to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Abinger Common,

Surrey,

SIR,

November 27th, 1906.*

I HAVE the honour to submit herewith my Annual Report for 1905 (including the early months of 1906) with five appendices. The delay in its submission is due to the fact that the whole of the necessary returns had not reached me at the time I left Nigeria, in May last, and some have only been received comparatively recently.

2. I regret that the report is of such unusual length, but the country is so large, and embraces so many provinces, which are diverse, not only in the characteristics of their population and the forms of native administration, but also in their economic products and trade, that I have found it impossible to digest the matter into a smaller compass. I trust that your Lordship may not consider it too long to print *in extenso*, for I have been at some pains not only to report such facts and make such suggestions as appear to me to be of use or interest to those concerned in this country, but also with a view to the officers—especially the political department—in Nigeria, to whom I venture to think that these annual reports are of value, both in regard to the statistics and facts they contain, and as an indication of what is required for annual compilation, and to give each Resident a general knowledge of the progress in provinces other than his own. With these objects I have endeavoured to compile a useful pamphlet for reference, at the risk of incurring the charge of making my last report of undue length.

I have, &c.,

F. D. LUGARD.

* Publication delayed for preparation of map (Appendix IV.).

REPORT FOR 1905-6.

I.--GENERAL.

TAXATION.

1. My Annual Report for 1904 was largely occupied in giving an account of the forms of taxation existing in the Protectorate, and of the scheme of reform by which I hoped to reorganise them,—to regulate their incidence so as to check abuses and oppression, and to divide the proceeds between Government and the Native Administration. The inauguration of this new system has formed the main administrative work of the year, involving as it did a revision of the assessment of every village in the Protectorate, and the creation of "districts" under headmen. In the review of provinces which follows this section I have commented upon the progress made in each province, but the subject is one of such vital importance to the country that I propose to submit a separate report, in accordance with the instructions of the Secretary of State, showing the results achieved, the modifications which actual experience has necessitated, and the approximate incidence upon the population.* Its success depends upon the adequate supervision of the District Headmen by the British staff, and the increase of the latter in the current year will, I hope, admit of this supervision being effectively undertaken. Incidentally the participation by the Government in the proceeds of the taxes, has greatly promoted the circulation of currency, and done much to remove the difficulties caused by the fluctuation in value of the cowrie. It has also brought the British Administration into closer touch and co-operation with the Native Chiefs than could have been effected by any other means, and given to the administrative staff an intimate knowledge of the whole machinery and customs of Native Administration. It has, in fact, as I anticipated, gone far towards identifying the two as integral parts of a single system of rule in which each has its duties and functions in mutual co-operation.

2. The canoe tax yields about £3,000 per annum. Considerable exemptions and a lower rating have reduced the

* A memorandum by Sir F. Lugard dealing fully with the subject of taxation in Northern Nigeria will shortly be published.

receipts, and as it now stands I am assured that it does not weigh heavily upon the class which pays it. Business is reported to be brisk, and new canoes are being built (even in Southern Nigeria) for use in the Protectorate. The tax falls upon a class who, for the most part, are acquiring considerable wealth by the transport of Government goods, and who cannot be taxed at the present stage in any other way.

I have dealt with the Caravan Tolls under the Trade Section (paragraphs 133-7). During the present year the hawkers' licences, so far as they affect natives, and the native liquor licences (except near a Government station) have been abolished and incorporated in the General Tax.

GENERAL PROGRESS.

3. The increase of trade and prosperity which has followed the introduction of the "Pax Britannica," the steps now being taken to reform the Native Administration and to decentralise some of the despotic powers exercised by the native rulers by the creation of responsible headmen of districts, the increased confidence in the Native Courts, and the incipient efforts to promote sanitation in native cities, are all tending, I think, to promote a higher standard of native comfort and general civilization. The Government can only claim as yet to have inaugurated the first tentative steps in this direction which future years must develop, and which will be fostered by improved methods of transport (paragraphs 120, 164, and 183-4), by education (paragraph 230), by the development of the material resources of the country, and by the increase of population. Much useful work has been done in completing the statistics of provinces in the record book, which has been instituted in all provinces, and contains lists of every town, village, and district, its history, assessment, chiefs, sub-chiefs, industries, products, population and economic information, together with notes on tribes, tsetse areas, trade routes, courts, rolls of ex-soldiers, freed slaves, native craftsmen, arms, traders, &c., &c. These record books will form most valuable data for the compilation of a gazetteer for Northern Nigeria as well as for administrative and economic purposes.

4. The cost of the Military Force, which is necessary to preserve order in the country, and upon our frontiers towards foreign powers, is a heavy burden upon the revenue, a burden which, however, has been somewhat reduced during the past year. As a measure of safety, and for the prevention of internal wars, the country has been disarmed, and throughout all Nigeria (except on the frontier of Southern Nigeria), there are now practically no firearms whatever, other than flint locks, which are not prohibited by the Brussels Act. This imposes

upon us the duty of protecting the weak, and of carrying out all measures of police coercion. The system of Government adopted in Northern Nigeria necessitates the maintenance of a thoroughly disciplined body of troops which can enforce obedience to law and suppress outrage without recourse to the expedient of arming savages against each other. The opening up of the direct route from the Niger and Benue to the tin mines has resulted in the discovery of an extended plateau some 4,000 feet in elevation. The soil is rich, and the climate is described as exhilarating, and suitable for Europeans. It is probable that a sanatorium may be established here, which may, in the future, revolutionise the conditions of residence in Nigeria, and it may also offer facilities for European planters and settlers, as soon as rapid access to it by a good cart road has been made.

SURVEY.

5. A survey party under Captain Ommanney, Royal Engineers, arrived in Nigeria in November, 1905, with the object of accurately fixing the longitudes of all places connected by the telegraph system in relation to Lagos by telegraphic signals. The expedition was most successful, and the exact position of the following places has been determined: Jebba, Patiji, Lokoja, Keffi, Bauchi, Kano, Zaria, Zungeru, Kontagora, and Bida. With these centres finally fixed the survey of the Protectorate can be rapidly filled in, and all plans of districts co-ordinated with accuracy.

MAHDIS.

6. During the year there have been more than the usual number of fanatical preachers of seditious—though religious—propaganda among the Moslem population. Of these the outbreak at Sokoto caused grave apprehensions, owing to an initial disaster to our troops;—the first check they have received since the force was raised in 1898. In Bauchi and in Kontagora there were similar beginnings of "Jihads," which, however, were promptly suppressed. I have described these under the provinces concerned. From Tripoli Mr. Temple reports that the Senussi does not appear to be extending his influence. The Arabs are importing large quantities of arms, apparently with a view to resisting service in the Turkish Army.

RAILWAY.

7. The extension of the Lagos Railway from Ibadan to Oshogbo towards the southern frontier of Northern Nigeria

has been undertaken during the year. A preliminary survey from Oshogbo to Illorin, in Northern Nigeria, has been sanctioned.

ORGANISATION.

In pursuance of the objects described in my last report, paragraph 5, I had intended to form the three small provinces of Nupe, Kabba, and Illorin into one double province, under a Resident of the first class, but the events at Sokoto interfered, and the matter was consequently deferred. The division of each province into "administrative divisions," each in charge of an Assistant Resident, and containing varying numbers of "districts" under native headmen, was proceeded with in conjunction with the taxation scheme. The eight double provinces into which the Protectorate will thus eventually be divided will each be under the charge of an experienced administrator, and the chain of responsibility will be complete down to the district and village headmen. This process of decentralization, and of giving enlarged control to the senior Residents will, I am confident, tend to increased efficiency. I completed my prolonged tour of the provinces in April, 1905, and returned to England on leave in May, when Mr. Wallace assumed temporary charge of the Administration until my return in December.

FRENCH AND GERMANS.

8. Relations with the French have been very cordial, and the Governor-General of French West Africa (M. Roume) took the opportunity of the fighting at Sokoto to suggest a closer co-operation between the officials on the frontiers of the two countries, who will, in future, inform each other of any native feeling or other matter which may have an effect across the frontier. Letters of thanks were received for the avenging of the death of the two French officers by the execution of Makafo. The Governor of Dahomey and the officers in high command in the Zinder district have been not less anxious to show their desire for co-operation, and I need hardly say that it has been reciprocated by the Government of Northern Nigeria. Three French officers visited Sokoto and were hospitably entertained by the Resident. Friendly relations have also been maintained with the Germans now that the ambiguity concerning the frontier, which was formerly a cause of friction, has been removed.

TRIPOLI.

9. The Consul-General at Tripoli, Mr. Alvarez, has obtained permission from the Foreign Office to communicate any matters of importance and interest direct to the High Commissioner

of Northern Nigeria. Several Residents, when on leave, have visited Tripoli to study Arabic and Hausa, and Mr. Vischer, Resident of the third class, is about to proceed thence across the desert to Bornu by the Murzuk route.

INDIANS.

9A. A very important experiment has been made by bringing ten good clerks from India for distribution among the various departments in the most senior grades. This does not imply that the African clerks of the same grade are not equal to their duties. On the contrary, the Administration is fortunate in possessing many whom it would be difficult to rival in efficiency, but the rapid development which in recent years has taken place throughout West Africa has created a demand which is in excess of the present supply of first-class men. Two good foremen of works have also been introduced from India, and I have every reason to anticipate that these well-educated Indian officials will prove a complete success. Their loyalty, and their desire to succeed for the credit of themselves and their country, leave nothing to be desired. Twenty-eight transport attendants, including native veterinaries and artificers, accompanied them, and have been invaluable. They promise to be an unqualified success (*vide* paragraph 167). All are engaged for three years.

II.—POLITICAL (A.)—REVIEW OF PROVINCES.

SOKOTO (INCLUDING GANDO).

10. The institution of taxation in this province was, I have said, an entirely new departure, the necessity for which had become very urgent, owing to the cessation of the annual "Gaisua" from the other Emirates. The Serikin Muslimin (Sultan) summoned each district headman, with his village headman, in turn to the capital, and with his expert advisers assessed the tribute payable by each village. This, after confirmation by the Resident, was readily accepted by the people, and the Resident states that "the tribute steadily flows in without any trouble, and, so far as can be seen, without causing the least ill-feeling." At first the Zakka (tithe of corn) was not included, as having a religious significance, but at the end of the year, at the Emir's suggestion, it was included in the General Tax of which

Government takes a share, but it is paid separately, as the Emir considers that incorporation would be tantamount to abolition, and so contrary to the Koran. In Gando no difficulty has been found in merging it in the General Tax. The tax has stimulated trade, and the people export corn to other provinces to obtain cash for payment. The Serikin Muslimin, in recognition of his position as Head of the Moslems, receives three-quarters and Government a quarter only of the tax in the district of Sokoto proper; he, however, shares the Jangali (cattle tax) equally with Government. Gando and Argungu, of course, receive one-half share only. The scheme of taxation was completed by the institution of the urban tax in Sokoto City, and the establishment of the "Kuridin Sarota," viz., fees on appointment to office. The Resident of this province (Major Burdon) sets great value on this last, not as a source of revenue, for its monetary results are insignificant, but as compelling all district headmen to report appointments to the Emir, who in turn reports them to Government, so that a record is kept, and arbitrary depositions accompanied by local riots are prevented. The share of the fee adds to the Emir's income, and the fact that his approval is required before appointments are final adds to his power and control over the district headmen, which is certainly important. I have, however, some misgiving myself (which is shared by many of the Residents) as to the wisdom of this tax in the circumstances of some of the provinces, and I have, therefore, left its enforcement at present optional.

11. Major Burdon reports that, owing to the loyalty, energy and ability of the Sultan and his Waziri, the preliminary assessment has been most successful. The "districts" have been very fairly divided, and the taxes are entirely collected by the district and village headmen, without the intermediary of tax collectors, nor has there been any attempt at evasion or short payment. The attempt, however, to make the tax a graduated one according to wealth has so far proved a failure, since the principle is foreign to the ideas of the people. The rich, therefore, can only be made to pay more by means of such class taxes as caravan tolls, &c. (*See* paragraph 133), and by separate taxes on cattle owners (Jangali), &c. At the same time great progress has been made in "redistribution," viz., the creation of homologous territorial areas under a single district head, and this has led to the re-population of some deserted areas, and the repatriation of freed slaves under conditions of self-redemption (*see* paragraphs 15, 110, &c.). Many of the chiefs already reside in their districts, the few absentee landlords being chiefly near kinsmen of the Emir. He has now, however, ordered these to reside in their districts, and, "though the order was at first distasteful, it is now recognised as right and cheerfully accepted." The creation of homologous districts was, however, much more difficult in this province than it had proved to be in Kano, and it is unavoidable

but that there should for many years to come be communities resident in a district who will not recognise the authority of the local headman, but pay their tribute and own allegiance to the district from which they originally migrated. In Sokoto, and more especially in Gando, as also in other provinces, the clan feeling is very powerful, and territorial jurisdiction as opposed to clan allegiance (however broken up the clan may be) can only be gradually established as the districts grow into well-recognised units, and the value of land increases, as it has done in the densely populated Emirate of Kano. The number of boundary disputes, which are now coming forward for settlement, indicates however the increasing value of land and its reclamation, and the recognition of individual rights. In illustration of this difficulty in Gando, Captain Ruxton writes: "In many cases a village will be found situated in the territory of another district yet independent, especially if the district be Habe and the village Fulani. In other cases the farm lands of a town or village are in another district, in others communities owning allegiance to Gando are to be found in the midst of Sokoto territory. As there is an endless variety in the geographical distribution of these communities, so is there also in their tenure and vassalage." He ascribes this confusion to the fact that two separate races, Habe and Fulani, occupy the same country, to former wars by which communities were driven from their houses, but preserved some measure of autonomy, to gifts to favourites by Emirs of one or more communities instead of a specified territorial area, and to the system of absentee landlordism, by which local chiefs acquired more power than their master. Much progress is, however, reported from Gando in the re-assessment and knowledge of the province. The greater part of it has been roughly mapped and district boundaries marked. The administrative divisions of Gando are Ambrusa (Gando), Argungu, and Jega. Sokoto is divided into Sokoto proper and Zamfara, which latter is chiefly inhabited by Pagan Houses or Habes.

12. The staff has averaged only four British officers, and has been insufficient. The wealth of the province consists in its vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Upon these the Jangali tax has been collected in Sokoto, but so far only some 26,000 out of an estimated 100,000 cattle have been assessed and paid for in the Gando district. Most of the nomad herds are as yet unassessed. Owing to the telegraph construction through this part of the province, cash has been widely distributed, and all taxes have been realised in sterling, and paid through district headmen. The total tax on a population estimated at 200,000 amounts to £13,000, of which the Government share is about £5,000, and the incidence per adult is estimated at about $1/3\frac{1}{2}$, the cattle owners paying probably four times as much as the remaining population. The movement of population, due to peace and security, has been from the cities to the land. Forty new villages are reported, and the walls of

the towns are left to fall unrepaired, except in Zamfara, where they are a necessary protection against wild beasts.

The total revenue realised in the province was £7,337, this being the first year since Sokoto submitted (in March, 1903) in which taxation was enforced. The revenue is expected to reach £10,962 in the financial year 1905-06 in spite of the heavy loss due to the suspension of tolls and of the tribute tax (only about half of which had been received) at the time of the Satiru disturbances.

13. Seventy-six cases (135 persons) were tried in the Sokoto and Gando Provincial Courts, and 125 were convicted. The prisoners were employed in sanitation and works. Nine new native courts were opened, but the only two which can so far be called a complete success are those at Sokoto and Jegga, where regular prisons and a system of prison labour have been inaugurated. In the former 189 and in the latter 146 cases were tried, and six men were convicted and sentenced to death for murder in the Sokoto Court during 1905. The police in Sokoto are well reported on, but the Gando detachment, owing to lack of an officer, are bad.

14. The only trouble in 1905 was on the French frontier, which, being still undelineated, was consequently controlled by neither Power. Some districts of the province still remain unvisited, but many disputes on the provincial frontiers have been adjusted. Better houses, though still of native type, were made during the year, roads were cleared to the south and east, and the waterway of the Gulbin Kebbi was improved. The telegraph reached Sokoto on May 18th, 1906, having been strenuously pushed forward during the year. There was an outbreak of small-pox, but the epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis was much more serious, and accounted for some 50 deaths daily for a short time, while infant mortality shows a terribly high rate, due to the insanitation and filth of the native towns. The health of Europeans, except perhaps at Jega, was not good in spite of a not unhealthy climate. The reason assigned is overwork and bad housing. Dispensaries, which were started in the two capital cities, have, I regret to say, not been successful, and vaccination only succeeded in one out of 160 cases, owing to defective lymph.

15. *Slavery.*—The trade in slaves has entirely ceased, and even private transfers are rare. The Serikin has forbidden the payment of death duties in slaves, and he has directed the native court to adjudicate on all cases in which slaves desire to redeem themselves, fixing an equitable sum, and arranging how it may be earned and paid gradually. A slave thus has an absolute right to redeem himself even against the will of his master, with the result that slaves, instead of running away and becoming

vagrants, can now appeal to the native court. Moreover, since they have no longer the fear of being sold or transferred, they are more contented, and less inclined to desert, while the masters, having no longer the power of sale or fear of confiscation or desertion, treat their slaves more as part of the family. In one case, where redemption was refused by a master, the Sultan ordered the liberation of the slave without ransom. He has also taken great pains to restore enslaved populations to their deserted towns. This is a remarkable course of action for the highest Mohammedan authorities in the country to take, and illustrates the liberality of the Sultan's views, and his desire to co-operate with the Administration. The gradual extinction of domestic slavery through the initiation of the Head of the Moslem religion, supported by the Moslem jurists on the one hand and by the personal exertions of the slave himself on the other, is, in my judgment, a much greater achievement than forcible manumission by the Government, which, while bitterly resented by the masters, is not regarded by them or by the slave himself as really emancipating him from the status of a slave. This movement, as I shall narrate in dealing with the other provinces, is not confined to Sokoto, though it is here doubly important, first, because Sokoto is the headquarters of the Mohammedan religion, and of the most capable of the Moslem jurists, and secondly, because Sokoto, owing to the former annual slave tribute, possesses a larger slave population than any other province. The rules regarding redemption are applicable also to the Gando Emirate in which the influence of the Serikin Muslimin is powerful. The Resident of Gando (Captain Ruxton) "states with assurance that there is now no such thing anywhere in the province as a *trade* in slaves, the policy of compulsory manumission on demand to the native courts is working well, as shown by the court returns." He adds: "One cannot help but remark on the almost total absence of cases of slave-dealing in this province, the last to have been brought under control, and one in which only three years ago the traffic must have been very large. Should it be supposed that the traffic still goes on without our knowing it, I can only answer that the hatreds and jealousies are so great that the chances of being informed against are such as to render the supposition improbable. From all that I have casually heard I firmly believe that the trade has been abandoned." Nine slaves were freed by order of the provincial courts, and 38 by the native courts.

16. An attempt has been made during the year to start a native school under a Mallam who has received some education with the C.M.S. and also in England, but it has not so far proved successful. There are at present only four pupils, and it is regarded with suspicion which will, I hope, disappear in course of time. The harvest was very good, except in the comparatively small district (800 square miles with 281 towns), north of Sokoto, where the crops failed.

Pigeon-peas (dhal), tomatoes, and yams, which have been introduced by Government, have done well. The Sultan has seconded the Residents' efforts to prevent deforestation and to preserve game, though the application of rigid laws on these matters would as yet be premature. The drying up of streams seems to indicate a progressive dessication of the country in this direction, and an encroachment southwards of the arid area of the Sahara.

17. Of the general condition of the province Major Burdon gives a most encouraging account. The Serikin Muslimin exercises a very effective influence through the 26,000 square miles, over which his immediate rule extends, and this influence is "whole-heartedly" on behalf of Government; misdemeanours by chiefs have been effectively dealt with generally by the Sultan and the native courts, more rarely by the Resident. Every offence has at once been reported both to and by the Emir, especially those connected with slave-dealing, and in one instance the Emir dealt severely with a member of his own family for this offence. Boundary disputes are now freely referred to the Emir and to the courts (instead of resulting in a local fight), and have been admirably settled by them. These cases are numerous, owing to the large amount of new land brought into cultivation or pasture. The Resident reports the condition of the province as "thoroughly and increasingly satisfactory." The demeanour of the headmen and peasantry alike was one of unusual cordiality to Europeans whom they greet with a "cheery and respectful" salute, forming a gratifying sign of their contentment. Even in Gando all the district chiefs including Jega are reported as loyal, and "the country absolutely peaceful, while the people—at any rate the great mass of the poorer people—are contented." The State of Argungu remained, as it has always been, thoroughly loyal and contented. The Emir of Gando alone maintained with his personal satellites an attitude of passive resistance, and a series of four incendiary fires, which destroyed the police and other Government houses at Jega, were considered to have undoubtedly been caused by an emissary from him. I was, therefore, compelled to send a detachment of infantry at the Resident's request to Jega. It was also credibly reported that the Emir intended to kill the Resident on the first difference of opinion, and carried a revolver and three daggers for the purpose. He had refused to assist the Resident, and had abetted violence to a Government messenger. It became clear that the Resident could not carry out the policy of ruling through the native chiefs while such a man remained in power, but it was not till the end of the year that Captain Ruxton was able to say with decision which of the three possible successors would make the best and strongest ruler. I am myself much opposed to the selection of a weak man, who may become the puppet of the Resident, and be without influence, and unable to control his subordinate chiefs. In

Northern Nigeria it is absolutely essential that the native rulers shall be men of strong character, for it is through and by their aid that the Government desires to administer the country, and in every case I have endeavoured to select the candidate whose character was most marked by personal dignity and decision.

18. The Sokoto Annual Report, from which I have been quoting was dated on February 10th last; on the night of the 15th a telegram reached me to the effect that "a new Mahdi had arisen," that the mounted infantry company had been "annihilated," and Mr. Hillary, who had just relieved Major Burdon in charge of the province, Mr. Scott, Assistant Resident, and Lieutenant Blackwood in command of the troops, had been killed; that Dr. Ellis, medical officer, was severely wounded, and the infantry detachment at Jega had been summoned to Sokoto. Upon its speedy arrival the lives of the remainder appeared to depend. The telegraph construction towards Sokoto had been pushed forward with all possible speed, and it was due to this fact, and the consequent immediate information I received of the reverse, that I was able to take the requisite measures with such celerity as the situation demanded. By the time that the news would otherwise have reached me, the first reinforcements were at Sokoto. Some years ago I represented to Mr. Chamberlain the vital necessity for administrative purposes of telegraphic communication with the outlying districts, in especial Sokoto, Kano, and Bornu. A grant of £50,000 was, at his instance, made for this purpose by the Treasury, and this has been supplemented each year by such a sum as I was able to provide from revenue. The importance of this matter to which almost all other works had been subordinated was now demonstrated, for not only had I news of this disaster within 24 hours, but I was able to warn every garrison, and issue orders throughout the Protectorate, and to recall the expedition in the Munshi country.

19. This "bolt from the blue" could hardly have come at a more unfortunate moment. Assured of complete peace and contentment at Sokoto, and elsewhere in the Protectorate, I had sent the whole of the mobile force at my disposal under the senior military officers to rescue the captives taken by the Munshis in their attack upon the Niger Company's trading depôt at Abinsi on the Benue (paragraphs 81 and 222), and to restore order there. A mere handful of men remained at Lokoja and at headquarters. The one place where disturbance had seemed possible was at Hadeija (half-way between Kano and Bornu), which was, however, adequately garrisoned for any contingency by a company of infantry and one of mounted infantry (total 250 rifles). I now had cause to regret that my great reluctance to proceed to force against this Emir had induced me for three years to maintain an attitude of toler-

ance in the face of provocation, for now that a crisis had come I not only could not withdraw a single man from Hadejija, but felt on the contrary that it formed a second focus of danger.

20. No less on the civil than on the military side was the moment singularly unfortunate. Major Burdon had just left Sokoto and Captain Ruxton had left Gando. Mr. Hillary, in whom I had the utmost confidence, and who had gone to relieve them was killed. The "Mahdi," elated by a success wholly unprecedented in the short annals of Nigeria, would, no doubt, obtain immense prestige, and his objective would, no doubt, be Kano. Mr. Cargill, the experienced Resident of that province, was just convalescent from blackwater fever, and the doctor had said that he should not remain in the country a day longer; the Hon. A. Bailey, his Junior Resident, had already been invalided with blackwater fever, while Captain Orr, Resident of Zaria, was on his way to see me at Zungeru.

21. I immediately recalled the troops from the Munshi country, but Abinsi was at least four days from the nearest telegraph station (Loko). In these circumstances, and in default of further information from Sokoto, I judged it wise to ask the Governor of Lagos to send what troops he might be able to spare as a safeguard in case of emergency. With the utmost promptitude he despatched 250 men by sea to Burutu, whence in due course they came by river steamers to Lokoja, and marching across Nupe from the Niger, arrived at Zungeru on March 5th. The news of the reverse reached Zungeru late in the evening of February 15th from the telegraph line-head then close to Ambrusa, the capital of Gando Province, where there were four white men without any troops, and the attitude of the Emir was unfriendly. A second message, also sent via Jega by mounted men, informed me that the Jega detachment had at once marched for Sokoto, and had been joined by 150 loyal horsemen from Tambawel, a powerful town on the frontier of Gando. I directed the Europeans to retire upon Argungu, which has been consistently friendly from the time prior to the establishment of the Administration, and thence to endeavour to get into touch with Sokoto and ascertain the position of affairs there.

22. For six days we had no further news, but disquieting reports from Bauchi informed me that more than one fanatical preacher in that district was advocating the extermination of all unbelievers, and proclaiming the advent of a Mahdi at the "Holy Hill" of Bima, a small Pagan village on the banks of the Gongola, which is connected with some Fulani legend. By the energy and promptitude of the Resident (Hon. O. Howard), the first of these propagandists was seized and deported. The second was of a more dangerous type, and he

appeared to have caused a considerable excitement among the population of Bauchi. He was very pluckily arrested by two soldiers, and tried for sedition by the Emir and his native court, who had throughout loyally supported the Resident, was sentenced to death and executed. A third and fourth disappeared eastwards. The constant appearance of "Mahdis" or their fore-runners merits a word of explanation. Though probably at least half the population even in the northern states is Pagan, and the great majority of even those who call themselves Moslems are in no way imbued with either the tenets or the fanaticism of Islam, there has been a series of local ebullitions in favour of some mahdi or reformer ever since we have had any touch with or knowledge of what was going on in the country, and we now know that even before the advent of the British similar outbreaks were suppressed by the Fulani from time to time. Incredible as it would seem, some fanatic continually arises and obtains a following, the large majority of whom are probably wholly ignorant of what the word "Mahdi" means. It is hard to gauge their motives and desires, it may be that like the peasants of Russia they look for a general upheaval which shall abolish all taxes and all distinctions of social grade. They will then be able to throw off the mild yoke of serfdom, and catch slaves for themselves. Personally, however, I do not believe that there is any very definite motive among the large majority. They are simply eager to follow some new thing; to see what it may lead to. Their instinct is to follow like sheep any person who comes among them and directs them to obey him. It is almost inconceivable to European thought, but the reply of 90 per cent. of the adherents of such a movement would, if questioned as to their motives, probably be that the preacher told them to do so. I do not think a year has passed since 1900 without one or more such Mahdi movements, and simultaneously with this rising at Satiru and serious reports of Mahdism in Bauchi, there was actually a second incipient Mahdi as rival to Mallam Isa in the Sokoto province who surrendered himself after the victory at Satiru, and another seditious preacher was causing much unrest in Kontagora. The circumstance which distinguished the outbreak at Sokoto from all others was the unparalleled success its leader had gained, while the danger in Bauchi was that in that district only is there a fanatical section, basing itself on an ancient legend. The moment was, moreover, auspicious with the troops away in Munshi-land, the reverse at Sokoto and the threat of Hadeija. Simultaneous reports also reached me of a Senussi movement (due to the French advance on Wadai) from the north-east, and of a concentration of Fulani Mallams (in connection with the Bima propaganda) in German territory in the east.

23. Meanwhile I had immediately despatched 75 rank and file to Sokoto from Zungeru, which were all that were available. They would be reinforced by 75 more en route from

Kontagora, while 100 more were ordered up from Lokoja with all speed. The advance party of 150 rifles was under Major Goodwin, Royal Artillery, whose instructions were to fall back on Zaria if he found the hostile forces advancing eastwards. Marching with great rapidity he reached Sokoto on March 1st, and the 100 men from Lokoja joined him on the 8th. I had by this time received news from Sokoto that Major Burdon, the Resident, who was only 25 miles from the city, had at once returned on receipt of news of the reverse, and that the various Europeans were all safe there. His return restored confidence to the chiefs, and his able dispositions put a new complexion on the whole matter. The telegraph construction party had resumed work under the protection of Argungu, and communication with headquarters was thus restored. The hostile gathering after their success had attempted no further attack. The Emir of Sokoto and his chiefs were entirely identified with us, and several powerful war-chiefs had come from the outlying walled towns to proffer their help. They formed a cordon of scouts day and night between the rebels at Satiru, which was only 14 miles south of Sokoto, and the Government garrison. This news enabled me to detach two companies of mounted infantry from Kano to join the force at Sokoto, which consisted, when all were united, on March 8th, of 573 rifles, with about 30 Europeans, inclusive of the original Sokoto and Jega detachments (since only 25 had been killed in the reverse, and not the entire company, as at first reported), together with some 70 police whose arms, however, were almost useless. There were also a 2.95-inch gun and several Maxims. This concentration was, of course, effected without the Munshi column or Lagos troops, and was assembled at Sokoto within three weeks of the reverse, the Lokoja troops having traversed about 400 miles by land and 80 by water in that time. The principal war-chief of Sokoto had meantime advanced with some 3,000 men against the enemy, but his followers would not face them, for their prestige in having defeated the Government troops was enormous. Fortunately, instead of advancing through the country when, owing to this prestige, no doubt thousands would have flocked to what seemed like the winning side, the rebels remained at Satiru, and contented themselves with raiding and burning the surrounding towns, which could make no stand against them.

24. On March 10th Major Goodwin advanced with his whole force against them. The enemy, estimated at 2,000, consisted entirely of unmounted men, very indifferently armed, many carrying only axes and hoes. The mounted infantry went forward to draw them on, and then cleared the front of the square in order to let the infantry fire take effect upon the charging mass. A Sokoto chief who had been present at the previous disaster described the action with terse force:—"They came on, and the horsemen gave way and went back; no one took

any notice. I thought we were all going to be killed, as before. Someone gave an order, everyone fired, then a whistle blew, everyone stopped, and there was no one left alive in front." The enemy made several brave charges, and resisted the troops hand to hand in the village. The fugitives were pursued by the mounted infantry, and by the Sokoto horsemen (who had not been allowed to take part in the action). The Maxim and some of the rifles were recovered. Captain Gallagher was severely, and two other officers slightly, wounded.

25. The military situation demanded a signal and overwhelming victory for the restoration of our prestige, and the prevention of any such rising in the future, entailing further loss of life. Bravely as the rebels fought, it must be remembered that they had inaugurated their rebellion by the murder of twelve villagers who refused to join them, and had later killed the people of many neighbouring villages—in one case the majority of the inhabitants of a large town had been their victims—thus constituting themselves a band of criminal outlaws, who were hunted down by those on whom they had inflicted so many wrongs. Dan Makafo, their leader (for Mallam Isa had been killed in the first engagement), and five others who were captured were tried by the Sokoto Native Court on a charge of murder and rebellion, and condemned to death. I trust that the effect of this terrible retribution, which the Resident says is profound, will render any further appeal to arms unnecessary in the Sokoto province for very many years. The orders against enslaving captives were obeyed, and the women and children found in the town were freed to the number of about 3,000. The bodies of the three officers who had been killed in the reverse were found on the scene of the disaster, and buried with military honours. The village of Satiru was razed to the ground, and the Serikin Muslimin pronounced a curse upon anyone who should again rebuild it or till its fields.

26. The origin of the disturbance was as follows:—Just two years ago the chief of the village of Satiru—a name of ill-omen in the Indian Mutiny—announced himself to be the Mahdi. He, however, came to Sokoto on the summons of the Serikin, and while awaiting trial died. The Serikin bound over his son and headmen by an oath on the Koran to abandon any further sedition. Early in 1906 Dan Makafo (called by the French Saibou), an outlaw from French territory who boasted that he had killed two Frenchmen, arrived, and collecting a few malcontents made his way to Satiru. Here he apparently persuaded Mallam Isa, the son of the late chief, to break his oath and head the movement. Neither of them, however, appear to have declared themselves Mahdis. The rising was planned to take place after Major Burdon had left, and had been in contemplation some weeks or months. Mr. Hillary, on hearing

of it, sent messengers to inform Major Burdon, who was only 25 miles from Sokoto when they reached him. He, however, attached no importance to the news. Mr. Hillary resolved to take the whole mounted infantry company to Satiru in case of emergencies, but hoped to effect a peaceful solution. When they arrived near the village he rode forward with Mr. Scott, Assistant Resident, and his interpreter, and shouted that he had come in peace and wished to talk with them. Meanwhile Mr. Blackwood, who commanded the troops, fearing that the civil officers had detached themselves too far from the escort, came up at a gallop and formed square. The Satiru people began to charge, but the civil officers were still outside the square, and Mr. Blackwood then endeavoured to advance the square towards them. This was an error of judgment at such a critical moment, especially with mounted infantry. Before the square had time to re-form properly, the enemy, who had charged over 800 yards of open ground, was upon it. The horses took fright, and a general mêlée ensued. Messrs. Hillary, Scott, and Blackwood, with 25 soldiers, were killed, and most of the remainder of the troops were panic-stricken, but two at least behaved with the utmost gallantry, and, regardless of their own lives, nearly succeeded in saving Mr. Scott, and later took Dr. Ellis (who was severely wounded) out of action. These same two men saved the life of the leader of the Sokoto troops, when he later made his unsuccessful attack upon the rebels. The Maxim, which had never arrived upon the scene, was lost. Sergeant Gosling was unhurt and Sergeant Slack, R.A., had been left in the fort with his gun. On the return of Dr. Ellis he found that the Sultan's and Waziri's own sons were assembling their following for the defence of the fort, and Sergeant Slack was already starting with his detachment for the scene of the disaster. It would seem from this account that the reverse was the result of a mere accident, due in the first place to Mr. Hillary's anxiety to avoid bloodshed, and in the second place to Lieutenant Blackwood's gallant disregard of military precautions in his desire to save the lives of his comrades.

27. It is permissible to call these people "rebels," for they were fighting not merely against the British suzerainty, but against the native Administration, and the Sultan of Sokoto was at one time in great fear lest his own city might be carried away by the infection. In examining the causes which led to this outbreak, two significant facts emerge, first that the rebels fought with a bravery born only of religious fanaticism, and secondly that among the slain no Fulani were found, and all bore the tribal marks of the Hausas. Dan Makafa at his trial stated that he had come to preach a "Jihad" (religious war for the extermination of "infidels"), and this was borne out by evidence. Clearly the little village of Satiru was well-known as a hotbed of fanaticism, for it had thrown up a Mahdi

two years before and Dan Makafô was directed thither as being the best place for his purpose. It appears also to have had a feud—probably secular—with its neighbour Tsomo, and to have first of all utilised its opportunity of destroying this town. Mallam Isa (“Jesus”) had inaugurated his campaign by calling upon the Sultan of Sokoto to join him against the domination of the infidels, but his request had been received with scorn. Gando, on the other hand, appears to have agreed to join if Sokoto did, and later to have promised adherence if the rebels scored a further success. Isa was killed on the day of his success, but it was said that he had purposed proclaiming himself the Mahdi and hoisting the green flag on the following Salla (Friday). Dan Makafô, the original preacher, stirred up the fanaticism of Satiru by his boast that he had killed two Frenchmen, and the French report speaks of him as a “Marabout.” The Sultan of Sokoto also insists that the rising was solely due to a wave of the unaccountable fanaticism which bursts into flame in so strange a way in the Sudan. The Resident admits that there was much unrest among the telakawa (free-born peasantry), of which he was wholly unaware, and he ascribes it to the loss of their slaves—for even the peasantry in this province own a slave or two apiece. The desertion of the slaves, he says, was not so much due to the actual policy of Government as to the preconceived ideas of the people regarding British action on this question. The slaves deserted because they had heard that domestic slavery would be abolished, nor can British officials restore them by force to their owners. Racial antagonism may also have been a contributing cause to the unrest among the peasantry, for the Hausas or Habes do not love the Fulani, and may have felt that the British administration in Sokoto was too much identified with the ruling caste, to the disregard of their interests, but the fact that the neighbouring towns held aloof and were raided and their people killed by the rebels goes to show that it was not a people’s rising against their rulers. The policy of Government has been most emphatically to dissociate itself from race feeling, and, while ruling through the existing Fulani chiefs—who alone are capable of administration—to spare no effort to hear the grievances and redress the wrongs of the Hausa, Nupe, Yoruba, or other subject tribes. This can only be done by constant touring among them, and the Resident accounts for his ignorance of the unrest, and of the rising which had been projected for some weeks or months, by his inability to tour his province owing to the amount of office work devolving upon him and the paucity of his staff. These issues are of such importance that I think it is worth while to place my views on record for those who may succeed me in Northern Nigeria, so that the lessons of this disaster may not pass unheeded. The Administration of so vast an area as this Protectorate can only become fully organised and effective by a process of decentralisation and devolution of responsibility. The officers who

after six years' training and experience have become First Class Residents of double provinces (Sokoto comprises 42,000 square miles, two-thirds the size of England) can no longer spend all their time on tour, hearing petty village cases. This task must now largely devolve upon their staff, the senior of whom have in turn acquired many years of experience. The increase of the political staff by a third (sanctioned during the current year by the Secretary of State), and the increased elasticity afforded by the double province system, should permit of a thoroughly efficient district supervision. Hitherto the junior staff has been insufficient for its duties, and the very heavy work of the initial assessment of the reformed taxation has been an additional strain. Upon the Resident-in-Chief devolves the duty of training this staff, and of using them as his eyes and ears so as to keep in close touch with every part of his province, just as the High Commissioner in turn uses his Residents. Upon them, as administrators, devolves also the headquarter work of the province, under the more effective system of accounting and audit; the supervision of the increasing revenue; of the provincial and native courts; and the rendering of the necessary returns to the High Commissioner.

28. To return to Satiru. It appears, then, clear that the outbreak was due primarily to religious fanaticism, which, however, was rendered abortive in its results, first by the loyalty of the chiefs and the majority of the population to the British rule, and secondly by the motives of private revenge and the looting propensities of the outlaws and scoundrels who had joined the movement and vitiated its religious character by the killing of Mussulmans, and that the outbreak gained adherents from the causes I have described, which are largely inseparable from a new Administration. That taxation had nothing to do with the matter both the Sultan and the Resident are agreed, and indeed this appears incontrovertible since Satiru had not been assessed in any tax at all.

29. The Lagos troops who had reached Zungeru on March 5th, and whose conduct had been exemplary during their stay in the Protectorate, returned to Lagos on receipt of the news of the victory at Satiru. The force from Munshiland arrived a day or two after them, having marched 312 miles in 12½ days at the hottest time of year over very difficult and rugged country. The garrisons of Kano, Zaria, and Katsena had been placed in a state of defence and readiness, and reinforced by outlying detachments. If, therefore, the rebels had adopted a more aggressive line of action than they did, every preparation had been made to meet whatever contingency might arise. I may note here that the Governor-General of the French Sudan offered such assistance as was possible without crossing our frontier, and the cordial relations thus inaugurated promise to result in a closer co-operation between the two nations on

our common frontiers. For his loyalty and active assistance in this crisis, His Majesty was graciously pleased to bestow the Companionship of the Order of St. Michael and St. George upon the Sultan of Sokoto.

30. It remained to deal with Gando. A strong force marched to his capital, and summoned him to surrender himself. Over-awed by the fate of Satiru and possibly re-assured by the way in which other deposed Emirs have been treated, he at once did so, and no shot was fired. He was sent to Lokoja, where he lived in comfort until his recent death, and the successor, who had already been chosen with the concurrence of the Serikin Muslimin, was installed in his place. All chiefs swore allegiance to him, and, after taking the oath of loyalty to Government, he described the policy he intended to follow, and called on the district headmen to support him. He is a strong character, with great influence, and has been consistently loyal and friendly to the Government. These events in the west compelled me to settle the difficulty with Hadeija without delay, for I could no longer with safety to the Protectorate allow this menace to remain on our flank. Moreover, if the reports of Mahdism from Bauchi should develop, I should thus have a strong force in the vicinity to deal with the matter. With this subject I shall deal later (paragraph 39 *et seq.*).

31. There is one aspect of these events upon which it is possible to look back with encouragement and satisfaction. For the first time the troops of Government, which had been considered invincible, had been defeated and three white men killed. How would the country at large, so recently brought under administrative control, take the news? The answer was spontaneous and immediate. From every Emirate it came in almost identical terms, from Yola to Illorin, from Kano to Nupe. The latter offered armed horsemen to assist if need be, and Illorin, the other quondam vassal of Gando, said his men would have fought on our side. Kano, Bauchi, and Zaria demonstrated their loyalty, and the latter publicly declared that he had sworn to me on the Koran, and he would in any event stand by the Government. Nothing could exceed the loyalty of Sokoto and his chiefs, who (with one exception, only) rallied to our assistance from every side, and the final result has been to bind them in ties of closer confidence than ever. Even in Gando there seem to have been only a few insignificant sub-chiefs—with one exception—who followed the bad example of the conservative old Emir, and most of the principal men, including even one of the Emir's sons, came to Sokoto to offer their help. The Emir's son took charge of the Residency at Ambrusa, and the Chief of Jega guarded the Government buildings at his town in the absence of the British officers, while the Chief of Maradu, in Zamfara (east of Sokoto), threatened immediate execution to the next man who talked of rebellion, and so restored quiet.

32. The Resident of Sokoto feared that these events indicated a deep-seated hatred of the British on the part of the peasantry, but that view hardly seems to be borne out by the facts, nor is it shared by Mr. Cargill, who is in close touch (as Resident) with the most densely-populated of the Hausa States and has visited thousands of towns and villages in the Kano Emirate, nor is it, I think, the view of any other Resident in Nigeria. It was the villagers themselves who came forward after the reverse at Satiru to assist our people. They furnished guides and lent horses to Dr. Ellis and his companions, they conveyed his letters to Jega, nearly 100 miles distant, with extraordinary rapidity, covering the distance in about twelve hours, and they helped Major Burdon himself to return to Sokoto; while Captain Ruxton, in Gando, reports, as I have quoted, that "the great mass of the people are contented." Many people came from distant parts to ascertain if it were true that the Serikin Muslimin of Sokoto had joined the rebellion against us.

KANO.

33. The progress in the double province of Kano (including Katagum and Hadeija), under Mr. Cargill, C.M.G., First Class Resident, has been most satisfactory during the year. The first effect of the reform in the system of taxation is to impose upon the political staff of each province the duty of visiting every town and hamlet with a view to ascertaining (a) what its taxes consist of, and (b) to whom they are paid. Mr. Cargill has during the year visited every single town and village in the Kano Emirate numbering upwards of 1,100, while those of Katsena and Gummel have been visited by Assistant Residents. Katagum and Messau have not yet been done, owing to the lack of staff, which throughout the year averaged only three for a province 30,500 square miles in area, with a population estimated at 2,330,000. The result of this personal enquiry has (apart from the question of revenue) been most valuable. It has brought the staff into the closest touch with the people, not by mere haphazard touring, but with definite objects of enquiry, and has resulted in an admirable survey showing every village in four-fifths of the Kano Emirate and in most of Katsena and Gummel, and in the accumulation of a mass of information from which a fair approximation of the population of the country and a knowledge of its conditions have been derived.

34. In so densely-populated a country as Kano an attempt to begin at once a detailed assessment before general conditions were known would have resulted in loss of time and useless work. The Resident, therefore, wisely determined not to

interfere with native assessment, which, as I said in my last report, was singularly well-organised and apparently not unjust in its incidence in this Emirate. Mere enquiry from local chiefs as to taxation led, however, to no useful result, since they invariably understated the amounts they had been accustomed to pay. He turned his attention, therefore, to the preliminary task of forming his "districts," and of appointing the headmen under the scheme described in my report for 1904. In this he has been most successful. As in most other provinces, he found that the fief-holders owned towns vicariously scattered over the whole province, but, unlike most other provinces, he found no difficulty in re-distribution. Taking the principal town under each fief-holder, he grouped around it in one homologous district a sufficient number of towns to yield a revenue equivalent to the former revenue of the fief-holder, and appointed him "District Head" of this self-contained district. He even succeeded in giving to the most important chiefs the districts furthest from the capital, where their responsibility would be greater, retaining the villages close to Kano itself under the direct rule of the Emir. To avoid too drastic and hasty a reform, it was found necessary to allow the Emir to place some of these under his head slaves as a temporary concession. In the evolution of a more complete organization in the future it is possible that the mode of expenditure of the official revenue assigned to the Emir for public purposes may be accounted for as State funds, and that his private income may be derived from the rents of this group of estates attached to his position. The Katsena Emirate offered fewer difficulties, for there the influential chiefs largely reside on their fiefs, which are more homologous. Consequently there was but little reorganization required to give effect to the new scheme. In Katagum the principle of the fief-holders being district headmen, responsible for their districts and residing in them, was already in operation. When Hadeija, Messau, and a few small outlying districts have been similarly organised, the ground will be cleared for a revision of the actual taxes (and their incidence per head of the population will then be known). This task can be gradually taken in hand by the political staff, accompanied by the new district headmen, who will thus learn to know their districts simultaneously with the political officer. At present no attempt has been made to amalgamate the taxes into a single general tax.

35. The Emir of course did not like the introduction of a system which would weaken his autocratic power, but has nevertheless afforded all the assistance he could, in a loyal and enlightened spirit. In recognition of this I agreed to the concession I have described, by which for a time some of the villages near Kano should be placed under his head slaves, who formerly were all-powerful and usurped the functions of the legitimate chiefs. This system—corresponding to the

"Palace Clique" in Constantinople—has been the curse of Nigeria, as of most other Mohammedan countries. It divorces power from responsibility, and places communities under the heel of a gang of low-class and avaricious retainers. The new system of rule by selected and responsible chiefs deals a final blow to the system, and the temporary concession made in recognition of the loyalty and ability of the present Emir will in due course be swept away. From these groups of villages he receives the share of revenue as being himself (through a deputy) the "District Head," and their possession, therefore, adds to his personal income. It is, of course, inevitable that the supersession of the head slaves and favourites, who formerly exercised what oppression they liked in the name of the Emir, should leave this class of satellites discontented. There are not wanting indications to show how narrowly the Emirs have watched the dealings of Government in each case where forcible interference has become unavoidable, and it was probably due to the fact that the head slaves and satellites, who dominated Hadeija and overruled its Emir, saw that their place and power would be gone under British rule, that the final catastrophe which compelled me to employ force against that city was brought on.

36. In Katsena, however, the change was most popular, for here the chiefs had always had more power, and the Emir was less of an autocrat. I regret to say that in this one comparatively small Emirate alone, the man selected as Emir has proved a hopeless failure. His predecessor, it will be remembered, was deposed for every kind of misrule and continued opposition to Government at the end of 1904. So unanimous was the choice of all the chiefs in favour of the present Emir, and so certain was the Resident that he was in every way desirable, that I appointed him without any period of probation. He has disappointed all expectations, and the chiefs who were most enthusiastic for his selection are now those who most regret it. The Resident describes him as "disloyal, dishonest, and incapable." There is, however, perhaps no Emirate in which both chiefs and people are more loyal and well-disposed, so that the obstruction of the Emir merely tends to reduce his own position. These chiefs have rendered very full and accurate returns of taxation, which form an excellent basis for the new assessment. "It is difficult," writes Mr. Cargill, "to exaggerate the loyalty and zeal with which the Katsena fief-holders have taken up their new duties, and the value of their services to Government." Politically it is a great misfortune that Maradi has been included in the area ceded to France. It was there that the old Habe chiefs of the Katsena dynasty settled, when driven out by the Fulani conquests, and to this day Katsena remains more Habe than Fulani. The Emirate is composed largely of Pagans—both Habe and nomad Fulani—while its Mohammedan section date their conversion to Islam

long before the Jihad of Dan Fodio. The Maradi ancestors of Katsena greatly dislike their inclusion in French territory, where they have no affinities, and they may not improbably migrate into Nigeria, as the Tessaawa (north of Katsena) continue to do.

37. As the result of his constant travel in his province during the year, Mr. Cargill gives the following description of the western sub-province. Within a radius of 30 miles of Kano the population is very dense, and every square yard of cultivatable ground is occupied. It is fertile and well watered by the head springs of the Wobe. This area is administered direct from Kano. Outside this radius are walled towns, ruled by powerful chiefs, and their subordinate villages are all stockaded. In the east—north of the Hadeija River—the people are wild and of a lower type; south of it are sandy, grassy ridges, where water is obtained from wells in the depressions. Further south there are many Fulani, and the country is densely wooded. In the north the population is sparse, and the country tends to arid, grassy plains. In the south-west is bush and a few towns. The south has not yet been fully surveyed. The population is Fulani and Hausa, partly Mohammedan and partly Pagan, and is so well disposed that Mr. Cargill found no escort necessary when traversing districts wholly unvisited by Europeans. His amended estimate of the population, as shown in paragraph 113 and appendix 2, is 2,330,000, which he divides equally as regards sex.

38. Throughout the year the Emir of Kano has maintained the character he had established for loyalty, integrity, and hard work. His returns show 332 cases tried in his own court, for which he accepts no fee of any kind, while the supervision of the taxation from each one of some thousands of towns and the accounting for it to the Resident is a task of great magnitude. There were only two instances in which an exhibition of force had to be made. One was in consequence of the murder of a police constable, who had attempted to arrest a man for personating a Government official and extorting from the people; the other was due to the killing of the servant of a collector, who had caught a man in the act of theft. In both instances the villagers, who in this Emirate are ever ready to take the law into their own hands and resort to blows on little provocation, were collectively guilty of the disturbance, and were punished by fine. The small States on the Northern frontier have remained in a chaotic state, with consequential bloodshed due to mutual raids and quarrels, since until the boundary is settled no effective action can be taken by either the French or ourselves. Latterly, with the consent of the French, I have been compelled to take steps to put an end to this state of things. A chronic dispute between Kano and Gummel regarding their frontiers was settled during the year, and a similar

question regarding certain frontier towns of Sokoto and Katsena. New villages were formed in the east, as well as by immigrants from French territory in the north; and this continues, while no instance of migration to French territory has occurred. It is difficult to account for this, looking to the fact that slave-dealing is not allowed in British territory, and the taxes are fully enforced.

39. The attitude of Hadeija had been consistently marked by chronic obstruction and hostility, culminating in the murder of a soldier, apparently with the sanction and in the presence of the Emir. Enquiry into this matter was impossible without recourse to force. Men had been overheard in the city discussing the chances of success if the garrison were attacked by night. Co-operation between Government and the native Administration was impossible in such circumstances, no progress could be made with the taxation reforms, nor was it safe to travel in the district without a strong escort. For three years I have endeavoured by conciliation and friendly efforts to gain the confidence of Hadeija, and I had hoped that, after my personal interview with the Emir and chiefs in December, 1904, and the letter of advice which the Emir of Kano wrote later at my suggestion, better relations would supervene. The Emir indeed had since that time seemed friendly, but he is weak and was over-influenced by the hostile head-slaves and satellites who surround him. When, therefore, early in 1906 the reverse took place at Sokoto, and rumours of a new Mahdist movement in Bauchi gained strength, I recognised that it was no longer possible with safety to the Protectorate to leave a powerful walled city like Hadeija on the flank of the troops, and as a focus of hostility, monopolising a garrison of 250 troops who could not be withdrawn for an emergency elsewhere. The news of the Sokoto disaster was received with general rejoicings in Hadeija. All work on Government buildings stopped, and the Emir's messenger no longer came to the Resident.

40. As soon, therefore, as the operations at Sokoto were concluded, I sent a powerful force under the Commandant to convey my ultimatum to the Emir. The troops left Kano on April 16th, and though it was obvious when traversing Hadeija territory that many of the fighting men of the towns had already left for the capital, all supplies were paid for en route. I directed the Acting Resident, Captain Phillips, D.S.O., to inform the Emir that I could no longer tolerate the state of passive resistance which, since the news from Sokoto had become almost open hostility. I demanded that the eight ring-leaders should be surrendered, that a small portion of the wall of the town (as at Kano) should be demolished, and that all arms should be given up. I instructed the Resident also to tell the Emir secretly that if he personally desired to maintain

friendly relations, but was unable to overrule his followers, he could find asylum at the fort or even at Katagum, and I would reinstate him later. He was to be given twenty-four hours for consideration of this ultimatum. The reply was, however, given at once. It was to the effect that if we wished to arrest these men we must come and do it ourselves, and the messenger was struck in the face—a supreme insult from a Fulani. On receipt of this reply the Commandant seized one of the gates, and marched his troops into the large open space which intervenes between the walls and the inhabited part of the City. He found the Emir and his chiefs prepared for fighting, but sent three messages to give them an opportunity of re-considering their decision. He also proclaimed that all non-combatants were free to pass round the flanks of the force and remain in safety outside the walls. Large numbers did so, and the loyal chiefs were protected at the fort. The Emir and his fighting men charged the troops on horseback and were repulsed, and after five hours' street fighting the Emir's walled citadel was captured. Here he and three of his sons, with their retainers, made a gallant stand and died fighting. Of the eight ringleaders whose surrender had been demanded, six were killed and one captured. All possible precautions were made to prevent looting and to save the city from damage, and these proved most effectual. The Resident reports that "the whole force was out of the town by 4.45 p.m. All women and children returned to their homes, and the few who ran away from the town either before or during the operations were quietly returning in the evening. The following morning the town resumed its usual aspect, and the markets were well attended."

41. The rightful heir was the Chiroma, and this man had always been friendly and opposed to the policy of the war party. After careful enquiry the Resident found that it was the universal wish of the people that he should succeed his father, and he was consequently installed on probation. Both he and the Galadima are very intelligent men, who had done their utmost to persuade the Emir, but they stated that he was entirely dominated by the head slaves (who had summoned their towns to fight, though but few obeyed the call), and that no peaceful solution of the difficulty had been possible in these circumstances. The offices of the war chiefs were abolished, and 150 yards of the wall were levelled. Hadeija had exerted a bad influence in the north-east of the Protectorate, where, as is natural with these people, leniency and patience had been mistaken for fear, and it was supposed that we dare not fight. The signal and complete victory not only put an end to this, but its effect will be far-reaching, and will tend to check Mahdist propaganda in the East, as the affair at Satiru will in the west.

42. Following the fall of Hadeija, a detachment of troops was sent to the northern frontier, where the French had asked me to take whatever action I considered necessary to put an end to the chaos and inter-tribal war which continued in the debatable area between British and French territory. Bauri was reported to have attacked the native agent in charge of the district, and to have killed 25 of his followers. Dingaas attacked Malwa and killed its chief and 12 people, while Bilmari had been at chronic war with Machena. The chiefs who had caused these disturbances were arrested, and 105 illegal arms of precision were destroyed. The chief of Bauri fled to the north.

43. The native courts at Kano and Katsena have done extremely good work, but the Resident reports that elsewhere with the existing staff it is impossible to supervise them adequately and to obtain any returns. He has, therefore, so far deferred establishing them. In the Provincial court 196 cases were tried, as against 192 the previous year. The average number of prisoners in the gaol at Kano was 40 and at Hadeija 15, the value of the prison work being respectively about £120 and £50. At Katsena the average is about three. The police of Kano were exceptionally efficient, but as there was no District Superintendent for seven months much of the progress made has been lost.

44. Slave-dealing in any public form is wholly dead, but kidnapping of women and children on the frontiers—and probably the purchase of a few of the latter by traders, who declare them to be their own—still continues, and will do so for many years. The peasantry are great offenders in this matter, and it is not yet quite safe for women to travel alone. Fifteen slaves were set free by order of the Provincial Court, and many more by self-redemption or manumission through the Native Courts.

45. The health of Europeans at Kano has been bad. Four cases of blackwater and one death from cerebro-spinal meningitis have occurred during the year. Of the latter disease there was a terrible epidemic in February and March, and hundreds of natives died in the city. The ill-health of the Europeans is attributable to the lack of any proper housing. The improvement in the road and the organization of cart transport will enable me to make an improvement next year, and to bring up some of the necessary material. The water supply at the site at Gezi (which I determined to occupy and test for a year) has proved fully adequate, and I hope soon to erect permanent houses there, and to constitute it a cantonment. Hadeija and Katagum, though the climate is good, have for the same reason proved unhealthy. Native dispensaries have been opened at both, but so far with very meagre results. The harvest this year was exceptionally good, and the famine is now, I hope, over. Over 500 miles of roads were cleared.

46. During 1905 the Government only took one-quarter share of the revenue instead of one-half, leaving three-quarters to the Emir, because it was found impossible without a cheap means of transport to realise even what was received, and upwards of £5,000 worth of cowries were carried forward unrealised at the close of the financial year. It is, however, a good sign that the Resident reports an increasing demand for silver. The total revenue of the province paid into the Treasury for the year 1904-5 was £14,491, as against £5,413 in the previous year.

Notes by Mr. Cargill regarding trade will be found under the section "Trade."

BORNU.

47. Bornu (like Sokoto and Kano) is a "double province," under a Resident of the First Class, Mr. Hewby. The annual report is submitted by Major McClintock, D.S.O. (Second Class), who has acted in charge of the province for the latter half of the year. The preliminary assessment was fixed by Mr. Hewby in the early part of the year. In this first year Government only took a quarter of the proceeds, but next year the revenue will receive the usual moiety. The assessment, says Major McClintock, "seems very fair and accurate, and affords a good basis to work on. The districts of Marghi and Nguru have not been assessed, as yet. The total tax amounts to £18,040, of which Government receives £10,000 (including the Pagan tribute). Every Ajia (district headman) is resident in his own district, and these men have proved most useful in dealing with cases and preventing crime. They will be even more so when the system has been longer in operation, and each Ajia can be trusted with a native court. Their fault is that they love to make a show beyond their means, and keep too many followers and horses, and this leads to extortion from the peasantry. To check this the legal assessment is being proclaimed in every village by a native Mallam, accompanied by a Government courier, and the people are notified that no further sum may be demanded. Correct corn measures have also been issued to prevent false ones being used for extortion."

48. The Beddi tribe in West Bornu refused to obey their chief at Gorgoram, an exceptionally intelligent and well-disposed man, or to pay the small taxes imposed upon them. The consequent expedition through their country has had an excellent effect. It is in my opinion of great importance to compel an uncivilised tribe to obey the orders of its paramount chief when that chief is a man of intelligence and character who is worthy of support. This is the first step in transition from the

irresponsible lawlessness of the individual savage to the formation of an organised community, ruled by law and responsible for the conduct of its members through its chief to the Administration. Other small coercive patrols entered the Fika and the Marghi districts to put a stop to highway robbery, murder, and violence, and compel compliance with orders. The Marghis, I regret to say, though quiescent for a time, appear to be again resuming their old habits. The Chibbuk section sent a deputation to the Resident at Kuka in February—a hitherto unprecedented act—but I fear that their plundering propensities will have to be checked by force. With this exception there appears to be no cause to anticipate any further need for coercion in Bornu. The mounted infantry company which has been stationed at the headquarters of West Bornu (Dumjeri) has effectively dealt with several raiding parties of Tubus from French territory, and the French themselves have of late also taken some action, but the raids have not yet ceased. These murderous bandits, whose raids I have described in former reports, are all mounted, and suddenly appear in a peaceful village in British territory, killing men, capturing cattle, and carrying off women. A party of six soldiers were in the important town of Yo, when it was raided by a band of 200 or 300 Tubus during the absence of the Kachella at Kuka at the Ramadan festival. The soldiers fought for two hours, killing many of the Tubus and losing one of their number. They eventually drove off the enemy, and saved the town from destruction. These various operations are described in paragraph 221.

49. There appears to be a recrudescence of Senussism in the French territory east and north-east of Chad, and much unrest has been caused by the French operations towards Wadai, but the scene of these events is too distant from Nigeria to have any appreciable effect in Bornu.

50. There is a very active slave trade through Bornu, hundreds of slaves being bought in the markets of Dikwa and Mandara and conveyed across British Bornu for sale at Kabi. Increasingly heavy sentences have been passed upon the slave traders who have been captured, and every possible effort has been made (in which the Ajas of the districts are assisting) to put a stop to this traffic, and as many as 174 slaves were freed in the first quarter of 1906. The Freed Slaves Home in Bornu is overcrowded with liberated children and has been enlarged, and it has now been found necessary to start a freed slaves' village for adults as well (paragraph 109). The profits on the trade are so large that I fear it will continue, in spite of our efforts and the risks now incurred, unless the Germans and French will co-operate by closing the slave markets. The caravans travel (through Bornu) only by night and along bush paths. They are chiefly composed of Mangas. On one

occasion the traders killed a police constable and three Shuwas who were assisting him. The slaves freed are chiefly of the very lowest type of cannibals.

51. Seven cases of murder, 34 of robbery and theft, 10 of extortion, 32 of slave-trading, and 99 others have been dealt with in the courts. Great confidence is shown in the Resident's decisions. It has been found difficult to deal with the smuggling of Manga salt, but £1,000 has been realised in Customs on the frontiers of Bornu. The native courts deal with a very large number of cases, and are useful, but are still unreliable and prone to venality. The roads in the province are excellent for pack animals, but much loss has been sustained from lung-sickness among the Government oxen. Carts have now been sent to Bornu, and will be brought into use in the coming year for the transport of telegraph material from the Gongola River. The heavy sand in some districts will, however, militate against draught transport. Wells have been dug on waterless stretches with excellent results.

52. The rainfall this year was exceptionally good, 25 inches being registered at Maifoni. The Harmattan wind was less severe than usual in the north. The temporary mud houses erected for the staff have been a failure, but I trust that the careful organization of the canoe transport by the Benue and Gongola rivers, supplemented by carts in Bornu, will enable me to send building material for permanent houses as soon as the telegraph is completed. This will improve the health and comfort of the staff. There was an epidemic of small-pox early in 1906, 260 deaths occurring in one village near Maifoni. The native dispensary, which was stocked with drugs at the Shehu's own expense, is regarded as a great boon by the people.

53. The general increase in prosperity seems to be maintained, and the Sala Leya (ram sacrifice) in February, 1905, is reported to have been the greatest gathering since 1893, spies being present, according to the Shehu, from Zinder, Baghermi and other countries to witness and report on his prosperity. Mr. Vischer also reports from Tripoli, that the statements of persons arriving from Bornu of the "quiet and prosperous state of the country have had a great effect on the Sudanese community," and many propose to accompany him across the desert back to Bornu. The western half of Kuka City is being slowly rebuilt. Relations with the Germans have, I am glad to say, become more cordial since a temporary agreement regarding the frontier was made on May 22nd, and as soon as a final decision on this question shall have been reached in Europe from the information and surveys of the Joint Commission, I hope that this chronic cause of friction will be removed. The headquarters of the whole of Adamawa and Chad Administration has now been fixed at Garua, near Yola, under the name of "Kaiserliche Residentur Adam-

awa Bornu," to which the officials at Dikwa and Kusuri are subordinate.

54. In spite of the severity of our law against slave-dealing, and in spite of the taxation, there has been a "continual stream" of immigration from German Bornu to British territory, culminating in the arrival of the widow and family of Fad-el-Allah (Rabeh's son) and of Shehu Sanda, the Chief of Dikwa and of German Bornu, who has given so much trouble on the frontier. It appears that he had "been in the habit of having anyone killed whom he did not care for, and of giving out that it was done by the German Resident's orders." When eventually this was discovered, he fled to escape arrest. I do not propose to offer asylum to this scoundrel. Many Shuwa nomads from German, and pastoral Fulani from French territory have migrated into British Bornu.

ZARIA.

55. Captain Orr, Resident of the Zaria Province, reports that the Emir and people begin to grasp the principles of the policy of the Administration, and to gain confidence in it. It is customary for the different Emirs to address their people at the great meeting of the Salla festival, and the Emir then took occasion to impress upon them "the necessity of obeying the Government with loyalty, and that the headmen should refrain from acts of oppression I am glad to say (adds the Resident), that the past year has increased my confidence in the Emir, and I have been able to leave many things to him which I should certainly have hesitated to do two years ago." In March, 1906, the Junior Resident reports on the very marked advance he had observed in the course of an extended tour in the cordiality and co-operation shown by the district headmen, which he attributes to the influence of the Emir. One remarked that the Emir had told him to listen to the Resident "because his words are my words," and all are beginning to realise that the British and Native Administrations are not antagonistic, but are, in fact, parts of one whole. To bring about the recognition of this principle has been the aim of the Government since its inauguration. The loyalty of the Emir found significant expression at the time of the Sokoto reverse, when it was uncertain whether the wave of fanaticism might not sweep over the province. He showed himself thoroughly loyal, and more cordial than ever before, and took occasion publicly to declare that he meant in all events to stand by his oath of loyalty. This is the more striking because of the exceptional demands made upon this province (through which the main road passes, and in which the head-quarters of the Administration is situated) at a time of famine and difficulty (*vide* paragraph 59).

56. The main work of the year has, of course, been the new assessment, and Captain Orr is able to report that this great task has been completed in the Mohammedan part of the province, and will, in future, only need correcting as new circumstances come to light. The farming of innumerable petty taxes has been abolished, and in accordance with the system sketched in my last report, they have been consolidated in the General Tax collected by the village headmen. The pre-existing assessment, which Captain Orr describes as "extraordinarily fair," has practically been accepted for the Hausa towns after ascertaining that it was just, and acceptable to the community. It has not yet been found possible to entirely abolish the Jakadas (collectors), nor has any attempt yet been made to divide the Zaria Emirate into districts for taxation purposes, but the way is prepared, and the Emir and chiefs have begun to grasp the object in view; so that the Resident apprehends no difficulty in carrying out this measure of decentralization and reform. In the Pagan areas which form so large a part of this province, districts have been created, and the great increase in prosperity will admit of a new assessment on a slightly higher scale. This has had to be deferred owing to the paucity of the staff. The Emir has proved invaluable as an intermediary, and he converts the Government share of the taxes paid to him into cash, keeping a current account of all receipts and payments. The realization of the balance paid in kind—especially the Jangali or cattle tax—has as elsewhere been a source of great difficulty, involving extra work for the staff. The making of roads for cart transport, and above all, of a tramway, will do away with this difficulty.

57. There are only two caravan toll stations in the province, and in spite of increased evasion, due to the security of by-roads, and the diffusion of trade resulting from increased prosperity, the volume of trade which has paid tolls shows a steady increase. In 1903-04 £3,419 was received; in 1904-05 £5,486, and in 1905-06 £5,891. The Pagan tribes have been encouraged to sell their supplies and produce to traders, and so to obtain cowries and cash for the payment of their taxes. Hitherto they have been shy of doing so, owing to centuries of slave raiding and warfare. The system of tolls, and the desire of caravans to evade them by using by-paths has thus had an indirect advantage in opening up Pagan areas to trade, and spreading a knowledge of Government methods. The village markets are reported to be "far more busy and crowded than they had ever been known before." The total revenue for 1903-1904 was £4,151, and for 1904-1905 £6,675, an increase of £2,524. In the current year £7,682 has been realised, a further increase of £1,007. The staff of the province became greatly reduced towards the close of the year, consisting at one time of the Resident himself only. I trust that this may never recur.

58. Although the province contains some turbulent tribes, no disturbance necessitating the use of force occurred during

the year: At Kuta only was it necessary forcibly to arrest the Yerima, who, on the death of the old chief, had seized his place and defied the Government. This is the largest town of the great Gwari tribe, but the arrest was effected without disturbance. Katchia, which for so many years has been notorious for the plundering of caravans, remained well behaved, owing to the presence of a small detachment under an officer. Troops were also for a short time quartered at Paiko, not on account of any crime or trouble, but in order to bring the people into touch, to popularise the use of coin, and to encourage the Gwaris to bring their produce to the Zungeru market, and extend their area of cultivation. The experiment has proved successful.

59. In the early part of the year the effects of the famine were severely felt, and it was found very difficult to subsist the troops and the mounted infantry horses. There was, at one time, considerable hunger, and the Government demand for absolutely necessary supplies, and for labour for the road and transport, even though fairly paid for, inevitably increased this, and led to some sullen discontent, which was augmented by the desertion of slaves, and the inadequate amount of land under food crops. The entire failure of supplies on the Zungeru-Zaria main road caused especial difficulty, but the excellent harvest of 1905 has compensated for the scarcity of the two previous years. Since Zaria is not a grain-producing province (its main crop is cotton), and owing to the presence of tsetse fly, which the researches of Captain Carr, A.V.D., proved to have caused the death of many of the horses, I moved the headquarters of the mounted infantry in May to Kano. This greatly relieved the pressure at Zaria, and brought the mounted infantry into closer touch with their detachments on the north frontier. At the same time the site of the civil station was abandoned, and Dandua, which had been occupied by the mounted infantry to test its salubrity, and which had proved much more healthy, was finally selected in accordance with my decision after my personal visit in January (*see* Report 1904) as the civil and military station. Until it is possible to build proper houses those evacuated by the mounted infantry will suffice for immediate needs. There is abundant and good water.

60. The duties of the police in supplying escorts for specie and prisoners in transit through so central a province, in which moreover road making and telegraph construction have been energetically pushed forward during the year, have been very onerous, and the detachment has now been increased. There is as yet no proper gaol, though the number of prisoners in transit to the convict prison at Zungeru has raised the average number to 15.3. I hope it may be possible to construct this most necessary accommodation at an early date. The Resident reports that crimes of violence, especially highway robbery,

are becoming less and less frequent, with a consequent access of confidence to traders. The native courts have proved efficient in dealing with civil actions between natives and with the lesser forms of crime. Four new courts have been established. That at Zaria is especially reliable, and renders careful returns. Arrests are easily effected through the agency of the native Administration. The provincial court tried 100 cases (84 convictions) during the year, and 267 were tried by the native courts (Zaria, 153).

61. The health of the British staff has been very indifferent during the year, and two political officers were invalidated. The ill-health is ascribed to "over-work, insanitary dwellings, and absence of proper food, due to difficulties of transport." The sanctioned increase in the staff will, I hope, remedy the first of these causes, and the greatly improved communications due to the concentration of effort on the Zungeru-Zaria Road, and the organization of the transport department, which I have described elsewhere (Section VI. and paragraph 183) will, I trust, admit of the conveyance of the necessary building material next year for the erecting of proper houses, and the despatch of necessary stores. Until the transport department was organised on an effective basis towards the close of the year, the difficulties of supplying food along this main artery of the Protectorate were enormous, and the demands upon the villagers, even though fully paid for, together with the looting and theft by carriers, led to the desertion of their villages by the natives. Zaria suffered during the dry season from an outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis (*vide* paragraph 197) which ceased when the rains broke.

62. In spite of the fact that the policy of Government with regard to the emancipation of domestic slaves has been to make the transition as gradual as possible, there is naturally still some bitterness felt by owners regarding the desertion of their slaves, and the refusal of the Government to compel their return or to compensate the owners. The Resident has encouraged redemption in the native courts, the majority availing themselves of this facility being women whose freedom was purchased by intending husbands. One hundred and six were freed during the year, of which 57 were before the native court, and 10 only by order of the provincial court, 19 by self redemption, and 13 by voluntary manumission; in some cases slaves have simply asserted their freedom without running away.

63. The Resident reports that silver coinage has much increased in popularity, especially since the institution of toll dues, and a portion of the tribute must be paid in coin. Copper has also been in demand, but will be superseded by the new white metal currency. Cowries exchange at double the rate (1s.=2,500) in the north of the province to what they fetch in the south (1,200=1s.). It will be an enormous boon

when the cowrie is ousted by the new subsidiary coinage, which it is proposed shortly to introduce.

64. The province has now been divided into three administrative divisions, viz., the Hausa or Mohammedan part of the Zaria Emirate, Katchia, and Wushishi. The country between the Kaduna and Gurara will later form a fourth. Each will be under an Assistant Resident, and comprise a varying number of "districts" under headmen.

BAUCHI.

65. The Resident, Mr. Temple, reports that the effects of the famine continued till June, 1905, but the crops this year have been extremely good. In consequence the unrest which threatened in the Ningi, Duguri, Kanam and Kantana districts has given place to general quiet. The Emir of Bauchi and his chiefs have given "the most loyal co-operation in every way," but the Emir of Gombe has been somewhat remiss. The province outside the sphere of these two Emirates is peopled by a great diversity of Pagan tribes, some of whom are still in the cannibal stage, and occupy inaccessible fastnesses in the hills. Great progress has, however, been made by Mr. Temple in the organization. The province is divided into 13 districts each under a headman—formerly one of the large fief-holders—who now resides in his district. The general tax is shared equally between the Government and the Native Administration, the latter share being divided between the Emir, the district and the village heads in accordance with the scheme I described in my last report. The district heads visit the capital twice a year at festival times, and the Emir thus maintains his touch with them. The policy of creating homologous or entirely self-contained districts in which all the people acknowledge the headman as their chief (which for brevity I have called "redistribution" in this report) has been particularly difficult to effect in this province, and for the present at any rate has not been attempted. The reason is that throughout Bauchi there are a very large number of Fulani who are constituted in clans, and own allegiance only to the head of their clan, and not to the territorial chief. The heads of these clans are permitted for the present to reside at the capital, and are held responsible for the taxes of their people.

66. An immense amount of work has been done in respect of the Jangali tax, and with the co-operation of the Emir and chiefs 27,308 cattle have been registered with their *rugas* and collectors. The tax is 1s. per head, and all cattle are included which belong to the semi-nomadic Fulani (as well as those exclusively nomad). The semi-nomads, who own land and cultivate also, pay the general tax to their district headman. The total (Jangali) tax amounts to £1,848, of which Government takes £942. The old taxes on smiths, weavers, cloth-

beaters, and dyers amount respectively to £115 10s., £55 9s., £18 and £255. (Total, £444, Government share, £222.) They have been separately collected, but it is intended that next year they shall be merged in the general tax. The land tax comprises the following old taxes, Baban Salla; Karami Salla, Zakka, and Kurdin Kasa or Baban Gandu. It is assessed partly in grain and partly in cowries or cash with the option of paying altogether in either. Each village is assessed according to its wealth, and after the most careful enquiries from the headman, fief-holder, jakada and Emir. Each district headman has been given a list of his towns with their authorised assessment, which in most cases has been read out to the village heads. Its existence is well known to all, and any village can at any time ask to see it, and if refused can appeal to the Resident. The incidence of this tax is very moderate. Jakadas (tax collectors) have not as yet been entirely abolished, but this I hope may soon be effected. The assessment of the Gombe Emirate is not quite complete. The total will be about £850 (of which Government takes £400) in addition to £195 (£97 to Government) for the jangali on herds which have so far been registered. Ningi is divided into four sub-districts, and Kanam-Duguri into two. Dass pays direct to Government, as it has been found impossible to unite it under one head. Much progress is visible, and the people now bring their disputes to the Bauchi Native Court.

Kibyen, Jengre-Jos, and Sura are wild tribes, which have only lately been brought under any kind of control by the patrols which opened up the direct route from Keffi to the tin mines. They have been in part assessed. The village headmen retain 10 per cent. as usual in the Pagan districts, and the remainder is paid to Government. The Hill Jarawa, Tangale, Hill Angass, Rukaba and Kwoil natives are as yet practically untouched.

67. These results are, I think, highly satisfactory in the first year, in so difficult a province, and it is due to the extreme patience and tact of the Resident and his staff that the general principles of the new system have been thus introduced into a large portion of the uncivilised and savage tribes without recourse to force. Much of the tribute this year (1905) was remitted on account of the famine.

68. A new station was opened in June at Bukuru, on the road between Keffi and the tin mines, in order to get into peaceful touch with the Pagans, and avoid further disturbances on this route. There was some recrudescence of the slave trade in Bauchi in 1905, which was directly due to the famine in the eastern districts. In many cases all the seed corn had been eaten, and the people preferred to sell themselves as slaves rather than starve as freemen. The majority belonged to the fierce cannibal tribe of the Tangale, to whom slave traders have no access. A number of the traders were convicted in the courts, and the slaves freed and subsisted.

It is probable that those who escaped the vigilance of the Administration will desert their masters when the famine is over. A similar occurrence is said to have taken place 10 years ago, when the entire Angass tribe sold themselves into slavery, but with the advent of British rule they deserted their masters and returned, and the Angass Hills are now thickly populated. I hope that as these tribes are gradually brought under administrative control—even though in some cases the use of force may be involved—these recurrent famines and consequent depopulation by starvation and slavery may wholly cease. The introduction of new food plants, and of better modes of cultivation, the access to markets at present closed to them, where food may be bought in exchange for silvan products of commercial value, the inauguration of industrial missions, and finally, in extreme cases, the direct assistance of Government, are benefits which it is worth while to acquire at the cost of a light taxation, and the obligation to cease from outrages and war. So-called “punitive” expeditions, which leave behind them only the memories of a raid and bloodshed, are detestable from the point of view of the Administrator, but the protection of peaceful tribes from wanton aggression, and the introduction of the benefits of civilization by permanent occupation are objects which justify recourse to force when other methods have failed, and in these conditions only can the Government of Northern Nigeria be accused of taking the initiative in coercing Pagan tribes.

69. The question of domestic slavery was one which gave rise to some difficulty in past years in this province. On this subject the Resident furnishes a most satisfactory report. There are now no complaints of ill-treatment on the part of slaves, while the masters no longer complain of desertion, and a satisfactory *modus vivendi* appears to have been reached which will, I hope, continue during the transition period till free labour replaces slave labour. The statistics which, however, are not very reliable for past years, show a total of 113 slaves freed prior to 1905, and of 191 during 1905—of which 61 were voluntary acts by owners or native courts. Much progress has been made in the compilation of the record books of the province, and these contain not only the assessment and detailed information regarding each village entered up, but also a mass of historical, geographical and ethnological data.

70. One hundred and fifty-four cases (175 persons) were tried in the provincial court during the year as against 59 cases (78 persons) the year before. This does not denote an increase of crime, but merely a more effective administration. The average number of prisoners at headquarters was 50 to 60. Personation and extortion—the worst of all crimes—is reported to be decreasing, arrests were generally effected through the Native Administration in the Bauchi Emirate, and force has never been necessary. Three new native courts, in addition to the three existing, have been opened. The number of cases in

which slaves purchased their freedom and were formally liberated by the Alkali is a noticeable feature. The Bauchi Court heard 387 cases as against 92 only in 1904.

71. The staff has varied between three and four during the year, and the general health has been good. An epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis carried off large numbers of natives in Bauchi City at the beginning of the year. Many cases were treated, but the native dispensary is only a moderate success. The garrison from Gujba in Bornu was moved to Nafada on the Gongola in the beginning of the year, in order to control the fanatical Burmi district. The work of assessment has to some extent interfered with road making. The people are beginning to show an appreciation of coin currency.

72. I have elsewhere described the various occasions upon which it became necessary during the year to employ coercive measures in this province in which there is so large a population of purely savage, and in most instances, cannibal, tribes. By the Sura and Kibyen opposition was offered to the parties proceeding from Keffi to the tin mines. At Ziggam a band of robbers who had made many raids had to be coerced. Mia was fined for similar raids, and the two ringleaders arrested without opposition. Forum murdered two friendly natives, and sent an insulting message, and was attacked. Very friendly relations have since been established. Kwooll attacked the Ngell tribe, which since their fight in November, 1904, have been very friendly. The Ngell people were rescued, and Kwooll paid a fine and submitted. Finally, an unfortunate occurrence precipitated war with the Rukaba tribe, the fiercest and most powerful cannibal tribe in the western district. The Resident had been at great pains to get into friendly relations with these people, and had succeeded beyond his expectations, when a convoy carrying stores to the mining camp, which had lost its way, arrived in the Rukaba country. It was under the charge of a native clerk, who, disregarding the Resident's orders, camped in a village. A quarrel arose, and eight of the carriers and two women were killed, and the whole tribe "went on the war path," compelling the Resident, who was close by, to take reprisals, and nullifying the friendly relations he had already achieved. This tribe are difficult to get in touch with since they kill messengers at sight, and are head hunters and cannibals. In April of the present year the Hon. O. Howard, Acting Resident, was compelled to take action against the Angass tribe, who were warned 2½ years ago that they must desist from raiding and plundering their peaceful neighbours, the Jarawa and Seiswa. Subsequent warnings have also proved unavailing, and of late the Angass have extended the area of their lawless raids, and seized cattle and killed the owners. Trade routes were closed, and a neighbouring tribe seeing that the Angass could flout the Resident's injunctions with impunity, had begun to follow their example. A small expedition,

accompanied by the Resident and the district headman, therefore, proceeded to Angass, settling en route the assessment of the Jarawa, who, under their newly-appointed headman, are contented, and have nearly doubled their population by the advent of tribesmen from other districts. Wussele and Wokos, the two towns which had been chiefly guilty of the raiding, were punished; they are situated in inaccessible positions on a plateau over 5,000 feet high. Many other towns were visited and assessed, and a large extent of country brought under control with very little recourse to force, and the authority of the loyal and intelligent chief of Kanna, over-lord of the district, was established. The troops as usual are reported by the Resident as having behaved with "perfect discipline," and not a single case of looting occurred.

73. The general situation in this province is that since in every direction there are quarrels and ancient feuds and jealousies between different tribes, peace and good order are only maintained by the presence of our garrisons. Their withdrawal would be the signal for internecine warfare in every direction, in comparison to which the occasional coercive or police measures necessary to preserve order cannot rightly be regarded as oppressive or unnecessary. The Hon. O. Howard, acting Resident of the province, reports in March, 1906, that the city of Bauchi is increasing in population, and is very prosperous. This is particularly satisfactory, for this town was formerly a great slave mart, and its prosperity had declined with the abolition of slave trading. Legitimate trade is now increasing.

74. The new route to Western Bauchi and the tin mines (the development of which is described in paragraph 126) was opened up during the year. It starts from Loko, on the Benue, which is only 110 miles from Lokoja, and is, therefore, much more accessible than Ibi (300 miles) or Amar (390 miles), which were the former ports for the route via Wase, viz., 14 days instead of 27. It traverses the Nassarawa province, passing through the headquarters at Keffi and thence to Darroro, thence it ascends the Assab, Sura, or Kibyen plateau. This extensive plateau is well watered, with a "surprisingly fertile" soil, is peopled by agricultural Pagans, and has a general elevation of at least 3,800 feet. A sturdy class of hill pony is bred by these Pagans, who, though at present mostly cannibals, are manly, straight-forward and industrious. It is probable that this district may have a great future as a local sanatorium, not only for Northern Nigeria, but for the Coast Administrations, when the road which is now being begun to the tin mines is completed. If, indeed, the mines fulfil the expectations formed of them, it is probable that it may be worth while to supplement the road by a tramway for the export of minerals, and of the rubber of Nassarawa. Such a tramway would cross the plateau, and give rapid access to these healthy uplands.

75. The station of Bukuru was opened there in June, 1905. It is probable that a great part of this favoured district will be found to be rich in tin ore, which has already been discovered at Ngell and Kwooll. The whole country is densely populated and splendidly cultivated. The Kibyen tribe alone are estimated at 70,000 to 100,000. I am informed that there are no great difficulties in the making of this road, but the gradients have not as yet been accurately determined. The temperature in the dry season is stated to rarely exceed 85°, and in November and December it falls below freezing point. The Sura tribe, who inhabit a great part of this plateau, have apparently never been conquered, and, though cannibals, their model villages, roads, hedges, and wonderful cultivation are in advance of perhaps any other in the Protectorate. The Ngell and Kwooll are also fine tribes, but the Kibyen, who are not cannibals, are described as little better than apes.

76. In my report for 1904 I gave a brief resumé of the history and of some of the main geographical and ethnological characteristics of each province. In the case of Bauchi these were omitted, but Mr. Temple has since submitted an unusually full and interesting report on these matters, which I regret I can only find space to very briefly summarise. Prior to 1792 Moslem missionaries from Bornu had established themselves in the province. There were five centres of Government, and probably a very effective system of administration (which the Fulani later inherited) had been set up. The people lived in walled towns, and armies with mounted men clad in cotton armour were maintained. Yakubu, the "prophet, priest, and king" of this part of the Protectorate, was born in 1753, and for 21 years studied under Dan Fodio, who selected him as one of his 12 flag bearers (though he alone of the number was not a Fulani) when he began to preach his jihad in 1792. Yakubu, with some 200 followers on foot, armed with bows, challenged the more pretentious armies of the Pagans, and for eight years carried on a series of unbroken conquests with his 15 leaders,—the ancestors of the existing fief-holders. Bauchi city was founded in 1809, and he extended his conquests far south of the Benue to Wukari, and also to Lafia in the Nassarawa province. He drove back an army from Bornu, and defeated Baba Yero, who bore Dan Fodio's flag, in Gombe, and who had crossed the Gongola. He was checked only by the invincible Sura Pagans on their sturdy ponies. He died in 1832, and was succeeded by Ibrahim, during whose reign of 36 years the Ningi, Duguri, Kanam, and Jarawa revolted. Osuman, his successor, reigned only six years, during which a fierce civil war raged with his rival Hallilu, from the effects of which Bauchi city has never recovered. On his deposition by Sokoto, Umaru became king. His rule was troubled by the rise of the fanatical preacher Jibrella, whom a coalition of Bauchi, Gombe, Hadeija, and

Katagum failed to conquer. In 1900 the large town of Guaram protested against the enslaving of its people. Its chief was captured by the basest treachery, and Umaru's tyranny reached its climax in the sack of that town and the cold-blooded butchery of its inhabitants. In February, 1902, I sent an expedition to Bornu through Bauchi. Umaru, after 16 years of misrule, was deposed, and sent to live in Illorin, where he died last year, the Guaram captives were released, and Mahamadu, grandson of Yakubu, was installed as Emir. (*Vide Report for 1902, paragraph 2, et seq.*) He only lived for a year, and was succeeded by Hassan, the present Emir.

77. Meanwhile in Gombe Baba Yero, who also had studied under Dan Fodio, bore the flag of the Jihad, and extended his conquests as far as Adamawa and Muri. After a reign of 38 years he was succeeded by Koiranga, who ruled for 40 years, during which time many of the Pagans revolted. He was followed by Abdul Kaderi (seven years), Hassan (six years), Tukkur (three years), Umaru (16 years), who was deposed by Government and succeeded by Mahamadu, who died in 1903, and was followed by Hassan, the present Emir. The later Emirs were engrossed in defending their territories against the encroachments of Jibrella, who for 15 years carried on a career of conquest, and in 1902 threatened the capital of Gombe itself. He was defeated by Colonel Morland in March, 1902, after the fall of Bauchi, and both Emirates came under British rule. The Ningi tribe just north of Bauchi had for very many years asserted their independence, and raided even up to the walls of Kano. Their chief, Dan Yaya, appeared to have a homicidal mania, and was deposed by Government in July, 1902. The subsequent events in regard to this tribe are related in my previous reports. The history of this province subsequent to its annexation as told in those reports has been a somewhat chequered one. In December, 1902, the British garrison, civil and military, temporarily withdrew during the operations against Kano and Sokoto. From May to July, 1903, Burmi, in the east of the province, was the scene of heavy fighting against a local Mahdi. In March, 1904, a terrible famine broke out, which lasted through 1905. At the close of the former year the Gongola route in the east and the Bukuru-Keffi route in the west were opened up. In 1905 the telegraph reached Bauchi, the assessment and census were undertaken, the tin mines surveyed, most of the savage tribes brought under control, and internecine war put an end to.

78. Mr. Temple enumerates 64 separate tribes, each with a distinct language and with separate characteristics, in this province. They mix very little with each other, and were constantly at war, and lacked any cohesion whatever. He divides them into seven classes:—

1. The nomad Fulani, mostly Pagan, who also own some farms (Rugas).

2. Settled Fulani living in walled towns, and forming the ruling caste, but much mixed with Pagan tribes. They are chiefly agricultural.
3. Pagans of the plains and foot-hills conquered by the Fulani.
4. Pagans of the hills unconquered and living in inaccessible hamlets.
5. Mounted Pagans of the south-west.
6. Hausa,—chiefly traders and in communities in Fulani towns.
7. Kanuri,—in large walled towns in the east (from Bornu).

The crops are very various, iron and tin are smelted.

MURI.

79. The new provincial capital at Amar, which appears to be the most healthy and elevated site on the Benue, was occupied on January 1st, and bungalows of the same type as those at Lokoja were erected. The health of the staff has, nevertheless, continued to be very bad, but I hope for improvement as sanitation, drainage, and continued occupation, render the site more salubrious.

The Benue forms the main artery of the province, and it is, therefore, imperative that the Administrative posts should be on its banks, but each has a corresponding station in the healthier interior, where the officer in charge can spend part of his time, especially during the rains. Wase forms a hill station for Amar, Jalingu for Lau, and Wukari for Ibi. The province has, in consequence, suffered greatly from lack of continuity and continual change of officers. Much touring has, however, been done including the assessment of 400 towns with a population of 119,450, comprising 27 distinct independent units. This province is composed of heterogeneous tribes, and small communities owning no allegiance, in no less a degree than Bauchi, and in addition to the 27 units visited during the year, there are the large Munshi tribe estimated at fully a quarter of a million, who are not under Government control; the Wurkum, in the north-east, and the Dakka and Mumuye, in the south-east. The Resident believes the Munshi country to be the most densely populated in the Protectorate. The 27 districts assessed produce a revenue of £5,867, of which the Government share is £4,126. The settled districts pay about 2s. per adult (1s. 4d. per head), the unsettled 4½d. per adult (2d. per head). The Munshi, Wurkum, Dakka, and Mumuye do not as yet pay any tax. Under the exceptional conditions of the province it has not yet been feasible to appoint district heads, and the staff collect direct from village heads, but I hope that the grouping into larger units may soon be found possible. There are no purely pastoral tribes, and Jangali has

only been collected on a few large herds for convenience. The tax is graduated according to wealth, except among the wholly uncivilised Pagans, but there was no elaborate system of taxation in this province, such as existed in the Fulani States in the north. The Resident reports that he "has every confidence in the success of the scheme. Speaking generally, there is practically no friction and certainly no extortion. The chiefs approve of it, and he believes the people recognise it as moderate and fair." The population is unstable, and a certain number are said to have crossed into German Adamawa.

80. The provincial court tried 115 cases (147 persons), as against 115 (225 persons), in 1904. Fifty of these were slavery offences, most of the offenders being slave traders caught in the act of exporting slaves by canoes. The sentences have been increased with good effect. There were 300 informal cases. There are 14 native courts in operation, and 325 cases are reported by them, classified as follows:—Divorce 117, larceny 64, debt 50, assault 44, adultery 22, miscellaneous 23. Complaints are rare, and the courts seem to be discharging a useful function. A brick prison was built during the year; the average number of prisoners has been about 30.

During the year 158 slaves were liberated by the provincial court, bringing the total in this province to 866. The famine in the eastern districts gave a great impetus to the slave trade, children being sold for food. The canoes travel by night, and are concealed by day. One, which was discovered in a backwater with 22 children on board, was pushed out into midstream by the traders, and apparently purposely capsized. The slave traders swam for the bank, but one was held by the leg by a crocodile and captured; 12 children were drowned.

The total revenue collected during the year 1904-1905 was £4,285 as against £2,503 in 1903-'04. The Benue valley is so infested with tsetse that animals imported from other provinces die. The use of transport animals has not, therefore, made any progress, and success can only be attained by employing local animals, which have become immune, and only at such seasons and localities as experience may show to be feasible.

81. With the exception of the small patrol into the Lakai country (paragraph 221), no troops were employed in aid of the civil power in 1905. Early in 1906, however, a quarrel took place at Abinsi (where the Niger Company have a trading station under a native agent) between the Hausa traders and the Jukom natives. It arose from a petty market squabble, and developed into a sanguinary battle, for the traders were not on good terms with the natives. The Jukoms got the worst of it, and called in their allies, the Munshis, who came in very large numbers and annihilated the Hausas, of whom 76 were killed and 163 missing. Of the latter some were drowned and some carried into captivity as slaves. Two telegraph inspectors, who were proceeding up the Benue to lay a cable,

arrived during the fighting, and gave what assistance they could, but as they only had one shot gun between them, this was not of much value. The refugees crowded on to the lighter and sank her, so that much valuable Government property was lost. The Munshis then completely sacked and burned the company's store. They had also fired on the Assistant Resident's canoe in June last. I at once sent a small force to protect life and property, and safeguard the navigation of the Benue (which is used by the Germans as well as by ourselves). This was followed by a larger expedition to punish the tribes for their wanton outrage, and release the captives. (*Vide* paragraph 222.) The size of the force overawed the Munshis, who offered little resistance, and 118 captives were released. Much useful information was gained by the two political officers who accompanied the two columns into which the force was divided. They reported the country as healthy, and wonderfully cultivated. The Munshis are stated to be an extremely fine race, fearless and independent and very industrious. Our officers entered into very friendly relations with them. They are ignorant of the use and effect of firearms. The population is very dense. I had hoped that this powerful expedition might have been able to traverse the whole Munshi and Okpoto country, and put an end once for all to the outrages and lawlessness of these tribes, and open this country (which is said to be the richest in economic products in the Protectorate) to peaceful trade by establishing friendly relations. His Majesty's Government, however, considered that operations should be confined to the actual aggressors, and the recall of the expedition on account of the Sokoto disturbances led to a premature withdrawal of the troops. I regret to say that the delay after arrival on their frontiers, and the somewhat hasty recall of the troops has, as usual, been misinterpreted by these ignorant savages, and the Munshis have since fired on canoes proceeding up the Benue, while the Okpotos have adopted an aggressive and truculent attitude in Bassa. It will probably, therefore, be necessary next year to patrol their country with a military force.

NASSARAWA.

82. I visited the province in April, 1905, but my observations on this inspection have been already included in my report for 1904. The Acting Resident, Mr. Webster (Major Blakeney on leave) says that great progress has been made with the assessment, and all the portion of the province which is under administrative control has now been visited. "There has," says the Resident, "been no difficulty at all about the collection of the tribute. The assessment and the formation of homologous districts is being quickly accomplished with the loyal co-operation of the chiefs." There are four administrative divisions. The political staff has succeeded in getting

into peaceful touch with several of the hitherto lawless Pagan tribes, and in only one case was a resort to force necessary, viz., the Kagoro (paragraph 221 (2)) who refused to desist from their raids, and continually captured women close to the important and friendly town of Darroro, which appealed for protection. Their country consists of a high and healthy plateau, affording excellent grazing lands, and rich in rubber, and leading up to the Assab-Bukuru plateau, which I have described in paragraph 74. After the expedition, which met with little opposition, peaceful relations were established, and the people are settling down, and have expressed their readiness to pay their tribute. The most pleasing fact, however, is that they are selecting a single head chief—the first step in civilization,—but they are of a low type, and addicted to drink and head hunting. A portion of the formerly hostile Mada tribe, who persisted in raiding their neighbours, have sent in deputations, and are now visited by the staff, and the Arfus have agreed to their assessment. Abuja, which I have described in former reports as a nest of freebooters and bandits, to suppress whose depredations more than one expedition has been necessary in past years, is making steady progress now that an Assistant Resident with a small detachment has his station there: The chief is most anxious for reform, but the villagers have lived for years on the proceeds of plunder, and are only slowly acquiring more peaceful habits. At the headquarters (Keffi) all has gone well, and progress is being made with the buildings on the new and healthy site I selected, where an excellent spring exists (which has been covered in), and a condenser erected. The chiefs showed great loyalty at the time of the Sokoto reverse. The Lafia and Doma district has long been settled, and steady progress is reported, with a great increase of agriculture and prosperity. The chiefs, however, are constantly appealing for help against the Munshis who terrorise the country. They began to desert their towns till confidence was restored by a visit of the Assistant Resident. The boundary towards Zaria was revised with a view to avoiding the division of tribes, and much useful survey work was done.

83. There were 52 cases tried in the provincial court as against 92 in 1904, and the infliction of severe sentences shows a marked decrease. Personation and extortion still continues to be the commonest crime, but the cases showed a decrease from 24 in 1904 to 14. The five native courts are satisfactory, and 295 cases are reported by them, though doubtless many more than this number have been dealt with. Of these 113 were divorce, 106 debt, 21 probate, 20 theft, and 12 assault. Eighteen slaves were freed, and the Resident reports very little traffic in "raw" slaves, except on the Benue. The police are reported as "well disciplined and well behaved." The prisoners averaged 18'5, and were employed in sanitation and road making at a value of £70 approximate. The European staff

averaged 3·3. The health has been good. The native dispensary is, as usual, not very popular. I hope this year to take in hand the road from Loko viâ Keffi to the foot of the Assab plateau, and to institute a service of carts upon it. Native industries and agriculture are prosperous, and the Resident says that "new villages are springing up in all directions. The circulation of silver is increasing, and there has been no difficulty in collecting all taxes in silver." (1s. = 2,800 cowries.) The peaceable and friendly section of the Munshis, however, like the people of Lafia, complain of the depredations of the lawless section of this tribe on the north of the Benue.

NUPE.

84. An account of my visit to Nupe and of the formal installation of the Emir was given in my last report. Steady progress has been made in the administration during the year under review. The first rough and ready assessment of the province has been carefully revised for a considerable portion of it, and this revision will be continued during the present year. It was found that the number of hamlets was greatly in excess of that shown on the records, which resulted in an increase in the estimate of the population of this district of the province by 100 per cent. and a like increase in the tax, which is about 2s. per adult. All taxes, except the Jangali, have been merged into one, but district headmen have not yet been appointed, and each farmer brings his tax direct to the Emir and obtains a receipt. The general tax was paid entirely in cash, and this distinctly stimulated the export of produce. The feeling of the Emir is reported to be "very favourable" towards the new system of taxation. The chiefs who hold high office are reconciled to their losses, and have taken to farming and trading, though there still remains some prejudice against the latter as involving a loss of dignity. The peasantry are one and all very appreciative of the change. The revenue collected in 1904-5 was £9,252. In the current year 1905-6 £8,987 is anticipated, the small decrease being due to arrears credited in the former year. The canoe tax has been reduced by lower ratings.

85. Administrative divisions have now been formed, and many disputed boundaries settled, while detailed surveys of many districts and routes have been made. Improvements have been made in the roads, the total length of which is about 300 miles. The increase in the population is estimated at 5 per cent., two-thirds of whom are Nupes. There has been a considerable movement during the year. The Yagba slaves have left for their old homes south of the Niger, while natives have immigrated from Illorin, and the Gwari villages in the north-east, and the Bassas in the east are filling up. This movement is taking place in a greater or less degree throughout the whole

Protectorate, the scattered members of tribes and clans driven from their homes by decades of slave-raiding and war are gradually returning, while an equally pronounced migration from the walled cities to the agricultural lands is noticeable. In spite of the fact that the slave farms are now deserted, new land is being everywhere taken up; the rains are plentiful, and the harvest good. The Resident observes (as was noted in Illorin last year) that the spread of Islam over the Pagan tribes is progressing very rapidly.

86. The cases in the Provincial Court numbered 52 (137 informal); as against 40 (and 54 informal) in 1904. There is a marked decrease in the heavier sentences. Summonses are readily obeyed, and witnesses now come forward willingly, and arrests give no trouble. The Acting Resident reports a steady improvement in the native courts, and greater respect for their decisions. One hundred and sixty-nine cases are tabulated for the four courts, of which the appeal court at Bida decided 89. The Alkali of Bida is a learned Mohammedan Judge, and the record book of rulings in difficult cases which I established during the year has proved most useful, especially as defining Koranic law in the difficult cases arising out of the custom of concubinage. These recorded rulings on all kinds of cases will, I hope, in course of time, when collated from different provinces, form the material for a very useful criminal code for native courts. (*vide* paragraph 112). Some of those reported during the year are of extreme interest, and deal not only with Koranic law but with Pagan custom and British law, as adopted by the native courts. The police have done good work and are improving; they work in co-operation with the Emirs' "dogaris." Secret agents for the detection of crime have been employed with marked success. Eleven slaves were freed by the provincial court, and 26 by the native courts, which have eagerly adopted the principle of ransom and self-redemption.

87. There is still some secret trade in slaves both from the Benue and also in the sale of children brought from the north by caravans and purchased for adoption. Complaints of desertion of slaves are decreasing, partly owing to the greater freedom the agricultural serfs now enjoy, and their knowledge that they can redeem themselves for a reasonable sum, while they are allowed more time to work for themselves; and partly to the fact that runaway slaves are not allowed to take up land without permission. The chiefs are eager to introduce "the white man's slaves," viz., machinery or rather simple labour-saving appliances, to replace slave-labour.

88. The staff averaged 2'8. Mr. Duff was in charge for the greater part of the year, in the absence of Mr. Goldsmith on leave. In February, 1906, the latter officer was temporarily transferred to Sokoto to relieve Major Burdon at the time of the disturbances in that province. The health has been good.

Efforts have been made to improve the sanitation of the native cities. An epidemic of small-pox broke out in Dapai, but was checked, and many of the people were vaccinated. The C.M.S. dispensary at Bida is very useful. Their educational work has also been most valuable; the pupils are taught to read and write Nupe or Hausa in Roman characters, and are then taught English and some simple improvements in agriculture (paragraph 230). The average number of pupils is 25, and out of 31 on the books 16 have no connection with the mission in its religious aspect; eight are sons of chiefs. A son of the Emir has done so well that he was able to take down the names of farms for distribution of cotton seed. This so pleased the Emir that he gave him a valuable horse and cloak. Most of the Government staff attend, and a policeman is now able to keep the muster roll. "The general feeling," says the Acting Resident, "of the Emir and chiefs is excellent, and improves yearly by greater familiarity with the principles governing the Administration. I think I am not exaggerating in saying that a feeling of true and steadfast loyalty to the British raj is being established."

KABBA.

89. The results of my inspection of the station at Kabba, and of the Resident's books, &c., at Lokoja, was given in my last annual report. The Resident, Captain Darymore, was transferred to Borgu during the year. The Acting Resident reports that "nearly the whole province has been assessed—the Egbira and Kukuruku districts are in course of completion." As a consequence of this work a good deal of survey has been accomplished, and the boundary with Illorin was finally adjusted. One hundred and twenty-six cases (128 in 1904) were tried in the provincial court, and 276 in the four native courts (145 debt, 31 divorce, 100 petty assaults), and 173 informal cases were dealt with by the Resident. The staff averaged two, and the health was fair. The revenue in 1904-5 was £2,366, and £6,150 has been realised in the current year. The increase was most marked in caravan tolls (£2,543 against £1,367). There is an increase of the area under cultivation.

ILLORIN.

90. The Resident speaks enthusiastically of the loyalty and good conduct of the Emir and chiefs, which was strikingly shewn at the time of the Sokoto reverse; and of the decrease of crime, and the contentment of the people, and this is the more notable since the military garrison was removed some time ago. Sixty-one cases (60 in 1904) were dealt with by the provincial court, and 45 convictions recorded. The prisoners brought before the court are usually arrested by the people of the town or village themselves, and are accompanied by ample

evidence. Few summonses have been issued by the court. The native courts at Illorin, Pataji, and Lafiagi have done good work and reported 185, 14, and 44 cases respectively, and no appeal has been made against their decisions. Offa and Shonga are not so successful as yet. Three slaves only were liberated. Slave-dealing is reported as non-existent, but pawning of the person is still prevalent. The Resident reports no difficulty in collecting the tribute tax. The assessment of three-quarters of the province was completed, but, as in Nupe, the appointment of district heads is a matter of especial difficulty. The urban tax of Illorin city was freely paid, and amounts to £180. All tribute was received in cash. The new scheme did not come fully into operation till 1906, but the Resident anticipated no trouble in its inauguration, though most of the towns have hitherto paid direct to the Emir, through the provincial court. The revenue collected in 1904-5 was nearly double that in the previous year (£6,204 compared with £3,281). Caravan tolls showed an increase of 28 per cent. and were paid without any demur (paragraph 134), as were also the hawkers' licences, £1,805 (which are now included in the general tax, except as regards non-natives). Illorin is the only province in which the game licences have been fully enforced upon the natives.

91. During the year the Emir was presented with his installation present, and staves of office issued to the principal minor chiefs. Territorial claims of rival chiefs on the Kabba frontier were adjudicated, and the boundaries settled by the two Residents. The houses of the staff were completed, and the headquarter station is now well provided and sanitary. The health was excellent; 352 natives were attended at the dispensary and 221 vaccinated. The epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis was very severe in Illorin, and resulted in a large loss of life among the natives. Steps have been taken towards improving the sanitation of native towns. There are now 190 miles of good roads in the province, the main one being from the Lagos frontier to Share (via Illorin), whence it branches to several points on the Niger. The traffic on these roads is very great, and they are provided with rest-houses. The police are well reported on, and the prisoners, who averaged 10 in number, supply labour to the value of £90 per annum in Government work and sanitation. Missions are not popular, and the Emir and people declare that they do not desire them unless the Administration desires to impose them by force. The crops were exceptionally good.

YOLA.

92. The Resident states that "since no taxation was formerly levied by the Fulani rulers" of this province, there was no basis upon which to inaugurate the new reform in taxation. I am at a loss to understand this statement. The assessment

was therefore carried out by summoning every village chief to the capital with certain of his elders, when a sum was fixed in consultation with the Emir, which was considered a fair and just amount for the village to pay, and he was given a document in Arabic, stating the limit which might be collected. The realization of the amounts thus brought in by village heads has been a very arduous task indeed, for there are now no fief-holders (they fled with the ex-Emir in 1901), and district headmen have not yet been appointed, but the Fulani "districts," 12 in number, have been settled. The total assessment will be about £3,400, a great part of which was collected without any trouble or demur. Considerable remissions of taxation have been made, and will still be necessary on account of the impoverished state of the province, due to famine, emigration of slave-labour, and an epidemic of small-pox. Late in 1905 and early in 1906 corn was imported and issued in payment for steamer fuel on the Gongola, while 375 bags were distributed without charge for sowing purposes. Much was also imported by traders from Bornu into the famine districts on the Benue and Gongola. Elsewhere the crops were good.

93. The large Bassema and Batta tribes have given no trouble at all, and the famine has driven many to come in for work, thus promoting intercourse between them and the settled communities. They complain of outrages by the cannibal Piri tribe, who will have to be forcibly restrained. In reply to expostulations, this tribe observed that they had eaten every kind of man except a white man, and wished to see what he tasted like. The Gongola tribes have been quite quiet, and the Niger Company have established a trading depôt at Kwombo. The tribes at some distance from the waterway, the Longuda, Tangali, and Lala, are still uncontrolled and hostile. The troublesome Kilba tribe, between Yola and Bornu, have not recently given any trouble. A particular village of the Verre, in the mountains near Yola, resorted to murder and pillage and defied the Government. To prevent any extension of this lawlessness, the village was punished (paragraph 221). This was the only occasion on which a show of force was necessary, with the exception of the attempted arrest of Billigen, the last of the ex-Emir's party, who had collected a band of outlaws and terrorised a large district from an almost inaccessible camp. The band was surprised by night, but all escaped, and have never been heard of since. The Yundams, formerly so troublesome between Yola and Lau, have been perfectly quiet.

94. Relations with the Germans have been friendly, and the pre-existing friction has ceased. The indeterminate boundary to the south of Yola resulted in raids by German chiefs on British villages, and the British and German Residents met in

consequence early in 1906 and marked out a temporary line along this part of the frontier. The Resident of Yola reports a constant migration of Fulani from British to German territory.

95. The Resident describes the attitude of the Yola Fulani as very satisfactory, even though somewhat apathetic. Many are now to be seen working on the land with their slaves, a position they must feel keenly, and it is remarkable that the number of emigrants is so comparatively small. I anticipate that the near future will bring a large immigration of fugitive slaves and of Pagans to Yola, which will more than counterbalance the emigration of the Fulani slave-dealers. Further north the migration is towards British territory (*vide* paragraph 54). The Emir is very loyal, but is not popular. Fifty-three slaves were freed, but the number who have left their masters without reference to the Government is vastly in excess of this. In this province the slaves are reported to be idle and threaten their masters with desertion, so that the latter are compelled to pamper and conciliate them. On the other hand, the famine in the Pagan districts has induced large numbers to come and work for food and shelter, so that I trust that, although the Fulani are at present experiencing a very trying time, the object lesson of free labour is already taking effect, and the Pagans finding that they are no longer enslaved will the more readily come forward in future as free labourers. There is now little slave-dealing in the province, but slaves are smuggled from the large slave market of the Mao Kalai, just inside the German frontier south of Yola, to the Benue (from which it is only two days' distant), and elaborate precautions are taken to prevent capture. Effective measures will, I hope, be possible with the increased staff.

96. There were 101 cases (145 persons and 117 convictions) before the provincial court, compared with 83 in 1904, and the sentences were more severe than in that year. Witnesses are difficult to procure, and perjure themselves with such unblushing facility that the conduct of causes requires infinite patience and tact. The greater number of cases is due to the increased efficiency of the police. The police are improving, though many have been convicted of serious crimes, and 13 have deserted, the German sphere offering a ready asylum for any man who fears detection of crime. The new masonry gaol is invaluable, and escapes no longer occur. It was built chiefly by prison labour, which has also been utilised for quarrying stone for other buildings and for road-making and sanitation, at a value of about £172. The average number of prisoners was 30. "The native courts have done good work, and are steadily increasing in efficiency." One hundred and seventy causes are reported (chiefly petty larceny, divorce, and debt), against 270 last year, the decrease being due to the imposition

of court fees which restricts the number of trivial and vexatious cases. The staff has averaged two only, and has been quite insufficient for the work and the assessment and collection of revenue.

97. The health of Europeans has been good, now that proper houses are provided. An epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis was followed by a very severe one of small-pox. One hundred and fifty Government and Niger Company officials were vaccinated, but lymph did not suffice for general operation. Many deaths occurred by natives inoculating themselves with virus in the hope of a mild attack. The telegraph reached Yola early in the year, but great difficulty has been experienced in obtaining operators. Animal transport has not been successful in Yola, owing to the prevalence of tsetse and the steep and stony roads. When good roads have been made, a great saving will be effected by the use of carts. There are 215 miles of regular caravan roads in the province, all of which are now safe, except, perhaps, the Kilba road to Bornu, where a deviation is made into German territory to avoid this truculent tribe. The total revenue for 1904-5 was £2,131, compared with £1,595 in 1903-4. The amount in 1905-6 will be £2,840.

BASSA.

98. The Resident reports much progress in the western part of the province, which is under Administrative control. The eastern or Okpoto (Igara) portion is probably in a more uncivilised state than it has been for many years past, and it is unsafe for Hausa or other traders. The reclamation of this district, which I had proposed to undertake at the end of the year, was postponed for the reasons described in paragraph 81, and the task will probably be forced upon Government next dry season. It is reputed to be the richest district in economic produce in the Protectorate. The Igaras (Okpotos) and Ajatoos are the original inhabitants. The latter were in former years continually raided by Nassarawa. The Bassas (Ngehs) were immigrants who were driven from the country south of the Niger bend by the raids of the Fulani and Nupe, while the Bassa Komos fled from the north bank opposite Lokoja from the same cause. The latter are now returning to their former country in great numbers. The Egbiras are the remnant of the once powerful tribe which had its capital at Panda, north of Keffi. All these tribes are uncivilised Pagans, and most industrious and skilful agriculturists. Among them are settled Hausa, Nupe, and Yoruba trading and rubber-collecting communities. Probably much of the unrest in the Okpoto country is caused by the unfair dealings of these traders, and their desire to keep the country closed to Administrative control, in order that their slave-dealing and other practices may not be checked.

99. The population is estimated at 525,138 (a reduction of the former estimate by a half), of which the Okpotos are put at 325,186. Taxation has only been imposed in the more settled western district in the form of a poll tax of, nominally, 3*d.*, but in reality about 1½*d.* per adult. £232 was collected in 1903-4 and £268 in 1904-5. In the present year about £600 will be realised, and the Resident anticipates a sum of £2,500 next year. When the province has been fully settled, the tribute tax should amount to £7,000. Progress has been made in the assessment and formation of districts under headmen.

100. Forty-four cases were tried in the provincial court (21 in 1904), of which 10 were slavery cases and 16 personation and extortion. Summonses are generally disregarded, arrests difficult to enforce, and witnesses hard to procure and anxious to obstruct justice. The five native courts reported a total of 104 cases. There is a great deal of slave-trading in this province, which cannot be checked until the Okpotos are coerced. Among purely Pagan communities such as these there is no reason why slavery (domestic or otherwise) should not be entirely eradicated with a strong hand. Fifteen slaves were freed during the year. The police are not well reported upon, and appear to be in sympathy with criminals. Prisoners are at once sent to Lokoja. Tolls increased from £34 in 1903-4 to £259 in 1904-5, and will realise about £900 in the current year owing to more efficient collection, but the unsettled condition of this province makes it impossible to estimate the volume or nature of the trade. The Resident reports that large quantities of trade gin are smuggled from Southern Nigeria, and slaves are bought for gin and exported to Southern Nigeria. There are six trading depôts (three of the Niger Company and three of Holt & Co.) in the province. The total revenue of the province was £909, compared with £684 in 1903-4. During the current year £1,673 will be realised, exclusive of trading licences, Customs, canoe tax and other items not collected by the Resident. The staff has consisted of one officer only.

101. Europeans have enjoyed good health, but there was a severe outbreak of small-pox among the natives. Efforts are being made to improve the sanitation of towns. The use of coinage is extending, and the taxes were almost wholly paid in cash. Cowries (2,600 = 1*s.*) and brass rods (5 = 2*s.*) form the native currency. There are two mission stations (O.M.S.), and two ex-pupils are employed by Government, one of whom reads and writes Nupe in the Roman character. Two hundred miles of native roads connecting the principal towns are kept clean. The Acting Resident (Mr. Lumley) reports the native chiefs in the settled districts as helpful and well-disposed, but in sympathy with the slave trade and smuggling of gin. On one occasion he was in much personal danger from a riot, but extricated himself by the exhibition of personal courage and tenacity.

KONTAGORA.

102. The meagre population of this devastated province is reported to have increased by about 10,000 during the year, owing to the return of people to their former districts and the influx of ex-slaves. The staff has been very short-handed, but all except a small portion of the Pagan area in the north has been assessed with the co-operation of the Emir and chiefs. The district heads have collected the tribute without difficulty or complaint, though a few towns have given trouble. Many new markets have been established in rural towns, and some surveys of new routes and districts accomplished. The Emir has given his whole-hearted assistance, and his immediate Emirate has been enlarged in consequence, at the expense of the neighbouring ones, which were under little control. I have also agreed to include a northern strip of this province in the Emirate of Sokoto, to which by tradition it belongs, as a recognition of the Sultan's loyalty at the time of the Satiru affair. The roads have been kept clear of vegetation; the most important is that from Zungeru, via Kontagora, to Yelwa, on the Niger, and to Sokoto in the north.

103. Fifty cases were tried in the provincial court (60 persons convicted), compared with 41 (and 56 convictions) in 1904. Offences are readily reported, summonses are obeyed, and witnesses appear without difficulty. A decrease is shewn in severe sentences. The police are well reported on, and the force is popular. A new gaol of brick has been built. The prisoners average 11, and their work is valued at £100 per annum. The native courts are not very successful, and need close supervision, but are improving. Defendants freely appeal to the provincial court if dissatisfied with the Alkali's decision; 162 causes are reported (129 in 1904). There is a paucity of well-educated and qualified Mallams for the courts. The famine in the Dakakerri country, in the north, has led to the sale of children, who would otherwise have perished. No cases of self-redemption are reported. As I noted above, there has been a considerable influx of freed slaves to their former homes. The lawless Dakakerri are a source of continual trouble. Even the famine would not induce them to work for the liberal wages offered, and they prefer to live by plunder. Like the tribes in the neighbouring province of Zaria, they seem to care little for their present immunity from being raided for slaves. Coercive measures will have again to be employed against this tribe; none were undertaken during 1905. The staff averaged two only, and their health was good, owing to improved sanitation and water supply and the good two-storey brick houses recently erected. Small-pox has been prevalent among the natives, but a large number have been vaccinated.

104. The amount of land under cultivation is extending, and the number of live stock increasing, and the demand for cash currency is progressing. The increased confidence in the British Administration and courts is very satisfactory. Early in 1906 a travelling preacher caused some unrest by proclaiming that a "terrible thing with 70,000 guns was coming from the four corners of the earth," and as the British rule would soon end, the people were exhorted to pay no more taxes and to bring presents (which he appropriated). A second preacher appeared in Yelwa and a third in Jebba, but the movement was of no political importance, and was easily checked.

BORGU.

105. The province is divided into three administrative divisions, north, south, and central. The taxation is at present necessarily on a population basis, since the Fulani system was not in existence here. The population is very small (estimated by Captain Larymore at 7,750), but there is a considerable influx of Yorubas from the south. The two paramount chiefs, Bussa and Kaiama, are very friendly and loyal, and the people are very law-abiding. Fifteen cases only were tried in the provincial court (24 in 1904), and the native courts have no cases to try and "exist only in name." Four slaves were freed. The revenue collected amounted to £3,432 (compared with £3,209 in 1903-4), and will be maintained in the current year. It chiefly accrues from tolls and Customs, regarding which the Resident says there is no single instance of complaint. The only other item exceeding £40 is the tribute, which yields from £200 to £300. Customs are increasing. The average British staff was three, and their health was bad. The change of the headquarters from Kaiama to Bussa is reported as "medically an improvement, the sanitation and water being better, but mosquitoes worse." A good house is greatly needed, similar to the double storey brick house erected for the Assistant at Kaiama. The police are improving, and the prisoners averaged 5. The circulation of currency is increasing.

II. (B) SLAVERY.

106. In Appendix III. will be found returns of slaves freed during 1905 and previous years. These returns do not profess to be a complete record, more especially in the earlier years. Large numbers were liberated by various military expeditions, of which no record was kept, and even now the numbers freed by the native courts under the supervision of the Administration are only partially entered. Finally, the vast numbers of newly-enslaved Pagans who have returned to their homes, and of whom the Administration has no knowledge, are of course additional to those shewn on these returns, which only refer to

such slaves as have passed through the hands of the political staff. The total shewn (3,071), therefore, represents only a fraction of the slaves liberated in Northern Nigeria as a consequence of British rule in the past six years. In the province of Sokoto, where perhaps the largest slave population was to be found, the Resident says that "prohibitions of enslaving and slave-dealing are fairly readily accepted and affect the people little," and the same, I think, may be said of the Protectorate generally. The desertion of *bonâ fide* domestic slaves, who form the labouring classes on the estates of the free-born Mahomedans, was at first keenly felt, and had the Government not taken steps to discourage the too rapid transition from the old to a better labour contract, a complete dislocation of the social conditions of the country might, as I have explained in former reports, have taken place. I have included some observations upon slavery in my notes on each province. (See especially paragraph 15, as to self-redemption.)

107. The slave trade exists in an active form through Bornu (paragraph 50) and on the Benue (paragraphs 80 and 95). It is now well understood to be a contraband trade, and every precaution is taken against capture. Mere infants are purchased in Eastern Muri and Yola, and especially in German Adamawa, and conveyed to Bassa by canoe at night, where apparently they are bought by Okpotos for the Southern Nigeria demand. The children soon learn Nupe, and are given tribal marks to prevent detection. Famine is of course a great incentive to the slave trade.

The Freed Slaves' Home, Zungeru.

108. The number in the home at the beginning of the year was 178, and there have been 140 admissions during the year. One hundred and sixteen have left the home, 59 to guardians, eight apprenticed, 22 have left to follow their own inclinations (being adults), one was married, and 26 died. The total at the end of the year was 202, consisting of four women over 25 years of age, two women of 15 to 25 years, seven big girls of 12 to 15 years, and 189 children under 12 years. The percentage of deaths, 7.7 per cent., compares very favourably with last year's, 22.8 per cent. The earnings have increased from £42 to £105, being chiefly profits from the bakery. The educational classes, both in writing and reading and in carpentry, have maintained progress. The clothes required are made up in the home, and laundry work and gardening are carried on. The general aspect of the home is more satisfactory than it has ever been. The children appear happy and well cared for, and everything connected with the buildings and their surroundings is admirably clean and sanitary. The condition of all the children placed with guardians has been the subject of

a careful and exhaustive enquiry, and with very few exceptions it has been found to be very satisfactory.

Bornu Freed Slaves' Home.

109. On January 1st, 1905, there were 106 inmates in the home, and 96 more were received, making a total of 202, of whom 57 left during the year, leaving 145 on December 31st. Those who left were disposed of as follows:—One boy apprenticed and two sent to freed slaves village, being too old for the home; three women left at their request and joined relatives, one was dismissed, 23 women and girls deserted, seven women were married, and 20 inmates died. These freed slaves are mostly of a very low type and reputed to be cannibals, they come chiefly from German Adamawa, and speak no known language, but the children quickly acquire the local tongue and have a wonderful ear for music. The adults are very stupid and hopeless, since the drinking habits of these Pagans and the complete insularity of the lives they have led, have tended to degeneration, physical and mental, so that they are helpless when removed from their environment and have no initiative at all. A successful attempt, however, to deal with the adults has been inaugurated by the establishment of a freed slaves' village. A payment of 6s. a week was at first made for food. It has now been reduced to 12s. per mensem, and the ex-slaves have been given work on payment and land to cultivate, so that when the crops ripen the village promises to be self-supporting. It is possible that when it has become an established success the home may be given up, and the children placed with the adults and adopted by them. To do so would be to abandon the present efforts at education and to some extent of the civilizing effect of close European supervision, but I feel that the Government, at least so long as its revenue depends on a grant-in-aid, is not justified in undertaking philanthropic work, however valuable. I am, however, glad to say that I have secured a grant of £120 from the Giles Trust, and that there is a prospect of an even larger grant from the Rebecca Hussey Trust towards the Bornu Home, and these funds can properly be spent in educational and philanthropic work. The inmates cultivated a farm, which supplied food for the home. The morality of the women and girls in the home is reported as very bad, but I hope that the success of the free village will put an end to this by the expedient of marrying them to freed men. The health of the inmates has been fairly good, but ophthalmia is prevalent, and three became blind during the absence of Dr. Blair, who during the year had temporary charge of the home in the absence of Dr. Parsons. New grass huts have been put up to accommodate the increasing numbers. The total cost of the two homes and village in the present year (1905-6) was £1,695 11s. 10d. (less £105 earnings).

II. (c) NATIVE COURTS.

110. The native courts at the capital town of each province have, I think, done excellent work during the year, and have greatly improved in their returns of cases. The less important courts in district towns have also done good work, but they are of very varying value. Out of 24 such courts in the Kano Emirate only six are under Alkalis of recognised authority and learning. Guided by the experience of the past six years, I drew up and enacted early in 1906 a new Native Court Proclamation, and this was followed by a complete revision of all the warrants establishing courts. They are now graded according to their powers into four classes. Of the A. Class, having authority to pass sentence of death (subject to the concurrence of the Resident), there are only nine. Of the B. Class, 30; of C., 31; and of D., 39—total, 109. I have elsewhere (paragraphs 15, 62, 86, &c.) spoken of the liberal and enlightened spirit shewn by such courts as those of the Emirs and Alkalis of Sokoto, Kano, Bida, and Zaria—as evidenced by their initiative in enforcing the prohibition of enslaving and slave-dealing, and even of compelling masters to accept redemption money whenever proffered by a slave. In the return for the first quarter of 1906 from Zaria I observe 40 such cases of redemption, or ransom, through the native court. In this and in other matters they have shewn a surprising and most gratifying desire to carry out the policy and wishes of Government, even when those wishes go beyond the enactments of their own statute books. The Lafiagi Court, for instance, refused to entertain a claim for theft of gin, referring the plaintiff to the provincial court because the possession of gin was illegal.

111. I am able now to look to such courts for effective assistance in such matters as the stopping of bush fires (which destroy silvan produce), and of trees (so as to prevent deforestation), the enforcement of the authorised taxes, and the detection of illegal practices by collectors, the evasion of tolls, &c., &c. The belief that a genuine mutual confidence is gradually and assuredly growing up between the representatives of the Government and the native Emirs and judges is not, I think, misplaced. It is due to the whole-hearted enthusiasm and devotion to their work of the Residents, and is naturally a source of intense gratification to the officer to whose charge the Administration of the country has been entrusted. The story I have told of the incipient disaffection of a small section of religious fanatics at Sokoto and at Bauchi shows how completely the native Emirs and their "Sarakuna" (councillors and courts) identified themselves with the Government and voluntarily tried and executed the rebel leaders in the native courts. The particular features of the courts of each province have been dealt with in my notes on the provinces.

112. It would be of the greatest value if a compendium of the Koranic Law, as contained in the books of reference in use among the Alkalis of Nigeria, were compiled for the use of administrative officers, but time has not hitherto admitted of our undertaking this task. The first step would be to have the books translated into English by a thoroughly competent scholar in Arabic. I had intended meantime to assemble the leading native judges, and to compile a rudimentary criminal code, dealing with the commoner offences, and establishing also a uniform procedure in judicial matters, scales of fines and fees, &c., but the outbreak at Sokoto compelled me to defer the question. When the court returns can be sent in written in Hausa in the Roman character, effective supervision and increased knowledge of native law and customs will result, and much needless and laborious work will be dispensed with. Meanwhile Mr. Temple has undertaken, while on leave in England, to translate the criminal code and some of the proclamations which especially affect the natives, into Arabic.

II. (D) POPULATION.

113. The census of the population is still very vague in some provinces, but the completion of the assessment during the current and next year should result in a tolerable approximation to the correct figures. The table given below is a summary of the fuller details given in Appendix 2. It will be observed that the return for the Kabba province is more than four times the estimate given last year by Captain Larymore. I am inclined to think this is an over-estimate. It includes the Egbira and Kukuruku tribes on the south frontier, who have lately been visited by the Acting Resident, but no details are given by him. The estimate for Bassa is little more than half that formerly returned, and I should think it is now approximately correct. Captain Ruxton and Mr. Gowers agree in reducing the estimate of Muri by a third from that furnished by Mr. Lobb. Nassarawa remains at its former figure, which I think is much too high. I should imagine the population of the Protectorate to be about 8½ millions. It is no doubt increasing rapidly, both by immigration and by natural causes; but, on the other hand, the epidemics of cerebral fever and small-pox, and the severe famines of 1902-04, together with the terribly high rate of infant mortality, have counteracted the increase which might otherwise have been expected. I have elsewhere alluded to the very notable inter-province migrations which are taking place, due to communities returning to their ancient homes, and rejoining their tribes. Until this re-settlement of the country is completed, the assessment and the provincial census must vary considerably from year to year.

SUMMARY OF POPULATION, 1905.

Province:	Males.	Females.	Total:	Non-Natives.
Sokoto ...	270,569	307,931	578,500	—
Kano ...	1,165,000	1,165,000	2,330,000	—
Bornu ...	442,000	663,000	1,105,000	28
Nupe ...	72,175	79,715	151,890	21
Kabba ...	123,660	157,990	281,650	217
Ilorin ...	112,000	138,000	250,000	17
Bauchi ...	460,000	460,000	920,000	—
Zaria ...	93,000	134,000	232,000	98
Kontagora ...	45,269	44,409	89,678	—
Borgu ...	12,296	13,031	25,327	1
Bassa ...	253,068	272,070	525,138	42
Muri ...	250,000	293,000	543,000	20
Nassarawa ...	555,000	945,000	1,500,000	3
Yola ...	106,600	143,400	250,000	—
Total ...	3,965,637	4,816,546	8,782,183	447 ^o

II. (B) COINAGE.

114. The circulation of coinage, which I regard as one of the most important signs of progress in a new country, continues to make steady progress, and has been very greatly accelerated by the new system of taxation, since both tolls and land revenue are largely paid in cash, and every inducement is given to increase the proportion so paid. While on leave in England the question of a subsidiary white metal currency common to both Southern and Northern Nigeria, which I have so long advocated, was brought forward again by Sir W. Egerton, and I hope that its institution will be an accomplished fact in 1906. It will probably consist of two denominations, one being one-tenth of a shilling and the other one-hundredth,* with an inscription in English on the face and in Arabic on the obverse. The coins will have a circular hole in the centre for stringing, and will be without any pictorial design in deference to Mohammedan prejudice. Such coins will, I hope, speedily oust the cowrie as a token of exchange for lesser values. Their introduction will tend to lower prices since the-

* Exclusive of Officials.

† It has since been decided that the coins should be of the value of a penny and a tenth of a penny.

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1905-6.

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three-penny bit is at present the lowest form of coin in practical currency. Copper coins can hardly be said to be accepted as currency, and will be withdrawn. I would like to see this subsidiary coinage extended by mutual agreement throughout British and French territories so as to form a complete substitute for the cowrie, which is current in all West Africa (as in Uganda). I venture to think that were such an agreement reached it would tend to mutual advantage and reciprocity, while the extremely small value of the coinage makes the question of redemption a negligible one.

115. The importation of specie as compared with former years is as follows:—

	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	Remarks.
	£	£	£	£	£	
Gold	8,000	—	1,000*	1,000*	1,000	*From Lagos Bank.
Silver	90,000	145,000	184,000	198,000†	152,000†	†£ 3,000 " " and
Bronze	850	—	—	800	50	†£31,400 " " and
Total	98,850	145,000	185,000	199,800	153,050	£ 2,800 from "Gold Coast.
From Local Firms	2,110	11,426	18,206	18,929	8,000	

§ Amended from previous reports. All specie not otherwise indicated was received from the Royal Mint. The returns are for the calendar year (January-December.)

The tendency of local firms is to sell for cash instead of buying for cash, and to export specie out of the Protectorate for the payment of customs on the Coast in the case of European firms, and for the purchase of imported cottons, &c., in the case of natives. The rate of exchange between British silver and the Maria Theresa dollar is at present fixed at 3s., and during the year no difficulty has been experienced in realising locally at this rate.

116. Counterfeit shillings extremely cleverly made with milled edges, some of base metal, and some containing a small percentage of silver, have found their way in considerable numbers from Lagos, and are a source of much trouble. Even the uncivilised tribes of Bauchi are reported to have circulated halfpennies galvanised with tin as shillings. The latter form of fraud must cease with the withdrawal of bronze coins in favour of the white metal coins, which cannot be mistaken for silver, owing to their perforation.

III.—ECONOMIC.

117. During 1905 the exploration of the economic resources of the Protectorate was continued, the vegetable products by the Forestry Officer and the minerals under the two mineralogists especially appointed for the task, both working in conjunction with the Imperial Institute, to which all samples were submitted for examination and expert report. The botanical specimens collected by Mr. Elliot during his prolonged tours in 1904 were found by the staff at Kew to include many new species of plants, and various samples were submitted to the Imperial Institute, on which reports have been separately issued.

118. The Forestry Officer was absent on leave during a great part of the year, and, since he at present has no assistant, work was at a standstill, and I regret to say that, lacking his supervision, the native assistant allowed a large number of the young plants and seedlings of indigenous and imported trees of economic value, which were being reared in the garden at Zungeru, to die. On his return (after visiting the botanical gardens at Aburi, on the Gold Coast, from which he obtained a large quantity of seeds, &c.), he decided to transfer the plantation to Lokoja, where the soil is richer and the climate more humid. On the foot-slopes of Mount Patti, immediately behind Lokoja, he selected an area of 250 acres of fine forest, full of various kinds of rubber plants, and with perennial water. This area was declared a reserve under the Forestry Proclamation, and the undergrowth was cleared, the great shade-trees being left, and a large nursery of rubber plants started, the yield of which in five or six years' time should, Mr. Elliot states, be worth £4,000 per annum. The main task set before the Forestry Department for the few remaining months of 1905 and for 1906 was the collection of a complete set of samples of all the economic products of the Protectorate for examination at the Imperial Institute, and for exhibition in the Nigerian Court, which it is proposed to establish there. A very large number have already been forwarded, together with samples of native manufactures in leather, cloth, embroidery, &c. This task, together with the supervision of the plantation of rubber and other economic plants, and the enforcement of the provisions of the new Forestry Proclamation, which deals with the preservation of rubber plants and timber and other valuable trees, will fully employ the energies of the Forestry Officer. The enactment in March, 1906, of this Proclamation, which had been under discussion for nearly a year and a half, is a most important step towards the preservation and development of the economic resources of the country.

Timber.

119. Valuable forests of mahogany were found on the banks of the Gurara River, and about 5,000 cubic feet of timber has already been floated down to Lokoja. About 400 trees, from 9 to 15 feet in girth, and 20 to 40 feet in length, were felled, and 500 more within easy access of the river were marked for future use. Provision was made for the erection of a frame saw in conjunction with the workshops, when this valuable timber can be utilised by Government for building purposes. It will save a corresponding import from England, and the remainder can probably be sold to merchants for export. Many thousands of mahogany and other seedlings are being raised for distribution in the Lokoja plantation. The Forestry Proclamation prohibits the felling of specified trees of economic value, and of immature timber trees of value. Licences are imposed, so as to prevent the use of high-class timber as steamer fuel, and reserves can be created.

Cotton.

120. Prolonged negotiations during my leave in England resulted in a happy solution of the difficulties which have hitherto prevented the proper development of the cotton industry in Northern Nigeria—a country which was described by the Chairman of the British Cotton Growing Association in their deputation to the Prime Minister, as affording exceptional promise for the development of this industry. "We have pursued our enquiries," he said, "throughout the British Empire, and the one place which offers the greatest possibility of providing the millions of bales of cotton which are required is Northern Nigeria; we are absolutely convinced that in Northern Nigeria alone lies the possible salvation of Lancashire. . . . It is not improbable that at some future date Northern Nigeria will produce at least seven million bales, or sufficient to supply the whole requirements of Great Britain, and to leave an equal quantity over for other cotton consuming countries." Such is the estimate formed by the British Cotton Growing Association after several years of careful enquiry. It is based on data supplied by their own experts, and not on the reports of officials who might perhaps be accused of "booming" the country. It is, therefore, entitled to careful consideration. My personal view is that this estimate is too optimistic, for the development of so large an industry needs a correspondingly large population, which does not at present exist throughout Northern Nigeria. But the Kano Emirate is densely populated by an industrious race, who are keen agriculturists, and have cultivated cotton for 1,000 years, and given a means of transport which can convey the cotton at low

freights to the Niger waterway, I anticipate a great development of this industry, which, when the population of the chief cotton-growing province—Zaria—has had time to increase, as it is increasing under the present conditions of peace and security, may some day go far towards realising the hopes of the Association. In my judgment, however, a railway constructed at the cost which other West African railways have incurred, would be compelled to charge freights which might strangle the new industry at its birth, and it is for this reason that I have consistently advocated a preliminary surface tramway, which, in due course, may be superseded by a more expensive line on the same location. The work done for such a tramway would all be utilised for the ultimate railway, and the actual material—rails, sleepers, and girders—can then be transferred elsewhere as a feeder line, opening up a new district, which would possibly again become the precursor of a further railway extension. The happy solution to which I alluded consisted in an agreement between the Niger Company, whose purchasing agencies are scattered along all the waterways of the Protectorate, and the Cotton Association. The Company have undertaken to become the purchasing agents for the Association, delivering the seed cotton to the ginning stations, while the Association undertakes the erection and management of the ginning plant, the selection and distribution of the seed—a most important matter—and the disposal of the cotton in the home market. The Government, at the same time, undertakes, for the present, to convey the cotton from the ginning station to the coast free of charge, and also assists the Company, when possible in the transport of raw cotton to the gin.

121. The total quantity of cotton exported during the year was only about 87 tons of raw cotton, equal to about 26 tons of "lint," valued at £1,041. Early in February, 1906, the steam gin at Lokoja was completed, and the agreement I have described came into effect, with the result that in three months 261 tons of raw cotton were ginned, and 70 tons (743 bales) of lint, valued at £2,800, were exported. Some of this was, however, cotton bought in 1905. I am now informed that the industry has developed so fast that it is proposed to erect a second gin at Shonga further up the Niger. Messrs. Holt, who purchase independently, report that the industry is decidedly flourishing, but they are storing their cotton for export at high-water. These results are eminently satisfactory, the more so that the natives were not aware that there would be such a demand at firm prices (½d. lb. for seed cotton, and 3d. to 3½d. for lint), and the cotton hitherto brought for sale can only represent their surplus crop. I hear from many directions that in consequence of this demand they are extending their cultivation largely, while the supply of the northern cotton districts is still untouched. This, I hope, to develop, like the skin trade (paragraph 141), by cart transport in pay-

ment of taxes pending the construction of a tramway. The Cotton Association also acquired an area of 50 acres of land near Lokoja for experimental cultivation of cotton.

122. Northern Nigeria is greatly in need of a staple of commerce, and I trust that this may be found in cotton, just as palm oil and kernels form the staple export of the coastal zone. At the same time I would deprecate too great an optimism. The Resident of Zaria, who was formerly enthusiastic on the prospects of cotton, now writes that the shortage of corn induces him to advise that the natives should not be encouraged to grow cotton in preference to grain at present; while the people of Nupe have, I hear, taken largely to the cultivation of ground nuts as being more lucrative. I do not regard these facts with any apprehension, and in my view the question of population is by far the most serious deterrent to the realization of over-optimistic forecasts. In Zaria the Resident says that the Hausa markets are strikingly crowded, and 10 to 15 50-lb. bales of raw cotton are to be seen for sale in each at about $\frac{3}{4}$ d. lb. He estimates the amount exposed for sale in the year at 1,000 to 1,400 tons, and the total grown at 2,800 tons. Much of what is now used in the local manufacture of cloth would be available if local cloth is replaced by imported goods, but he considers that this is an unsafe assumption, and adds that his estimates are "based on the most flimsy foundations." "The surplus cotton grown for sale or export is (he believes) very little indeed." "The present fleet of steamers on the Niger (says the Agent-General of the Niger Company) is ample to cope with all the increase in the cotton trade in the near future; the great difficulty in connection with this industry will not be in shipping the bales to the coast, but in getting the bulky seed-cotton down to the ginnery at Lokoja." The latter difficulty must be met by the erection of more ginneries. (*Vide* Bulletin Imperial Institute, volume 3, No. 3.) The conditions of climate, rainfall, and native cultivation do not favour American cotton, the lint from which, when locally grown, is inferior to the best local varieties. The Cotton Association are now sending out hydraulic presses to supersede the defective hay-presses hitherto used, and the latest reports (August, '06) confirm the rapid progress of the industry.

Rubber.

123. Rubber formed nearly three-fourths of the total value of the exports for the year (paragraph 138), but I fear that this increase has been obtained at the cost of a considerable destruction of the rubber vines, by the senseless process of digging up the roots from which a very low grade rubber is prepared. Not only are the sources of supply thus permanently destroyed, but the product is so full of impurities (67 per cent. I am told consists of bark and dirt, while other

samples are even worse, and not fit for export at all) that it is to be feared that Nigerian rubber will obtain a bad name in the market, which it may hereafter be difficult to remove. This result has, I believe, been largely due to the competition between European firms, which has resulted in the purchase of rubber filled with bark and impurities, which formerly was unsaleable. The Agent-General of the Niger Company informed me that the new Forestry Proclamation would effectually stop this, but the delay in its enactment was unfortunate. It was promulgated in March, 1906, but the operation of the clauses relating to rubber has been deferred till October 1st, 1906, at the instance of the commercial community, who urged that it would be unfair to the trade to introduce them sooner. By that date, according to the Forestry Officer, there will be little rubber left to preserve. The principle of the Ordinance is to hold the purchaser responsible that no "root rubber" is bought or exported, since the wild savages, who inhabit the rubber forests, are beyond the reach of effective legislation. The regulations, however, contain full rules for tapping, &c., which so far as possible will be enforced by the increased political staff. It, however, appears that it is very difficult to distinguish between rubber prepared from the root, and that prepared from the stem, and it is now under consideration whether the latter should not also be prohibited. The alternative, which is apparently the course which recommends itself to the commercial firms, is to sacrifice the vines rather than deal so heavy a blow to the industry and trade. For the collection of silvan rubber is at best a crude and temporary expedient, and the vast and increasing demand for this article points to the necessity for the cultivation of the best kinds, and the extraction and preparation of the latex by scientific methods. I am very strongly of opinion that large plantations should be made of the best kinds of rubber without delay,—Hevea (Para) in the more moist and well-watered areas, Caeara, Funtumia, &c., in the drier districts—as has been done in Ceylon and the Straits Settlements. A small outlay dictated by foresight, will assuredly bring in great results a few years hence. A small beginning has, as I have described, already been made, and I hope to see this greatly extended, and above all, to induce the natives to plant the trees among their crops and around their villages, so that the industry may become a *native* and not an exotic one.

Other Products.

124. The acacia gum of Bornu has been reported by the Imperial Institute to be of excellent quality,—large quantities are obtainable (*see* paragraph 147). Samples of tobacco leaf were also very highly praised, and the extended culture of tobacco was advised. Professor Dunstan says that the sun-dried leaves sent to him are worth about 4d. per lb., and even in its present

condition tobacco may be worth exporting. For its improvement expert instruction would be needed for the natives. Its export is already being taken up by the Niger Company. Beeswax may, I think, be a valuable export, especially from Bornu, though not a considerable one; samples have been sent home. From Sokoto it is reported that much indigo is grown, but aniline dyes have rendered this useless as an export. A black grain (sorghum) is also used for dyeing goat skins. From Zaria I learn that the most valuable kind of kola (*kola vera*) has been discovered near the Gurara. There has been a small export of palm-oil, but the local consumption by the native staff is now so large that little remains for export. I regret that my efforts to introduce the plough—four or five different kinds of which I had imported from India, South Africa, &c.—have so far proved unsuccessful. I propose to introduce a few simple tools for sale to the natives, such as adzes, light pick-axes, hammer-heads, matchets, and saws, in the hope that they may become popular, and create a demand unconnected with personal ornament and pleasure, which will stimulate production.

Minerals.

125. A full report on the results of the first year's mineral survey has been published separately (Colonial Office Reports Miscellaneous, No. 32, April, 1906). A previous report on samples sent home by the Government was contained in No. 26 of the same series. The first survey (of eight months) was completed in May, 1905, and the examination of the results occupied the summer. The party returned to Nigeria in October, 1905, and again left for England at the end of April, 1906. In my last report I said that borings were to be undertaken in the salt deposits of Muri, with a view to testing the capacity of the brine springs. Unfortunately the machinery arrived very late, and the disturbances in the Munshi country further postponed operations, which have now been deferred till next dry season. Professor Dunstan considers it "probable" that sufficient salt may be obtained to render Northern Nigeria independent of imported salt. The salt district will in that case become a very valuable property, and a source of revenue, since the present import of salt is about 8,000 tons per annum of a local value of about £104,000. The present output does not exceed 400 tons from all the Benue districts (paragraph 148). Limestone of excellent quality for mortar has been found in many parts of the Protectorate, and recently on the banks of the Niger and Benue, near Lokoja, whence it can be cheaply conveyed to all river stations, thus effecting great economy in the import of cement. The existence of monazitic sand containing thuria needs further investigation, as also does the Galena deposit (containing a little silver) at Orofu.

Tin.

126. The Niger Company, which had held prospecting licences in the Bauchi province, applied in 1905 for mining licences over selected areas, at Naraguta. This involved a careful survey, more especially since an uncertainty existed as to whether one of the areas lay within their district or partially within the district included in a licence granted to Messrs. Rickard and Company. The licences were finally granted in February, 1906. By March "practically the whole of the machinery was in position and working well." The water supply caused some initial difficulty, but this is only in the driest month of the year, and can be surmounted by dams. The Chairman of the Company (Lord Scarbrough) in his annual report to the shareholders, states that "the developments this year have been very good indeed, and leave no doubt as to the future." It is anticipated that an immediate output of one ton a day of black tin can be realised, and the Company claims that it has demonstrated that tin can be successfully worked. Examination of the surrounding districts has also been carried on, and new discoveries of highly productive areas have been made. I understand also that Messrs. Rickard intend shortly to commence prospecting in their district. The most urgent need for the development of this industry is a practicable and direct route to the Benue River at Loko. I have elsewhere (paragraphs 74 and 75) described the steps already taken by the Government to open up and safeguard this route. The next step will be to bridge some of the streams, and to construct a cart road for at least a part of the distance, and I hope during 1906 to commence this work.

127. The work of the mineral survey this season was confined to the southern provinces of Bassa, Kabba, Illorin, Nupe, and Nassarawa. Extensive deposits of monazite were found which may justify a more detailed survey. Much information was obtained as to the districts which offer the best prospects for more detailed examination. The samples collected will be tested at the Imperial Institute.

128. With an assured industry in tin, very hopeful prospects in cotton, and substantial grounds for anticipating a good development in skins, ground nuts, and some other products, I think the economic prospects of the country are not discouraging at the end of the first year in which its exploitation has become possible. The keynotes of commercial progress are a large population and a cheap labour market. There is every prospect of a rapid increase in the former, and the efforts of the Government have, as I described in my report for 1900 (*see* Colonial Report No. 346, paragraph 23), already resulted in a decrease in the absurdly high rates paid for labour, and will, I hope, further reduce them.

IV.—TRADE.

129. The local revenue of the year was £94,026, of which probably about £13,000 was paid by bills on England or debits against officers' accounts payable in England, leaving approximately £81,000 local Treasury receipts. Of this sum probably about half was received in actual cash, and half in "kind," e.g., supplies for troops, remounts for mounted infantry, &c., which were debited against the vote concerned, and the value shown as a Treasury receipt. I have, however, no data on which to calculate this proportion. The amount of specie imported was £153,050, to which must be added (approximately) £3,000 received from local firms in exchange for bills, and £24,000 received for money orders, making a total of £180,000 approximately, of which (say) £40,000 was received back in cash. This sum of £40,000 was not committed to England, but was spent locally (thereby reducing the specie which would otherwise have had to be imported), and so raises the local cash disbursements to £220,000 (assuming the cash balances at the beginning and end of the year to be practically identical).

130. It would, therefore, seem, if my data are correct, that out of a total of £220,000 cash disbursements, and a total of £153,000 actual imported specie, only £40,000 was paid back as taxes, viz., about one quarter of the specie imported or one-sixth of the local disbursements. The remainder of the currency put into circulation, viz., £113,000, has probably been almost entirely re-exported by traders (since little remains in currency between natives, and but little is converted into rings, &c.), who are beginning to find it more convenient to purchase Lagos goods for cash, and to import these in comparatively small caravans, than to export the bulky products of the interior, and exchange them, as in old days, for the same imported goods. By this process the Lagos merchant or the Northern Nigerian merchants are able to dispose of their imported goods at a profit, but neither does the Administration nor the country (as distinguished from the individual) benefit. The Administration, on the one hand, imports specie at great cost to the interior, with which to pay its soldiers and labour, and for its necessary supplies, but instead of getting the specie back again in the form of taxes to pay for this Administration, it only receives a quarter, and the remainder is bought up by traders, while taxes are paid in unconvertible kind. The country, on the other hand, does not gain by such a system, for the cost of the Administration can only be defrayed by the produce of the country exported over-seas, and if the amount of this produce decreases, it is clear that no amount of trade in a mere token of currency can enable a country to pay its

debts. The services or supplies rendered to Government in order to obtain the currency wherewith to purchase cotton and other goods are no longer a means by which the country contributes to the cost of the Administration, for the value of those services or supplies are thus translated into an equivalent of cottons and other imports for their own enjoyment.

131. The truth of these remarks is, I think, borne out by the very great increase of the cash trade done by firms, and the decrease of produce offering for sale. (*Vide* paragraph 139.) Of the total produce exported by the Niger Company about 66 per cent. was rubber, of which the majority was obtained in Bassa, where practically no taxes are paid. The cash trade, of which I have spoken, is, of course, the sale of imported goods to natives for cash, but what I would wish to see is the contrary process, viz., the sale by the natives of produce for cash with which to pay the taxes which are devoted to the expenses of Administration. Payment in goods is not always popular, or beneficial to trade, and I hear that natives have often to dispose of goods thus paid to them at only a fraction of their nominal value. This state of things is not satisfactory, and merchants are, in my view, adopting a shortsighted policy in thus buying up the cash earned by natives for work done for Government instead of demanding produce for their goods, and allowing the cash to return as taxes to Government. It is, however, a condition of things not unnatural in the development of a new country. The native has quickly and shrewdly grasped where his advantage lies. Instead of carrying produce for great distances, he now finds that he can make a better profit by catering for the wants of the employes of Government, and obtaining cash with which, without any trouble of transport, he can purchase imported goods at trading stations on the Niger. These, in comparison with bulky produce, require but little transport.

132. The result, as I have said, of this tendency on the part of European firms, on the one hand to absorb the cash currency by selling goods for cash instead of for produce, and of the native on the other hand to absorb it in order to purchase goods for cash instead of for produce, is to leave the Administration at interior stations with a large amount of unrealisable revenue on hand. This revenue takes the form of cowries, except in Bornu, where the cowrie is superseded by the Maria Theresa dollar. In order to realise these cowries—or dollars—Government is driven to purchase with them some realisable produce. Thus, at Kano and Zaria, cotton, hides, and skins will have to be purchased with the accumulated cowries, and sent down by empty carts, which are returning south after having conveyed stores and material to the north; and this produce can then be realised by sale to merchants at Zungeru, at a profit which depends solely on the cheapness or otherwise

of the transport employed. A firm, therefore, which establishes itself at those places, and absorbs the specie introduced by Government, does not in the ultimate event benefit itself, for it compels the Government to become a purchaser of produce—not with cash but with cowries—and if it persisted in such a form of trade, it would eventually compel the Government to go even further, and pay its troops and purchase its supplies with the same medium, and thus the ultimate tendency of such a form of trade is simply to oust a cash currency, and retard the progress of this great reform. When that result had been achieved, the native purchaser would have to revert to produce for the purchase of imported goods, for the trader, having no use for cowries as an export, would refuse to sell to him except for produce, since he could no longer offer cash. My object in alluding to this question is to impress upon merchants that the only form of trade, which can meet with the entire support of the Government, is the export of produce, whether bought with goods or with cash; that a “cash trade,” which consists of selling imported goods for cash, is not to the advantage of the country and the Administration, nor ultimately to their own, and that the ultimate tendency of such a form of trade is merely to set back the introduction of cash currency as a medium of exchange. The trader who purchases produce with cash in the interior is the most valuable to the Administration, for he enables the native to pay the debts of the country with his produce, and gives nothing in exchange but a currency token, which in due course reverts to Government in payment for administrative expenses.

133. In this connection it may be interesting to consider the effect of tolls upon this matter of produce. As a matter of fact no large sum has, I think, ever been realised by tolls on exportable produce. The greater part—shea nuts, oil seeds, cotton, gum, &c., &c.—was exempted under the clause by which produce being conveyed to a “neighbouring market” was free of tolls, since none of these low-grade articles are conveyed for any distance. Almost the whole of the rubber fell under the same exemption, except a little from Kabba. Tanned skins from Kano paid tolls, but ostrich feathers were chiefly sent by parcel post. In order, however, to leave no doubt at all in this matter, and to encourage the export of produce, the new Caravan Proclamation specifically exempts all produce which is for export overseas from the payment of tolls.

134. I wrote at considerable length in my last report (paragraphs 201-206) upon the question of tolls, which have been adversely criticised by European merchants who cannot fully appreciate the local conditions which, for the present, justify this form of taxation both in the eyes of the local Administration, whose aim is to promote contentment, and of the Secretary of State, who is fully informed. I then expressed the

view that it would be more economically sound to institute a system of rebates, increasing proportionately to the distance from the coast, for goods delivered at interior depôts than to subject imports to a series of tolls; but I added that such a system could not be introduced until Northern and Southern Nigeria had been amalgamated as one country. Meanwhile certain exemptions from tolls have been granted under the new Proclamation to traders of Northern Nigeria who are resident in the interior of the country. I suggested also that it might be possible to increase the incidence of the general tax upon the trading community so that an equivalent of the tolls might be raised in this way. Enquiry, however, has produced a unanimous reply that this is not feasible in the Hausa States, and since the traders are the wealthiest section of the population, who have, moreover, received the greatest benefits from the peace and security, and the improvement of the roads, it is reasonable that they should continue to contribute to the revenue a proportion of their wealth, and in accordance with their traditional customs with which they are well content. There is no method of taxation, says the Resident of Sokoto, that is so little resented and so harmless as a tax on trade in transit, while a graduated tax on the wealth of the trader himself would be "utterly strange," and misunderstood. That province shows an increase in the tolls realised, though the efforts to check evasion have been abandoned. It is reported that the traders now understand the system very well, and calculate their dues very correctly, appealing at once to the Resident if the collector's assessment differs from their own. The amount realised increased from £21,027 in 1903-04 to £34,459 in 1904-05, and in the current year over £40,000 will be realised in spite of the increasing facilities for evasion. Reports from all provinces (except perhaps Kano) continue to agree that trade is increasing very rapidly, and that the tolls have had no adverse effect upon it.

135. Lagos merchants complain that not so many caravans as formerly reach the coast, but this is accounted for by the "cash trade," to which I have already alluded—by the great influx of Lagos traders into Northern Nigeria, where they transact their trade, and finally by the local demand in the Protectorate due to the creation of a large European and native staff, by whom live stock, palm-oil, and other articles formerly exported are bought up. The extent to which money is remitted to Lagos may be seen by the money order returns, though they undoubtedly represent only a portion of the cash transferred. In 1904 the amount sent in five months was £425, viz., at the rate of £1,020 for a year; in 1905 this had increased to £6,488, and is now about £800 per mensem.

136. Caravan tolls were the only tax existing in the country which the Government decided should no longer be collected by the native chiefs, on account of the abuses they had given rise

to and the great delays to which trade had been subjected. The tolls were therefore made a Government monopoly, and have since been modified and reduced from time to time. It will thus be feasible for Government to still further reduce or to abolish them at any time, without creating discontent or depriving native chiefs of a source of income to which they have been accustomed. Meanwhile a great part of the revenue accruing from this source has been devoted to the construction of roads and bridges and the improvement of caravan routes, which enables caravans to make two journeys in the season where they formerly could make but one. Circuitous trade routes have been abandoned for more direct ones, and Pagan areas formerly closed are now open to traders. I also propose to give some compensation to traders who are robbed and can produce a "clearance paper." I have pointed out in my last report that, so far as the tolls affect the local trade in articles which are neither imported nor for export, they operate in favour of duty-paid imports, while the tolls on the latter simply enhance the selling price to the native in distant markets, and in no greater degree than if the merchant had to pay taxes on his profits in any other form than tolls. All tolls on produce for export oversea have now been abolished, and as soon as it is feasible (perhaps next year) I hope that this may be followed by the abolition of tolls on all imports of British origin. It is contrary to fact to allege that the tolls are collected by police.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

137. The value of the produce exported by the two principal firms in 1905 is returned at £148,258, of which rubber was £101,207. As Northern Nigeria has no seaboard or fiscal frontier towards the coast, the Government is not in possession of any statistics as to imports and exports. The High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria has this year instituted a registration of goods passing to or from Northern Nigeria by the waterway of the Niger, but even if this is effective—which I doubt, since laden canoes pass at night and at all hours of the day—it will only result in a return of a portion of the exports and imports, exclusive of the very large quantity passing to and from Lagos and other ports overland. Cotton goods form the chief item in the import list, probably about 60 per cent. of the whole, salt is about 12 per cent., and of the remaining 28 per cent. about half are provisions, liquor, and tobacco for the staff.

138. Of the exports, rubber probably constituted 68 per cent. of the total value, but I fear that the indiscriminate and senseless destruction of the vines will result in as rapid a decrease (*vide* paragraph 123). The shea nut export trade, which for-

merly constituted the staple of Northern Nigeria, continues to decrease in an unaccountable way, and is now an almost negligible amount. One reason assigned is the destruction of the crop by forest fires, but these are not more prevalent, as far as I am aware, than in former years. Steps have been taken to check this evil, but without a very strong police force legislation is unable to cope with the matter. I hope, however, to enlist the active support of the native chiefs, and by making the native courts take cognizance of the firing of the prairie grass as an offence, to bring an effective preventive check to bear through the agency of the district headman. The export of ivory has almost ceased—a result chiefly due to the exploitation of Adamawa by the Germans, and one which will not be regretted by the Society for the Preservation of African Fauna.

139. It would seem, in fact, as though the export of natural products had much declined, except in rubber, and had it not been for the somewhat fortuitous, and I fear temporary, boom in this product, the returns would have shown a serious decline. I attribute this to certain causes which are themselves, I trust, ephemeral, and as they cease to operate trade will, I believe, recover.

(a.) The first cause is the one to which I referred in the first paragraphs of this section. The creation of an Administration and of a large military force, including a battalion of mounted infantry, has created a demand for grain and supplies which is new, and which the native has not yet recognised as normal. He has found it more lucrative to supply this local demand than to carry produce for export to more distant markets.

(b.) A large portion of the population formerly consisted of more or less recently-enslaved persons, who have now left their state of servitude and returned to their homes among the Pagan tribes or taken up land for themselves. This has decreased the labour supply available for the classes who formerly raised exportable produce with which to buy the imported cottons they desired, and has temporarily decreased the wealth of the classes who were the chief purchasers. The reform in the taxation will, I think, go far towards the readjustment of this difficulty.

(c.) Labour formerly available for agriculture or the collection of silvan produce is now needed by Government for the construction of roads, railways and other works, which in the future will greatly develop trade, though at present it tends to the reduction of the exportable output. The cash earnings by canoe-men and carriers for transport of Government goods are also very considerable. They will in time be superseded by better modes of transport, when these classes, accustomed to comparative wealth, will be compelled to acquire it by productive industry.

140. The observations which I made in my last report as to the increase of the trade done by coloured non-natives, especially from Lagos, are still further substantiated. The increase in the marine earnings (£905 in 1903-4 and £2,113 in 1904-5) shows that the facilities afforded by Government for the importation of trade goods by this class are appreciated. In the financial year 1905-6 a further advance to £3,091 has been realised. The Niger Company have also opened a similar carrying service for general traders, though at rates somewhat in excess of those charged by Government; and the Chairman, in his annual report, states that "during the first six months 780 passengers and 495 tons of cargo were carried." Additional inducements to European traders to open up stations in the interior have been afforded, both by leases on nominal terms and concessions as regards caravan tolls. The Niger Company and Messrs. Holt and Co. are the principal firms, but the Kano Trading Company have now a depôt at Kano, and have recently opened one at Zaria; Messrs. Siegler & Co. have a station at Lokoja, and propose to open elsewhere; and a new firm, the British Nigerian Syndicate, is, I understand, shortly to commence operations. There is also a keen competition by Lagos traders. The Lokoja and Ibi Syndicate have not done anything during the past year.

Skins and Kano Leather.

141. The price of dyed goat skins at Kano is 7*d.* per lb. In the European and American market they are said to be worth 25 per cent. more if undyed, and in this condition they are cheaper at Kano, where undyed skins can be bought of the same quality and finish. The red dyed skins can only be dyed black, and are largely used in the boot trade, but if undyed they can be dyed by the manufacturers in any colour—tan, brown, &c. Mr. Birtwistle, the commercial intelligence officer of Lagos, has taken much trouble to ascertain the commercial value of these skins. He states that the average value is 1*s.* 8*d.* to 1*s.* 9*d.* per lb., or 1*s.* 4*d.* per skin. Leaving a margin of 4*d.* for freight charges and other expenses, they could be purchased at Lagos for 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb., or 1*s.* per skin in bulk (or 1*s.* 3*d.* undyed). The Lagos Trading Company offered this rate for the first six months of 1906. Selected skins for book-binding are worth 3*s.* to 4*s.* each. These figures regarding the home market were obtained from three leading firms. On the other hand, the Kano Trading Company found that they could not readily dispose even of selected skins at a profit, while the British Nigerian Syndicate state that there is an unlimited demand in America for these skins at even higher rates (*viz.*, 1*s.* 10*d.*) than those quoted by Mr. Birtwistle. Half a million were, I understand, ordered at 22*s.* per dozen; tanned and dyed as at present, and a "colossal business" can be done

in undyed skins for the new "Chrome" tanning industry. The commercial reports on Tripoli show an export of £50,000 worth of skins, while Mr. Laing states that the Arabs export to Tripoli from Kano a million skins, at a value of £87,000 per annum. I think that there will be no difficulty at all in diverting this trade to the south, but I have been anxious not to take premature action until the new road from Kano to Zungeru should be fit for wheeled transport. It is probable that this year the Resident may be able to purchase large quantities of these skins, with the surplus cowries paid as taxes (which are in excess of those realisable for cash), and send them down by returning carts. Merchants who desire to develop this trade must study the requirements of the Kano market, for the people are very conservative and will only purchase the goods they are accustomed to and dislike imitations. Care must be taken in sending the skins by the southern route (where the atmosphere is more humid than by the desert) that they are well packed, so as to avoid spotting and deterioration from damp. Undyed skins are cheaper at Kano (raw hides with the hair on $3\frac{1}{2}d.$), and command a better price in Europe and America, and the best process appears to be to steep the skins in a liquid preservative and export them after being sun-dried. They should be bought in bulk, as is the custom of the Arab traders, and not selected; ox skins should also furnish a valuable export. The quantities of both available are said to be almost unlimited.

Live Stock.

142. There is a large export of cattle, sheep, and goats from the Northern States, especially Sokoto, and from French Asben through Nigeria. Some of these go to the hinterland of Ashanti, some to Lagos. The local demand at Lagos apart from coast trade is (says Mr. Birtwistle) from 7,000 to 8,000 per annum, and cattle fetch from £2 to £5 apiece (from £1 to £3 extra in the rains).

Ostrich Feathers.

143. I regret that the pressure of administrative work has so far prevented the inauguration of the model ostrich farm, which I have proposed to establish under the charge of Assistant Resident Captain Harbord, who has an expert knowledge of ostrich farming. The Kano Trading Company have, however, begun an experimental farm at Kano, and I understand that their chief export during the year has been ostrich feathers. The Tripoli Arabs also export feathers largely by parcel post. The feathers are very inferior to the South African, but this is apparently entirely due to the careless way in which the birds are treated. (See Report 1904, paragraph 237.) During the year the Kano Trading Company exported 100 lbs. and the Arabs 1,716 lbs. from Kano, at a value of £605.

Cotton.

144. An examination of the prospects of cotton will be found under head "Economic." When the hand gins, which have long been promised by the British Cotton-Growing Association, arrive I hope to purchase considerable quantities of lint cotton with surplus cowries, and send it down by Government carts.

TRADE OF PROVINCES.

Sokoto.

145. I add a few notes on the trade of various provinces from Residents' reports. Tolls were instituted in the province in April, 1904, and the Resident reports that they are considered very fair by the traders and give rise to no friction whatever, either in Sokoto or Gando. The assistance of district headmen has been enlisted to prevent evasion, and every possible precaution taken to avoid hampering trade in any way. Trade is reported as "flourishing, increasing, and unaffected by tolls." A comparison of statistics for three of the principal stations for the nine months from April to December, 1905, shows the value of the trade as £59,169 in 1904 and £67,850 in 1905, an increase of £8,661 in the nine months. The total trade is given as:—Imports, £22,186; exports, £8,566; in-transit, £63,634—total, £94,386. The increase in the first quarter of 1906 is even more marked. Of this £67,850, Jega accounts for £54,391, and it may therefore be useful to comment on the nature of the trade at this important centre. Live-stock accounts for almost the whole of the imports, and the value has risen steadily during the year. Cattle average value for first six months, £421; average last six months, £1,369. Sheep and goats, value has enormously increased; £102, January; £929, December. Native Cloths account for 90 per cent. of the value of the exports. Ashanti kolas, over 18,000,000 arrived, valued at £36,048. They fetch 4s. per hundred in Jega and 4s. per thousand in Ashanti. "The downward trade to Ashanti is trifling, and consists of cloths, gowns, dried onions and a little natron." Lagos trade is valued at £14,340, of which £9,107 represents seaborne kolas, and £130 spices. The trade from Jebba by canoe amounts to only £370. The Assistant Resident concludes by saying that "tolls have not raised prices or diminished trade; imported cloths and kolas, for instance, are said to now rule cheaper than at any former time." "Sokoto trade," says the Resident, "is of a different nature from that of Jega, which has little local trade of its own, and is a centre of exchange, or mere transit dépôt. Sokoto has little transit trade, and is not a centre of exchange." Its

imports are for local use, and its exports are local manufactures. There is a considerable trade, mostly in cattle and Asben salt, from the north-east (Gobir), through Zamfara (augmented in Zamfara by local cloth), towards Kano and Nupe. Difficulties of transport prevent the export of shea and other produce. The wealth of the province consists in its enormous herds of cattle and flocks of sheep. Of the former there are probably 100,000 head. Cattle owners have derived the greatest benefit from British rule, which has thrown open to them the pastures formerly closed by the chronic war with Argungu, &c.

Kano.

146. The Resident gives some useful notes on trade. The Tripoli Arabs, he says, monopolise the export trade in skins and tobés (native gowns), and the import trade in saddle-cloths, coloured wool, spices and sugar. The experimental journey undertaken by one of them—Nasuf—(to which I referred in my last report) in order to test the advantages of the Southern route, has resulted in advice to his partners to continue the desert route. Dr. Cargill says that 40 camel loads cost only £260 by sea, as against £400 by the desert route, and take only half the time, while through rates to Tripoli were quoted in Liverpool, but Nasuf complains of the expense of living in Liverpool and other difficulties. Dr. Cargill conjectures that possibly a few slaves may be acquired on the way to Tripoli, which would add to the gains by the desert route. The Kano Trading Company opened a business in February, 1905, for the purchase of skins, &c., but their anticipations have not been fulfilled and they are at present limiting themselves to an export of feathers by parcel post. The provisions of the Caravan Proclamation practically exempt them from tolls, and every effort has been made by the Administration to encourage this enterprise, and I understand that, as soon as the new road becomes thoroughly practicable for carts, they intend to again embark in general trade. The parcel post has been used to such an extent by the Tripoli Arabs for the import of tobés and other articles of trade that the service, which was conducted at a considerable loss to Government, became congested, and Government was unable to convey the enormous quantities of parcels. I have therefore been compelled to charge actual transport cost as from May 1st of this year. The Arabs imported during the year 789 parcels by this means, weighing 8,661 lbs. and valued at £1,216, while all other parcels aggregated only 578, weighing 3,076 lbs. and valued at £217. The price of natron, the chief article of export southwards, fell during the year, owing to the large quantity shipped by canoes from Yola, and consequently traders exported specie southwards, making their profit on the up-journey. The abolition of tolls on produce for over-sea export and its retention on:

imports will, I trust, act as an incentive to the export of produce (paragraph 133, *et seq.*). The activity of the Kakanda canoe-men this year in the natron trade may possibly be due to the active measures taken to suppress the trade in slaves on the Benue, in which these men were engaged. Mr. Cargill submits the view that there are three special lines of trade from the northern states which might be developed, viz., skins, feathers, and live stock, to which I would add cotton and beeswax.

Bornu.

147. The Acting Resident, Major McClintock, says that three reasons were given to him by an influential Tripoli trader to account for the fact that the Tripoli trade was not increasing: (a) the fall in prices of Tripoli goods, owing to competition from the south; (b) the decline in the wealth of the Bornu chiefs, owing to the check upon their extortions from the peasantry; and (c) a fall in prices of skins and feathers at Tripoli. The institution of frontier Customs (from which their goods were formerly exempt, though imports from the coast paid 10 per cent.) was an additional cause. The Tripoli trade is usually a speculation with borrowed money, on which interest has to be paid. The French collect the following tolls at Zinder:—

\$4 per camel load of feathers or ivory, value \$300 and \$240, respectively.

\$2 per camel load of skins, value \$60.

The great desideratum for the development of the Bornu trade is the establishment of a trading depôt within reach, say at Nafada, on the navigable Gongola. The Niger Company have established one lower down at Kombo. There is a very great quantity of the best gum arabic; also beeswax of good quality is abundant in the Beddi and Fika countries. A very great deal of grain (millet) is exported by the natives to other provinces, and it is therefore clear that they would export the more valuable and less bulky products I have named, if encouraged by a steady demand. Ginned cotton might also form a valuable export. I have related in my last report with what luxuriance cotton grows on the Chad plain. Cattle form a large item in the exports, the figures given are 4,138, value £9,690, in 1904, and 4,545, value £11,097, in 1905. In the latter year 400 to 500 selected animals for transport purposes were also purchased by Government. Natron of course forms the chief export, and goes west to Kano and south to Yola. A party of Shuwa Arabs from Kanem, east of Chad (French), arrived early in 1906, saying they wished to re-open the trade with Bornu (chiefly in camels and dates), which had been closed since the time of Rabeh.

Muri.

148. The registered trade passing through the five toll stations amounted to £28,885, of which Wase, Lau and Ibi were about £7,500 each, Amar £4,500, and Tunga £1,800. Of this trade 85 per cent. consists of kolas, cattle, native and imported salt, and cloth (cattle 22 per cent., imported salt 18 per cent.), native cloth 17 per cent., remainder 6 to 8 per cent. The imports and exports from and to the Kameruns were:—

Imports.	Value.	Exports.	Value.
	£		£
Kolas (60 tons) ...	1,500	Native cloth ...	4,000
Cattle (3,000) ...	6,500	British salt... ..	500
		British cloth ...	1,500
Total	8,000	Total	6,000

Native salt commands a slightly higher value than imported salt. (Kiama salt is three times the price.) The output is estimated at 350 to 400 tons; 610 tons of British salt were brought into the province (paragraph 125).

The Resident confirms previous reports that, though the soil is so well adapted for cotton, and the population so dense and industrious, with the waterway of the Benue to facilitate transport, the profits to the natives by utilising the raw cotton locally are greater than those gained by its sale even at 1*d.* per lb. The Germans have now checked the cattle trade by putting an export duty of 10*s.* on every animal, regardless of size or sex.

Nassarawa.

149. The trade passing through the four toll stations is quoted at £17,026, and the tolls increased from £249 to £994. The natives state that trade is increasing, and it is certainly extending into the wilder parts of the province, with the most beneficial results. Hausa traders have now begun to settle among the Kagoros for the purpose of collecting rubber, and there are said to be "not less than twenty at any village." The most important items of trade were:—Salt, £3,765; kolas, £2,397; natron, £1,438; and horses, £736. Rubber, shea-nuts and palm kernels are the only produce exported, but the Resident complains of the great destruction of the rubber plants and the consequent falling off of the export. Cotton is grown extensively, but the local demand is in excess of the supply. The imported seed is in great demand.

Nupe.

150. Evasion of tolls increases, and has been developed as an art. In spite of this the registered trade has increased, and the Resident estimates the real increase at 20 per cent., especially in kolás and salt. It is noticeable that caravans now penetrate the most remote parts of the province, and this has led to an increase in live stock. The shea-nut output was bad, owing to unfavourable showers at the blossoming season and to damage done by burning the grass. The cultivation of ground-nuts is being greatly increased, and the C.M.S. have undertaken valuable experiments with a view to improving the cultivation of the sugar-cane. The soil of about half the province is said to be adapted to the cultivation of cotton, and the remaining half to ground-nuts. The low price offered for cotton does not make it so remunerative as other crops. Trade as a whole is reported to have "expanded in a marked degree," and so also has the silver currency.

Kabba.

151. The Resident reports that the price offered for cotton is not sufficient to stimulate production. The chief export is rubber. The caravan tolls increased during the current year by 86 per cent. New trading stations have been opened by Messrs. Holt and the Niger Company. The introduction of pigeon peas has been very successful in the Pagan districts,

Illorin.

152. The gross value of the trade passing through toll stations is given by Dr. Dwyer at £93,730. Caravan traders state that they have no complaints, and "what they pay now is nothing to what they had to pay in the past, with the addition of being raided and their women held to ransom." 3,224 hawkers were licensed, and cash to the value of £4,525 was taken to Lagos to purchase goods between October and December. It would seem that the amount of cash taken to Lagos of which the Resident could have knowledge would only be a small part of the total. When this amount is added to the value sent by money orders (paragraph 135), it will be seen that a large amount of *cash* trade is done with Lagos, apart from the barter trade. The value of the imports into Illorin city are given as follows:—Kolas, £3,040; cotton goods, £2,404; Illorin gowns, £2,066; hardware, £392; spices, £184; total, £35,446. Exports—Natron, £3,697; native hardware, £352; strawware, £89; skins, £86; miscellaneous, £144; total, £4,368. The trade in live stock was valued at £3,900 (93 horses, 867 cattle, and 1,589 sheep and goats). On the repeated assurances of the Resident that all cotton grown would

be purchased, its cultivation was largely extended, but unfortunately when the crop was ready, purchase ceased, to the great disappointment of the growers and the serious check to the industry. A considerable quantity was carried to Ibadan, where 3½*d.* to 4*d.* a pound was realised on lint cotton, but when purchase was recommenced only 26 tons, instead of over 100, were forthcoming.

Yola.

153. The total volume of registered trade is quoted at £15,425, of which £4,034 were imports, £4,693 exports, and £6,698 in transit. Customs and tolls together realised £1,162. Cattle were valued at £4,670; salt, £2,866; natron, £2,647; native cloth, £2,185; English cloth, £1,478; kolas, £921; beads, £348; ivory, £317; and horses, £284. Trade appears to be slightly increasing, but the diversion of canoes to the transport of material on the Gongola, and the Munshi disturbances interfered with its expansion. The Niger Company's agent says that he "sees indications of a large increase in the produce trade."

Bussa.

154. The province is wonderfully fertile, and the crops, which include beniseed, ground-nuts, cotton, tobacco, and other exportable products, are very good. The chief wealth of the province is, however, in its silvan products, viz., five kinds of rubber, ebony, mahogany, wood-oils, palm kernels, kino, and gum. The Resident estimates the output of rubber as 360 tons per annum, value locally £40,000; palm kernels 500 tons, local value £3,000. The cotton is at present consumed locally.

Kontagora.

155. Cotton seed is eagerly demanded, but the distance to any purchasing depôt is too great to admit of export. The Resident advocates a receiving depôt at Yelwa, on the Niger. At present the cotton is used in local manufactures. Rubber has been found on the islands in the Niger. There is not much trade in this province, the total volume registered being only £10,554.

Borgu.

156. The economic prospects are very poor, owing to the extreme paucity of the population and their apathy. Shea is the chief export, but not one-quarter is collected. Moringha oil has been well reported upon at the Imperial Institute, but there is no prospect of any large supply. The influx of Yorubas will, I trust, promote trade and enterprise among these apathetic people.

V.—REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND CUSTOMS.

157. The actual revenue collected locally each year, apart from Customs dues accruing on the coast, which are collected by Southern Nigeria, is as follows:—

1899-00. (one quarter).	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	Estimate 1905-06.	Estimate 1906-07.
£ 88	£ 2,180	£ 4,424	£ 16,316	£ 59,726	£ 94,026	£ 85,400*	£ 100,000

* Already received £110,287.

The estimated revenue of the financial year 1904-5 was £54,445; the amount actually realised was £94,026, a surplus of £39,581 and an increase of 72 per cent. The progress of the revenue has indeed been most satisfactory, as may be seen from the table above. I said in my last report that if the progressive increase was to be maintained it would be necessary to increase the administrative staff. A considerable increase has been approved by the Secretary of State in the current year. The anticipated increase in the year just closed (£24,887 surplus) is equally satisfactory (29 per cent. increase), in view of the large loss of revenue during the Satiru outbreak, both in respect of tolls and of tribute (latter only half received).

158. Turning to the details of the revenue of 1904-5, the amount anticipated from canoe licences (£5,000) fell short by £1,933. There were no mineral licences during the year (£500 estimated), and railway earnings were £967, as against £1,500 estimated. The export duty on ivory realised £68 only, instead of £400. Under almost all other heads there was an excess. Hawkers' licences and court fines exceeded the estimate by over £2,000 each. Caravan tolls realised £34,479, an excess of £16,200. The land tax realised £21,259, an excess of £13,258. Marine earnings exceeded by £1,293, Customs by £2,386, miscellaneous by £1,360. The expenditure exceeded the estimate by £12,724. This was due to a misunderstanding as to the telegraph vote, for I had supposed that the balance of the special grant for this purpose, which had been made in the previous year, viz., £32,623, was available, whereas the saving of the previous year had been included in the general accounts of the Protectorate, and only £25,000 was allocated to

this year. An excess of £13,089 was thus incurred on this vote, which more than accounts for the excess (£12,724) on the total expenditure of the year. It is, however, satisfactory to note that the total sum granted by Parliament for this most important work was thus spent upon it, and not otherwise absorbed, while the surplus revenue not only defrayed this excess, but left a net surplus of £26,858. The military expenditure also showed an excess of £16,324. The excess of assets over liabilities (exclusive of value of vessels and buildings and other material assets) at the end of the financial year 1903-4 was £492, and this was increased at the close of 1904-5 to £39,473. The Imperial grant-in-aid for this year stood at £405,500, but the satisfactory increase in revenue admitted of its reduction during 1905-6 to £320,000, a decrease of £85,500. The usual statements of revenue and expenditure in detail will be found in Appendix I.

159. The unavoidable delay in submitting this report enables me to add a practically accurate account of the finances of the Protectorate for the financial year 1905-6, though the accounts in their final form have not yet been submitted. The expenditure for the year was estimated at £500,000, and subsequent sanction was accorded by the Secretary of State and the Lords of the Treasury for the expenditure of £2,000 on the engagement of Indian clerks and transport men and purchase of gear, and of £600 for a special survey to determine longitudes by telegraphic signals. The following unanticipated charges had also to be met:—New pensions and gratuities, £1,018; loss of specie by theft, £935; railway survey (excess), £1,315; P.W.D. material not charged to last year's accounts, £1,037, and finally a portion of the outstanding debt of the W.A.F.F. to the Colonial Office of £7,242, which had been incurred prior to the transfer of the Administration, and was directed to be charged to this year's accounts. The total estimated and non-estimated charges therefore amounted to £514,147. By strict economy, however, the actual expenditure was only £497,918 (in spite of the cost of the Sokoto and Munshi campaigns, estimated at £4,400), shewing a saving on the estimate of £2,182 and of £16,229 on the total sanctioned expenditure.

The grant-in-aid for this year was reduced from £405,500 to £320,000, a decrease of £85,500. The contributions from Southern Nigeria and Lagos were raised by £15,000 to a total of £75,000, and with local receipts (estimated at £85,400) the total anticipated revenue reached the sum of £480,400, leaving a deficit of £19,600 on the estimated expenditure and of £33,747 on the anticipated expenditure, including supplementary charges described above. The revenue realised, however, was £505,203, being an excess over the estimate of £24,803. In-

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stead, therefore, of a deficit of £33,747, the accounts shew a net surplus of £8,016.

—	Estimated.	Actual.
	£	£
Revenue	480,400	505,203
Expenditure	500,000	497,918
	Deficit.	Surplus.
	19,600	7,285

The excess of assets over liabilities, which on March 31st, 1905, stood at £39,473, is increased by this surplus to £46,758. This will admit of a further reduction of the grant-in-aid in the coming year.

The financial position of the Protectorate may therefore, I think, be considered to be increasingly satisfactory, though it will be many years before it can pay its way.

160. The main desideratum for the continued expansion of the revenue is a means of cheap transport which will render it possible to export the produce of the interior, which at present cannot be brought to the navigable waterways at rates which will admit of its purchase at remunerative prices. The taxes, which are light and impose no severe strain on the people, must largely be paid in kind, and this produce, which the country offers in payment for its administration, cannot at present be realised in full. It has even been found necessary for this reason to give back to the Emirs a portion of the tax due to Government. Carrier transport costs fully 2s. per ton mile. This will be reduced on the particular section traversed by the Zungeru-Kano road, when that road is completed and the new cart train is fully organised, to probably 1s. 6d. or less per ton mile, but it is obvious that were freights fixed as high as 6d. (or even 3d.) per ton mile a light tramway would be very remunerative. As the land (or "general") tax is more fully collected from a population estimated at about nine millions, it is clear that a large increase in revenue should take place were it possible to realise the taxes paid. Until such means of developing the country are instituted, no rapid expansion of the revenue beyond the figure it has now reached (£110,300) can be anticipated.

CUSTOMS.

161. The import duty on salt rose from £4,766 in 1903-4 to £7,916 in 1904-5, which indicates an import of a similar num-

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ber of tons of salt. The export dues on ivory (including confiscations of small tusks under the Wild Animals' Preservation Proclamation) fell from £644 to £68. Such ivory as formerly was exported from Northern Nigeria was almost exclusively obtained from German Adamawa, and is now exploited by the Germans. It consisted also chiefly of small tusks, which are now contraband. The trade, therefore, is practically dead. The Customs collected by the administrative staff of provinces conterminous with French and German frontiers shews a satisfactory increase from £1,052 to £3,301. These figures, however, include Customs due on postal parcels, a source of revenue which has very largely increased. The number of Customs Stations in 1903-4 was 26, and in 1904-5 three additional stations were added.

162. The Collector of Customs reports that there is less trouble with native smugglers of salt than formerly. The Niger-Benue route to Garua, in the Kamerun hinterland, has been freely used by the Germans for the conveyance both up and down of goods in transit—some eight different consignments having been recorded. The French also made the experiment of sending a large consignment of stores in transit by this route to their possessions on the south-east of Chad, and the Colonial Minister said in the Chamber of Deputies (21st Feb., 1906) that it had proved a success, and 115 tons were to be despatched by the agency of the Niger Company in 1906. No new consignments to French territory in the north arrived during the year, and it is understood that in future the supplies for the Zinder district will be despatched by the Kayes-Bamakó railway and the Upper (French) Niger, so that the route through British territory will be avoided and the leased land remain unused. A flotilla arrived from the north and cleared the remaining stores out of the leased area at Fort Goldie.

163. The following are the various vessels (other than Government) with their tonnage, which have been recorded at the port of Egori as entering Northern from Southern Nigeria during 1905. The figures shew the number of inward entries only.

Name of Vessel.	Tonnage.	Number of Times Entered.												Total each Vessel.	Remarks.
		January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.		
Scarborough	468	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	1	1	2	—	8	Owned by the Niger Company.
Ribago ...	441	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	2	Do. do.
Aberdare ...	353	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	3	Do. do.
Nigeria ...	334	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	Do. do.
Yakoba ...	249	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	Do. do.
Liberty ...	172	2	1	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	—	1	1	10	Do. do.
Soudan ...	152	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	2	—	5	Do. do.
Halstead ...	130	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	4	Owned by Holt & Co.
Nupe ...	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	2	1	2	2	10	Owned by the Niger Company.
N'Doni ...	70	4	2	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	2	3	2	18	Do. do.
N'Kissi ...	70	2	—	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	2	1	9	Do. do.
Kaduna ...	70	—	1	1	1	—	2	1	2	1	—	1	2	12	Do. do.
Yola ...	20	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	Do. do.
Ebo ...	80	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	4	Do. do.
Egga ...	10	—	—	1	3	5	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	Do. do.
Swale ...	110	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	Owned by Holt & Co.
Garara ...	25	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	Owned by the Niger Company.
Egholm ...	1,950	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	Chartered by the Niger Company.
Cuirnmore ...	2,250	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	Chartered by Holt & Co.
Trader ...	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	Owned by Holt & Co.
Anita ...	200	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	Do. do.
Ekuro ...	277	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	Chartered by Northern Nigeria Government
Totals...	7,591	8	5	4	6	8	12	15	8	14	7	17	10	114	

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Total tonnage entered:—

Niger Company	14,798
Holt & Co.	3,460
Vessels chartered by Government ...	277
Total ...	18,535

VI.—LAND TRANSPORT.

164. During the dry season of 1904-5 (October, 1904, to June, 1905) the new transport system made its first organised effort to cope with the land transport work of the Protectorate, and to substitute animal and draught transport for human carriers. In a lengthy Standing Order I had drawn up the outlines of its organisation, and in September, 1904, Lieut. Ross was appointed head of the department. There existed at that time a few carts of different patterns, most of which were not suitable to the country, and a considerable quantity of component parts, together with some pack gear and about 215 animals. One hundred carts were under order from England of the Indian pattern. The road between Zungeru and Zaria was still in a very rough state. At the beginning of 1905 it had been pushed through to Zaria, and I myself travelled thence to Zungeru with the first carts which traversed it, but it was barely possible to get them across some of the unbridged rivers and deep gullics. Oxen for draught and pack were purchased in Sokoto and Bornu, and sent to Zungeru, but they arrived worn out with their long journey, and the Sokoto cattle died off very rapidly, being unsuited to the more southern climate. They were, moreover, too young, and were badly selected.

165. Every effort was made to put together a serviceable batch of carts from the component parts in hand, and to purchase animals to complete the establishment laid down for each province as well as for headquarters, but great difficulty was experienced, not only in obtaining and training animals, but in finding and teaching attendants. At Zungeru a base transport depôt was established on the northern side of the Kaduna, and the training of oxen to pack and draught work and of attendants was energetically pushed on. By the end of the dry season 1,538 animals had been purchased, but owing to the causes I have named, and to an outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia, there had been 448 casualties among them, and 204 had been re-sold. During the ensuing rains the animals were placed in charge of native farmers under contract, but the system did not answer well. Meanwhile, the 100 carts had arrived, but

owing to their bad workmanship and faulty construction, much difficulty was experienced in putting them together. In spite of all difficulties 141 loaded carts had reached Zaria, conveying about 30 tons of stores; about half this number had gone on to Kano, and some even reached Katsena. The chief transport officer was able to report that few carriers had been employed during the dry season in the northern provinces, and animals had even been used to some extent during the rains. In the southern provinces carriers were still the principal means of transport, owing to the greater difficulties in using animals and the heavier mortality among them. The mails between Baro and Zungeru were now carried on pack ponies, with great saving in time and cost. A depôt for grain, &c., on the Kano road was instituted to overcome the very serious difficulty of obtaining supplies for men and animals. Two more will be made in the coming year. These, with intermediate rest-houses, will, I hope, remove all difficulties. Moreover, with the substitution of draught transport for carriers (with their thieving and looting propensities), confidence will be restored among the villagers.

166. The experience thus gained was utilised on my return to Northern Nigeria in preparing a complete revision of the Transport Standing Order, both as regards the organisation and details of transport work in the field, and as regards the check on the expenditure of the transport vote, which I now transferred to the control of the Chief Transport Officer. The system I had introduced of issuing "Warrants" supported by proper authority for the journey contemplated, and fixing scales of transport allowed, had already resulted in large economies, and the saving had been increased by the substitution of animals for human carriers. Out of these savings the purchase of the animals was effected. The transport office was now responsible for checking the warrants and for the general supervision of the transport establishment allotted to each province, and a regular system of periodical convoys from Zungeru to Kano and intermediate stations was inaugurated. Each province received full instructions regarding its transport expenditure, care of animals, &c. Experience had also shown that it was inadvisable to purchase animals in distant provinces, for, however excellent the breed of oxen and however cheap their price, they rarely thrive in a new climate, while the Sokoto bullocks especially were found useless for our purpose. Camels are more useful in the Sokoto and Kano provinces, but do not thrive further south.

167. The Secretary of State now concurred in a proposal to bring from India a small expert staff of transport attendants, who might act as instructors to batches of local natives. Two veterinary assistants, two blacksmiths (wheelwrights), two carpenters, two shoeing smiths, two saddlers, with 18 animal attendants, comprised the batch I proposed to engage. Mr.

Carrigan, Assistant Transport Officer, who had a long Indian transport experience, was entrusted with this task, and at the same time he was instructed to make extensive purchases of the latest pattern of Indian transport carts, pack gear and spare parts, and to fully arrange for the rations of the Indians. He left England in the autumn, and arrived in Nigeria with the whole of his establishment (which included 12 clerks for general service) in March, 1906, having carried out his difficult task with great ability and the strictest economy. The men are contented, and have already proved invaluable in teaching the natives how to use and repair carts, break-in oxen to draught work, and tend animals. The Indian artificers are acknowledged by the best of the artisans from the Coast to be greatly their superiors, and, though at first inclined to resent their arrival, they are now eager to learn from them. Veterinary work, shoeing, pack-saddle making, and wheel-making are, indeed, crafts hitherto unknown in West Africa. In addition to the regular transport carts, Mr. Carrigan brought several of the rough country carts of India, which are so simple in construction that I hope they will be adopted by the African villagers, who can make them out of the timber of the jungle, as they are made in India. When these hopes are fulfilled a new era will have begun, the export of all kinds of produce will have been rendered feasible, and the economic development of the country will receive a great impetus. Samples of an "ekka," a "tonga," &c., were also brought, with a view to their local construction, if they prove adapted to the country.

168. There are now a total of 185 serviceable carts, the majority of which will be used on the main road between Zungeru and Kano. Ten have also been sent to Bornu (by water) for the conveyance of telegraph material and stores conveyed by the Benue and Gongola to Nafada. The road will meantime (viz., before October, 1906) be greatly improved, and all the rivers (except the Karshi) will, I hope, have been bridged, so that it should during this year be feasible not only to convey the large amount of annual stores for the Northern provinces, but also telegraph and building material for houses, stores, &c., so urgently required, as well as bridging and other material for the road itself. When once a good road from Zungeru to Kano has been made, and an efficient cart-train organised upon it, the system will gradually be extended to all provincial capitals, at a great saving of cost and increase of comfort at out-stations.

169. There is a further significance in the success of this scheme. By returning carts I hope to bring down cotton, hides, and other produce, including supplies for the Zungeru market, and thus to realise revenue now unrealisable and decrease the cost of living in cantonments. Nor will it be long, when good roads are provided, before the native trader takes

to this method of transport, with a corresponding development of trade. In spite of these initial heavy expenditures on carts, animals, and gear, and the unexpected expenditure on the Sokoto and Munshi campaigns and of bringing the Indians to Nigeria, the vote shows a saving of £5,163 in the last financial year. In 1903-4, before the creation of the Department, the expenditure (exclusive of canoe transport) stood at £29,000 (approximate), as against £22,345 this year, a saving of £6,700 in spite of the large capital outlay during the year on carts, animals, and gear and of the two expeditions referred to. Other departments have simultaneously been relieved of the work now undertaken by the Transport Department, and a great increase in efficiency and convenience—which will, I anticipate, be progressive—has resulted.

170. During 1905 an experiment was made in mule-breeding. Twenty-three mares and a donkey stallion were purchased. The mares have been placed in charge of selected native farmers, and are subject to frequent inspection. A payment of 28s. per annum is made for the care of each animal, and 2s. 6d. per mensem for food during the dry season, viz., 43s. per annum each. The scheme has been inaugurated by Captain Carr, A.V.D. He estimates another £10 for incidental expenses, and £10 4s. for replacements by mortality. In round figures, therefore, the cost per mare would be £3 per annum, and if an average of 65 per cent. of foals for the number of mares purchased be assumed, the scheme should shew a good profit in addition to its main object of producing a good class of mule for transport work. The natives have taken to the idea with interest, and there will be no difficulty in placing out large numbers of mares. The Emir of Sokoto has also shown great interest in the experiment. I also imported three fine Spanish jackasses for this purpose, but I regret to say that two died—probably from bites of tsetse fly when traversing the southern regions. The third has survived and is now acclimatised, but too young for breeding purposes.

171. Tsetse fly is unfortunately prevalent along the waterways of the Niger, Benue, and Kaduna, and Mr. Gowers reports that he found the *Palpalis* species at three places in Kontagora and also on the Kaduna. This is the species which transmits the trypanosome of sleeping sickness. Specimens have been identified in the British Museum, which leave no doubt as to the fact that Northern Nigeria possesses the potential agents of this terrible disease. There is a veterinary surgeon attached to the Mounted Infantry, and another to the Transport Department. The services of these officers should be most valuable in reporting upon and advising as to the outbreaks of epizootic cattle diseases, as well as in original research work with the microscope.

VII.—MARINE.

172. The Marine Department and the River Transport Service, under Lieutenant Elliott, R.N.R., have been very efficient during the year, and the weekly mail, cargo, and passenger service with Burutu has been maintained without a hitch.

The "Sarota" and "Kapelli" have both met with accidents by striking snags, but have been repaired. All vessels are badly in need of repairs, but can never be spared. The proposed addition of a new vessel of the "Kapelli" type next year, together with the use of the High Commissioner's boat—the "Corona"—for the mail service, will ease the strain, and enable vessels to be laid up in proper time for repairs before the damage has gone too far. The five steam canoes—a type recently introduced—have proved quite invaluable, but it has been proved that water-tube boilers (which three of them have) are quite unsuitable. It is proposed to try a new motor type. The Lokoja Condenser is now fitted on the hull of the old "Bende," and supplies about 150,000 gallons of pure drinking water per annum, which has had a marked effect in reducing sickness in the cantonment. Two more poling canoes were ordered during the year, but no other addition was made to the flotilla. The only vessel chartered during the year brought up 350 tons of Government cargo at high water, as far as Lokoja.

173. The workshops have been very fully employed throughout the year. No new machines from England have been added, but a brass casting furnace, capable of turning out castings up to 140 lbs., together with a cupola furnace for iron castings, have been made by the workshops, and the former has proved a great success. The latter is not yet finished. It should prove a means of considerable economy by casting fire-bars from scrap iron locally.

174. The Marine Department maintains four depôts, viz., at Burutu (on the coast in Southern Nigeria), Lokoja, Mureji, and Barijuko. At the first-named all stores for Northern Nigeria are taken over from the ocean vessels, and are transhipped to the river steamers, together with traders' cargoes requiring transport. At Lokoja are the Marine Headquarters and workshops, from which the distribution of all consignments to the Benue and Niger is made. At Mureji, at the Kaduna mouth, is a hulk, where an assistant marine superintendent arranges the hiring of canoes for the Kaduna for passengers and cargo, and forwards goods for the Upper Niger. Barijuko is the terminus of the Kaduna navigation, and all stores and material for Zungeru and the northern stations are received here, and forwarded by rail. A temporary depôt was also formed at Numan, near the mouth of the Gongola, during highest water for the despatch of stores for Bornu and Bauchi.

175. The passengers conveyed by Government steamers during the year were as follows:—

	1st. class.	2nd class.	Deck.
Lokoja to Burutu	295	106	1,796
Burutu to Lokoja	264	95	796
Lokoja to Zungeru	171	67	1,642
Zungeru to Lokoja	285	113	1,815
Lokoja to Yola	29	7	459
Lokoja to Ibi	58	22	374
Total	1,102	410	6,882

About 3,500 tons of Government cargo have been brought up from Burutu, and distributed to the various river stations. The Marine Superintendent reports that the cargo carried for traders from Burutu shows considerable increase, and I am especially glad to note that the down shipments also show signs of increasing. I have given the figures in paragraph 140.

176. The maximum rise of the Niger at Lokoja from lowest level was 27 feet 6 inches, the same as in the preceding year; it occurred in mid-September. Large vessels navigated the Kaduna between July 15th and October 15th. The Benue was navigable to Yola for large vessels between the same dates. A chart showing the rise and fall of the Niger is attached (Appendix 5).

177. The Gongola was navigated with difficulty to Ashaka (130 miles) by vessels drawing three feet, and easily by the steam canoes (which, however, require more powerful engines) for this river has a very strong current (four knots), and is subject to sudden rises and falls. When steamers could no longer ascend, native canoes were used. It is not navigable even for these between January and the end of April. The experiment was not a complete success, but was much better than in 1904, and will, I hope, be completely successful in 1906. Two hundred and forty-four tons of material and stores were sent up at a cost of about £5 per ton. About 10,000 carriers (who are not obtainable) would have been required to convey this quantity at a cost of about £25 per ton. About 250 tons of telegraph and other material await transport.

178. Experiments made with lignite found in Southern Nigeria were, on the whole, favourable, and it compares well with wood fuel. The department suffered a great loss by the resignation from ill-health of Mr. A. C. Ray, Deputy Marine Superintendent.

VIII.—PUBLIC WORKS.

179. The estimates for the financial year 1905-6 provided a sum of only £47,740 10s. (about half the amount provided in 1904) for public works, which was allocated as follows:—

—	1904-5.	1905-6.
	£	£ s.
(a) Buildings, &c., Lokoja and Zungeru ...	16,857	10,565 10
Repairs to huts at Out-stations	1,750	1,700
(b) Houses and Gaols at „	13,518	11,569
Mounted Infantry Stables	2,332	500
Miscellaneous... ..	595	300
Telegraph extension... ..		11,100
(c) Roads, Bridges, and Transport	22,990	12,006
Total	58,542	47,740 10
Supplementary Vote for Telegraph extension	25,000	
Grand Total	83,542	47,740 10

(A.) WORKS IN CANTONMENTS.

180. *At Zungeru* a new dwelling-house was built to re-place one destroyed by fire, and one additional house was begun. The fifth and last public office was completed with an upper storey providing dwelling rooms; a masonry rest house of four rooms, for officers passing through, was built; and a four-room brick house for the High Commissioner's Office and records. Masonry lamp rooms and oil stores were added to all houses for prevention of fire, and servants' quarters of brick were built for the military bungalows. Three houses for native clerks and dressers, and a few additional soldiers' barracks, making a total of 80; two small dams to maintain the water supply, additional fencing around bungalows, and the re-roofing of the native hospital were among the other works done at Zungeru.

181. *At Lokoja* various necessary improvements were made in the convict gaol and women's ward, a hospital and surgery, and new cells, and warders' quarters were added. A few more soldiers' quarters were also completed, making a total of 150. Brick lamp rooms were added to all houses, and a number of stables, and servants' quarters were built for the houses which still needed them.

(B.) WORKS AT OUT-STATIONS.

182. By the end of the year the provincial headquarters at Kontagora, Illorin, Muri (Amar), Yola, and Nupe (Bida), were

provided with two permanent dwelling-houses each, and a masonry gaol. At some of them a few other minor buildings have also been erected, viz., servants' quarters, stores, native hospital, telegraph office, armshouses, &c.

At Kiama (Borgu) one masonry two-storey house, with store and guard room is complete, and at Keffi (in Nassarawa) and Bauchi double storey masonry dwelling-houses are in progress of erection. The general scheme of housing, the buildings necessary for each provincial centre, and the method of laying out each Government station, were described in paragraph 260 of my last report. I hope that in 1906 we may be able to complete the buildings at Nassarawa and Bauchi, and undertake the erection of the urgently required houses at Kano, where there has been much sickness, owing to bad housing.

Portable condensers have been placed at Bauchi, Maifoni, Nafada, Yola, Keffi, and Kano, where the water supply was not good.

(C.) ROADS.

183. Work on the main trunk road from Zungeru to Kano was proceeded with during the year, and the cuttings and ramps to ease gradients and facilitate the crossing of streams amounted to about 18,500 cubic yards of earthwork. Crossings over a very large number of minor watercourses were effected by corrugated iron and stone culverts. There are four large rivers to be bridged, and the material for trestle bridges was ordered from England. It is anticipated that all except the Karshi River (which will be a work of some magnitude) will be bridged during next year, and that the greater part of the road will then be in a fit state for continuous cart transport, with a temporary interruption at the Karshi only for three months in the rains. The total length to Zaria is 162 miles, of which 16 miles have been gravelled, and 85 miles will not require top dressing, owing to the formation being of ironstone gravel. The extension to Kano (95 miles) has not yet advanced beyond the preliminary stages. In connection with this Zaria road are the two bridges over the Dago stream and the Kaduna River, both in the neighbourhood of Zungeru. The former of four spans of 40 feet, at a height of 25 feet above the stream bed is completed. The Kaduna bridge is a very considerable work, consisting of two spans of 100 feet, four spans of 60 feet, three of 40 feet, and two of 20 feet, at a height of 43 feet above low-water level. By the end of the year the work was well advanced, and early in 1906 I anticipate that it will be completed together with the roadway and two trestle bridges over subsidiary channels, carrying the light railway to the further bank of the river. The road is being gradually metalled in the sections which require it, and when this is complete, it will, I hope, be fit for the use of traction

engines. It is proposed in 1906 to try an "Ivel" agricultural engine, of which great hopes are entertained.

(D.) TRAMWAY.

184. The 2-feet 6-inch light railway from Barijuko to Zungeru (21 miles) may be regarded as paying 5½ per cent. on capital expenditure according to the report of the Director of Public Works quoted below. This, of course, does not represent a fraction of the saving to Government since the charge for 498 trucks of Government stores is calculated at the rate of 12s. per ton, while by carrier transport it would cost fully 30s. per ton, and every official would lose at least one day in arriving at Zungeru; a considerable transport staff would also have to be maintained to supervise this section if transport were by carriers and animals. The loop line constructed during the year crosses the new Dago bridge, and is finished as far as the Kaduna bridge. On the completion of the latter it will run across it, and rail-head will be on the further side of the river, where the transport camp at the beginning of the Zaria road will be formed. The saving in time and labour, and in destruction of stores by handling, will be very great, for all goods and material for the north will, in future, be run on trucks from the wharf at Barijuko into the transport camp. At present goods are brought into Zungeru, checked, and temporarily stored, re-issued and ferried across the river (horses having to swim), and a day or more is lost in the process. The benefit to native caravans will also be very great indeed, and a substantial return for the tolls they pay.

185. The Director of Public Works reports as follows:— "During the year, exclusive of ballast and road metal, 607 trucks of goods and material were hauled, and 12,260 passengers carried. All Government material, stores and passengers as well as Niger Company's provisions were carried free. For Niger Company's barter goods and produce, as well as other goods freight, the receipts were £256 18s. 6d., or 51 trucks. The receipts from passenger traffic were £781 2s. 3d.; 544 European and 1,565 native passengers were carried free. A revised passenger tariff has been introduced. The returns show a falling off in the number of passengers from 15,524 to 12,260; though the total receipts have increased from £953 2s. 4d. to £1,038 0s. 9d. The increase in passenger rates from 4d. to 6d. per section is due to the failure of the attempt to familiarise copper coinage, the copper coins in circulation being merely used by the natives for purchasing railway tickets.

186. "The cost of maintenance was £1,469 18s. 11d., exclusive of about £700 for locomotive spare parts, the accounts of which have not yet been received. The total cost of maintenance will be approximately £2,200 against £2,225 last year.

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If the railway were credited with freight on material carried it would have earned—

On account of Government material carried free calculated at rates paid by the public, 498 trucks at £5...	£2,490	0	0
Niger Company's material carried free, 58 trucks at £5	290	0	0
European passengers carried free (544)	54	8	0
Native passengers carried free (1,565)	78	5	0
Add actual receipts	1,038	0	9
* Total ...	£3,950	13	9
Deduct cost of maintenance ...	2,200	0	0
Available to pay interest on capital	£1,750	13	9

or 5½ per cent. on the capital expenditure (£31,505). This is exclusive of ballast for the railway, road metal for the Cantonment Magistrate at Züngeru, fuel for boilers, and brick burning, for which there was an average of 80 to 90 trucks a month (except at high water, when engines were employed in hauling building material) or nearly 800 trucks in all. A saloon carriage has been erected on an old truck underframe, and is running."

(E.) TELEGRAPHS.

Sokoto Line.

187. This was pushed on during the year, and notwithstanding the difficulties of transshipment and portorage at the Niger rapids, the line reached Jega, 90 miles south of Sokoto, before the end of the year. It is a permanent line throughout on iron poles. It will be carried on via Ambrusa (capital of Gando province) and Argungu.* The value of this telegraph was demonstrated in the reverse at Sokoto, in February, 1906, when, in consequence of the telegraphic news I received, I was able to place reinforcements at Sokoto by about the same date that the news would otherwise have reached me. In fact, it was owing to the telegraph that a very serious situation was averted. The Zaria-Bauchi section was completed as a temporary line on wooden poles, and the extension towards Bornu was completed within 25 miles of Nafada, on the Gongola, and had reached Gujba, in Bornu, early in March, where material for the forward extension had already been accumulated. The last 50 miles of the Yola line were completed on permanent poles.

* It reached Sokoto on May 18th, 1906.

188. The following table shows the mileage of the telegraph system. It is very urgently necessary that during the coming year the greater part of the temporary lines may be converted to permanent, or partly so, viz., by making every second or third pole of iron, since the destruction of the wooden poles by white ants renders their maintenance very costly, and the lines are continually breaking down.

Already constructed on 1st Jan. 1905.		Constructed in 1905.		Total.		Remarks.
Permanent	Temporary.	Permanent	Temporary.	Permanent.	Temporary.	
1,136	205	155	205	1,291	410	41 additional miles double wire as loops on existing poles.
Total 1,341		Total 360		Total 1,701		

In 1904 389 permanent and 175 temporary, total 546 miles, were constructed.

189. The public works undertaken in 1905 do not contrast favourably with the work of former years, owing to the fact that only half of the money set aside in previous years for these urgent works was available, and also to the fact that the work undertaken was chiefly at distant stations, where transport is costly. The department is, however, excellently organised, and its very capable staff is fully adequate for the supervision of much more extended works, and can, at any time, be expanded by the engagement of foremen on temporary agreements for the construction of an extension of the tramway or any other considerable work.

IX.—CANTONMENTS.

190. Both cantonments show marked progress, and are greatly improving in appearance. The more rapid growth of vegetation in the humid climate of Lokoja renders it possible to substitute hedges for wire fences along the roads, and the growth of the avenues is more rapid, so that the station is becoming picturesque as well as clean and sanitary. The replacement of grass huts, used as servants' quarters, stables, &c., by permanent brick buildings, and the provision of kerosene stores, as well as of "lamp rooms" for each bungalow, have greatly decreased the danger of fire, and have also effected a great sanitary reform. The health statistics of both cantonments have improved, owing to better drainage and sanitation,

and to the improved houses and pure water supply, and the hospital at Zungeru frequently remains for weeks together without a patient. (*Vide* paragraph 196.)

Lokoja.

191. The cantonment fund shows a balance in hand of £111 at the end of the year. The cases tried in the cantonment court were as follows:—

	1904.	1905		
Civil	25	144	Increase	119
Criminal	211	159	Decrease	52
				} Net Increase 67.

Great pains were taken to thoroughly repair the roads in cantonments, four miles out of a total of 5½ miles of roadway being now well metalled and sodded at edges. The waste space in the centre of cantonments has now been laid down in grass kept cut with a machine, and a cricket field and tennis court made upon it, and a great deal of tree planting for avenues has been carried out. Carts drawn by ponies have been introduced for cantonment work, and have proved a great success and economy. During the year four more leases of building plots were applied for by Europeans, and 35 more rental plots by coloured non-natives and others, making a total of 61 of such plots, as against 26 at the end of 1904. The conditions of these leases enforce the building of a good house with mud walls, and broad roads as fire-guards intersect the area. The cantonment is thus relieved of the expense of looking after a waste area, and adds to its funds from the rents which accrue. The assessment of the cantonment rate under the Proclamation of 1904 was carried out during the year, and amounts to about £150 per annum; the total fund will probably reach £500 per annum. This satisfactory sum will, I hope, enable me to decrease, if not to entirely withdraw the grant from revenue next year. In October the Bishop of the Diocese consecrated the cemetery, and held an opening service in the Lokoja church; fortnightly services have been since held by the Church Missionary Society.

Zungeru.

192. About half a mile of new roads has been made, the old roads improved, and the general cleanliness of cantonments, including compounds of houses, has distinctly improved. An immense reform has been carried out by the substitution of mud-walled houses in the native quarter for the former insanitary and closely-packed grass houses, which caused

almost daily conflagrations in the dry weather. There are now 393 well-built mud houses, each standing in its own plot of 30 feet by 30 feet, and divided by broad roads. To the former state of things was probably due the severe outbreak of cerebro-spinal fever (paragraph 197) early in the year. The conservancy system has been very efficiently carried out, and on a scale which has increased 50 per cent. on last year. Some of the coloured clerks erected a chapel, which was opened by the Bishop. The ordinary Sunday service is still conducted in the Court House. The cantonment fund shows a credit at the end of the year of £204. The Cantonment Proclamation, 1904, was not brought into operation, as regards the assessment and collection of the new rate, until the beginning of 1906, after my return from leave. The approved rate is 10 per cent. on rental value, and will provide a large increase in the cantonment fund during the current year. In addition to the cantonment funds, the Cantonment Magistrate collected, on account of revenue and other matters, sums amounting to £482. The cases tried in the Cantonment Court amounted to 434 criminal cases and 138 civil; total, 572, as against 399 in 1904. The Freed Slave Home is dealt with in paragraph 108.

X.—MEDICAL AND METEOROLOGICAL.

193. The cost of the medical service for 1904-05 was £26,306 as against £22,069 in 1903-04, the increase being due to the increase of the medical officers by three. The revenue from hospital fees, medical comforts, &c., was £1,137 compared with £1,214 in the previous year. The staff was still further increased in the financial year 1905-06 by five doctors, so as to ensure the presence of one in each province, and two at each base hospital. In January, 1905, the Northern Nigeria doctor at Burutu was withdrawn, and the Government now pays a fixed sum to Southern Nigeria for medical attendance there. The report of the principal medical officer (Dr. Thompstone) has been published as a separate paper, its chief features are as follows:—

194. The average number of Europeans in the Protectorate was 342 (277 officials, 65 non-officials). Of these 331 were males and 11 were females. The native population is estimated at about nine millions. Ten Europeans died during the year, seven officials and three non-officials. The total crude death-rate is 29·23 per 1,000, that for officials being 25·27 per 1,000, and non-officials 46·15. (Last year the comparison was 29·62 and 96·15.) The death-rate has decreased by 11·14, and the invaliding rate by 64·73 per 1,000 (143·27 in 1905 and 208 per 1,000 in 1904). The case mortality of hæmoglobinuric (black-water) fever compared with previous years was 37·3

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(1903), 16·1 (1904), 20 (1905). Actual admissions from the disease were 20, with four deaths, as against 31 cases, with five deaths, last year, which shows a decrease both in cases and deaths, though the number of Europeans had increased by 20.

Statistics of European Population.

Europeans.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
Average actually in the Protectorate.	165	165	290	309	322	342
Number of Deaths	13	9	9	18	13	10
Number Invalided	21	30	20	43	67	49

Analysis of 1905 Statistics.

Europeans.	Total.	Deaths.	Death-rate per 1000.	Invalided.	Invaliding rate per 1000.
Average actually in the Protectorate.	342	10	29·23	49	143·27
Officials	277	7	25·27	39	140·79
Non-officials	65	3	46·15	10	153·84

July to September were, as usual, the most unhealthy months, but there was no increase in the relative mortality. The natives, on the other hand, suffer more in the dry season than in the rains, not only from epidemics, but from respiratory and digestive diseases brought on by the cold nights and impure water supply. Malaria accounted for 445 admissions, with no deaths, compared with 515 admissions, with three deaths last year. There were 34 cases of dysentery (among Europeans) with no deaths, and two cases of small-pox.

195. On the sanitary conditions the principal medical officer remarks:—"The general sanitary condition of the European stations is good, the great need being better quarters. . . . The water supplies have been improved where possible, the small condensers supplied to out-stations having proved a great success. They have, in conjunction with other sanitary measures, been the cause of a large reduction in the number of cases of dysentery. Under the influence of European teaching the large native towns are beginning to show some signs of improvement." This expert testimony to the success of the constant efforts made to improve the hygienic conditions is very satisfactory. As I have often said in this connection, I regard the improvement of sanitation in native cities as a

matter of very great importance, in order to decrease the infant mortality (which is appalling), and so aid the increase of the population.

196. Reporting on the general conditions of the three principal centres, the principal medical officer says of Zungeru that the average European population was 66 (61·6 officials and 4·4 others). "The sanitary condition of the cantonment is excellent, the drainage being effective, and the water supply good. The series of dams constructed last year for the purpose of holding up the water in the Dago, and providing for a continuous flow, has answered its purpose admirably, and has now stood the test of two dry seasons. The drinking water supplied by the condenser is of good quality, and sufficient for all requirements. The general health has been good." Admissions to hospital were 92, with two deaths (one of these being a patient from down river), a marked contrast to last year (123 admissions and four deaths). The gaol is reported as in a good sanitary condition and well ventilated; water supply good and unlimited, quality of diet good. Average number of prisoners 162, general health fair; principal diseases dysentery, diarrhoea, rheumatism, guinea worm, and pneumonia. Freed Slaves Home:—average inmates 167, general health good, sanitation excellent, ventilation and water supply ample.

Lokoja. Average European population 73·8 (60 officials, 13·8 others). Sanitary condition very good, drainage satisfactory, dwellings and their surroundings, European and native, well kept and clean. Drinking water from condenser excellent and ample. Great improvements in sanitation have been effected during the past year, and "the health has been better than in any previous year." (One hundred and one admissions to hospital as against 145 in 1904.) The sanitary condition of the gaol was "extremely good." General health of prisoners (average number 67) was good. Water and ventilation ample and good.

Kano. Average number of Europeans 21·8, general health unsatisfactory. The new site selected by me in December, 1904, and occupied as a test by the military presents distinct advantages.

Some progress has been made in vaccination, and every station is supplied with small consignments of lymph by each mail, but it rarely reaches the distant stations in an active state, and the results at Sokoto and Katagum are nil. To meet this difficulty it is proposed to form small vaccine stations at intermediate points. One thousand three hundred and ninety-eight successful vaccinations were performed, and the principal medical officer says that the natives are now anxious to be vaccinated.

197. During the first three months of 1905 a very severe, epidemic of cerebro-spinal fever broke out in all the provinces

except Sokoto, Borgu, Kontagora, and Bornu. The mortality was very great indeed, and is said to have been over 100 a day in Kano. The case mortality is estimated at 50 per cent.; 132 died in Zungeru cantonment. Only two Europeans died, an immunity ascribed by the principal medical officer to the principle of building European quarters at some little distance from native towns, which I have always adopted. The natives say that this disease occurs periodically in an epidemic form; it is entirely a dry weather disease—the germs being probably carried by dust storms—and ceases with the rains. At Zaria the Resident reports that the natives, apparently from some superstitious fear, would not allow themselves to be seen by a doctor. “At the commencement of the epidemic the case mortality was appalling, many of those attacked practically falling dead at their work; later, however, its violence became attenuated.”

198. Several epidemics of small-pox occurred, but none of any great magnitude, though Bauchi suffered severely. Three or four cases, though not virulent, occurred among the European staff. The Fulani herdsmen are said to practise a form of inoculation with cow-pox virus, having discovered that this renders them immune from small-pox. Other natives inoculate with small-pox virus.

199. The general health of Europeans has been better than in any year on record. The average death rate for the last five years is 49·56 per thousand, and was this year only 29·23. The average invaliding rate for five years is 144·6, and was this year 143·27 per 1,000. The total number of natives treated at Government hospitals and dispensaries was 16,557, an increase of 3,052 on last year (1,090 malaria). Dispensaries have now been established in nearly all provinces, and 2,531 native paupers were treated. The enclosures made at Zungeru and Lokoja for isolation camps have been invaluable in the case of infectious diseases, and proved most effective. Venereal disease is still very prevalent. During the year a course of weekly lectures on elementary hygiene was started in Lokoja and Zungeru for educated natives and artisans. The attendance and interest have been most gratifying; when completed, an examination will be held and certificates awarded.

METEOROLOGICAL.

200. Observing stations have now been started in every province of the Protectorate, and the results should be of very great interest. The principal medical officer reports that “the highest temperature recorded in Northern Nigeria during the year was 118°, at Maifoni (Bornu), on April 8th, and the lowest 39°, at Kano, on February 2nd. The highest mean temperature for the year being at Kontagora, 82°, and the lowest, Zaria, 74°. The greatest rainfall was at Zaria with

51·27 inches, and the lowest, Sokoto, with 33·32 inches, the maximum fall on one day being at Ilorin, on June 2nd, 4·04 inches.

The general direction of the wind throughout the Protectorate was from the south-west from June to November, and from the north-east during the remaining months of the year. The harmattan lasted, with slight intermissions, from December to the end of May; the first tornado occurred in March, and the rainy season ended in October."

The mean rainfall of the Protectorate, as recorded at the eight places of observation, shown in the following table, works out at 43·53 inches for 1905.

Meteorological Returns for 1904 and 1905.

	1904.						1905.					
	Temperature.				Rainfall.		Temperature.				Rainfall.	
	Shade Maximum.	Shade Minimum	Range.	Mean.	Amount in inches.	Degree of humidity.	Shade Maximum.	Shade Minimum.	Range.	Mean.	Amount in inches.	Degree of humidity.
Zungeru ...	103	56	47	79	51·1	63·6	106	56	50	80	41·31	58
Lokoja ..	102	57	45	80	41·72	—	101	53	48	81	49·64	72
Yola ..	107	60	47	80	33·77	—	108	58	50	81	42·76	—
Ilorin ..							106	53	53	78	47·02	73
Kano ..							105	59	66	76	36·69	58
Kontagora ..	} Complete statistics not available.						102	57	46	82	46·28	63
Sokoto ...							106	60	56	79	33·32	—
Zaria ...							102	43	59	74	51·27	68

XI.—STAFF.

201. The following table shows the numbers of the staff in Northern Nigeria from the date on which the Administration was inaugurated. It will be observed that, whereas the military were formerly in excess of the civilians, the latter are now half as many again as the military. Deducting the proportion normally absent on leave, there should have been 310 present in the Protectorate in 1904 and 323 in 1905, but the actual average was only 270 and 277 (13 and 14 per cent. absent), owing to unfilled vacancies, extensions of leave, and other causes. The Administration, therefore, while paying 455 men in 1904 and 474 in 1905, only actually secured the services of 270 and 277 respectively. Since these figures include foremen of works, non-commissioned officers, masters of vessels, and all other subordinate Europeans, the responsible staff for

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the administration of so large a country as Nigeria will be seen to be calculated on the most economical basis possible.

	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.	1903-1904.	1904-1905.	1905-1906.	Probable 1906-07.
Civil	104	155	163	231*	248	266	288
Military	200	163	157	186†	207†	208	187
Total on Estimates.	304	318	320	417	455	474	475
Should be in Africa...	202	212	214	278	310	323	326
Actually present ...	—	—	—	—	270	277	—

* Increase due to inclusion of Hausa States (Kano, Sokoto, &c.).

† Increase due to new Mounted Infantry Battalion.

202. The more thorough and efficient methods of checking and auditing accounts, the creation of a local revenue, and the more efficient organization of the Provincial Administration have taxed the energies of the European and native staff to the utmost, but all have worked with the greatest enthusiasm and devotion, and have now acquired a very thorough knowledge of their duties in all departments. The native staff has been considerably increased, and it has been necessary in the current year to enlarge the political staff.

XII.—LEGISLATION AND JUDICIAL.

203. On the transfer of Mr. Gollan to be Chief Justice of the Bermudas, Mr. Menendez, a Puisne Judge of Southern Nigeria, was appointed to be Chief Justice of Northern Nigeria, and assumed duty in February, 1905. During the year Mr. Platt, Attorney-General, resigned, and Mr. Watson, third-class Resident, was appointed acting Attorney-General. Ten assizes of the Supreme Court were held at Zungeru, and five at Lokoja during the year, at which 66 charges were dealt with. The Cantonment Magistrates, who are Commissioners of the Supreme Court, have done very satisfactory work. At Lokoja there was a decrease of 52 in the criminal cases in the Cantonment Court, and an increase of 119 civil suits. At Zungeru civil suits have risen from 109 to 138, and criminal cases from 290 to 434. They chiefly consist of petty offences under Cantonment Regulations, and the increase is ascribed to the greater efficiency of the police and to the increase in the population of Zungeru.

Provincial Courts.

204. The cause lists rendered by the Provincial Court of each province through the Attorney-General to the High Commissioner act as an appeal on behalf of the prisoner, and all sentences of over six months' imprisonment require confirmation by the High Commissioner. Full minutes of these cases are submitted, and are eventually returned with the comments of the Attorney-General as to any irregularity, inadmissible evidence, &c., endorsed in red ink upon them, and so have an educational value. The review by the High Commissioner promotes uniformity of punishments, and gives opportunity for the exercise of the prerogative of pardon in cases in which the circumstances appear to justify it. Difficulties encountered by Residents in their judicial work, misconceptions of the law, common errors of procedure, &c., form the subject of circular memoranda. The careful application of this system for the past six years has resulted in a very marked improvement in judicial procedure, and in accuracy and legal knowledge. The cause lists of the past year show a very appreciable advance upon those of previous years, and the system, in the opinion of the legal officers and of myself, results in a very substantial and not too technical form of justice throughout the Protectorate. A summary of the cases tried, tabulated under various heads of crime, will be found in the section dealing with crime and prisons.

205. The following laws were enacted during the year 1905:—

- (1) Licensing of servants. The engagement by newly appointed officers of the riff-raff of the Coast had led to an inordinate amount of theft in both cantonments. The registration of servants was instituted as a check on this evil, and promises to be a very useful enactment.
- (2) Departmental Offences Amendment. Fines under this Proclamation inflicted in the provinces are to be reported to the Resident and included in his cause list.
- (3) Lunatics' Removal. Enacted under instructions from the Secretary of State, making provision for the removal of lunatics who are not natives of Africa.
- (4) Northern Nigeria Regiment West African Frontier Force Amendment. Various minor alterations in the West African Frontier Force Proclamation.
- (5) Criminal Code Amendment. Prohibiting the infliction of flogging upon any native chief without the High Commissioner's previous consent.

- (6) Public Holidays. Establishing certain days as such.
- (7) Prisons Amendment. Providing for the repatriation of prisoners discharged from a convict prison.
- (8) Criminal Procedure Amendment. Enabling a lunatic prisoner, who has become capable of making his defence, to do so.
- (9) Coroners. Making provision for inquests, and laying down the duties of coroners.
- (10) Caravan and Hawkers' Amendment. Exempting steamers importing merchandise from the payment of tolls, and allowing rewards to informers.
- (11) Traders' Licence Amendment. Excluding natives from the definition of a shopkeeper.
- (12) Slavery. Defining the penalties to which non-natives are liable who are convicted of being in possession of a slave, or surrendering a fugitive slave, or who are guilty of any offence under the Proclamation.
- (13) Criminal Code Amendment. Dealing with admissibility of evidence of husband and wife.

Various regulations were also made under different proclamations.

The revised edition of the proclamations of the Protectorate came into operation on October 30th, 1905.

XIII.—POLICE AND CRIME.

206. Some notes on the provincial police detachments and their work are embodied under the observations I have made on each province. The police have relieved the troops of many semi-military duties, such as guards, escorts, and small detachments.

207. The Commissioner of Police reports as follows:—
“During the year an addition of 180 men was made to the native ranks of the police force. On 31st December the numbers were as follow:—

Police Force.	Number.
European officers	26 (establishment 30)
Non-European clerks, interpreters, armourers, and inspectors.	8 („ 9)
Native police	1,119 („ 1,180)

The total of all ranks was 1,153, as against 1,002 on 31st December, 1904. The police were allocated, as in 1904, in equal numbers to each of the 17 provinces (counting double provinces as two) and the cantonments of Zungeru and Lokoja. Their duties were the same as in the previous year, viz., escorting prisoners, guarding gaols and convicts, investigating and detecting crime, serving summonses and executing warrants, patrolling, prosecuting offenders, aiding and protecting revenue and customs officials, guarding specie, and escorting Residents and other officials. They also replaced a few detachments of troops, and took over their garrison and other duties. The progress of the force towards higher efficiency as police was most seriously hindered during the year by the large number of detachments unavoidably left without officers, sometimes for comparatively long periods. In every instance the loss of efficiency was most marked—even where the detachment remained without an officer for a few weeks only—and restoration to the former state generally difficult.”

Crime.

208. “The number of offenders brought to justice during the year was 2,928, as against 2,449 in 1904. The increase is mainly accounted for by a stricter enforcement by the police of the Cantonment Regulations in Zungeru and Lokoja, and to some extent by an all-round increase in the number of minor offences against the person. The most prevalent crimes are the same as in 1904, viz., slave-dealing, robbery with violence, stealing in the various forms known to the law, and extortion, generally accompanied by intimidation or impersonation, &c. Three hundred and sixty-one persons were tried for slave-dealing, or other offences against the laws for the suppression of slavery, as against 318 during the previous year; 100 for highway or other robbery, as against 120; and 278 for extortion or impersonation or other similar offences, as against 274 during the previous year. Of the 2,928 persons tried for criminal offences during the year, 2,400 were convicted and 528 found ‘not guilty’ or discharged on entering into recognizances to keep the peace.”

209. The following is a classified summary of all criminal cases tried:—

Crime.	No. of persons tried.
Murder	62
Manslaughter	26
Attempted murder	7
Rape	13
Other offences against the person	445
Total number of offences against the person	553

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List of Criminal Cases Tried—cont.

Crime.	No. of persons tried.
Robbery with violence	61
Robbery	39
Burglary and housebreaking	15
Extortion with intimidation or impersonation, &c... ..	255
Other offences against property	543
Total number of offences against property	913
Slavery :—	
Offences against the laws for the suppression of... ..	361
Other offences... ..	1,101

The Resident of Kano reports that the police effect arrests, summon witnesses, and investigate crime more efficiently than the Emir's messengers. He advocates the enlistment of peasants as recruits, and not of ex-soldiers, who are apt to be bullies and not to get on well with the people.

XIV.—PRISONS.

210. The Sheriff (Major Bain) reports as follows on the prisons of the Protectorate:—

“The number of new prisoners dealt with in the courts during the year was 2,928, an increase of 479 on the number for the previous year. There was a decrease of one in the number of sentences of death imposed; a decrease of 98 in the number of persons sentenced to imprisonment exceeding six months; an increase of 115 in those sentenced to imprisonment not exceeding six months or to both fine and imprisonment; and an increase of 302 in those sentenced to fine or other minor punishment. The health of the prisoners was good, except in the case of the Pagan convicts, who appear to be peculiarly liable to attacks of dysentery, notwithstanding that their food costs more than that of either soldiers or police, and that they are under the daily medical supervision of the prison Medical Officer. The new prison hospital and female wards at Lokoja were finished, and have greatly added to the facilities for treatment of sick prisoners and for the imprisonment of female convicts. Further progress was made with the provincial gaols.

211. “The members of the prisons staff have considerably improved in efficiency, and they worked satisfactorily during the year. Owing to the District Superintendents of Police

undertaking the duties of governors of the provincial prisons and utilising their men as warders, &c., the heavy expense which would necessarily have been incurred in providing a sufficient prisons' staff has been avoided. This arrangement has proved a marked success.

212. "The prisoners were chiefly employed during the year in carrying bricks, stones, or sand for public buildings or works, or in road-making, &c. Their employment on weeding compounds, &c., was largely discontinued, with beneficial results both as regards prison discipline and the quantity and quality of the convict labour. As in the previous year, instruction in brick-laying, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentry, and in other useful trades was given in suitable cases, and a few of the convicts were employed in working at these trades."

213. The following tables show the sentences, &c., imposed during the year:—

Number of Persons Sentenced to—	1903.	1904.	1905.
Death	47	39	38
Imprisonment, exceeding two years	84	98	92
Imprisonment, exceeding six months but not exceeding two years.	129	278	186
Imprisonment, not exceeding six months (including cases of detention after conviction, in default of finding sureties, &c.).	328	760	817
Fine and imprisonment	—	—	58
Fine or other minor punishment	400	907	1,209

Number of Persons—	1903.	1904.	1905.
Executed	11	13	18
Imprisoned (including cases of commuted or quashed death sentences, &c.).	461	1,132	1,115
Imprisoned and also fined	116	30	58
Fined, &c.	400	907	1,209

Number of Persons Convicted by the—	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.
Supreme court	44	79	88	52
Provincial courts	362	652	1,662	1,697
Cantonment courts	91	257	332	651

214. The Visiting Committee at Zungeru, on their annual inspection, report that the prison books are properly kept, and the testing of entries shewed them to be accurate. They record

their satisfaction at the "excellence of the sanitary arrangements" and the cleanliness of the prison, which is not over-crowded. The prison records shew that the average daily sick has been reduced from 32 in 1904 to eight in 1905. They note that the prison industries are making good progress, the whole of the clothing being made in the prison and a fair amount of tailoring and bootmaking undertaken (on payment) for residents. They record their appreciation of the efficient state of the prison under Mr. La Chard. On the day of inspection there were 194 prisoners employed as follows:—tailors 6, shoemakers 2, blacksmiths 2, carpenters 4, labourers 135 (prison 19, cantonment 6, P.W.D. 110), light labour 25, female cooks 2, awaiting trial 6, hospital 12. The prison at Lokoja under Mr. Chambers is equally satisfactory.

XV.—NORTHERN NIGERIA REGIMENT.

215. The regiment was maintained as nearly as possible at full strength throughout the year. Hitherto the artillery has consisted of two batteries, each of two 2·95 guns and four 7-pounders. The latter are of an obsolete type, and as a matter of fact have ceased to be used in action. I therefore, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, decided to abolish them, and four more 2·95 guns were purchased in their place, thus bringing the batteries to a strength of four 2·95 guns each. The interior economy is stated to have been satisfactory, discipline has been well maintained, and there is a considerable decrease in the more serious forms of crime as compared with last year. The mounted infantry, being composed of younger soldiers and non-commissioned officers, had the least favourable record in this respect, but has improved.

216. The Commandant reports as follows:—"There has been a very great advance in training all round, and the regiment in my estimation now compares very favourably with Indian troops. The officers of the latter army are, of course, mostly in better touch with their men than our own, owing to their being longer associated with them and speaking their language better. Still, a great deal of progress has been made by officers and European non-commissioned officers in learning Hausa, and this has materially assisted training generally." My observation leads me to fully endorse this view, and I think the force has never been in a higher state of efficiency than it now is. Desertions have been fewer than last year, and are chiefly confined to recruits who find that they do not like the life and go away, leaving their arms and clothing behind. A few cases of desertion with arms, and even with specie, have occurred on the frontiers, the deserters crossing into French and German territory. The French have given us great assistance in

one or two of these cases. I have stopped the recruiting of any men whose homes are in foreign territory. A good class of recruit has been obtained. The epidemic of cerebro-spinal meningitis has been responsible for an increased number of deaths, while statistics shew that the Hausas suffer in health a good deal at Lokoja and other southern stations. The prevalence of dysentery at Lokoja will, I hope, be much decreased by the improvement in the water supply due to the sinking of wells.

217. The following table shews a few statistics, as compared with last year:—

—	Trials by General Court Martial.	Trials by Civil Power.	Trials by Regimental Court Martial.	Serious punishments of trained soldiers.
1904 ...	8	37	12	319
1905 ...	—	29 cases (34 prisoners.)	6	441

—	Serious punishments of recruits.	Deaths.	Discharges.	Desertions.
1904 ...	1,555	54	1,008	221
1905 ...	831	67	598	178

218. I am glad to be able to record a marked progress among officers and British non-commissioned officers in speaking Hausa, which is due to the recognition by the Commandant of the great importance of studying the language and its invaluable effect in bringing the officers into closer touch with their men. To promote this, a "Colloquial test" has been instituted, and to pass it is a condition precedent to promotion. Orders in the field are consequently better carried out than formerly, and officers and non-commissioned officers lecture their men regularly on military subjects and can check their interpreters. I consider this a most valuable improvement. Field days and company training have been regularly carried out, and extraordinary progress has been made by the native signalling class, who are able to transmit a message by flag, lamp, or heliograph in English with great accuracy, though entirely ignorant of the language. The mounted infantry soldiers ride well across country, and some have been trained in simple veterinary work. In all units men have been trained in mending equipments and saddlery and in stretcher-bearing and field-dressing.

219. The Commandant reports that a very fair standard has been reached in musketry, and there is a marked improvement in all corps. He proposes to make the course more difficult next year, both for recruits and for trained soldiers. Fire discipline is very fair. Duties have been heavy, and have increased owing to the necessity of providing double sentry guards with construction parties, who have large sums of money for payment of labour. The large number of thefts of specie has necessitated this, and the endless calls upon the police do not admit of their supplying all these escorts unless the force is increased. Food arrangements, in spite of scarcity in some localities, have, by timely provision, resulted in a good supply for the soldiers.

220. The mounted infantry headquarters, for the reasons given in paragraph 291 of my last report, have been transferred from Zaria to Kano, which is a better grain-supplying country, free from tsetse, and nearer to their frontier detachments. The horses are in excellent condition, and are practically up to strength. Funds have not permitted of the completion of the soldiers' barracks at Lokoja and Zungeru. More quarters were erected, making a total of 150 and 80 respectively. Steps have been taken to create a reserve, and a scheme has been drawn up, but so far very few men have shown themselves willing to enroll.

221. During 1905 there were no serious military operations, but early in 1906 the serious outbreak at Sokoto occurred, and this indirectly led to the ultimatum delivered to Hadeija, which resulted in the reduction of that city. An expedition was also despatched against the Munshi tribe in January, 1906. The events which led up to these operations, and their general results, have already been fully described. Every expedition was accompanied by a political officer, whose duty it was to get into touch with the people and either to effect the arrest of the guilty persons, or to bring hostilities to a close as soon as possible and with the minimum of bloodshed. In all cases the operations were carried out with great humanity and with comparatively little loss of life. The minor operations of the year were as follows:—

(1) A patrol under Captain Gallagher of 100 rank and file escorted the Resident through the Sura country between Bauchi and Keffi. They were attacked in very rugged and difficult country. Kebon and Ziggam were punished for raiding tribes under British protection. One soldier was killed and two wounded. (Paragraph 72.)

(2) Kagoro. In May Major Cunliffe, with a force of 12 British and 217 rank and file, proceeded into the Kagoro country, north of Nassarawa, to put a stop to the raids of this tribe, who had looted cattle and killed three Fulani. They carried off people within 200 yards of Darroro, and this town

appealed for protection. Considerable opposition was met with, and the marching was arduous in heavy rain. (Paragraph 82.)

(3) A series of small patrols under Lieuts. Thornton, Brierley and Maclaverty were undertaken at the worst season of the rains for the protection of the Assistant Resident and the friendly tribes around Bakuru on the route between Keffi and the tin mines. (Paragraph 72.)

(4) A small patrol of 27 men, under Captain Utterson, who was slightly wounded, traversed the Marghi country in South Bornu, and met with some resistance from this tribe, who had persisted in looting caravans and committing other outrages. (Paragraph 48.)

(5) Lakai. A small tribe of cannibals had killed and eaten seven of the friendly Yergums and enslaved others. The latter tribe had been promised protection if they desisted from outrages, and they now appealed to Government. Lieut. R. M. Blackwood, with 70 men, proceeded as a matter of urgency into their country at the season of the heaviest rain, and when suffering himself from a sprained ankle, and successfully carried out his task. (Paragraph 81.)

(6) Beddi. Captain MacCarthy Morrogh, with five British and 197 rank and file, traversed the territory of this tribe in North-west Bornu in consequence of their truculent and troublesome attitude. Little opposition was met with. (Paragraph 48.)

(7) Keri-keri. These people had fired on the political officer, and refused to obey orders. Lieut. Pye, with three British and 56 rank and file, patrolled through their country (South-west Bornu). Some opposition was encountered, and one officer and three men were wounded. (Paragraph 48.)

(8) The Verre pagans of the village of Ugi, situated in an almost inaccessible site, persisted in raiding their neighbours, and were gradually gaining adherents and extending the area of lawlessness. Their village was coerced by Lieut. Wolseley with 24 men. (Paragraph 93.)

The total casualties among the British and native troops in these minor operations were one killed and twelve wounded (including two officers).

222. In January, 1906, in consequence of the events described in paragraph 81, it became necessary to send a force to keep open communications by the Benue River, and to punish the Munshis for their unprovoked attack, and to rescue the people who they had carried off as captives. Lieut.-Colonel Hasler (acting commandant) himself took command, with 45 British and 633 rank and file. The expedition had to be recalled shortly after it had started, owing to the disturbances at

Sokoto. The country within 30 miles of Abinsi, on the south bank of the Benue, was, however, traversed, and many captives released and some plunder recovered. A detachment of 50 men was left behind, under Lieut. Woods, R.A., and this officer, finding that a large number of captives remained in the hands of a chief on the north bank, determined to release them before the defiant attitude of the tribal chief should spread and become a serious matter. This was ably and pluckily carried out. In all 118 captives were released. Our casualties were one British officer and one native soldier wounded. The rapid marching of the troops on their recall to Zungeru for the Sokoto crisis constituted a wonderful record, viz., 312 miles in 12½ days, and 80 miles in 46 hours.

223. On February 14th the disaster which I have described in paragraphs 18 to 32 occurred at Sokoto, involving the death in action of three British officers and 27 men, and one officer and three men wounded. The relieving force, under Major Goodwin, R.A., covered the distance in an extraordinarily short time, and defeated the enemy. Our casualties were 16 wounded, including two British officers and one British non-commissioned officer.

224. In April the Resident, under my instructions, delivered an ultimatum to the Emir and "War Party" in Hadeija. Its terms being contemptuously rejected, Colonel Lowry-Cole, D.S.O., commandant, who commanded a force of 32 British and 687 rank and file, at once entered the city with his troops. In the large open space within the walls he was charged by the Hadeija horsemen, and after five hours of street fighting the Emir's walled enclosures were captured. The ringleaders were killed in action or arrested, and the same evening the non-combatants, for whose safety careful measures had been taken, re-entered the town, which on the next day resumed its ordinary appearance and avocations, owing to the excellent discipline and steadiness of the troops. Our casualties were six rank and file wounded. Separate reports on these three major operations have been submitted (*vide* paragraphs 39 to 41).

225. The force has suffered from a shortage of officers, due to the requirement that officers should not exceed their limit of twelve months' residence in the country. This at distant stations reduces an officer's period of service with his men to about eight months, and is destructive of continuity, and also decreases the number of officers doing duty with the troops. Native troops are proverbially more amenable to officers whom they know than to strangers, and though the system of limiting service in West Africa to three tours of a bare twelve months each (from date of landing at, to leaving, the coast) produces a supply of officers who are well "up-to-date" in professional training, it has its disadvantages in the results I have described.

XVI.—MISSIONS AND EDUCATION.

226. (a.) *Church Missionary Society (including the Hausa Mission).*—The Hausa Mission, hitherto stationed in the Ghirku district, 40 miles south of Zaria, transferred its headquarters to the latter city in March, 1905, with my consent, on the invitation of the Emir, and they have it in contemplation to open a mission next year at Kano, with the consent of the Emir and chiefs, and also perhaps at Kontagora, where the Emir seems quite anxious to allow them to come. A party of missionaries travelled through the Gwari country (which covers the greater part of the Zaria Province), with a view to ascertaining whether there was any opening for mission work among these Pagans. They reported great friendliness, and requested permission to open a mission station at Kuta, to which I gladly assented, since I have always personally preferred mission work among Pagans to that among Mohammedans, which may involve political difficulties. Dr. Miller reports that during an outbreak of sickness at Rimmo Mr. Bargery saved the lives of over 80 persons, and the thanks of the Government were conveyed to this gentleman for having ridden on a bicycle 65 miles in one day to attend an officer of the West African Frontier Force. Having been overtaken by darkness, he spent the night in a tree in pouring rain. The head of the mission, Dr. Miller, informs me that, during his eight months' residence in Zaria, he has met with nothing but courtesy from the Emir and people, and not only has there been no hostility, but the people have manifested a desire "to read, to hear, and to consider." This friendly attitude and the remarkable results achieved are probably almost entirely due to Dr. Miller's exceptional tact and personal influence, together with his absolute mastery of the Hausa language. The Resident has asked the mission to refer any secular complaints to the Emir and native court rather than to the provincial court, a course which, I think, is judicious. He adds that he cannot too warmly express his gratitude to Dr. Miller for the way in which he has endeavoured to fall in with his views. I am specially glad to note that from 12 to 14 of the educated "Mallam" class have learnt to read the Roman character, which is not only more adapted for the expression of Hausa sounds than Arabic, but will enable them to correspond in that language with political officers who do not read the Arabic character. It has always been my opinion that the reading of the Roman character should be the first step in education in Northern Nigeria, and the Government owes a debt to the Church Missionary Society both at Zaria and Bida for taking up this useful work. Some few are reported to be beginning arithmetic, grammar, and geography, and several converts have been made among the educated classes, while much interest is reported to have been

taken in the discussions held by Dr. Miller on religious and social questions. The Emir himself has apparently formed a close friendship with Dr. Miller, and invites a frank expression of his opinions on social abuses which come under his notice. I believe that a very great deal of good has resulted.

227. (b.) *The African Evangelical Mission* (formerly "Industrial") had five men and one lady missionary at the beginning of the year, and six men and two ladies at the end of 1905. They occupy three stations, viz., Pateji, on the Niger, Bida, and Wushishi. Poultry have been imported with the object of starting a poultry farm, but I understand the attempt has not been very successful, though both at Bida and Wushishi the Missionaries report that English fowls do well, and no reason for failure is given. Some dispensing work has been done at Wushishi, and a small class of boys at each place have been taught reading and writing. The Wushishi branch have also an area of cultivatable land, but they only appear to have grown grain for their fowls, and a small quantity of cotton. I regret to say that I do not have very good reports of this mission from any of their stations. I am informed that they preach the equality of Europeans and natives, which, however true from a doctrinal point of view, is apt to be misapplied by people in a low stage of development, and interpreted as an abolition of class distinction.

228. (c.) *The White Fathers* have abandoned their mission in the Bassa province, I believe owing to lack of funds.

229. (d.) *Sudan United Mission*.—The Mission were mainly engaged in building their premises at Wase, in Northern Muri, and received there a deputation of the "World's Evangelization Company" from Ohio, U.S.A. A visit was made in September to the Burrun and Ankwe tribes, with a view to subsequently beginning work among them. The members of the mission experienced a good deal of sickness. No converts have yet been made, but services have been conducted with some regularity. At the end of the year there were five missionaries, of whom three were qualified engineers engaged in building, &c. The mission is as yet in its infancy. It was understood to be solely for Pagans, and the Resident reports that its members are not on good terms with the chief of Wase, who is a Moslem, and that its objects have been mistaken. In these circumstances I have been compelled to request the mission to desist from work in Wase town.

230. (e.) *Education (General)*.—As in former years, the resources of the revenue have not permitted of any general scheme of education, nor have the missionary societies been in a position to put forward any scheme which could be supported by Government grants. Primary education is given to the children in the freed slaves home at Zungeru by the lady

superintendent, and apprentices are taught in the various Government departments (workshops, printing, marine, telegraph, &c.), while a small sum has been expended in the purchase of school materials for mission schools. Education is required for four different classes of pupils: (a) Mallams (viz., natives educated according to native standards in Arabic, Mohammedan law, &c.), should be taught the Roman character for writing Hausa, colloquial English, and finally reading and writing English, arithmetic, and geography; (b) sons of chiefs require to be taught as boarders in a school or college established for the purpose, where they would receive a primary education and be brought up in an atmosphere of loyalty to the King, and imbued with ideas of truthfulness and honesty, so that the next generation of native rulers may be enlightened and loyal, without necessarily foregoing their own religion, or imbibing ideas of European dress and habits unsuited to their environment, and which would cause them to lose influence and caste among their Mohammedan subjects; (c) general primary schools for children on a secular basis, so as not to excite the antagonism of the Moslem population by the teaching of religion opposed to their own tenets; (d) cantonment schools for the education of the children of native clerks (mostly Christians) and of other Government officials. At present clerks have to send their children to the Coast, which forms a drawback to service in Nigeria.

231. Regarding (a) and (b), I have been in correspondence with Mr. Currie, Head of the Gordon College at Khartum, who has shewn the greatest interest and cordiality in the matter, but there are serious objections to sending men or boys from Nigeria to Khartum, of which the distance, the difference in language, and some objections to the environment are obvious. Dr. Miller has now made certain proposals to meet these needs, and provide a secular education for each of these classes, by opening a boarding school for sons of chiefs, and a daily school for Mallams. He would not interfere with the exercise of their religious observances by Mohammedans, provided that out of school hours he might exercise his influence with his pupils. I have considerable hopes of the success of such a scheme, which will form the subject of a future report.

232. The net result, from the Government point of view, of these many missions is not so far very satisfactory. The small Protectorate of British Central Africa, not one-sixth the size of Northern Nigeria, shews 36,000 children at the 720 mission schools, with a roll attendance of 55,000, and in every village there are one or two natives who can read and write. No grant is made by Government. The missions treat 83,000 patients and train hospital dressers, as well as other artisans. I have a personal acquaintance with this Protectorate. Its tribes are not more advanced or intelligent than those of

Nigeria, nor is its climate appreciably better. I trust that results such as these may some day be achieved in this Protectorate.

XVII.—POSTAL.

233. The addition of a European assistant postmaster to the staff of the Department will, it is hoped, put an end to the chaos in this Department, which has without exception resulted from the absence of the Postmaster-General on leave, since the Administration was formed. This lamentable state of things has arrested all progress, and it has taken the Postmaster-General fully half his period of residential service to bring the post and telegraphs into the state of efficiency in which he had left them.

234. The weekly headquarter mail from Lokoja to Zungeru is now carried between Bida and Barijuko by mail cart. Its weight averages about 500 lbs., and it is frequently delivered within three days of leaving Lokoja, the distance being 18 hours steaming and 100 miles by land. During the coming year I hope to extend the mail cart system between the Niger and Bida, and also from Zungeru to Kano. The Postmaster-General reports an improvement in the general efficiency of the telegraph staff, but there is very great difficulty in obtaining operators for the new stations opened.

235. The revenue and expenditure of the department are as follows:—

—	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06 (probable).
Expenditure ...	£ 5,530	£ 5,726	£ 6,201	£ 7,155	£ 7,580	£ 8,137
Revenue ...	£ 641	£ 1,283	£ 2,051	£ 935	£ 1,708	£ 2,613

The increase in the revenue in 1905 from £935 to £1,708 is due to ordinary business and not to any adventitious assistance (such as occurred in 1901 and 1902 from the sales of new issues of stamps to collectors). It gives hopes of being largely increased in the current year, in which it is estimated that the revenue will be increased about 53 per cent. and the expenditure by 7 per cent.

If all letters and telegrams sent free on Government duty were charged at ordinary rates, the revenue earned would probably exceed the expenditure by about £300. The revenue

earned by the postal department is exclusive of the Customs on parcels, which, though collected by the postal staff, are credited under Customs. The latter amounted to about £870.

236. The quantities of postal matter received and despatched from the General Post Office, Lokoja, were as follows:—

—	Internal.	External.	Total, 1905.	Total, 1904.	Probable real increase.	Apar- ent in- crease.
Letters (private)	1,400	177,670	314,670	215,400	24 p.c.	46 p.c.
Letters (official)	60,000	5,000				
Postcards ...	—	4,300				
Newspapers, book, packets, &c. ...	300	66,000	10,460	6,652	45 p.c.	58 p.c.
Parcels ...	750	9,710				
Telegrams (private)	9,310	920	128,430	34,000	100 p.c.	277 p.c.
Telegrams (official)	118,000	200				

The returns shewn in my last annual report were compiled by an inexperienced officer, and the Postmaster-General states that they are much under the actual figures, and the percentage of increase is probably only as shewn above. The increase in parcels dealt with (45 per cent.) is largely accounted for by the Arab traders at Kano importing goods by parcel post. Deducting these, the increase would stand at about 25 per cent. As the use of the parcel post for trade imports involves a heavy loss to Government, I have decided in future to charge actual transport expenses upon parcels delivered up country. (On this question, and value and weight of parcels, see paragraph 146.)

237. Cash to the amount of £24,000 was transmitted by the money order system. The comparative table is as follows:—

Place.	Amount issued to.		Amount cashed from.	
	1904. (5 months)	1905.	1904. (5 months)	1905.
United Kingdom ...	£ 3,960	£ 12,538	£ 44	£ 235
Sierra Leone ...	555	1,439	21	57
Gold Coast ...	519	2,251	23	54
Lagos ...	425	6,488	14	50
Southern Nigeria ...	50	132	21	79
Northern Nigeria ...	206	1,482	—	—
Total ...	5,715	24,330	123	475

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238. The working and organisation of the postal department at stations other than Lokoja and Zungeru (28 in number) is in the hands of the political department, and as Residents have already very much more work than they can possibly do (including Customs, transport, treasury and accounting, and military supplies), the machinery is lamentably defective. With the increase in staff contemplated in 1906, however, I hope that it will be possible to provide for the efficient performance of these departmental duties in each province without interfering with the more purely political duties of the administrative staff.

F. D. LUGARD.

Abinger Common, Surrey,
27th November, 1906.

APPENDIX I.

ABSTRACT of REVENUE for the years 1899-1900 to 1905-6.

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COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

Heads of Revenue.	1899-1900. (One Quarter) Actual.	1900-1. Actual.	1901-2. Actual.	1902-3. Actual.	1903-4. Actual.	1904-5. Actual.	1905-6. Estimated.
Local Revenue :—	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Licences, Excise, and Internal Revenue.	13 17 10	332 5 5	631 0 8	7,826 4 2	39,249 16 4	69,433 5 10	65,530 0 0
Payments for Specific Services, Fees, &c.	24 12 0	415 19 3	1,393 14 10	2,579 18 10	4,087 8 5	5,872 8 11	5,570 0 0
Post Office and Telegrams.	—	641 3 0	1,283 11 1	2,051 5 10	934 12 5	1,708 10 0	1,800 0 0
Interest	—	28 14 9	29 11 9	35 12 3	—	—	—
Rents of Government property.	—	—	1 0 0	255 2 0	495 16 8	1,179 1 9	1,200 0 0
Customs	—	—	—	—	6,463 2 4	11,285 18 1	9,300 0 0
Miscellaneous	—	761 11 8	1,085 1 10	3,567 8 10	2,496 1 8	2,860 1 5	2,000 0 0
Rebate from Niger Company.	—	—	—	—	—	1,687 0 0	—
Total Local Revenue	38 9 10	2,179 14 1	4,424 0 2	16,315 11 11	53,726 17 10	94,026 6 0	85,400 0 0
Imperial Grant-in-Aid ...	*56,530 0 0	°88,800 0 0	280,000 0 0	290,000 0 0	405,000 0 0†	405,500 0 0†	320,000 0 0
Contribution from Southern Nigeria.	—	44,750 0 0	34,000 0 0	34,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	60,000 0 0
Contribution from Lagos	—	—	—	—	—	10,000 0 0	15,000 0 0
Deferred Pay and Reward Fund, W.A.F.F.	—	—	—	16,693 13 6	—	—	—
Total Revenue ...	56,568 9 10	135,729 14 1	318,424 0 2	357,009 5 5	508,726 17 10	559,526 6 0	480,400 0 0

° Not including grant for the West African Frontier Force.

† Including additional grant of £25,000 for telegraph construction.

ABSTRACT of EXPENDITURE for the Years 1899-1900 to 1905-6.

Heads of Expenditure.	1899-1900.	1900-1.	1901-2.	1902-3.	1903-4.	1904-5.	1905-6.
	Civil only (One Quarter). Actual.	Civil only. Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Estimated.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
High Commissioner's Office and Government House.	758 11 8	3,858 3 2	3,848 18 0	4,297 12 8	5,264 4 2	6,636 15 4	7,475 0 0
Political	491 13 11	7,470 11 6	11,413 14 4	24,263 14 2	33,852 15 4	44,500 9 5	59,104 0 0
Stipends to Chiefs	15 0 0	125 5 0	—	—	—	—	5,322 0 0
Cantonment Magistrates and F.S. Home.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Judicial	438 3 11	1,719 17 9	1,786 0 7	2,562 0 10	3,413 16 5	3,394 16 5	2,738 0 0
Secretariat	310 9 8	1,901 8 0	2,145 3 7	2,145 7 3	2,375 7 9	3,174 12 11	—
Secretariat and Printing...	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,187 0 0
Treasury	545 14 2	2,986 16 1	3,733 12 8	5,745 7 7	6,318 19 8	6,913 19 3	7,570 0 0
Post and Telegraphs	426 2 5	5,530 2 8	5,726 2 3	6,201 5 3	7,154 17 2	7,580 5 9	10,243 0 0
Medical	1,255 15 6	6,744 17 8	16,360 2 7	20,327 18 1	22,068 19 5	26,306 3 10	29,894 0 0
Printing	71 0 10	361 4 11	956 1 11	1,105 4 1	1,214 13 7	1,415 10 11	—
Audit	—	506 12 8	832 7 4	859 3 6	1,224 5 11	1,443 14 9	1,415 0 0
Police and Prisons	159 3 0	1,522 18 3	3,596 12 11	5,422 13 6	—	—	—
Police	—	—	—	—	20,063 4 10	30,668 1 1	34,017 0 0
Prisons	—	—	—	—	2,578 6 7	2,969 8 4	4,551 0 0
Storekeepers and Trans- port.	374 16 0	2,501 0 9	4,197 5 8	4,278 8 1	4,108 16 4	—	—

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1905-6.
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ABSTRACT of EXPENDITURE for the Years 1899-1900 to 1905-6—*continued.*

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Heads of Expenditure.	1899-1900.	1900-1.	1901-2.	1902-3.	1903-4.	1904-5.	1905-6.
	Civil only (One Quarter) Actual.	Civil only Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Actual.	Estimated.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Transport... ..	—	—	—	—	—	3,588 17 11	27,508 0 0
West African Frontier Force.	—	—	132,583 1 8	139,132 2 9	191,445 9 2	190,259 5 0	177,395 10 0
West African Frontier Force, 3rd Battalion.	—	—	—	3,283 18 10	—	—	—
Marine and Workshops...	1,774 6 9	15,756 19 1	29,103 2 8	23,897 5 0	26,197 7 0	27,021 10 11	32,381 0 0
Customs	—	—	—	—	1,002 12 11	1,463 5 0	1,568 0 0
Economic Department (Botanical and Forestry)	—	—	—	—	592 2 0	2,037 8 5	3,977 0 0
Revenue	—	—	—	—	3,862 12 9	6,174 19 7	*—
Miscellaneous	1,190 12 4	5,439 12 2	27,840 10 11	40,885 11 3	52,436 12 1	45,640 10 9	20,260 0 0
Miscellaneous, Passages of Europeans, 3rd Battalion	—	—	—	720 0 0	—	—	—
Public Works Department and Recurrent.	28 6 10	6,153 2 11	10,014 16 10	12,647 5 1	—	—	—
Public Works Department	—	—	—	—	10,388 8 7	12,145 10 0	16,364 0 0
Public Works Recurrent	—	—	—	—	4,834 17 10	4,831 9 11	4,750 0 0
Public Works Extra- ordinary.	30,198 5 4	22,686 15 4	42,998 5 2	78,665 15 10	79,986 2 7	54,289 7 0	48,280 10 0
New Steamers	7 8 2	11,191 12 1	—	—	—	—	—

COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

Railway Survey	—	—	1,383 6 11	—	—	—	—	—
Burutu Works	—	—	—	6,406 11 5	1,224 18 3	372 10 1	—	—
Telegraph Construction, Zaria Extension, and Lagos-Jebba Reconstruction, unprovided for.	—	—	—	6,543 16 6	—	—	—	—
Telegraph Construction (Special Vote).	—	—	—	—	17,376 14 6	36,611 9 3	—	—
Jebba-Ogbomosho Tele- graph Construction.	—	—	—	—	—	1,105 9 7	—	—
Total	38,045 10 6	96,457 0 0	298,519 6 0	389,391 1 8	498,986 4 10	520,545 11 5	500,000 0 0	

* Included under Political.

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1905-6.

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APPENDIX II.

ESTIMATED POPULATION BY DISTRICTS.

Province.	Divisions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Sokoto ...	Sokoto City ..	18,770	21,230	40,000
	„ District	124,942	141,328	266,270
	Zamfara ...	64,624	72,986	137,510
	Gando... ..	28,788	38,252	62,040
	Argungu ...	16,971	19,799	36,770
	Jega	12,882	15,028	27,910
	Nomad tribes	3,692	4,308	8,000
		270,469	307,931	578,500
Bornu ...	Bornu Proper	202,000	303,000	505,000
	Marghi ...	100,000	150,000	250,000
	Beddi... ..	40,000	60,000	100,000
	Keri Keri ...	20,000	30,000	50,000
	Fika	40,000	60,000	100,000
	Babur... ..	40,000	60,000	100,000
		442,000	663,000	1,105,000
Bauchi ...	Emirate ...	200,000	200,000	400,000
	Gombe ...	30,000	30,000	60,000
	Semi Moslems	30,000	30,000	60,000
	Pagans ...	200,000	200,000	400,000
		460,000	460,000	920,000
Zaria ...	Emirate ...	50,500	70,500	121,000
	Katshia ...	12,000	18,000	30,000
	Wushishi ...	35,500	45,500	81,000
		98,000	134,000	232,000
Borgu ...	Bussa Division	7,295	7,624	14,919
	Kiama „	5,001	6,407	10,408
		12,296	14,031	26,327
Kontagora	Emirate ...	17,905	16,004	33,909
	Yelwa... ..	14,942	15,695	30,637
	Sakaba ...	9,017	9,864	18,881
	Kotonkoro ...	1,881	1,780	3,661
	Zuguma ...	1,046	729	1,775
	Kwiambana ...	475	387	862
		45,269	44,409	89,678
Nupe ...	Emirate ...	42,735	49,170	91,905
	Riverain tribes	9,975	11,025	21,000
	Agaje... ..	6,965	7,320	14,285
	Lapai... ..	12,500	12,200	24,700
		72,175	79,715	151,890

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1905-6.

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APPENDIX II—cont.

Province.	Divisions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Illorin	112,000	138,000	250,000
Kabba	123,650	157,990	281,650
Bassa ...	Okpotos ...	180,000	136,000	266,000
	Munshi ...	41,800	46,200	88,000
	Igarra ...	21,900	24,100	46,000
	Bassa Komo ...	21,400	23,600	45,000
	Agatu ...	18,900	21,100	40,000
	Bassa Ngeh ...	11,930	13,070	25,000
	Other tribes ...	7,100	8,000	15,100
		253,000	272,070	525,100
Nassarawa	Keffi ...	75,000	125,000	200,000
	Darroro ...	110,000	190,000	300,000
	Nassarawa ...	150,000	250,000	400,000
	Lafia ...	100,000	150,000	250,000
	Abuja ...	120,000	230,000	350,000
		555,000	945,000	1,500,000
Muri	250,000	293,000	543,000
Yola ...	Emirate ...	35,000	47,000	82,000
	Bassema ...	4,800	6,200	11,000
	Batta ...	5,000	7,000	12,000
	Verre ...	4,200	5,800	10,000
	Gongola tribes ...	10,800	14,200	25,000
	Mumuye ...	6,300	8,700	15,000
	Kibba ...	4,200	5,800	10,000
	Other tribes ...	86,300	48,700	85,000
		106,600	143,400	250,000
Kano ...	Emirate ...	1,000,000	1,000,000	2,000,000
	Katsena ...	57,150	57,150	114,300
	Daura and Kazaure ...	12,000	12,000	24,000
	Gummel, Hadeija and Katagum ...	95,850	95,850	191,700
		1,165,000	1,165,000	2,330,000
Grand Total	3,965,637	4,816,546	8,782,183

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APPENDIX III.

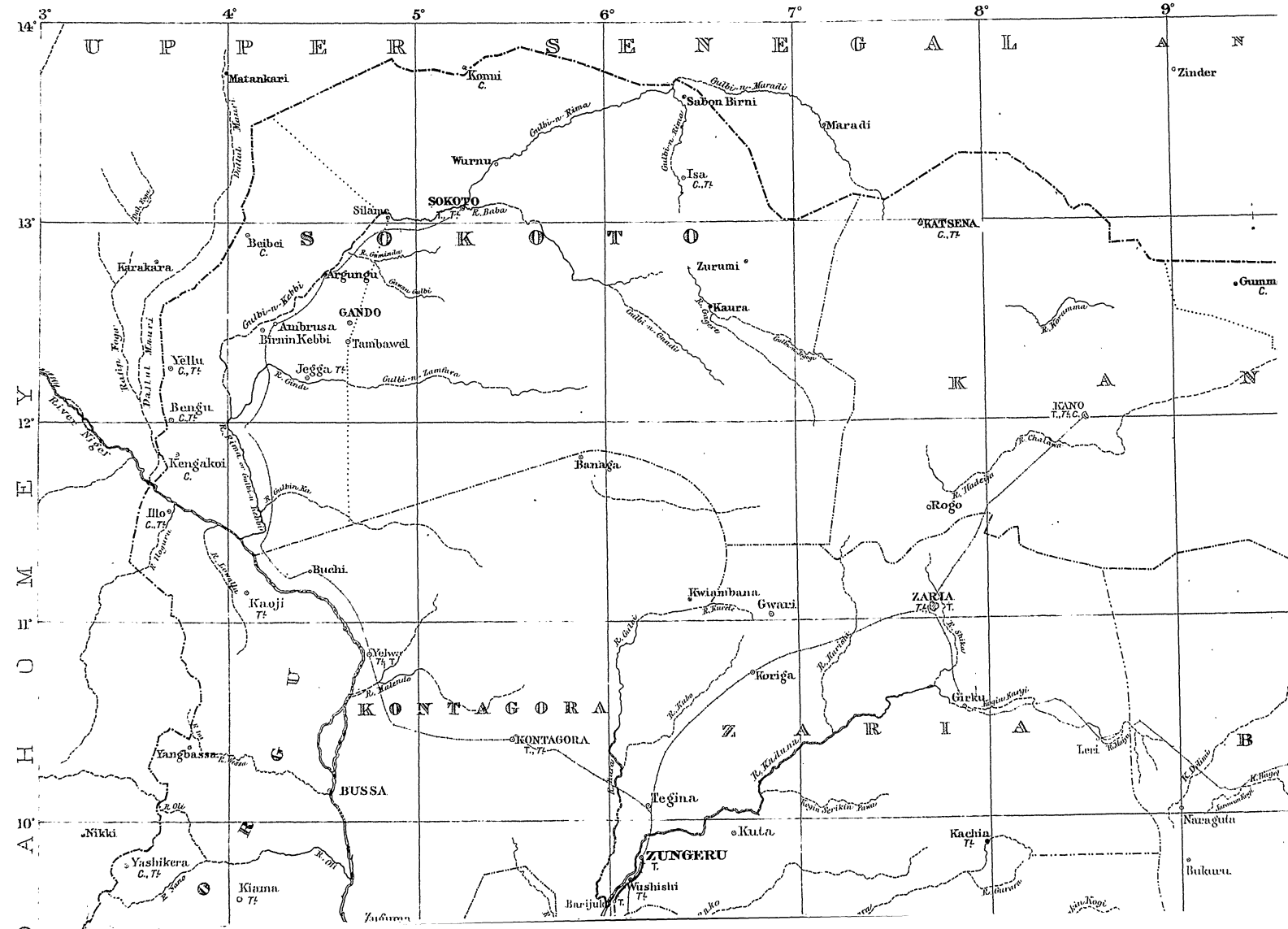
RETURN of SLAVES FREED in NORTHERN NIGERIA from 1st January, 1900 (date of establishment of Protectorate) to 31st December, 1905.

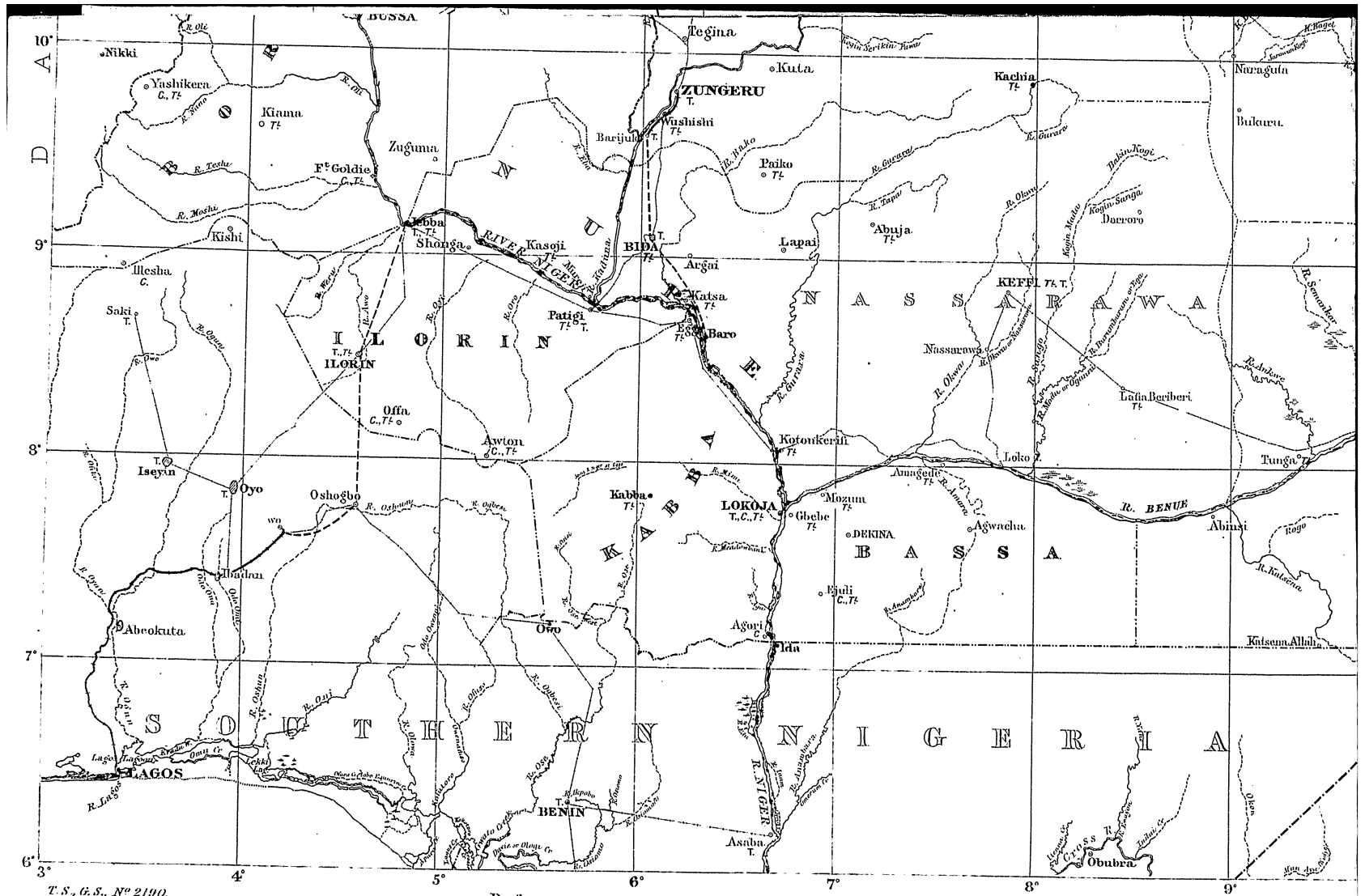
Provinces.	Sokoto and Gando.	Kano and Katagum.	Bornu, East and West.	Bauhi.	Zaria.	Kontagora.	Borgu.	Kabba.	Bassa.	Illorin.	Nassarawa.	Yola.	Muri.	Nupe.	Total.	Disposal of those sent to Freed Slave Homes in—		Remarks.
																Zungeru.	Bornu.	
Sent to Freed Slaves Homes	4	7	249	8	2	—	1	10	33	23	18	194	421	9	979	—	—	N.B.—This return does not include large numbers of slaves liberated by various military expeditions, nor vast numbers of newly enslaved Pagan who have returned to their homes; it only refers to such slaves as have passed through the hands of the political staff, and therefore represents only a fraction of the slaves liberated in Northern Nigeria as a consequence of British rule in the past six years. (Vide para. 106.)
Lodged in free village in Bornu	—	—	258	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	258	—	2	
Allowed to follow their own inclinations	36	13	144	29	86	11	22	8	6	14	72	118	176	5	757	168	36	
Restored to relatives	6	21	231	18	26	—	8	—	8	17	101	51	12	5	511	—	—	
Died	—	—	6	15	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	8	—	23	—	71	
Married	—	—	17	52	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	19	15	134	215	12	
Allotted to guardians	—	3	39	52	23	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	79	10	356	86	3	
Enlisted in Northern Nigeria Regiment	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	2	—	17	313	—	
Apprenticed	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	3	—	10	2	1	
Totals	58	44	993	124	190	17	44	20	150	69	213	394	726	39	3,071	822	124	
Remaining in Freed Slaves Homes on 31st December, 1905	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	224*	145	
Totals dealt with in Freed Slaves Homes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,046	269	

* Including 22 en route from provinces.

	Zungeru F.S.H.	Bornu F.S.H.
Received from provinces	979	258
Received from other sources	67	11
Totals	1,046	269

OUTLINE MAP OF NORTHERN NIGERIA



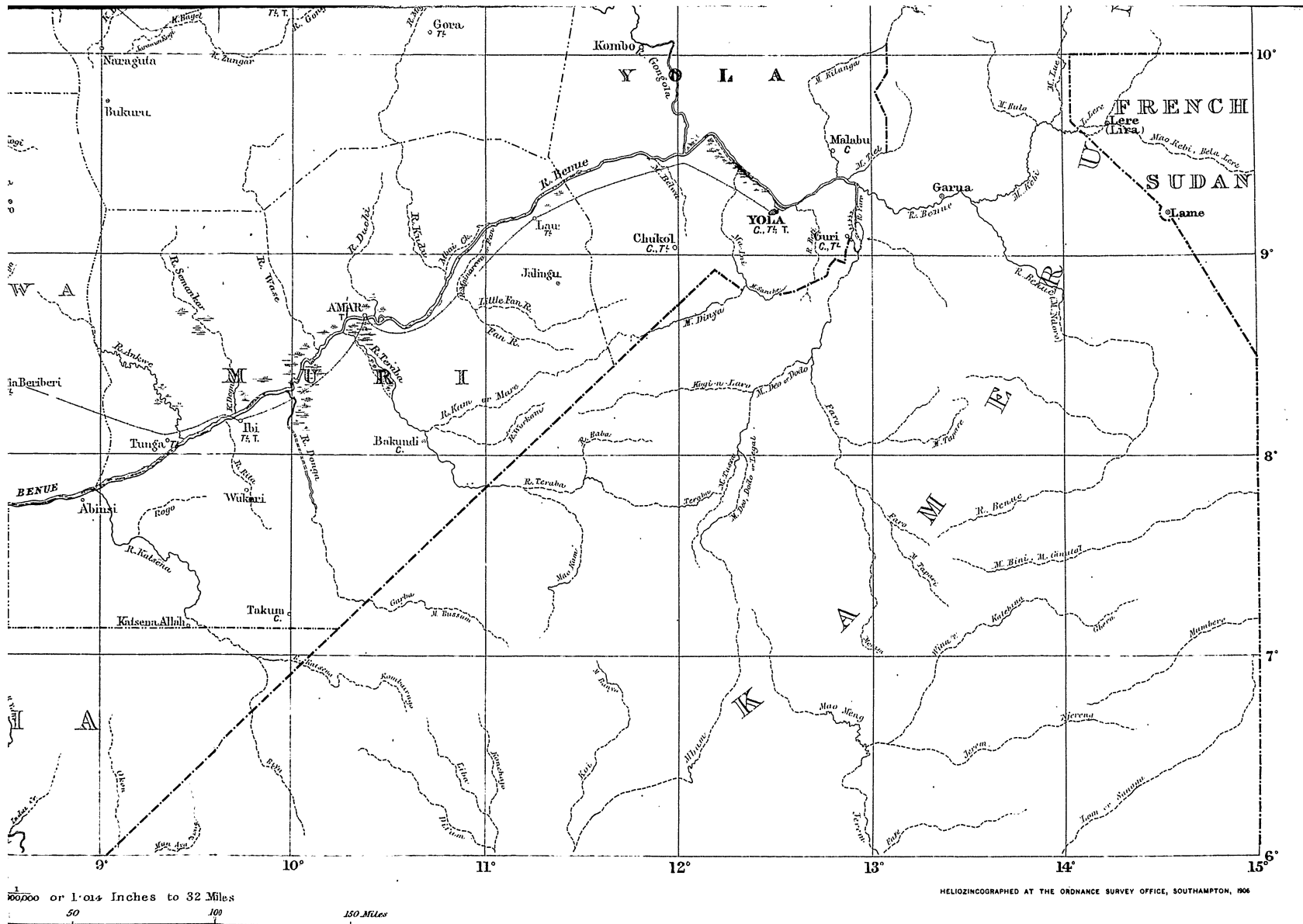


T. S., G. S., No 2190.

Reference

- International boundary -----
- Provincial -----
- Sub-provincial -----
- Customs Station ----- C.
- Toll Station ----- T.
- Telegraph line -----
- Office -----
- Railway -----
- Proposed Railway -----

Scale 1/2,000,000 or 1.01 inches to 32 Miles
 Miles 30 20 10 0 50 100



APPENDIX 5.
 NORTHERN NIGERIA
RIVER NIGER



Sectional plan shewing height of river at the time it reached its highest levels for the years.

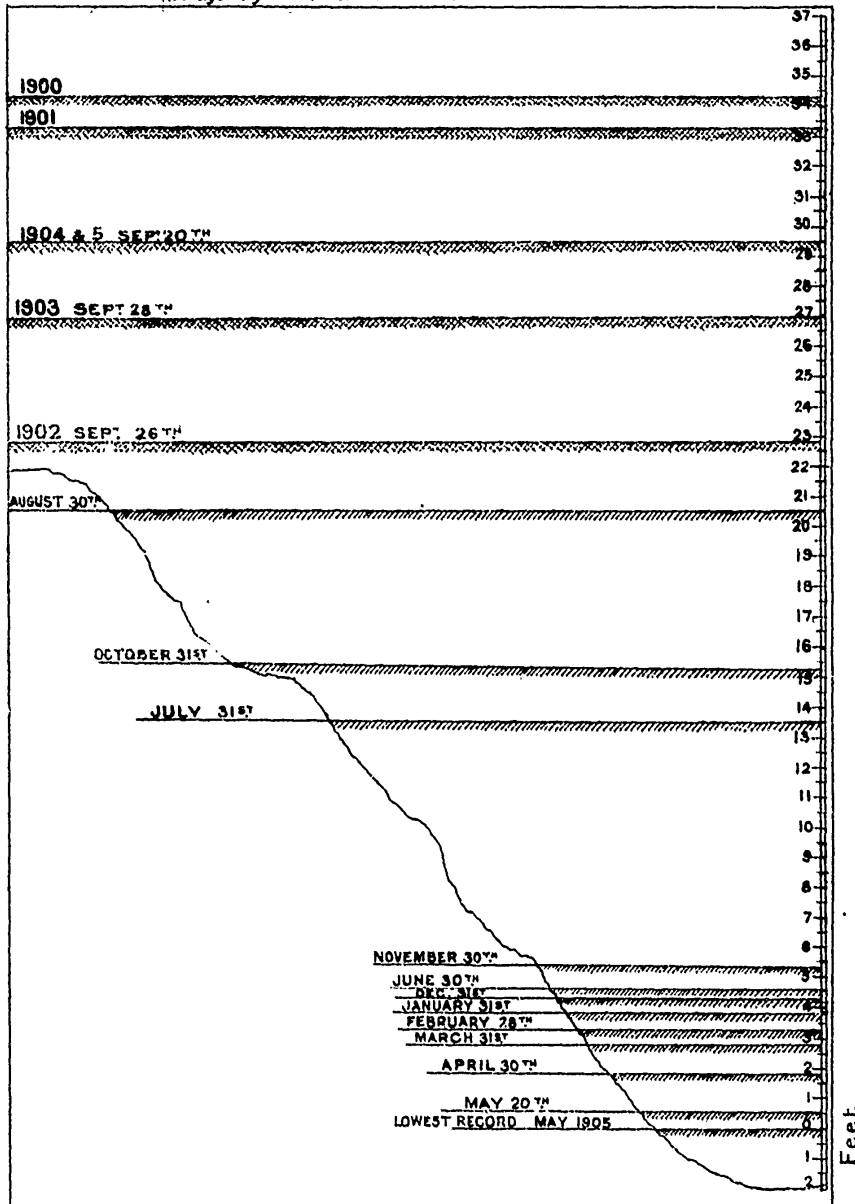
1900 to 1905.

and average height of river, above the lowest recorded depth of water for all months of the year.

Compiled from records taken at IOKOJA and supplied by

NORTHERN NIGERIA MARINE.

Highest rise rivers shown thus 
 Average height of river for all months " " 



648.7.07 WY 23907. 1125.

Weller & Graham, L^{td} Litho. London.

COLONIAL REPORTS.

The following recent reports relating to His Majesty's Colonial Possessions have been issued, and may be obtained from the sources indicated on the title page:—

ANNUAL.

No.	Colony, &c.	Year.
488	Gold Coast	1905
489	Seychelles	"
490	Falkland Islands	"
491	Gambia	"
492	Jamaica	1904-1905
493	Northern Territories of the Gold Coast	1905
494	Ceylon	"
495	Turks and Caicos Islands	"
496	Bahamas	1905-1906
497	Barbados	"
498	Malta	1905
499	British Central Africa Protectorate	1905-1906
500	Colonial Survey Committee	"
501	Grenada	1905
502	Straits Settlements	"
503	Gibraltar	"
504	Trinidad and Tobago	1905-1906
505	St. Lucia	1905
506	Mauritius	"
507	Southern Nigeria (Lagos)	"
508	Somaliland	1905-1906
509	Fiji	1905
510	St. Vincent	1905-1906
511	Sierra Leone	1905
512	Southern Nigeria	"
513	Basutoland	1905-1906
514	British Guiana	"
515	British Honduras	1905

MISCELLANEOUS.

No.	Colony.	Subject.
27	Miscellaneous Colonies... ..	Medical Reports.
28	Gold Coast and Sierra Leone... ..	Rubber.
29	Ceylon	Geological Survey.
30	Pitcairn Island	Report by Mr. R. T. Simon.
31	Northern Nigeria	Cotton, &c.
32	Do. do.	Mineral Survey.
33	Southern Nigeria.	Do.
34	Montserrat	Agricultural Industry.
35	Antigua and St. Kitts-Nevis	Sugar.
36	West Indies	Work of Imperial Department of Agriculture.
37	Ceylon	Mineral Survey, 1904-5.

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