



PP/A22
711/A22
\$ 25/1

Indirect Administration

CONTENTS

	Page.
I.—Minute by His Excellency Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G., dated the 18th of March, 1922	1
II.—Secretary's (Northern Provinces) Circular No. K.7198/8 of the 1st of July, 1928. (The Training of Junior Officers in the Methods of "Indirect" Administrations)	23
III.—Secretary's (Northern Provinces) Circular No. 26/K.7198/43 of the 23rd of Novem- ber, 1928. (The Training of Junior Officers in the Methods of "Indirect" Administration)	27
IV.—Appendix to His Excellency Sir Donald Cameron's "Principles of Native Adminis- tration and their Application" (Position of Administrative Officers <i>vis-à-vis</i> Depart- mental Officers and of Departmental Officers <i>vis-à-vis</i> the Native Administra- tions)	32

MINUTE

By His Excellency the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford, G.C.M.G.,
to His Honour the Lieutenant Governor, Northern
Provinces. Issued for the information and
Guidance of Political Officers.

1. Before quitting the Northern Provinces, the inspection of which by me has been completed by the journey just concluded, I desire officially to record the sense of obligation under which I feel myself to be to you for the assistance that Your Honour has throughout afforded to me, and for the manner in which you have so freely placed at my disposal your unrivalled knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants. Our most recent journey together from Zungeru to Kontagora and thence to Yelwa on the banks of the Niger; from Yelwa, via Besse and Jega to Birnin Kebbi; from Birnin Kebbi to Argungu, and thence via Bodingga to Sokoto; from Sokoto, down the road that leads to Zaria, as far as Funtua, with halts on the way at Talata Mafara and Chafe; from Funtua northward to Katsina, *via* Musawa; from Katsina to the chief towns of the Kazaure, Daura, Gumel and Hadeija Emirates, in the Kano Province; from Hadeija to Kano, and thence finally to Kaduna, with one day's halt at Zaria *en route*—this journey, I say, made in Your Honour's company, has been to me not only one of surpassing interest, but no less instructive and enjoyable. Everywhere throughout this wide expanse of country, which less than a quarter of a century ago was one of the principal areas in this part of Africa whence a supply of captured slaves was annually brought to market, I found a profoundly peaceful, diligent, prosperous and thriving peasantry, tilling their fields in complete confidence and security, governed by their own hereditary rulers, and living under forms of government which are the natural growth of their own political genius; and which owe nothing to exotic systems that have no sanction in local custom and tradition. That an enormous change—a change almost incalculably great—has been effected, since the beginning of the present century, in the character of the Governments under which these millions of human beings live and move and have

their being is, of course, a fact. The salient feature, however, of the system of administration which was inaugurated by Sir George Taubman Goldie in the days when the Niger Company exercised administrative functions, and which, during the past five and twenty years, has been gradually extended over the Northern Provinces, is that the change which has been wrought has entailed no abrupt or violent departure from established custom or tradition; none save minor alterations in the administrative machinery which had been developed by the people centuries before our Protectorate over them was established; no material modification even in the laws under which they live, save only that the traffic in slaves is no longer sanctioned by them. The change, which is so great as to amount to an absolute transformation, affecting alike the social, material and many of the moral conditions amid which these people live, abides wholly in the manner in which the indigenous system of government is to-day being made to function, and in the wholly new spirit in which Emirs and their Chiefs and Officials, from the Waziri and Galadima to the smallest Village Head, are being gradually and patiently taught to discharge the responsibilities and to carry out the duties which devolve upon them under that system.

2. I have spoken of the peasantry of the Muhammedan Emirates, as thriving and prosperous,—adjectives which, at the present time, it is possible to apply with accuracy to very few, and to none save specially favoured populations. These terms, however, exactly fit the conditions under which the *talakawa* who inhabit the country which we have visited are to-day living. The culture and civilisation which have been developed among them through Arabian and Fulani influence, are in their own way, singularly complete and self-sufficing. The fields which these peasants till provide them with the cotton for their distaves and for their looms, thus rendering them, at need, wholly independent of imported fabrics. The surplus of their cotton-crop finds a ready market in neighbouring French territory. Food everywhere is plentiful, and anything resembling poverty, as poverty entailing physical privation is understood in Europe, is unknown among them. Every village appears to support its Muhammadan school, and morning and evening the shrill voices of children, intoning the Kurân with mere melody than comprehension of the chanted words, were heard by us in all our camping-places. I observed no shortage of such articles as agricultural implements and

th
of
la
ex
pr
th
son
of
be
ann
is
reco
pop
Hon
of a
som
in t
to t
amo
peac
the
made
at ev
appr
strea
into
trick
made
sequ
impo
fairly
Secre
Lond
by F
are n
"alo
are h
is nea
in tre
excess
except
increa

the like; and over a great portion of our journey droves of pack-asses, long strings of camels, and more rarely oxen laden and ridden, showed that even in these days, when the external trade of Nigeria is nearly at its lowest ebb, a prosperous local commerce has triumphantly survived among these simple and diligent people, who still actively enjoy, with something akin to surprised admiration, the novel blessings of a peace such as their forebears had never even dreamed to be within the range of possibility.

One of the results of the sudden cessation, not only of annual forays for slaves, but of perennial inter-tribal warfare, is reflected in the figures yielded by the decennial census recently taken, which show, I am informed, an increase of the population inhabiting the group of Provinces under Your Honour's administration, between the years 1911 and 1921, of about 2,500,000 souls, *viz.*, from a little over 8,000,000 to some 10,305,000. This enormous addition to the population in the space of ten years is not all, of course, to be attributed to the ordinary natural increase such as is to be looked for among a healthy rural population during a period of unbroken peace and of plenty. Not only is there reason to believe that the census taken last year was much more accurate than that made ten years ago, but, as the information that reached us at every point of our present journey at which our itinerary approached the international boundary proves, a constant stream of voluntary immigration sets steadily from French into British territory, and finds no counterpoise in the thin trickle of voluntary emigrants from Nigeria, which is mostly made up of criminals seeking to evade capture and the consequences of their misdeeds. This fact is of some special importance and interest at the present time as it furnishes fairly conclusive proof that the apprehension expressed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a speech delivered in London on the 27th January last, that the methods adopted by French administrative officers in certain parts of Africa are more congenial to the local population than are the more "aloof and stand-off" manners of British political officers, are happily without foundation in this Dependency, which is nearly the largest of the Possessions of the British Crown in tropical Africa, and contains a population greatly in excess of any of the over-seas dependencies with the single exception of British India. As a set-off against the natural increase of the population and the steady influx of immigrants

from French territory, due deductions must be made; however, for the abnormal number of deaths that occurred in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria during the Autumn of 1918 and the Winter of 1918-19, as the result of the influenza epidemic which, at that period, wrought such havoc in all parts of West Africa. After every possible deduction has been made, however, the increase above recorded is ample testimony to the prosperous and thriving condition of the people of the Northern Provinces.

3. In the whole course of our extensive journey, the double company of infantry stationed at Sokoto represented the only military garrison maintained at any out-station; while we encountered only nine stations to which Political Officers are permanently posted—*viz.*, Kontagora, Yelwa, Birnin Kebbi, Argungu, Sokoto, Katsina, Hadeija, Kano and Zaria; and though measures are taken to insure that the districts surrounding these centres are regularly "travelled" and inspected, it must be recognised that the detailed supervision to which the operations of the various Native Administrations are thereby subjected is inevitably less close and less perfect than Your Honour and myself might perhaps consider desirable. The worst abuses that, before our Protectorate became effective, disfigured the government of the various States which, taken together, compose the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, and which were so wide-spread that they had come to be regarded by those who suffered from them as part of the ordinary routine of existence, were of so gross and flagrant a character that their detection was easy and their suppression, in our judgment, a thing of course. There remained, however, the minor extortions and acts of petty tyranny, to which the peasantry had become similarly inured, the perpetration of which it was a more difficult matter either to discover or to prevent; and it would not be safe to conclude that, even at the present time, such things have wholly ceased to occur. While, therefore, my admiration is second to none for the work that has been performed, and for the achievement already attained in the Northern Provinces by the Political Staff of which Your Honour is to-day the Head, I feel it to be my duty, alike to my colleagues in the Political Service and to the native population, the supervision of whose affairs is committed to their charge, to exhort the former to the exercise of a *sleepless vigilance*, and to impress upon them the necessity of *rendering themselves at all times accessible to any who may*

s. bl
li. s
tl

Offic
oppo
cong
pride
Sout
Selbo
a jou
Nort
hims
been,
the s
had n

know
there
alread
for no
is call
of the
happi
and tl
de fa
comple
perfec
be fol
Chary
interfe
own w
produc
integri
the rel
the co
commc

6.
attache
betwee
him, i
authori

seek their counsel or their aid, and of doing all that in them lies to maintain the closest personal touch with every class of the populations among which they are living.

4. Upon the work already achieved by the Political Officers of the Northern Provinces, I desire to take this opportunity to offer to them my warmest and most appreciative congratulations; and it will, I know, be a subject for legitimate pride and satisfaction to the whole Political Service, North and South, to learn that so experienced an administrator as Lord Selborne, writing to me a few weeks ago at the conclusion of a journey of over 4,000 miles through many of both the Northern and the Southern Provinces of Nigeria, expressed himself in enthusiastic terms concerning the work that has been, and is being, done in this Dependency, the manner and the spirit of its accomplishment, and of the officers whom he had met by whom it is being performed.

5. Nonetheless, and in this I have the satisfaction of knowing that Your Honour is in the fullest agreement with me, there must be no yielding to the temptation to rest upon laurels already won, or to judge that the success so far achieved calls for no betterment. The problem which every Political Officer is called upon, almost daily, individually to face, in those parts of the country where native administrative machinery has happily been preserved intact, and where the hereditary Rulers and their Councillors, Ministers and Officials are the actual, *de facto* governors of the land, is one of considerable complexity and difficulty. As is too often the case when perfection is sought in human affairs, the fairway that should be followed is flanked on either hand by its Scylla and Charybdis,—too frequent and too personal or direct interference with native administrative methods being, in its own way, scarcely less mischievous in the results it is apt to produce, than is the converse policy of blind confidence in the integrity and trustworthiness of Muhammadan officials, and the reluctance to intervene, the slackness of supervision, and the consequent toleration of, or failure to detect, abuses that commonly result therefrom.

6. It must be the aim of the efficient Political Officer attached to a Native Administration to steer a middle course between these two extremes. He should keep steadily before him, in the first place, the cardinal fact that all executive authority is vested, not in him, but in the Native Administra-

tion; and that his proper functions are primarily advisory, and for the rest are supervisory. He must recognise from the outset that, in all transactions between himself and the ruling classes in the Muhammadan States, he is dealing with a proud, sensitive and *timid* people; and that the timidity to which they are a prey is due, not so much to moral cowardice, but to an instinctive shrinking from the embarrassment and humiliation that are produced by the impatience, the roughness of manner, the loss of temper, the discourtesy, or any apparent contempt of, or disregard for, their accepted usages and traditions which they may, from time to time, think that they detect in those whom they recognise as occupying positions of authority over them. This feeling of timidity and uneasiness is immeasurably enhanced if any doubt is felt as to the ability of an European officer completely to understand all that is said to him; or by a corresponding doubt upon their part as to how far they are interpreting accurately the orders or ideas which he is endeavouring to impart to them through the medium of the vernacular. Upon this point I shall have something further to say in a later paragraph of this minute.

7. The Political Officer must also keep well in the foreground of his mind the fact that the folk with whom he is dealing are, or believe themselves to be, quite pathetically impotent; that they very rarely believe themselves to be in a position to resent openly any affront that an European may put upon them, no matter whether it be the result of set intention, or the mere blunderings of ignorance and indifference. It is therefore incumbent upon the efficient Political Officer to adopt toward all Muhammadans of standing, whether they are or are not officials in the employment of a Native Administration, what I can only adequately describe as a certain *chivalry* of manner, treating them with a measure of dignity and courtesy corresponding as nearly as possible to that which usually inspires their own behaviour, and scrupulously avoiding violent gestures, loudness of speech, or even the unnecessary raising of the speaking voice when addressing them. It must be one of the primary objects of every Political Officer to inspire the Africans of all classes, with whom he has to deal, not only with respect, but with confidence; and neither the one nor the other is to be won by the European whose faults of manner are calculated to convey to the natives about him the idea that he is either a hectoring bully, a mannerless oaf, or, it may be, merely a buffoon. Similarly, it is very rarely safe to venture

upon
Mul
addr
coul
poss
that
delig
inter
Staff
selves
The
reserv
regard
undig
pleasa
incom

8

study
demca
whom
eyes tl
been d
who c
freque
Muhar
their b
own c
Europe
and pr
should
a concr
it woul
closest
enough
among
accordir
dog ran
that ph
to an or
pollutio
contemp
and tha
neighbou

upon anything resembling a humorous sally when talking to Muhammadans of the superior classes, unless the individual addressed is exceedingly well-known to the speaker. No one could dream of denying to the Hausa or to the Fulani the possession of a sense of humour; and, indeed, I make no doubt that this has not infrequently been employed to convulse delighted local audiences with admirably rendered accounts of interviews with the more experienced members of the Political Staff during which, at the time, the latter have flattered themselves that they had succeeded in creating no mean impression. The Muhammadan of the upper classes, however, usually reserves his quips and jests for his intimates, and he is apt to regard any departure from this rule by an European as undignified, or if, as not infrequently happens, the point of the pleasantry be missed, as something which is embarrassingly incomprehensible, or possibly even offensive.

8. Finally, Political Officers should make a painstaking study of the innumerable little details governing the every-day demeanour and comportment of the Muhammadans among whom they are living which, taken together, constitute in their eyes the difference between good and bad manners. Had this been done in Nigeria at an earlier stage by all the Europeans who came into the country, we should not to-day be so frequently treated to the deplorable spectacle of well-meaning Muhammadans throughout the whole Dependency baring their heads as an intended token of respect (which in their own eyes it can never be) when greeting or addressing Europeans. This study should be extended to the predilections and prejudices of the people; and wherever possible, these should be carefully and even scrupulously respected. To give a concrete instance of what I mean. Some Political Officers, it would seem, are accustomed to look upon their dogs as their closest comrades in their "exile." This may be natural enough from our point of view; but Political Officers living among Muhammadans should never for an instant forget that, according to the teaching of the Muhammadan religion, the dog ranks next after the pig on the list of "unclean" animals, that physical contact with a dog, no matter how accidental, to an orthodox Muhammadan, is or should be, an unspeakable pollution; that he instinctively feels, not only repulsion but contempt, at the sight of an European fondling his pet dog; and that mere elementary courtesy and respect for one's neighbour's feelings, to say nothing of one's own

self-respect, should restrain a Political Officer, whose duty brings him into close daily intercourse with cultured Muhammadans, from wantonly offending prejudices of this character. During a visit which was paid to me at a Residency in the Northern Provinces by one of the leading Fulani Emirs in September, 1919—that is to say, within a very few weeks of my arrival in Nigeria.—I was horrified to see two or three dogs, the property of the Political Officer in whose house the meeting was taking place, being allowed to run at large in and out among the Muhammadan officials who had their seats upon carpets spread upon the floor. I at once interfered; but that such an incident could be possible, showed either gross ignorance of Muhammadan feelings and prejudices, or a no less gross callousness and indifference to them; and either the one or the other, and still more a combination of both, argue the possession of qualities which are of a character effectually to bar those sentiments of mutual respect and confidence without which it is not feasible for an European to establish really intimate and sympathetic relations with cultured Muhammadans. It is commonly said that the rank and file of the Muhammadans of the Northern Provinces are very lax in their practice of their religion, and that they entertain few of the prejudices common to most followers of Islam. This may be so; though it may also be doubted how far they are accustomed to give frank expression to their feelings upon such subjects to Europeans whom they have every reason to believe to be ignorant concerning them. In any event, it is no part of the duty of an European, who is living and working among Muhammadans, to encourage laxity of this kind or to ignore the existence of well-established Muhammadan precepts.

9. To Your Honour and to many of the senior Political Officers in the Northern Provinces, all this may appear very rudimentary. My object in addressing to you this Minute, however, is to impress upon the very large number of young officers, who have recently joined the Political Service of the Northern Provinces, two elementary but essential facts,—*viz.*, the great importance of cultivating good manners in their dealings with Muhammadans of all classes; and the impossibility of achieving this without first undertaking a careful and sympathetic study of native ideas, standards of courtesy, prejudices and predilections.

10. Some young Englishmen newly arrived in the country, and even, it is to be feared, some Political Officers of

much lo
bother m
manners
prejudice
for me, i
is that, f
Muhamm
as those v
that if an
the initia
therefore,
fresh and
are so easi
things are
content to
should be
turn mean
life to th
imperfectl
and often
himself to
intimate
absolute
Yet upon
that he n
between
the native
the disho
difference
may be l
slipshod,
of which
really fir
remembe
spur^o of
Knowledg
character
habits, r
upon wh
and this
by little.
the fruit
inspirati

much longer standing, may perhaps ask: "Why should I bother myself about what the natives think about me and my manners? Why should I be at pains to study their ideas and prejudices? If my way of comporting myself is good enough for me, it has got to be good enough for them." The answer is that, for every European, the shy confidence of a primitive Muhammadan people is hedged about by barriers as formidable as those which guarded the Palace of the Sleeping Beauty; and that if any attempt is to be made to scale or penetrate them, the initiative must come from the white man. Unless, therefore, he be prepared scrupulously to refrain from raising fresh and unnecessary barriers of his own creation,—such as are so easily reared up by faults of manner and of taste, as such things are judged from the native stand-point,—he must be content to abandon, from the very outset of his career, what should be one of the main objects of his ambition: This in turn means that he must resign himself for all his official life to the fate of one who is groping his way about an imperfectly lighted room, filled with unfamiliar, puzzling and often singularly angular objects. He will be condemning himself to *guessing*, in circumstances in which sure and intimate *knowledge* should guide him by its clear light to absolute certainty; and his guessing will often be at fault. Yet upon his reading of a situation, and upon the advice that he may tender to Government may depend the difference between justice and injustice (as such things are judged by the natives concerned); the difference between the honour and the dishonour of the Government which he is serving; the difference between good, honest work accomplished, such as may be held to justify any man's existence, and a piece of slipshod, indifferent, fudged make-shift, the poor quality of which must be manifest even to its uncritical author. For really first-class political work in this country, it must be remembered, cannot be done by the light of nature, on the spur of occasion, or without long preliminary preparation. Knowledge, sure and unerring knowledge of the people, of their character, of their point of view, of their customs, traditions, habits, modes of thought, is needed as the solid foundation upon which alone really sound political work can be reared up; and this has to be garnered slowly, patiently, painfully, little by little. It is not to be acquired as occasion requires. It is the fruit of the labour of years: it can never come as the happy inspiration of the moment.

11. More than a quarter of a century ago, at the end of a period of some thirteen years' service most of which I had spent as a Political Officer almost entirely alone among a Muhammadan population, with only one spell of fifteen months' sick-leave to break its sequence, I tried to put into words, in a book long since out of print, some of the lessons which that somewhat unusual experience had taught me. I would ask Your Honour and the more senior members of the Political Service in the Northern Provinces to bear with me if, more especially for the benefit of the young men who have recently joined the Service, I here quote a few passages from the book in question. I was writing of the Political Officer whom fate sets down in an isolated position among natives, and who, I claimed, can find a study of inexhaustible interest lying ready to his hand, if only he can be brought to realise its extraordinary interest and fascination.

“ Almost unconsciously he begins to perceive that he is sundered from the people of the land by a gulf which *they* will attempt to bridge. If he is ever to gain their confidence the work must be of his own doing. They cannot come up to his level; he must go down to the plains in which they dwell. He must put off many of the things of the white man, and must forget many of his airs of superiority.

“ He must start by learning the language of his fellows, as perfectly as it is given to a stranger to learn it. That is the first step in a long and often weary march. Next he must study, with all the eagerness of Browning's Grammarian every native custom, every native conventionality, every one of the ten thousand ceremonial observances to which the natives, among themselves, attach so vast an importance. He must grow to understand each one of the hints and *double entendres*, of which natives make such frequent use; every little mannerism, sign and token; and most difficult of all, every motion of the hearts and every turn of thought of those whom he is beginning to call his own people. He must become acutely conscious of native public opinion, which is often diametrically opposed to that of his race-mates on one and the same subject. He must be able unerringly to predict how the slightest of his

actions, w
shape his
he is to n
their sym
to place
unlikely
tively to
really the
and accu
conceiva
an Euro
native w
instanta
which th
of the
and his
complet
which a
a sound

“ It does no
pass b
winnin
he thi
good
its be
unexp
morti
has g
he ha
and
man

“ Then
His
Hur
line
his
loo
Hi
he
sol
wo
ha

actions will be regarded by the natives, and he must shape his course by the light of that knowledge, if he is to maintain his influence over them and to win their sympathy and their confidence. He must learn to place himself in imagination in all manner of unlikely places and situations, and thence instinctively to feel the native point of view. That is really the whole secret of governing natives,—a quick and accurate perception of their point of view in all conceivable circumstances; a rapid process whereby an European places himself in the position of the native with whom he is dealing; an instinctive and instantaneous apprehension of the precise manner in which that native will be affected, and a clear vision of the *man*, of his feelings, his hopes, his desires and his sorrows,—these, and these alone, mean that complete sympathy and understanding, without which a white man among natives is apt to be but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.

It does not come all at once. Months, perhaps years, pass before the exile begins to feel that he is winning any grip upon his people; and even when he thinks that he knows as much about them as is good for any man, the native soul shakes itself in its brown casing, and comes out in some totally unexpected and unlooked-for place to his no small mortification and discouragement. But, when he has got thus far, discouragement matters little, for he has become bitten by the love of his discoveries, and can no more quit them than can the morphia-maniac abandon the drug that is killing him.

Then he gets deep set in a groove and is happy. His fingers are between the leaves of the Book of Human Nature, and his eager eyes are scanning the lines of the chapter which in time he hopes to make his own. The natives about him have learned to look upon him as almost one of their own people. His speech is their speech; he can think as they do; he can feel as they feel, rejoicing in their joys, sorrowing in their pains. He can tell them wonderful things, and of a philosophy of which they had not dreamed. He never offends their suscepti-

bilities, never wounds their self-respect, never sins against any of their innumerable conventions. He has shared their sports, doctored their ills, healed their sick; protected them from oppression, stood their friend in time of need, done them a thousand kindnesses, and has helped their dying through the strait and awful pass of death. Above all, *he understands*; and in manner they love him. A new white man, speaking with them in a strange tongue, seems to lift him for the time out of their lives. The stranger jars upon the natives, who are the exile's people; and he looking through the natives' eyes, which are no longer dim for him, sees where his race-fellow offends and in his turn is jarred, until he finds himself wincing at his own countryman, as once the natives winced at him. Coming out of the groove hurts badly, and wedging oneself back into it again is almost worse; but when a man is once well set in the rut of native life, these things do not disturb him, for he has found happiness and has no need of other or wider interests."

12. Conditions have altered vastly throughout the Tropical Possessions of the Crown during the two and a half decades which have elapsed since those words were written, red-hot from a personal experience. In the Northern Provinces of Nigeria to-day, men do not spend year after year in continuous isolation or pass month after month without seeing a white face or speaking a word of their own language; and the opportunities for acquiring a deep and intimate knowledge of the people among whom we are working are proportionately restricted. What I would seek to impress upon young men now entering the Service, however, is that the possession of that knowledge is to-day as vitally important to England, and to the tremendously responsible work which she has undertaken to do in her Tropical Possessions, as it was five and twenty years ago; that to every one of them a splendid opportunity is vouchsafed of learning more about the people among whom he is living than is known to the rank and file of his fellows; that here, ready to his hand, is one of the most fascinating studies upon which it is given to any man to have the supreme good fortune to embark,—a study which is not only compellingly engrossing in itself, but which is bound

enormously to
ment he is
individual pow
both England
control or man
him in trust.

13. In a
these distant la
ing; and I sho
this to the ful
study and sel
sacred duty.
enthusiasm, to
as the possessi
to be actuated
That is, how
surface pose t
sentiments an
are serious an
average Engl
this attitude o
be speaking t
majority of th
—who apprec
are disposed t
once again to
Servants of E
Viceroyship.

" Oh th
his
' T
No
of v
are
wh
ide
for
the
the
odi
the
cou

enormously to enhance the value of the student to the Government he is serving, and proportionately to enlarge his individual power for good and his ability to serve faithfully both England and the pathetically defenceless people; the control or management of whose affairs England has given to him in trust.

13. In a very peculiar degree, we Political Officers in these distant lands have the honour of our Country in our keeping; and I should like to see every man in the Service realising this to the full and sparing no pains to fit himself by constant study and self-discipline for the adequate discharge of that sacred duty. It is a cheap fashion of our time to mock at enthusiasm, to be rather shy of confessing to such a weakness as the possession of ideals, to be a little ashamed of appearing to be actuated by any save purely selfish and material motives. That is, however, in many cases, I am convinced, a mere surface pose that is often designed to hide far more serious sentiments and ambitions which, precisely because they are serious and deeply felt, are not easy of expression by the average Englishman. There are some, of course, in whom this attitude of mind is no pose, and in addressing them I shall be speaking to deaf ears; but to the others—the very large majority of the men in the Political Service of Nigeria to-day, —who appreciate what their life-work really means, and who are disposed to take themselves and it seriously, I should like once again to quote words spoken by Lord Curzon to the Civil Servants of British India on the eve of his resignation of the Viceroyship.

“Oh that to every Englishman in this country as he ends his work, might be truthfully applied the phrase; ‘Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity.’ No man has, I believe, ever served India faithfully of whom that could not be said. All other triumphs are tinsel and sham. Perhaps there are few of us who make anything but a poor approximation to that ideal. But let it be our ideal all the same: To fight for the Right, to abhor the Imperfect, the Unjust or the Mean; to swerve neither to the right hand nor to the left; to care nothing for flattery or applause or for odium or abuse—it is so fatally easy to have any of them; never to let your enthusiasm be soured or your courage grow dim; but to remember that the

Almighty has placed your hand on one of the greatest of His ploughs, in whose furrow the nations of the future are germinating and taking shape; to seek to drive the blade a little forward in your time; and to feel that somewhere among these millions, you have left a little justice or happiness or prosperity, a sense of manliness or moral dignity, a spring of patriotism, a dawn of intellectual enlightenment, or a stirring of duty, where it did not before exist. That is enough. It is good enough for the Englishman's watchword while he is here, for his epitaph when he is gone."

14. Turning now from the question of the spirit and the manner in which the work of a Political Officer in this country should be done, and from the consideration of the study and self-discipline which must be his if he is to equip himself efficiently for its discharge, there are a few matters connected with the character of that work and with objects at which it aims, concerning which I should like to place a few considerations upon record for the guidance of Political Officers.

15. In paragraph 5 of this Minute, I have made mention of the difficulty wherewith every Political Officer, who has dealings with a Native Administration which is the *de facto* Government of the State which it controls, is constantly confronted, of avoiding undue interference with native methods and procedure, on the one hand, and on the other, of playing so inactive a part that his presence ceases to exert any practical restraining influence.

16. In order to maintain an even course between these two extremes, there are certain facts that every Political Officer should bear steadily in mind. These may be roughly summarised as follows:—

- (a) The Native Governments of the Muhammadan Emirates were, until some twenty years ago, kingdoms very similar in many respects to those which existed in Europe in, say, the fourteenth century, with the difference that they to some extent depended for their revenues upon the slaves captured in their annual forays, who were publicly sold in the slave-markets established in all the larger cities of what are to-day the Northern Provinces.

(b) The
enviro
chang
class
of an
differ
after
and
evolve
(c) It is
recen
instan
slave-
impo
and v
men
isolat
maki
publi
Pitt
of hi
Writing i
until
spect
—an
to m
aspe
1745
Galle
the
rotti
1765
Eng
ordi
hang
to b
at t
flogg
1820
debt
their
pris

(b) The standards of ethics developed in such an environment, which had remained without material change for centuries, during which period the ruling classes had been subjected to no extraneous influences of an improving or purifying character, necessarily differed very radically from those which Englishmen, after hundreds of years of travail and of gradual social and political development, have in our own time evolved for themselves.

(c) It is well to remember, in this connection, how recent is our own civilisation in many respects. For instance, in the eighteenth century, the African slave-trade was universally recognised as an important branch of British commercial enterprise, and was regarded by the vast majority of our countrymen as a perfectly legitimate line of business. A few isolated voices had been raised against it, but without making, as yet, any sensible impression upon the public mind; and no less a statesman than the elder Pitt made the development of the traffic a main object of his policy.

Writing in 1877, Lecky said: "Executions in England until very lately have been a favourite public spectacle—it may almost be said a public amusement—and in the last century everything seemed done to make the people familiar with their most frightful aspects. Aghastly row of heads of the rebels of 1745 mouldered along the top of Temple Bar. Gallows were erected in every important quarter of the city, and on many of them corpses were left rotting in chains. When Blackstone wrote (*viz.* 1765) there were no less than 160 offences in England punishable with death, and it was a very ordinary occurrence for ten or twelve culprits to be hanged on a single occasion, and for forty or fifty to be condemned at a single assize." And again: "Men, and even women, were still whipped publicly at the tail of a cart through the streets, and the flogging of women in England was only abolished in 1820." And still again: "Cases were proved of debtors who, being unable to pay their fees (*viz.*, to their gaolers) were locked up, like Castell, with prisoners suffering from smallpox, and thus rapidly

destroyed; of others who were reduced almost to skeletons by insufficient food; of sick women who were left without beds, without attendance, and without proper nourishment, till they died of neglect; of men who were tortured by the thumbscrew, or who lingered in slow agony under irons of intolerable weight." • It was not until 1736,—only 186 years ago—that the law which made witchcraft punishable by death was repealed in England, while in Ireland a similar law was in force until 1821; and on this subject such a man as John Wesley could write:—

"It is true likewise, that the English in general, and indeed most of the men of learning in Europe, have given up all accounts of witches and apparitions as mere old wives' fables. I am sorry for it, and I willingly take this opportunity of entering my solemn protest against this violent compliment which so many that believe the Bible pay to those who do not believe it. I owe them no such service. I take knowledge that these are at the bottom of the outcry which has been raised and with such insolence spread through the nation, in direct opposition not only to the Bible, but to the suffrages of the wisest and best men of all ages and nations. They well know (whether Christians know it or not) that the giving up witchcraft is in effect giving up the Bible. . . . I cannot give up to all Deists in Great Britain the existence of witchcraft till I give up the credit of all history, sacred and profane."

17. It is well to bear such facts as these in mind, because it is neither fair nor right to judge men and methods in a Muhammadan Emirate, which has only been subjected to our influence for a couple of decades, too rigidly by the standards which have been set up in our midst, which we have all learned in our cradles unquestioningly to accept, but which a very few generations ago would have been regarded by the average, cultured Englishman as almost impossibly idealistic. I would not be understood as suggesting that these standards are not to be the guides of our judgment, far less that our constant aim and object should be anything less than their establishment throughout Nigeria in all their integrity. The fact that we accept them, and that we are bent upon forcing their acceptance upon the people among whom we are working, should not be allowed to blind us, however, to an appreciation of their extreme novelty and of their almost revolutionary character in the eyes of many of those people; nor should the discovery, that many cultured

Muhammadans subjects only a us to regard t moral obliquity depraved. Ins natural produc inherited tradi our judgment c have already p these people h learn, that wh cautiously, and judgment 'being native, rather t primary busine safeguarded, a of chiefs being. sion from bec ubiquitous, ac patient with a and at once fir rulers and with not judge the quite easy, th into acts that soundness of t don't suppose me—provided so, he must however, facts has been doi indignation to engaged in we ideas that hav that great, ev has already be into the space even among c slow growth c be gradual, n —time and in punishment sl it has lies in i

Muhammadans in this country extend to our views on such subjects only a limited comprehension and sympathy, cause us to regard them as folk who are inflicted by an incurable moral obliquity of vision, far less as being in any true sense depraved. Instead, recognising that these people are the natural products of their environment and of centuries of inherited tradition, we should use a generous tolerance in our judgment of them. We should realise that while, as I have already pointed out, a Political Officer living among these people has an immense number of difficult things to *learn*, that which he has to *teach* must be imparted slowly, cautiously, and with the utmost patience, his every act and judgment being inspired by a thorough appreciation of the native, rather than of the European, point of view. It is his primary business to insure that life, liberty and property are safeguarded, and to prevent both the old customary powers of chiefs being abused, and new forms of extortion and oppression from becoming prevalent. To this end he should be ubiquitous, accessible at all hours to the meanest suitor, patient with a patience far exceeding that of the Patriarch, and at once firm and just in all his dealings, alike with the rulers and with the folk they rule. Yet throughout he should not judge the wrong-doer by standards not his own, for it is quite easy, through an over-zeal for justice, to be betrayed into acts that are unjust. Experience will teach him the soundness of the philosophy of Mr. Inspector Bracket: "I don't suppose there's a move on the board that would surprise me—provided it is in the wrong direction"; and, this being so, he must never suffer his vigilance to relax. When, however, facts come to his knowledge which show that evil has been done, he should not allow disappointment or indignation to influence him. He should realise that he is engaged in working a very radical revolution in facts and in ideas that have held undisputed sway for hundreds of years; that great, even astounding, progress in the desired direction has already been made; but that we are trying in fact to crush into the space of a few year's moral and ethical changes which, even among our own energetic countrymen, have been the slow growth of centuries. Such a process must necessarily be gradual, not abrupt. Time alone can work its fulfilment—time and infinite patience. Also he should remember that punishment should never be vindictive, and that the only use it has lies in its deterrent effects. To be equitable, moreover,

it must be meted out in proportion, not so much to the nature of the offence committed, as to the moral responsibility of the individual who has been found guilty of that offence. The crime of an Englishman who embezzles public funds, for example, must be judged by quite other standards than those which would be appropriate in the case of a Village Head who has failed to account for all the tax-money collected by him; and a Fulani official who has committed some oppressive act, —though he and his fellows must be actively and effectively discouraged, and if possible prevented, from repeating the offence,—cannot be treated as would be, say, a modern British landlord who sought forcibly to exercise *le droit du seigneur* over his tenantry.

18. Similarly, Political Officers must not be too contemptuous or too intolerant of local superstitions; nor should they regard as "extraordinary" people who hold views very similar to those which were entertained by John Wesley only a hundred and fifty years ago. Some day, no doubt, many of these ideas will be discarded by the natives of Nigeria, as they have now been discarded by ourselves; but the process must inevitably be a very gradual one; and in the mean time the actuality of the native's belief in witchcraft and magic, rather than the soundness or otherwise of his judgment in such matters, should be the fact that should chiefly engross the attention of a Political Officer, since it lends a new meaning and value to acts which are in themselves grossly and inexcusably criminal, if they be judged only from the standpoint of the modern, educated European.

19. In all that he does or leaves undone in his control or management of the administration of a Native State by its own local Government, the Political Officer must be careful, whenever possible, to lend his support to the authority of the Emir and his officers. They, and not he, as I have said, constitute the *de facto* Government of the country over which their operations extend; and this is a fact that should be made manifest upon all occasions to the people living under their rule. If punishment has to be meted out, it is the Emir who should award it; if anyone is deserving of commendation, it is the Emir who should allot the praise or announce the reward. The Political Officer should be the Whisper behind the Throne, but never for an instant the Throne itself. Similarly, as regards less prominent native officials, he should

take care never position of authority of an insignificant already been finished the Native Administration cumulative effect impotence the should never be with to consign

20. The Provinces are, the country to of government have evolved they are themselves and the Native They cannot stand

21. The in every primitive knowledge where great changes years; and no away of a state be in many with simplicity of experience, as regrets. The to the rigid Muhammadan their perpetuation to disappointment administrations "world of which outside influence extraneous and for any prolong with the hand Native Administration presently be that of the modern excavators in to vanish, cruel

take care never publicly to discredit any man occupying a position of authority,—even if it be only that of the Head of an insignificant village—unless his removal from office has already been finally determined upon. To do so is to weaken the Native Administration in one of its parts, and the cumulative effect of such actions may be to reduce to impotence the whole machine of local government. A tool should never be wantonly blunted if it be not intended forthwith to consign it to the scrap-heap.

20. The Native Administrations of the Northern Provinces are, as I have said, the *de facto* Governments of the country to-day. They are, we are all convinced, the form of government most fitted to the needs of the populations that have evolved them; but surely, if gradually, those populations are themselves undergoing a process of change and evolution, and the Native Administrations, must keep pace with them. They cannot stand still, if they are to endure.

21. The *laudator temporis acti* is an inevitable figure in every primitive Tropical country of which I have any knowledge wherein, through the advent of European influence, great changes have been wrought in the space of a very few years; and no man who has himself witnessed the passing away of a state of things which, however abominable it might be in many ways, yet had about it the glamour of age, of simplicity, of the unmoral and of the picturesque, can fail to experience, as he watches it, some sentimental, if illogical, regrets. The school of thought, however, which pins its faith to the rigid maintenance of the *status quo* in the Muhammadan Emirates, as the only sure means of securing their perpetuation, is doomed, I am convinced, to failure and to disappointment. Any attempt to keep these Native Administrations “unspotted from the world”—the *modern world* of which they form a part,—by sheltering them from outside influences, and from the influx of strangers, and of extraneous and exotic ideas, cannot possibly prove successful for any prolonged period. It is like trying to stay a torrent with the hand; and if the attempt were persisted with, the Native Administrations of the Northern Provinces would presently be reduced to a condition of frailty comparable to that of the mummy-groups, occasionally brought to light by excavators in Egypt, that, at the first breath of air, are said to vanish, crumbling into dust.

22. We, I feel strongly, must work for more solid ends than these. We must not be content merely to purify the Native Administrations, and to render them efficient and justice dealing machines for the government of the populations living within their borders. We must go further than that, and must watch over and stimulate their growth and their gradual evolution; recognising that, as time goes on, they must so develop as to command the respect and the confidence, not only of their own subjects, but of all who may visit or settle within the territories under their rule. On such terms only can they be made permanently to endure; but I am persuaded that, if the policy above indicated is clearly appreciated and steadily pursued, there can be secured to the Native Administrations of the Northern Provinces at least as fair a chance of permanency as that which is enjoyed by the great Native States of British India, many of which stand on more firm foundations to-day than could be claimed for them during the years that followed the break up of the great Mughal Empire two centuries ago. I consider that we should watch with a very jealous eye any claims that may, from time to time, be advanced for anything resembling "Extra-territoriality" in the Provinces of the North. I personally regret that any such principle was ever accepted or admitted when the various *sabon gari* were established. Its application should certainly not be further extended, unless in any particular instance the most weighty and convincing reasons can be adduced therefor; and I entertain the hope that, at no very distant day, it may be found possible altogether to abrogate it. That, at any rate, is one of the ends at which every Political Officer should consciously and consistently aim. In my view, the longevity of the Native Administrations of the Northern Provinces will in a great measure depend upon the success or failure that may attend our efforts in this direction.

23. In conclusion, I regret to have to state that, as a result of this and of other journeys made by me during the past two and a half years through practically all the Provinces of the North, I do not find myself greatly impressed by the knowledge of the vernacular possessed by the generality of the officers belonging to the Political Service. It appears to me that they, for the most part, seem to be content to understand and to make themselves understood in a more or less

superficial and necessary to dev and protracted acquired to anyt the necessary ex it be thought th an officer can r his period of s recently been do on the Gold Co Orders, &c., &c books, the obje man's ability to printed matter, which, when t concrete cases innovation shou a matter of gre but I suggest the examination increased in sev Standard shoul *colloquial* profic intimate acqu though it be; a has not been s exacted in the an efficiency ba this matter yo proposals to gi

24. In c though address the guidance Political Service to add that, incalculable a comments, ad embodying vie by Your Hon

superficial and perfunctory manner, without considering it necessary to devote to the study of the language that patient and protracted toil, without which no foreign tongue can be acquired to anything resembling perfection. The passage of the necessary examinations is not in itself sufficient; nor should it be thought that those tests once successfully over-passed, an officer can rest contentedly upon his oars for the rest of his period of service. As Your Honour is aware, it has recently been decided here, as it was decided some years ago on the Gold Coast, that in examinations in Law, General Orders, &c., &c., the examinee shall be allowed free access to books, the object of such examinations being, not to test a man's ability to commit to memory an enormous volume of printed matter, but to show the correctness or otherwise with which, when the books are before him, he can apply to concrete cases the laws or regulations in question. This innovation should render the examinations in these subjects a matter of great ease to any officer of average intelligence; but I suggest to Your Honour that the standard exacted in the examinations in the vernacular should be considerably increased in severity; that the successful passage of the Higher Standard should be tantamount to a certificate of very real *colloquial* proficiency—I attach much less importance to an intimate acquaintance with the written language, useful though it be; and that proof that a knowledge once acquired has not been suffered thereafter to rust or to decay should be exacted in the case of any Political Officer who claims to pass an efficiency bar. I shall be obliged if Your Honour will give this matter your consideration, and if you will formulate proposals to give effect thereto at your convenience.

24. In conclusion, I would repeat that this minute, though addressed to Your Honour, is primarily intended for the guidance and instruction of the junior members of the Political Service of the Northern Provinces; and I should like to add that, before it assumed its final form, it had the incalculable advantage of being subjected to your expert comments, advice and criticism, and may now be taken as embodying views and opinions that are held no less strongly by Your Honour than they are by me.

25. I suggest that a copy of this minute should be supplied to every Member of the Political and Educational Services at present on the strength of the Northern Provinces; and that a copy should be automatically issued to every officer who may hereafter be posted to those Branches of the Public Service.

HUGH CLIFFORD,
Governor.

KADUNA, 18th March, 1922.

FROM THE S
To A

THE TRAIN METHODS

I am dire
that His Hon
Emirates, a l
correct proced
istration offic
working of N
of administrat
District Head
knowledge by
have been ma
consolidation
were found in
tion abundant
while trying t
body politic.

2. The
in the present
Provinces the
and laborious
the advice an
understand th
have been eve
of former day
there is no r
experimenting
light of natur
out taking ac
and experienc

It is the
and Senior I

CIRCULAR

No. K. 7198/8

1st July, 1928.

FROM THE SECRETARY, NORTHERN PROVINCES, KADUNA.
TO ALL RESIDENTS, NORTHERN PROVINCES.

THE TRAINING OF JUNIOR OFFICERS IN THE METHODS OF "INDIRECT" ADMINISTRATION.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to inform you that His Honour has observed, particularly in the smaller Emirates, a lack of appreciation by Junior Officers of the correct procedure to be followed in dealing with Native Administration officials and indeed an inadequate knowledge of the working of Native Administration machinery in the chain of administration from the peasant through the Village and District Head to the Emir. Senior officers have acquired this knowledge by experience in the course of which many mistakes have been made. In the early days of the initiation and consolidation of "indirect administration" many Emirates were found in an unreformed state and the process of reformation abundantly proved how easy it was to destroy the patient while trying to cure the diseases of the Native Administration body politic.

2. The younger Officers have not that experience and in the present state of progress reached by most of the Northern Provinces there is no need for them to acquire it as painfully and laboriously as their seniors, provided they can rely on the advice and assistance of the latter to enable them to understand the why and the wherefore of the methods which have been evolved largely through the correction of mistakes of former days. A state of progress has been reached at which there is no room for what may be termed "Amateur" or experimenting Administrative Officers content to work by the light of nature and to deal with each problem as it arises without taking advantage of the accumulated body of precedents and experience which now exists.

It is therefore with a view to the guidance of Residents and Senior District Officers in training their Junior Officers

and especially Cadets that the following notes—additional to and to be read in conjunction with Political Memoranda—are prepared on points of procedure in which it appears that instruction is particularly needed. They will be added to from time to time and embodied in any future revision of Political Memoranda. Suggestions from Residents as to their amplification are therefore invited.

RESIDENTS' INSPECTIONS.

3. (a) Residents should visit each Division of their respective Provinces from time to time in accordance with my Memorandum No. 2477/1922/5 of the 15th of July, 1922, and should satisfy themselves that the District Officer, in charge, thoroughly understands *how* he is to administer the Emirate, Division or other unit in his charge, and should make certain that he is not unconsciously undermining the authority of the Emir or the latter's confidence in him through ignorance of procedure and lack of insight, while expecting "progress" in the Emirate. Such undermining may occur through excess of zeal in attempting to accelerate the march of progress by too direct action.

It is important that the District Officer should understand that real "progress" comes from within the body politic and that to attempt to force the pace by direct action is calculated to kill initiative in the Native Administration. Moreover the bare exposition of improved methods of administration, accounting, agriculture, tax collection and so on is of little value, unless the Emir and the Native Administration officials are led by patient and often laborious explanations to assimilate these improved methods to themselves and to realise their advantages over the former methods. It has been found that informal conversations and discussions on matters not merely of local but of Nigerian and world wide interest have been much appreciated and have broadened the outlook of Emirs and Native Administration officials and increased their desire for progress.

EMIRS' REPRESENTATIVES WITH TOURING OFFICERS.

(b) My circular No. K. 7198/4 of the 31st May, 1928, emphasised the necessity for touring officers—Departmental as well as Administrative—being accompanied by Emirs' representatives and the principles therein laid down should be adhered to and brought to the notice of junior officers. I am

to remind I correct proc representing administratic giving any or circuited." of August, 1 As a general in the prese in the prese should pract when an Em must be exe against thei but in most and such co complaints t first instanc

So far a to the superi representativ Only thus c insisted on. authority to adherence to for the carr idea of dec administrati

(c) Ea own jail or interchange or Province by a minor the transfer chief whom and might own and independen

to remind Residents to impress on their subordinates the correct procedure in regard to interviews with persons representing respectively the various links in the chain of administration, from the Emir downwards, in order to avoid giving any one of them the impression that he is being "short circuited." My Confidential Circular No. 6/21 of the 10th of August, 1922,* should be referred to in this connection. As a general rule a Village Head should only be interviewed in the presence of his District Head and both of them only in the presence of the Emir's representative. A District Head should practically never be granted a formal interview except when an Emir's representative is present. A certain discretion must be exercised in hearing complaints of private persons against their superiors, whether Village or District Heads, but in most cases the Emir's representative should be present and such complainants should be encouraged to take their complaints to the Native Courts, District Head or Emir in the first instance.

So far as is possible direction and advice should be given to the superior and not to the inferior, *i.e.*, through the Emir's representative to the District Head and so on down the scale. Only thus can the chain of responsibility be supported and insisted on. Chiefs are as a rule so little inclined to delegate authority to their subordinates that it is only by a strict adherence to this principle of making the superior responsible for the carrying out of instructions by the inferior that some idea of decentralisation can be inculcated and an efficient administration be built up.

JAILS AND NATIVE POLICE.

(c) Each Emirate or independent unit should have its own jail or lock-up and its own separate dogarai who are not interchangeable with those of another unit in the same Division or Province. This will obviate any imagined loss of prestige by a minor Emir or independent Chief who might object to the transfer of his prisoners to a jail in the territory of another chief whom he considered to be on an equality with himself and might view the interchangeability of dogarai between his own and other units as in some degree impairing the independence of his unit.

* As modified by Confidential Circular No. 22176/49 of the 19th October, 1934.

CHANGES IN PRINCIPLES OF TAXATION.

(d) Residents should impress on junior officers that no change in the principles of taxation must be made without the Lieutenant-Governor's express sanction and should direct their attention to Political Memorandum No. 5, the various instructional circulars on Assessment and Tax Collection and in particular to my Circular No. 25/554/1922/58 of the 31st March, 1922, and No. 34/3662/1921/223 of the 23rd of July, 1927.* In general the tax whether collected on capita- tion basis or not is an income tax levied on *the community*. Apart from ensuring that individual tax receipts are issued, Government cannot pretend to keep an account with the individual or family. Claims for exemption or appeals against over assessment by individuals may be investigated in the same way as petty cases. In nearly every case however the matter should be referred to the Emir. Unless the tax is excessive, reduction of or exemption from tax in the case of individuals by independent action is likely to embarrass the District or Village Head in the collection of tax.

POLITICAL MEMOS. AND CIRCULARS.

(e) The Political Memoranda and file of Secretariat Circulars should be available in all offices for reference and study and Residents should take steps to ensure that junior officers read them.

J. M. FREMANTLE,
Secretary, Northern Provinces,
(Acting).

* And to Chapter I. of the Northern Provinces Office Guide.

FROM THE
To

THE TRA
METHODS

I am di
Circular No
transmit fo
subjoined ex
by the Resid
Honour.

(a)
int
bec
adv
Pr
dis
ass
car
aft
we
(G
of
U
Li
an
of
in
(i
w
A

CIRCULAR

No. 26/K.7198/43

Kaduna, 23rd November, 1928.

FROM THE SECRETARY, NORTHERN PROVINCES, KADUNA.
TO ALL RESIDENTS, NORTHERN PROVINCES.

THE TRAINING OF JUNIOR OFFICERS IN THE METHODS OF "INDIRECT" ADMINISTRATION.

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor to refer to my Circular No. K:7198/8 of the 1st of July, 1928, and to transmit for general information and guidance (a) the subjoined extract from a memorandum addressed to his staff by the Resident Adamawa together with (b) a minute by His Honour.

(a) (i) "The history of indirect rule is that it was introduced by Sir Frederick (now Lord) Lugard because he realised that he could not effectively administer the enormous area of the Northern Provinces with the utterly inadequate staff at his disposal, and that therefore he must enlist the assistance of the Native Chiefs. His policy was carried on by his successor Sir Percy Girouard, afterwards Governor of East Africa, and the details were worked out chiefly by Sir John Burdon (Governor of Honduras), Sir Charles Orr (Governor of the Bahamas), Sir William Gowers (Governor of Uganda), Mr. Temple, and especially the present Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces, to whom, among other important matters, was due the creation of Native Treasuries, the most essential corollary to indirect rule."

(ii) "The success of the Northern Nigeria system was so striking and the development of the Native Administrations was so rapid that the Colonial Office

have adopted it as the basis of administration in every tropical African dependency where it is still not too late to introduce it. It is also being introduced into the Southern Provinces, where possible, with remarkable results, in Oyo and Abeokuta for instance."

(iii) "In addition to this, just before the war, in 1913, Dr. Solf, the German Colonial Minister, who had visited Northern Nigeria, gave orders that the Northern Nigeria system should be followed in the German Cameroons, and the German Resident at Dikwa (Von Raben) was sent to Kano to learn what he could in a week from the District Officer."

(iv) "Further, one of the few really successful Colonial Administrators produced by the French was General Lyautey who followed the principles of Northern Nigeria Native Administration in North Africa."

(v) "The most striking testimony to indirect rule is that after only eleven years of really effective administration when the war began in 1914, and during the whole period of the war when the country was denuded of troops, there was not one attempt by the Chiefs to regain by force what they had lost."

(vi) "With reference to the printed instructions on indirect rule, which are being sent to you; there are some points which are rather commonly overlooked. These are:—

(a) "If a Native Administration Official has offended he should not be sent to his Chief with a message that he must be punished and that he must be punished in a certain way. The facts should be put before the Chief, and he should be asked what action he proposes to take. If he does not award what you consider an adequate punishment, the escape of a subordinate official from just punishment is a minor matter in comparison with the major object. You must always remember that the Native Administration Officials are the Chief's servants and not yours. Unless these points are borne in mind you will inevitably produce in the Chief the

“ *sai abinda ka che* ” attitude which is the death knell not only of indirect rule but of any rule at all.”

(b) “ No Native Administration Official should ever be forced on a Chief against his will or without his consent. There has been a recent instance where an Administrative Officer appointed his own Dogarai in a Division without any reference to the local Chief.”

(c) “ No accused person should ever be sent to a Chief or Alkali with instructions that he shall be convicted and sentenced to a certain term of imprisonment, for not only is this against the canons of indirect rule, but it is also direct injustice in prejudging a case, and it naturally arouses in the native's mind the query why, if the British Officer concerned was so anxious to get a conviction, he did not try the case himself, with the conclusion that he must have had some underhand reason for not doing so.”

(d) “ Where it is the custom for the people of a District to nominate a candidate for the District Headship for the Paramount Chief's consideration, an Administrative Officer should not use his influence on the electors in any way. The officer who has backed the District Head may make a comparative success of him for a time but when he is succeeded by another officer, or no officer is available for close supervision, trouble will begin if he is not the man the electors would have chosen.”

(vii) “ I am well aware of the strong temptation when things are going wrong to take the short cut by reverting to direct methods, but it is the long way round in the end, for it results in a *set-back* to indirect rule. Direct methods are only occasionally advisable in places where indirect rule has degenerated into misrule, and crime is rampant, but such cases are rare and localised and direct methods should be dropped as soon as order emerges from chaos. Order must be created before any indirect rule can be introduced, and such action is in

no way inconsistent with the general principle with which the Circular is concerned."

(viii) "It is not likely, in view of the results achieved, and of the backing of the policy by the distinguished officers mentioned above, that there could be anything wrong with the theory of indirect rule, and as regards qualifications for promotion and passing efficiency bars I put first the question whether an officer is imbued with the true spirit of indirect rule and make my recommendations accordingly."

(b) Minute by his Honour:—

(i) "I think that the Resident Adamawa's memorandum (quoted above) forms a very valuable and helpful supplement to the printed circular No. K.7198/8 of 1st July, 1928, which it was felt desirable to send out on the subject of Administrative method in dealing with Native Administrations."

(ii) "The pressure of economic development at the present time makes it increasingly necessary to utilize the productive and energising capacity of all native institutions (which is very great) to the full, and to avoid arbitrary or empiric changes of method to which the people are not accustomed and which may produce discontent and dissatisfaction or ultimately inefficiency in the essential duty of keeping order."

(iii) "It remains true, as a Resident wrote in 1907, that:—

"I need not dwell on the often stated truth that in a country of the size and with the population of Northern Nigeria the Government must utilise the existing native administrations to the fullest possible extent. In order so to utilise this most useful, and in many ways admirably organised, machinery it is essential that it should be permitted to work to a considerable extent on native lines, even at the cost of the loss of a certain amount of efficiency from a European point of view. There is a very great difference between ruling through native Chiefs

2.
individual
should be t
copy when

on native lines and ruling, or attempting to rule, through them on European lines.

"I take for granted that the policy of the Government is to supplement rather than supplant the pre-existing native administrations. This at any rate has been hitherto the declared policy.

"In place of a small native state, with a Resident in an advisory position, interfering as little as possible in its interior economy as is consistent with seeing justice done, checking oppression and extortion, and gradually training the native administration to stand on its own legs, there would be created, it seems to me, an enormous and unwieldy salaried native staff, for every action of which the Government would be directly responsible."

(iv) "But, it must be added, knowledge of how best to utilize for the common or general advantage the existing machinery of Native Rule, does not occur as a rule to a mind unaccustomed to deal with this type of administrative machinery."

(v) "Not only is practical experience of its working necessary, but if the standards of the past are to be maintained, officers must study native institutions and native social life, Muslim or otherwise, in terms of the vernacular, so that they are something more than alien officials imposing the will of Government on people who are virtually strangers to them in thought, and so that they become in a position to know in most subjects, without specific enquiry, what is the popular feeling or sentiment and what are the views of the ruling classes."

2. Additional copies of this circular are sent for individual distribution to all Administrative Officers. Care should be taken that any Officer at present on leave receives a copy when he resumes duty.

A. D. HAMLYN,
for Secretary, Northern Provinces (Ag.).

APPENDIX TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR DONALD
CAMERON'S "PRINCIPLES OF NATIVE
ADMINISTRATION AND THEIR
APPLICATION"

POSITION OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS
VIS-A-VIS DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS AND OF
DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS VIS-A-VIS THE
NATIVE ADMINISTRATIONS.

GENERAL.

The general policy on which the Administrative system is based and the principles governing the relations between administrative and departmental officers were set out in a Minute by Governor Sir Hugh Clifford published in the *Nigeria Gazette Extraordinary* of the 21st November, 1920, and republished with slight amendments in the *Nigeria Gazette Extraordinary* of the 2nd of March, 1926, the more pertinent paragraphs of which (17-26) are appended. I desire it to be known that I endorse in all respects the principles laid down in the Minute and attach the utmost importance to their being observed. I disagree, however, with the general terms of the footnote which in the reprint of the 2nd of March, 1926, has been added to paragraph 19 of Sir Hugh Clifford's Minute, and it should be regarded as being deleted. In the case of officers seconded to Native Administrations a Resident may, of course, delegate his authority, or any portion of it, to an administrative officer in charge of a division, but apart from this divisional officers should have no power to interfere in departmental activities. Any representations which they may have to make should be made to the Resident of the province, although a divisional officer will be justified in warning a departmental officer that a particular activity should not be undertaken without reference to the Resident.

2. In view of certain misunderstandings that have arisen as to the precise implications of the Minute, it has become necessary for me to point it out that paragraph 19 is clearly subject to the qualifications contained in paragraphs 20 and 21.

and should
means, in
Nigerian
advise and
real emer
an inform

3. I
between t
is of fur
Nigeria a
executive
close touc
his provi
proposals
particular
Medical :

4.
graphs :
necessita
of their
and to t
to the
ordinatio
be effect
to be obt
and this
departme
of an ad
in turn
as does

5.
Adminis
organise
responsi
Treasur
paragra
Native A
methods
once bu
endeavo

6.
formula

and should be read in close conjunction with them. This means, in brief, that in the case of officers and employees of Nigerian Departments a Resident within his province should advise and represent and not give orders except in a case of real emergency (paragraphs 20 and 21 of the Minute). I am informed that the position is well understood by Residents.

3. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that co-operation between the technical departments and administrative officers is of fundamental importance in the good government of Nigeria and that the Resident of each province, as the chief executive officer of Government, must necessarily be kept in close touch with all aspects of governmental activity within his province, and fully acquainted with all the actions and proposals of departments affecting his province, more particularly those of the Railway, Public Works, Agricultural, Medical and Educational Departments.

4. Successful application of the policy set out in paragraphs 25 and 26 of the Minute by Sir Hugh Clifford necessitates as far as circumstances permit the devolution of their authority by Heads of departments in the same way and to the same extent as the Governor delegates authority to the Lieutenant-Governors and to the Residents. Co-ordination of departmental with administrative areas should be effected if possible if the full benefits of this devolution are to be obtained. Not less important is the need for continuity, and this may best be obtained by the delegation to the senior departmental officer in each of the two groups of provinces of an adequate measure of control of his staff. This officer will in turn delegate authority to his provincial representatives as does the Lieutenant-Governor to the Residents.

5. In the following paragraphs the term "Native Administration" should be construed to mean generally an organised Native Administration with its own officers responsible to one central (Native) authority and with its own Treasury, but paragraphs 10, 12, 13 and the first sentence of paragraph 16 directly apply throughout Nigeria. Where the Native Administrations are not so organised the principles and methods explained in this Minute cannot fully be applied at once but represent nevertheless the ideal to which we should endeavour to attain.

6. Effective administration can be achieved only by the formulation of policy, by continuity and decentralisation.

This again cannot be obtained without a full measure of cordial co-operation between the Administrative staff, the departmental staffs and the Native Administrations. While it is the primary duty of all officers in the service whether administrative officers or officers of departments to carry out the policy of Government and to co-operate in so doing, it is the especial duty of administrative officers to watch carefully all Government activities in the areas under their charge where the Native Administrations over which they exercise general supervision are effected. It is further their duty to ensure that any particular activities do not prejudice the development of the art of administration and the sense of responsibility in the local native authorities, and that any particular Government service in the cause of efficiency and progress is not pressed beyond the degree in which the local Native Administrations if employed in the service can be expected properly to function. In other words the Native Administrations must not be used as a convenient machinery for some particular object or otherwise and without their willing co-operation being invited and secured, and obviously it is only the more highly organised Native Administrations which can be asked to undertake the more advanced functions of administration. The ideal of the highest efficiency and rapidity of execution must be subordinate to the main policy of encouraging and training the Native Authorities to undertake the functions of administration with ever increasing quality of attainment. It will be observed that this paragraph deals with those cases in which the Native Administrations are "employed in the service": this does not mean that the service is not to be undertaken at all if the Native Administration is not competent to undertake it. In such case if it is desirable that the service should be instituted for the benefit of the people, then the Government must itself undertake it until the Native Administration is fit to take it over.

7. Of the greatest importance is the increasing part which departmental officers must now play in the development of the policy of native administration as well as in the particular technical interests of their departments. Departmental officers are now more and more acquainted with particular parts of the country, many of them now speak the native language and have an experience and appreciation of methods of administration which was not entirely the case a very few years ago. The co-operation of departmental officers

with N
is subj
and the
of adm

O

8.

nical d
ways.

Depart

Admini

and con

admini

Lieuten

the No

officer

tendent

Th

Admin

departu

OFFI

9.

second

many t

being

departi

the A

relatio

the lat

capacit

relatio

and ac

connex

approv

or prin

Admin

a class

possibl

he can

assist

in this

with Native Administrations is a natural development, but it is subject necessarily to the general approval of the Resident and the usual machinery and methods applicable in the case of administrative officers must be employed.

OFFICERS SECONDED TO NATIVE ADMINISTRATIONS.

8. The supervision, guidance and activities of the technical departments affect the Native Administrations in three ways. First, officers, particularly those of the Public Works Department, may be seconded for service under the Native Administrations. Seconded officers are under the general orders and control of the Lieutenant-Governor in the same way that administrative officers are under his orders and control. The Lieutenant-Governor in the case of the Public Works is, in the Northern Provinces, advised by a senior departmental officer appointed to a definite post with the title of Superintendent of Native Administration Works.

The rules governing the secondment of officers to Native Administrations and their position *vis-à-vis* the head of their department are separately promulgated.

OFFICERS ASSISTING NATIVE ADMINISTRATIONS IN THEIR WORK BUT NOT SECONDED TO THEM.

9. Secondly, officers of departments though not seconded, may, with the approval of the Resident, supervise many technical activities of Native Administrations which are being undertaken at the charges of the latter. Here the departmental officer exercises his functions side by side with the Administrative Officer, and holds the same advisory relationship to the Native Authority in technical matters as the latter does in political and other questions, and in their capacity as supervisors of technical activities stand in the same relation to the Native Administration as the District Officer and advise the Native Treasury on items of expenditure in connexion with those technical activities, subject to the general approval of the Resident. On all matters, however, of policy or principle the sole channel of communication with the Native Administration must be the administrative officer. This is a class of service which should be encouraged as much as possible as one officer can by this means serve two purposes: he can do his own departmental work and at the same time assist the Native Administrations in the manner indicated in this paragraph.

DEPARTMENTAL OFFICERS CARRYING OUT ORDINARY
DEPARTMENTAL DUTIES.

10. In the third category are departmental officers executing works in a province but not directly for Native Administration. Their advice is at the same time available if technical and professional activities are projected by a Native Administration. It is, for example, manifestly unwise for an administrative officer to embark on the work of setting out a road for a Native Administration without professional advice, if that advice is available at his elbow.

11. The principles to be observed by departmental officers of the second and third categories in dealing with Native Administrations are as follows:—In its own area the Native Administration represents the executive Government so far as native affairs are concerned and all executive action which may be required will be carried out through it. The Native Administration, native personnel with whom departmental officers may work must be recognised as being employees of the Native Administration and not of the department concerned. The European departmental officer should endeavour to treat this native personnel as under the control of the representative of the Native authority in the particular Native Administration department concerned, and to pass through this official all instructions on non-technical matters, *e.g.*, discipline, cash transactions or dealings generally with Native Administration personnel. The Native Administration official will be responsible to the Native authority for the proper carrying out of the departmental officers' recommendations or directions. In purely technical matters, on the other hand, it would be usual for the departmental officer to issue instructions directly, but care should be taken to make the need for instructions clear to the Native Authority's representative and for convenience the departmental officer will have attached to him, when desirable, an official of the native authority as a general "liaison officer." The principle of this arrangement is that all orders on matters other than of a purely technical nature or details of organisation should in general appear to be those of the heads of the Native Administration or given with their approval, and that executive action should be regarded as taken by them.

tions
into
apprec
Care
that
by th
and i
to ex
consid
and s
from
Office

instan
selves
becau
officia
enfor
It mu
not
estab
expect
impr
exerc
powe
the p

charg
into
know
accor
tion
him.

in th
equa
desig
fabri
down
ever
be ca

12. It appears that in some areas Native Administrations have been harassed by departmental subordinate officials into issuing orders which they neither understand nor appreciate, orders which in some cases have been unreasonable. Care must be taken to make the Native Authorities understand that orders issued by them within their unit must be issued by themselves and are to be considered as their own orders and not those of any other person who may instigate them to exercise their powers. It is for the Native Authorities to consider whether a particular order is called for and reasonable, and so long as they are not so satisfied they should refrain from issuing the order and seek the advice of the District Officer before so doing.

13. It appears that although orders issued at the instance of departmental officials may be reasonable in themselves they are apt to be enforced with undue rigour, largely because they emanate from some subordinate Government official and are taken to be direct Government orders for the enforcement of which the Native Authorities are responsible. It must be recognised that innovations such as sanitation cannot be suddenly introduced by order but must become established in the minds of the people before they can be expected to appreciate and observe them. It should be impressed on Native Authorities that they are expected to exercise their influence in these matters rather than their powers of punishment and that the primary aim is to teach the people rather than to dragoon them into Western habits.

14. In no circumstances may native subordinates charged with executive functions be despatched independently into the area of a Native Administration without the knowledge and consent of the Resident. If they are accompanied by a European officer he should work in collaboration with the administrative officer and not independently of him.

15. Administrative officers are guided by these principles in their dealings with Native Administrations and they must equally be followed by departmental officers. They are designed to ensure that by the use of the proper channels the fabric of native political organisation shall not be broken down under the pressure of modern demands, and that wherever possible, for the sake of the future, development shall be carried out executively by the native organisation. Patient

evocation of real native interest resulting in permanent progress is much more desirable than an immediate apparent efficiency, and it is specially important that, as I have already written in paragraph 6 above, The Native Administrations should not be pressed too hard and too fast in matters which they have not understood.

16. The Resident as the trustee of the general interests of the Native Administration must be regarded as the judge of the effect of any activity on the conditions of the province, political or otherwise, from the native point of view. Any funds and means and personnel to be provided, and the general ways and methods to be followed in carrying out the objects aimed at by departmental officers must be subject to the discretion and approval of the head of the Native Administration and of the Resident, and it is the duty of the latter and his officers to ensure that the departmental officer is given any necessary personnel and organisation required to enable him to work through the proper channels with the Native Administration. Further, where it is necessary to issue orders or instructions directly to the head of a Native Administration, exceeding those instructions defined in paragraph 11 above, these must be given by the administrative officer, and there must be no departure from this rule. The departmental officers must however be given the fullest opportunity of consultation and discussion with the senior officials of the Native Administration which they are assisting as its direct advisers in technical matters. When desired and as occasion warrants they should have an interview with the head of the Native Administration himself. They must keep themselves in the closest touch with the District Officer informing him of any difficulties which they are encountering, and they must accept his general advice as to their dealing with the Native Administration officials. I hope particularly that all the officers serving in a province, administrative and departmental, will learn to regard themselves as a team working in common for one Government—there is but one Government in Nigeria—with a common object, and the success of a Resident in achieving this will be a matter of grave concern to me. So long as fundamental facts, such for instance as the responsibility of departmental officers to their departmental chiefs, and of the latter to the Governor (paragraph 22 of Sir Hugh Clifford's Minute), are borne in

mind
worki
spher
and p
inhab
by th
he is
Lieut
of De
they
quest
Secre
quest
varyi
oppor
to con

19th

EXTI

2

of D
gener
group
admi
that,
direc
admi
men
Lieut
Govc

mind, there should be no serious difficulty in the satisfactory working of the whole Government machine.

17. If a Head of a Department is of opinion that the sphere of usefulness of his department, its activities, actual and potential, all designed primarily for the good of the African inhabitants of the country, are being unreasonably prejudiced by the application of the foregoing clause of these instructions he is, of course, at liberty to represent the matter to the Lieutenant-Governor, or to the Governor if necessary. Heads of Departments are reminded that copies of any letters which they may address to the local Secretariats on important questions of policy or development should be sent to the Chief Secretary for my information. I find that in the past such questions have been discussed and placed on one side, for varying reasons: it is possible that if the Governor had an opportunity of seeing the correspondence he might be able to contribute something not without value to the discussion.

DONALD CAMERON,
Governor.

19th December, 1932.

EXTRACT FROM SIR HUGH CLIFFORD'S MINUTE OF THE
21ST OF NOVEMBER, 1920, AS RE-PUBLISHED WITH
SLIGHT AMENDMENTS IN *GAZETTE* No. 13 OF
THE 2ND OF MARCH, 1926.

17. It cannot be too emphatically impressed upon Heads of Departments, officers in the Public Service, and upon the general public, that the Principal Executive Authority in each group of Provinces is the Lieutenant-Governor, under whose administration that group of Provinces has been placed; and that, precisely as the Governor of Nigeria is personally and directly responsible to the Secretary of State for the good administration and for the efficient transaction of all Government work and business throughout Nigeria, so is each Lieutenant-Governor personally and directly responsible to the Governor for these things in the group of Provinces confided

to his charge. As it is clear that such responsibility cannot be exercised without a concomitant exercise of authority, it will be the business of the Lieutenant-Governors, to overlook the entire administrative machine and to supervise in the interests of the Government and of the public, every branch of political or departmental activity in the group of Provinces under their administration; to direct the attention, through their Provincial Secretariats, of Heads of Departments to any matter that may call for scrutiny, affecting their groups of Provinces; and save in purely departmental or technical matters they will be at liberty, should the necessity arise, to give direct orders to officers belonging to the Non-Political Departments, who for the time being are serving in those Provinces. Any such orders, together with a statement of the reasons for them; should in every case be immediately reported by the Secretariat of the Lieutenant-Governor concerned to the Head of the Department to whose officers they have been given; and if, in any instance, the orders in question are of an important or unusual description, the fact of, and the reasons for, their issue should simultaneously be notified to the Nigerian Secretariat, for the information, and, if necessary, for the instructions of the Governor. Orders issued by a Lieutenant-Governor in the Provinces under his administration, however, must not be cancelled by a Head of a Department without first being referred to the Chief Secretary to Government for the decision of the Governor.

18. It must be understood that one of the main objects of the reorganisation of the system of administration at present in force is to obviate the necessity for reference to be made to the Governor through the medium of the Nigerian Secretariat with regard to any subject that is susceptible of settlement by more direct methods. Thus, while the Nigerian Secretariat must be kept informed of everything of importance that is going forward in all parts of Nigeria by the Lieutenant-Governors, on the one hand, and by the Heads of the principal Non-Political Departments, on the other; and while, therefore, press copies of all important communications passing between the Provincial Secretariats and the Heads of Departments, or between Heads of different Departments, will be furnished, as a matter of routine procedure, to the Nigerian Secretariat, for the information of the Governor, by the same opportunity as that by which the original document is despatched to its

desti
Gov
unle
is re
has

area
anal
Prov
offic
Prov
Exec
direc
he i
his
busi
it.

belo
beir
circ
mai
repr
whi
verl
the
adju
had
ove
ceri
mo
his
sho
or a

und
trat
Dist
Adm
in
ren

destination, direct reference will not ordinarily be had to the Government of Nigeria, through the Nigerian Secretariat, unless the matter be one in which the decision of the Governor is required, or his authority, or that of the Secretary of State has to be invoked.

19. The Resident* of a Province occupies, within the area under his administrative charge, a position as nearly analogous to that of the Lieutenant-Governor in his group of Provinces as the relative dignity and importance of the two offices render possible. That is to say, the Resident of a Province is, within the limits of that Province, the Principal Executive Officer of Government, and is personally and directly responsible to the Lieutenant-Governor, under whom he is serving, for the peace, tranquility and good order of his Province, and for the efficient execution of all public business which, at any given time, is being carried on within it.

20. The relations between the Resident and the officers belonging to the Non-Political Departments who for the time being, are stationed in his Province, will be as nearly as circumstances admit the same as those which will be maintained by the Lieutenant-Governors with the Provincial representatives of those Departments. Any local matters which are susceptible of settlement by direct communication, verbal or in writing, between the Resident of a Province and the Departmental officers who are serving in it, should be so adjusted without the necessity arising for prior reference being had to the Secretariat of the Lieutenant-Governor in authority over it, on the one hand, or to the Head of Department concerned, on the other. The Resident, preferably by word of mouth, should direct the attention of any officer serving in his Province to any apparent failure of efficiency; and he should at all times afford to the latter every assistance, support or advice in his power. The Officers of Departments, on their

* In this and the two following paragraphs "Resident" must be understood *mutatis mutandis* to include District Officers and other Administrative Officers in charge of Divisions or other Administrative units. A District Officer in charge of a Division occupies within the area under his Administrative charge a position as nearly analogous to that of a Resident in his Province as the relative dignity and importance of the two offices render possible. (*To be regarded as deleted; see paragraph 1 of this Minute.*)

side, should give the Resident all the assistance or information he may need for the better management and conduct of the business of Government in his Province, and for the furthering of the public interests in any way that close co-operation can secure.

21. Having regard to the responsibilities of Residents as laid down in paragraph 19, it must be clearly understood that in matters of detail and routine any reasonable requests that they may address to the local representatives of Non-Political Departments should, as a matter of course, be honoured; and in cases of emergency, of which the Resident must be accepted as the sole judge, when immediate action is necessary, and reference cannot be had to higher authority, a Resident may, on his own responsibility, issue orders designed to meet the situation, and these must be accepted and acted upon by those to whom they are addressed. When the need for such exceptional action has arisen, the Resident should lose no time in reporting what he has done and the reasons for his action if possible by telegram, to the Secretariat of the Lieutenant-Governor under whom he is serving; and the Departmental officer, or officers, concerned should similarly report forthwith to the Heads of their Departments.

22. From and after January 1st, 1921, the Heads of all Nigerian Departments, including in that term the Marine Department, the Customs Department and the Government Printing Office—but excluding purely Provincial Departments which operate in one group of Provinces only—will be directly and personally responsible to the Governor through the Nigerian Secretariat for the management and good order of their Department; and they will conduct all their correspondence on departmental and technical matters with him, through the medium of the Nigerian Secretariat.

23. As it is of the first importance, however, that each of the Lieutenant-Governors should be kept automatically informed of all that is being done and decided which has even a remote bearing upon the affairs of the groups of Provinces under their administration, Heads of Departments, when addressing the Government on any subject that affects those groups of Provinces, or concerning any work that is being carried on, or that is in contemplation, in one or both of them, will send, as a matter of departmental routine, a press copy of their letter dealing with any such question, to one or both

of the Lieutenant-Governors as the case may be, through their Secretariats, by the same opportunity as that by which the original letter, addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government, is despatched.

24. Similarly, the Heads of Departments, when the occasion arises for them to issue instructions to their subordinates of a character which is calculated to affect the work of other Departments, or the relations of their officers with other branches of the Administration, will forward copies of such instructions to the Chief Secretary to Government, for the information of the Governor, and to the Secretariats of the Lieutenant-Governors, for the information of the latter.

25. The Heads of Nigerian Departments will be mainly concerned with the general management, organisation and control of their respective Departments; with the distribution, movements, posting and relief of the officers belonging to them; with all technical matters connected with their operations; with all questions of policy with which they are concerned; with their financial affairs; with the preparation of estimates of revenue and expenditure; and in some instances with the planning, designing and execution of works, and with drawing up estimates in connection with them.

26. Owing, however, to the vast size of Nigeria, to the widely diverse conditions that obtain in different parts of the country, and to the comparative slowness of communications in many localities, it is no less imperatively necessary that the Heads of the principal Departments should delegate to their representatives, not only in each group of Provinces, but in each individual Province in which their Departments are operating, as much power, responsibility and initiative as possible, than it is for the Governor to delegate the executive authority vested in him to the Lieutenant-Governors in charge of each group of Provinces, and for the Lieutenant-Governors, in their turn, to make a similar delegation of authority to the Residents, who represent them in each of the Provinces under their administration. Heads of Nigerian Departments, therefore, should content themselves with exercising a general, rather than a detailed, control over officers belonging to their Departments who are serving in the Provinces; should accord to the latter considerable freedom of judgment and initiative in carrying out the work entrusted to them; and, within the limits imposed by the sanctioned estimates, should give them

immediate control over funds provided for expenditure in the Province or group of Provinces in which the affairs of the Department are committed to their charge. It will be the business of the Heads of Nigerian Departments to see that the extensive powers thus delegated to their subordinates are exercised well and wisely; but the day has gone by when any Head of a Department in so vast a territory as that of Nigeria can hope personally to control all the details of the work of his Department from his office in Lagos; and any attempt in this direction cannot fail to paralyse the initiative of the Departmental officers concerned, and, through them, the work which the Department to which they belong is maintained to perform.