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No. 409.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

REPORT FOR 1902.

(For Report for 1901, *see* No. 377.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
December, 1903.

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No. 409.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

(For Report for 1901, *see* No 377.)

SIR F. LUGARD to MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

September 2nd, 1903.*

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to submit my Annual Report for the year 1902, and, since the events (in connection with the campaign against Kano, &c.) which were in progress at the end of the year have extended over the first part of 1903, I have ventured to include this period in the report in order to avoid as far as possible breaking off in the midst of an incomplete narrative.

2. This Report was written on my way home last May, and I very greatly regret the delay which has occurred in submitting it. This has been due to the fact that I have awaited replies to certain queries I had sent to Northern Nigeria. These replies have not yet reached me, but I feel I can no longer defer the submission of the Report.

I am, &c.,
F. D. LUGARD.

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* Received in Colonial Office, October 22nd.

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ANNUAL REPORT, 1902.

In my last Annual Report (for the year 1901) I described the events which had recently taken place in Bornu; the appeal of Fad-el-Allah for British protection after the defeat and death of his father, Rabeh; the consequent despatch by Mr. Wallace to his camp of the mission under Major McClintock; the subsequent reported attack upon Fad-el-Allah at Gujba by the French and the necessity for an enquiry into these events and for the assertion of an effective control over that portion of the Protectorate in order to put a stop to further acts of aggression, and to rescue Bornu from the condition of chaos and bloodshed into which it had fallen. In pursuance of your instructions to this effect I had hoped to visit the district myself on my return from leave at the end of 1901, but, finding that I was unable to do so, I despatched Colonel Morland, with a strong force, with instructions to make full enquiries as to the action of the French and the causes which had led up to it, and to ascertain whether the reports of their having carried off natives of the British Protectorate and raised large sums of money, &c., from the people, had any foundation in fact.

BAUTSHI.

2. His route lay through Bautshi, a province not as yet brought under administrative control, and under the rule of an Emir who had in January, 1900, perpetrated a terrible crime in the treacherous sack of the large town of Guaram, whose inhabitants were massacred or carried into slavery. Bautshi was in a special degree the centre of the slave trade, and it was to the market of Bautshi (Yakoba) that the slaves captured or bought in Adamawa were brought, whence they were distributed to the various Hausa states, especially Sokoto and Kano. The chief had maintained a hostile attitude to Government, and it was expected that he would oppose the Protectorate troops. Mr. Wallace accompanied the expedition as far as Bautshi to deal with the political situation, and I left it to his discretion, after enquiry on the spot, to decide whether or not it would be possible to retain the Emir. The expedition under Colonel Morland consisted of 13 officers, 5 non-commissioned officers, 3 doctors, 515 rank and file, 2 75-millimetre guns, and 4 maxims, and left Ibi, for Bautshi on February 3rd, 1902.* Preparations for opposing the expedition had apparently been made and fighting

* Colonel Beddoes had previously inflicted punishment on the Yergum tribe to the west of the road, who had been murdering traders. They later sent in their submission.

was momentarily expected as the troops neared the city on February 16th. The size of the force, however, deterred the war party and no fighting took place. Mr. Wallace summoned the headmen and told them that the Emir would be deposed in consequence of his misrule, and invited them to choose his successor. They at once named the heir, and he was duly nominated on a letter of appointment in identical terms with those given to the Emirs of Nupe, Kontagora, and Yola. The ex-Emir fled in the night with a few followers, and the city was in a state of panic, which was allayed by Colonel Morland in every possible way.

3. The fact, however, that there was no exodus, which would have been attended by much looting and theft on the part of the criminal classes in the town, was largely due to the fearless and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Temple, whom I had appointed as Resident, who remained in the town all night reassuring the people and regardless of personal risk. No shot, therefore, was fired, and no looting or destruction of property of any kind took place, and the substitution of the new Emir for the old, and the inclusion of the Province under administrative control, was effected without disturbance or bloodshed.

4. By June, 1902, the Resident was able to report that he believed the slave trade to be practically extinct in Bautshi. Some time later a prospecting party arrived and visited the tin-bearing district under the protection of an escort. This area is peopled by wild pagan tribes who had long defied the power of Bautshi. Mr. Temple, acting on my instructions, made ceaseless efforts to get into touch with these people and to arrive at a friendly understanding with them. In this he was very largely successful, and several tribes entered into friendly relations.

5. The Shiri, however, elected war and attacked our troops. Their villages were situated among the interminable hills which form the Bautshi highlands, and were approached by precipitous gorges and defiles. The troops, admirably handled by Captain Monck-Mason, drove them from their strongholds and inflicted much loss upon them, whereupon, as is the custom of these pagans, they agreed that we were the stronger and came in and made submission.

6. Later again in the year hostilities took place with the Ningi tribe, who inhabited the northern part of the Province. The king of this very warlike tribe, whose headmen largely consisted of exiles from Kano, and which I am told had frequently defeated the armies of Kano and Zaria, and had even descended from their fastnesses and laid waste the country almost up to the gates of these capital cities, was a homicidal maniac addicted to disembowelling his wives and other similar practices. He threw down the gauntlet, defying the white

men, whom he said he would annihilate, and he was in consequence defeated by Captain Monck-Mason and Mr. Temple. His fall was the cause of great rejoicing to the tribe over whom he tyrannised, since he was a usurper. The rightful chief was put in his place, and the people killed the fugitive tyrant and made submission.

7. Meanwhile the ex-Emir of Bautshi, with a small following, had become a cause of great disquiet and constant trouble. He was eventually caught by Mr. Temple, who attempted to induce him to live quietly at his headquarters and treated him with much kindness and tact. He found, however, that he was a focus of intrigue, and in January, 1903, I agreed that he should be sent to Illorin. He is allowed a small sum for his maintenance and lives there in the charge of the Emir and Resident. On his departure from Bautshi there was much rejoicing, and bonfires were lit at night in the city. The new Emir did fairly well, though he proved a weak man. I regret that he has lately died.

THE MALLAM JIBRELLA.

8. Leaving a company as garrison at Bautshi, Colonel Morland advanced through Gombe towards Gujba in Bornu. The country to be crossed has long been the scene of constant warfare. A certain Mallam (Mullah) Jibrella arose some years ago and gathered round him a band of fanatics.* He defeated the King of Gombe and annexed a part of his country, and threatened Bautshi, which there is little doubt would have fallen before his troops had not the British expedition happened to intervene. For many years he had led a career of unbroken conquest, defying even the armies of Rabeh and Fad-el-Allah, and at the time of Colonel Morland's arrival he was the most dreaded power in the east. He had lately declared himself to be the Mahdi, and dressed his followers in the "jibbeh" of the Dervish. While advancing in the open, the scouts reported the presence of a body of some 600 foot and 100 horsemen behind a fold in the ground, and Colonel Morland had barely time to form square with the advance guard to cover the long column before he was charged in a most determined fashion by these fanatics, with the Mallam at their head. They reached within 50 yards of the small square (consisting of 100 men with a maxim and a gun) before they were checked by the fire, when they swept round, making

* In 1887 the Mallam was expelled from Messau for witchcraft. He went to Kano and was again expelled. He settled in Dukul in Gombe territory, and was given some lands and farms, but began to intrigue and formed a war-camp at Bajoga in 1894. He was attacked by the king of Gombe, who was killed. The Mallam then took most of Gombe's territory—Rabeh quarrelled with him, but Fad-el-Allah was not strong enough to attack him. He continued harassing the country round until he was defeated and captured, as here related.

a turning movement. They were, however, beaten off and fled in disorder, having 60 killed and a large number of wounded. Our casualties were only two wounded, since the enemy fired little, but tried to close with the sword and spear. Colonel Morland pursued for two days and then sent out several flying columns who captured many horses, men, and banners, but the credit of the capture of the Mahdi himself fell to Lieutenant Dyer, who rode 70 miles in 17 hours to effect it. Jibrella was a white-haired old man of a fine type. The dash and pluck shown by him had won the admiration of our officers, and he was well looked after till his arrival in Lokoja, where I placed him in charge of the local chief with a small subsidy for his maintenance. He is very feeble, and no longer a danger.

French Action in Bornu.

9. The expedition reached Gujba on March 11th, and leaving a company there as garrison proceeded thence to Maiduguri. Colonel Morland himself made a rapid trip to the ancient capital of Bornu at Kuka on Lake Chad. The situation as he found it was as follows:—After the death of Rabeh, Fad-el-Allah, his son, had taken command of the remnant of the forces and had retired westwards into British territory pursued by the French. Some fighting had taken place before the French gave up the chase and returned to their headquarters at Dikwa. Fad-el-Allah now sent one of his generals to return to the neighbourhood of Dikwa in order, I believe, to dig up some buried ammunition. The French officer, Captain Dangeville, was away and the general marched as far as Ngala and attacked the French post there, but was repulsed. Captain Dangeville returning collected his forces and marched by forced marches upon Fad-el-Allah's camp at Gujba. Taking that chief by surprise he defeated him and annihilated his army, and Fad-el-Allah himself was killed. In addition to their own troops employed on this raid, the French raised levies in British territory. A great number of prisoners were taken in the battle and much loot. In return for delivering the Sultan of Bornu from his enemy Fad-el-Allah the French imposed a war indemnity of $50,000 upon this chief, in addition to the balance of $21,000, which Sanda had failed to pay, and detained him at Dikwa till it should be paid. Prior to this they had placed on the throne of Kuka the second son of the late Sheikh (Sanda), on condition that he should pay them $30,000, and they deported to Kanem (East of Chad) the elder and legitimate heir on account of his refusal to pay;—Sanda had paid $9,000 only. The total indemnity claimed was thus $80,000, of which $73,500 had been paid up, and the Sheikh Shefu Garbai was now in Dikwa awaiting the arrival of his messengers who were ransacking the

impoverished and destitute country to obtain the balance ($6,500) required. Colonel Morland sent messages to Shefu Garbai telling him that he would recognise him as Sultan of British Bornu if he came to reside in the country, and at the same time he put a stop to the collection of any further payment to the French. Garbai accepted our offers with alacrity, returned with a large following, and took up his residence at Mongonu on Chad, pending the rebuilding of Kuka. The French, who were waiting at Dikwa for the balance of their impost, nominated the third brother, Sanda, as Sultan of the very small part of Bornu which lies to the east of the British boundary, with his capital at Dikwa. The advent of a large German expedition, however, at this moment caused the French to evacuate Dikwa and German territory, and retire beyond the Shari. The situation created by the French action was one which naturally gave rise to constant friction, the followers of each of the rival Sultans attempting to raise tribute and interfering with the towns of the other, and especially, as might be expected, on the part of Sanda, whose residence was on the frontier line, and who had but little territory to the east. This again caused mutual "protests" between the representatives of the two European Powers, and much valuable time was spent in attempting to lay down a temporary frontier. In consequence of this state of things, I advised His Majesty's Government of the necessity of proceeding with the delimitation of this frontier without delay. To this proposal the Secretary of State assented and a joint Commission was appointed.

Condition of Bornu Province.

10. Colonel Morland reported that the people were everywhere glad of our arrival, and the country is practically peaceful and well disposed. After establishing a second company of the Northern Nigeria Regiment as garrison at Maiduguri, he left that place on April 8th and hastened back to headquarters, and Captain Cochrane, as senior officer, was left in political charge till the arrival of Mr. W. P. Hewby, C.M.G., whom I had placed in charge of Bornu. I cannot speak too highly of the ability with which this most difficult task was conducted by Colonel Morland and his officers. An enormous area, some 60,000 square miles, was brought under administrative control, with little bloodshed. The difficulties encountered were unusually great owing to lack of water and of supplies, and the whole expedition, including Major Cubitt's later operations, was concluded in about four months. Over 1,000 miles of country was traversed and mapped in this period.

The country shows signs at every step of the anarchy and war of which for so many years it has been the scene. The popula-

tion is depleted, towns once large and prosperous are now only charred ruins, while brigandage and pillage are everywhere rife. Strenuous efforts have been made with a large measure of success during the last six months to introduce law and order, and to give the country a chance to recuperate, but time will be needed even partially to restore its former prosperity. The population consists of (1) the indigenous inhabitants, Beriberi or Kanuri, (2) of so-called "Arabs," and (3) Fulani,—the two latter being pastoral people owning herds of cattle. Surveys have been made up to the extreme Northern frontier from Chad to Machena near the French boundary on the North. I am informed that Mongonu, the temporary residence of the Sultan, which a year ago was a small village, has already a population of 25,000. It will be moved to the old capital at Kuka (now being rebuilt) in October next. I have elsewhere reported on the great quantities of neglected produce which are to be found in Bornu (para. 106). Mr. Hewby reports that though the heat is great at times in Bornu, and there is little shade, and the sand storms are violent and frequent, frost is experienced on the shores of Lake Chad. Generally speaking, there is a great dearth of water in Bornu (the wells in central Bornu being as much as 250 feet deep) and it is generally impregnated with salts.

YOLA.

11. In my last report I related the circumstances under which it had been found necessary to take action at Yola. The ex-Emir had fled to German Adamawa, and he attacked the German expedition near Garua on its arrival there in March, 1902. He was defeated with great loss, and fled back to British territory where, with a small following, he continued throughout the year to be a constant source of unrest. Every effort to capture him was unavailing, since he escaped alternately into German or British territory. Early in the present year he was murdered by the Lala pagans. I should have wished, had it been possible, to have afforded a domicile to this brave though fanatical chief, but he was wholly irreconcilable, and his death is beyond doubt a great blessing to the Yola Province, over which he had long tyrannised and where he was cordially hated. With the exception of the capital (Yola) and of a few minor settlements, the greater part of this Province is occupied by lawless pagan tribes whose pastime it is to fall upon travellers and traders and to kidnap them or each other for sale as slaves. Mr. Barclay, the Resident, has done much by travelling among them to gain their friendship and to induce them to forego these undesirable practices, but it is unfortunately true that the African savage in his primitive state can, as a rule, understand nothing but force, and regards arguments and verbal lessons as the weapons of the

weak, to be listened to for the moment and set aside when convenient. If, however, he is once convinced by coercion that the white man has power to enforce his admonitions he will in future respect them—to some extent.

12. Colonel Morland on his way south to Yola had avoided with difficulty a conflict with the Marghi tribe who live on the frontier between Yola and Bornu. At a later date, however, they attacked the Political Officer (Captain Mundy) wounding him and three rank and file. They were then defeated with a loss of 90 killed. Colonel Morland's expedition reached Yola on April 18th, and, since his own presence was urgently required at Lokoja, he left Major Cubitt in command of what remained of the force, with orders to traverse the country of the Bassemas and the Wurkum hills on the north of the Benue between Yola and Ibi in accordance with my instructions. Major Cubitt was attacked by the people of Banjeram, who had murdered five traders, and he also burnt the town of Kwa, whose people had recently killed seven traders and one woman. Thirty-two skulls were found here in one house. He was again attacked in the Wurkum hills, and after several skirmishes the chiefs came in and begged for peace. Lieutenant Dyer and the interpreter were slightly wounded in these operations, and one carrier killed. The operations were very ably conducted by Major Cubitt. At the end of 1901 the additions to the Political Staff of the Protectorate had enabled me to appoint a Resident to this Province (Yola) and much progress has been made in establishing law and order.

ABUJA.

13. The western part of the Nassarawa Province (east of Nupe) has always enjoyed an unenviable notoriety for brigandage. Several important trade routes from Zaria and Kano pass this way (*viâ* Kachia and Abuja, to Umaisha on the Benue), and constant complaints reached me of the robbery and murder of traders. It was in the southern part of this belt that the Hon. D. Carnegie lost his life, and in June, 1902, the murder of a native missionary named Bako, who was travelling near Umaisha, was reported to me. The Resident, Captain Moloney, finally urged upon me the absolute necessity of at once taking steps to put an end to the lawlessness that had its centre at Abuja, and in spite of the fact that the rains had broken I considered it necessary to despatch an expedition under Lieutenant-Colonel Beddoes to effect the arrest of the chiefs of the marauding parties at Abuja. The expedition was a strong one, and was accompanied by the Resident. The troops suffered much from sickness, and the expedition was in consequence much delayed, but it was entirely successful, and, after breaking down resistance, the town of Abuja was captured, and most of the heads of the

marauding band arrested. A heavy fine was imposed and a new king installed in place of the former, who had been killed. The troops marched back through the disturbed belt of country, and Colonel Beddoes enquired into the circumstances of the death of the native missionary and effected some more arrests.

14. Meanwhile there had been unrest at the Provincial headquarters (Keffi) owing to the attitude taken by the Magaji—the nominee of the Emir of Zaria, who is Suzerain of Nassarawa and Keffi. The Magaji was a man of strong character, while the King of Keffi was a very old and weak man and a puppet in his hands. Captain Moloney had from time to time reported to me that the opposition he had to encounter from this man rendered his efforts to bring order into the Province futile, since he maintained an armed following of his own who were constantly engaged in raiding caravans and slave catching. The arrival at Keffi of the powerful force under Colonel Beddoes seemed to me a good opportunity for settling this matter, but Captain Moloney thought that if he could induce the Magaji to come to an amicable understanding his influence might prove of great use to Government, and he therefore asked me to defer action. The arrest of the Abuja chiefs had, of course, a considerable effect in Keffi, and the Magaji saw that unless he altered his conduct his turn would come next. Captain Moloney himself was not a man to brook opposition, and he determined to bring matters to an issue at once. He went to the king's house and the Magaji was summoned to attend. He declined to do so, and Mr. Webster, Assistant Resident, was sent to fetch him. Misled by the Government native agent, Awudu, to whose intrigues and false representations it now appears probable that the deplorable results which followed were directly due, Mr. Webster entered the private quarters—probably the harem—of the Magaji. That chief was surrounded by armed retainers who immediately set upon Mr. Webster. He very narrowly escaped with his life and was eventually seized and literally thrown out. Captain Moloney then sent him to call up a detachment of troops. The Magaji, seeing that his arrest was imminent, rushed out of his house and killed Captain Moloney and the agent Awudu before the soldiers could reach the spot. He and his followers then fled, but sent messages that they would presently return and finish their work.

15. Colonel Beddoes at once returned from Lokoja with a strong force, and the Magaji was pursued to the confines of the Province. There was no doubt but that he would travel north to Kano, which was the focus of hostility to the British, and accordingly orders were sent from Zungeru by rapid messengers to Zaria to form a cordon to arrest his passage. This step would have resulted in the capture of the murderer had it not been for the treachery of a town named Aucham near

the Zaria frontier. As it was he very narrowly escaped, leaving his cattle and other belongings in our hands. News reached me later that he had been received with much honour by the Emir of Kano, who assigned him a house and gave him presents, while he rode always at the post of honour on his right hand.

ZARIA.

16. The situation in these northern Provinces had long been an impossible one. The Emir of Zaria had been outwardly friendly, and had in February, 1902, appealed for assistance against Kontagora. After the capture of that chief (*see* para. 69 *inf.*) and the dispersal of his bands, I placed a Resident with a small garrison close to the town of Zaria, since the Emir had by his appeal to Government ostensibly accepted British rule. This was in March, 1902. The Emir was, however, a type of the very worst class of Fulani ruler. His acceptance of the British had been due to cowardice only. He not only continued to raid for slaves, and to despatch them to Sokoto and Kano, but he now proceeded to force acquiescence to these acts, and to extort levies, &c., by giving out that it was by the white men's order. He thus hoped not only to compel obedience by the fear of Government, but at the same time to make the Government detested. More than once his armed gunmen came into collision on these forays with our patrols. The Emir was known to be intriguing with Kano, and it was even seriously debated whether or not an attack should be made on the British garrison, which was small and without any defences. I therefore desired the Commandant to reinforce the garrison and to send a senior officer to command it. The Emir had been noted for his cruelties; not only did public mutilation for petty offences daily take place in the market, but a system of execution peculiar, I believe, to Zaria, was frequently practised. It consisted in constructing a bottle-shaped hole in the ground in which a prisoner was placed in a standing posture; the neck of the bottle was then completed and the man left to die of starvation and thirst. Influential persons who disapproved of the Emir's actions frequently disappeared—among others the Emir's sister—and enquiry showed that they were done to death and buried in their houses, or in a room in the Emir's house to which they had been invited as guests. It was then given out that the guest had left suddenly on a long journey, and no one dared to question the fact. The situation had at last become full of danger. The Resident was thwarted at every step, and an attempt to poison him seems to have been made, while news came to him almost daily of some new outrage which the Emir had said was done by the Resident's orders.

17. Captain Abadie, the Resident, therefore determined to accept the responsibility of arresting the Emir, since it was necessary to act at once, without incurring the delay of referring for orders. The Emir was given up not unwillingly by the chiefs and brought down to Wushishi, where he was placed in charge of the local chief. He was treated with every consideration and dignity, and was accompanied by thirty-seven wives and followers. It had been a source of regret to me that the inclusion of each new Province under administrative control had been accompanied by the deposition of the ruling Emir, and Zaria was a solitary exception. I had, therefore, been unwilling to depose him, and I now hoped that a period of enforced banishment would be a sufficient lesson to him that he must amend his conduct. I told him that if he behaved well I hoped to reinstate him later when the trouble with Kano was settled, but I saw that it would be impossible to allow him to go back while the unrest in that city continued, for I might count with certainty on his collusion with the Kano chief, and in all probability I should have a rising in Zaria in rear of any force which marched on Kano. Indeed, a party of his horsemen did later join the Kano forces against us. According to native custom the Galadema acted as *locum tenens* during the absence of the Emir. This man acted as Emir for nine months and proved an admirable ruler, thoroughly loyal and helpful to the Resident.

18. Mohamadu, the Emir, however, in spite of my warning could not refrain from his innate "munafiki."* He despatched constant letters to Zaria from Wushishi announcing that the Governor had reprimanded the Resident, and that he (Mohamadu) was to return in so many days,—finding from time to time some plausible reason why that return was deferred. He ordered the towns to cease paying their customary tribute to the Galadema, and such was the terror in which he was held that (expecting his speedy return) his orders were obeyed. His son, the Maidaki (heir to the Emirate), assisted his father in these plans at Zaria. On my arrival there on February 11th, 1903, I found the eastern part of the Province in a state of revolt, the large towns in that quarter refusing to recognise the Galadema and to pay their taxes, and equally defiant of the Resident's orders. Nothing could be done until after the Kano expedition, since upon the result of that conflict the eyes of all were turned.

19. On April 7th, 1903, on my return from Kano, the settlement of which I relate in a subsequent paragraph, I called together all the chiefs and told them that I was aware of what the Emir at Wushishi, in spite of my warning, had been doing. The Galadema and all the chiefs who had supported him during his long regency told me that

* Treachery or cunning.

if I restored Mohamadu they must and would all leave, for they would of a certainty be done to death secretly. I could not afford to banish the whole of the party who had been loyal to us, and no assurance of protection had any effect whatever. I had, moreover, on the information given me by the Resident, already come to the conclusion that Mohamadu could not be restored. His actions had proved—what his face indicated—that he was a thoroughly bad man, possessed of great cunning, wholly unscrupulous, and by nature cruel and treacherous. His son resembled him in face and I think in character. When at Sokoto I was able, in consequence of the very friendly and cordial relations which existed between myself and the new Sultan, to mention that the Emir of Zaria had rendered himself impossible, and to ask who was the rightful Emir whom the Sultan would desire to see appointed. (The present man was a usurper not appointed by Sokoto.) Two names were immediately given to me as the only possible heirs, and the idea of putting in the Galadema was scouted as wholly impossible since he was of peasant origin, and would not be willingly recognised by the chiefs of outlying towns, or the headmen of the city. On my return to Zaria, therefore, I announced that the Emir would be deposed, since he had not listened to my warning and had continued to intrigue, even since his removal to Wushishi.

20. My decision, I am told, was the occasion of much rejoicing in the city. I recognised the loyalty of the Galadema and gave the reasons why he could not be appointed, and told the assembled chiefs what the Sultan and the Waziri of Sokoto had said. Of the two men named there could be no doubt whatever as to which was the better. Iya had joined Alieu of Kano against us, and by all accounts had been continuously hostile, and did not bear a good character. Dan Sidi, on the other hand, had been friendly disposed, and, since he was the grandson of the original founder of Zaria, his title seemed indisputable. I told them to debate the matter, but indicated that I preferred Dan Sidi, the Wombai. To this they agreed, and after a long explanation of the conditions on which he would hold his position, and the main characteristics of British suzerainty, I installed him as Emir. This was done (as already at Sokoto and Kano) with some ceremonial. The troops, with guns and Maxims mounted, formed three sides of a large hollow square in front of the Emir's royal enclosure. On my arrival I was received by the troops with a royal salute, and a carpet was spread for the Emir and a few of the principal officers of state in front of the square and facing his gate. I then presented him, according to the custom of Zaria, with a gown and turban. These are the insignia of office which hitherto had been sent by Sokoto and presented by his Wazir, but which now they all recognise must come

from the British as the new Suzerains. This done, I said a few words to the great masses of people assembled, wishing the new Emir good luck and long life, &c., and promising them that there should be no interference with their religion—an announcement which was received with a murmur of pleasure—and then gave permission for the royal trumpets to sound. There followed a discordant hubbub of eight-foot trumpets, of drums and various other instruments which can only be sounded for a duly appointed and accepted Emir, and which no *locum tenens* may use. This is the signal to the populace of the final appointment of the Emir. I then shook hands with him before his people, and according to custom led him into the interior of the royal enclosures which thenceforth became his residence. It is the custom of Hausaland for the Emir himself, attended by all his chiefs and hundreds of horsemen, to accompany for some little distance an honoured guest on his departure, and accordingly next day an enormous throng of galloping horsemen in robes of every conceivable colour, headed by the Emir and his entourage to the accompaniment of dense clouds of dust and the braying of the royal trumpets, escorted me for a couple of miles, where we said a cordial "good-bye." I was somewhat prepossessed by this man, who appeared quiet and dignified, and showed some anxiety to grasp the principles upon which he was to rule in future. His fear was chiefly lest the Resident should be misinformed by tale-bearers hostile to him, and he insisted that so far as he was able he would act up to my instructions, and that any default would be from ignorance and not of intention. I replied that the secret of success would be to hide nothing, but to treat the Resident as his friend and adviser, frankly placing all his difficulties before him, for he was there to help him and not to find fault with him; that we would mutually endeavour to learn each other's modes of thought and to work together for the benefit of the country, which I trusted would thus remain in peace henceforth and grow prosperous.

NORTHERN HAUSA STATES.

21. It is difficult to convey to those who have not been in this country the overshadowing importance of the Kano-Sokoto question. I am convinced that it had long been the earnest desire of such a man as the Emir of Nupe, who had thrown in his lot with us, that the Government would settle this question, for as long as there was a divided allegiance his position was difficult, and his co-religionists dubbed him a traitor. But the great bulk of the country, knowing the enormous strength of the walls of Kano, and exaggerating the number and fighting capacity of the Emir's army of horsemen, doubted whether the British could in reality conquer him, or occupy Sokoto, whose armies had overrun so vast a country.

Intrigue, therefore, was rife in every province, and every chief feared to burn his boats and accept as final the British rule. The old belief that we had not come to stay and would shortly evacuate and leave our friends in the lurch seemed to receive confirmation by our hesitation to settle once for all who was to be Suzerain, and gave grounds for belief that Government itself feared the power of Sokoto and Kano, and dared not assert itself. If the white men themselves had fears, who had not yet seen the strength of Kano, what chance (they argued) of success would we have when the Armageddon came? Meanwhile the Emir of Kano blustered; for a year past he had been rebuilding his walls, and all the innumerable great walled cities in the Emirate were likewise ordered to rebuild their walls and re-dig their moats, and did so. Arms had been imported in great quantities from Tripoli, and it is said that great numbers also were smuggled from Lagos. High prices were offered to any man who would desert from our troops and bring his rifle,* and I believe that there was a regular organisation at Lokoja for the theft of rifles and ammunition. The latter (·303) had a regular market rate at Kano. Every outlaw and deserter could escape there and receive a welcome and a high price for his arms and services and defy the Government; and this focus of hostility, this market for our rifles, lay but 82 miles—five marches—from the Residency and small garrison of Zaria, and was, of course, a serious danger to the administration. The murder of Captain Moloney and the flight of the murderer to Kano, the reiterated threats of the Emir, and the advent of the Boundary Commission to delimit the Anglo-French boundary around Sokoto, and thence along the Katsena frontier (within 20 miles of that town) brought matters to a crisis. The garrison of Zaria could no longer be left without large reinforcements, and our rule in the Zaria Province itself was a farce, while the attitude of Katsena had to be ascertained, and a practicable route *viâ* Kano opened to communicate with the Commission and supply them with needful stores when they arrived midway between the Niger and Chad—350 miles from our nearest garrisons on the east or west.

22. No less urgent was the arrest of the murderer of Captain Moloney. "If a little town like Keffi could do so much" (Alieu is reported to have said) "what could not Kano do?"; namely, in the way of exterminating the British. If the life of a European can be taken with impunity the prestige of the Government would be gone, and prestige is another word for

* So far as I could discover, after the occupation, the number of deserters from our forces at Kano was small, though we recovered 30 of our carbines and 23 more are expected to come in shortly. There appears, however, to have been a strong contingent of French deserters with their arms.

self-preservation in a country where millions are ruled by a few score. In my opinion Government owes it to every British officer called upon to serve in distant districts among turbulent people to take prompt and effective measures in such a case, or the lives of its servants would not be safe. This has ever been a cardinal principle with the Indian Government, and a frontier tribe shielding the murderer of a British officer has been held to have declared war against the State. I felt that I had no option but to attempt the arrest of the Magaji to the uttermost limits of the Protectorate, and if ever the day shall come when any other policy may prevail it will not be long before it is followed by disaster. Meanwhile it was reported that a native sergeant-major of the West African Frontier Force, who had gone on furlough to Kano, had been imprisoned and murdered, and though it was subsequently found that he had escaped, a second soldier was found in the dungeon reduced to a skeleton and of doubtful sanity.

23. Finally a well-authenticated report reached me that Alieu, the Emir, had actually marched out of Kano to attack the small garrison of Zaria, and had only turned back on hearing of the death of the Sultan of Sokoto. The real story appears to be that he had written to Katsena to join him and had marched out to join the Katsena contingent, but as Katsena would have nothing to say to this war policy he had not attempted an advance The report, however, was confirmed to me; and I immediately directed that the garrison at Zaria should be strongly reinforced, and seeing that a conflict was inevitable I began to push up supplies of ammunition, food, &c., in readiness.

24. This was at the end of November, 1902. News travels rapidly in Hausaland. It was almost immediately known from Sokoto to Illorin that the white men and Kano were preparing to fight, and all awaited the issue. To shirk the conflict was impossible, and would have been interpreted as a sign of fear and a confession that Government admitted that Kano was more powerful than itself. Such a policy would not probably have evaded war in the long run, but would have induced a far more sanguinary and widespread conflict. It has been asked whether every prior effort at conciliation had been made. The circumstances, as I have related them, will, I think, show that this was not possible. One cannot attempt conciliation with an accessory after the fact to a brutal murder, or with a King who has tortured an innocent man merely because he was the servant of Government. To attempt it would have been not only humiliating but futile, and the messenger would in all probability have been killed. Such were the causes which led to the expedition against Kano.

THE FULANI DYNASTY.

25. I would desire to offer one or two observations here (*a*) on the position in Hausaland occupied by the Fulani dynasty and (*b*) on the position of the British Government with respect to that dynasty.

The Fulahs or Fulani appear to have been a pastoral race who spread themselves throughout Northern Nigeria in the latter half of the eighteenth century, occupying at that time a merely servile, or at least nomadic, position as cattle herds. Early in the nineteenth century there arose a religious leader among them named Dan Fodio, the founder of Sokoto. To him the chiefs of the various shepherd clans repaired, and he gave to each a flag of conquest. Armed with this sacred symbol, and inspired by fanatical zeal, each chief led his clan to victory, and the various Emirates more or less as they exist to-day were established. Dan Fodio is said to have prophesied that his green flag would only be a passport to victory for 100 years, and that after that period the Fulani dynasty would cease to hold sway. It is a curious fact that this 100 years (by the Mohammedan Calendar) had just expired, and the Fulani are said to have expected their overthrow and believed that the late Sultan would be the last of the dynasty. The Habe dynasty, which they ousted (itself said to be the seventeenth which had overrun and conquered Hausaland), appears to have had a highly developed system of rule and administration which the Fulani adopted in its entirety, including the system of judges (Alkalis) independent of the executive. Mohammedanism had already penetrated into the country, and many of the Habes were Mussulmans. This revolution took place about 1810, at the time that Clapperton visited the country. Under the Habes and in the early rule of the Fulahs the country had thriven greatly, and Kano was already the commercial emporium of the Western Sudan. When Barth reached Hausaland in 1851 he described it as the most densely populated country in all Africa, and its population was estimated at from thirty to fifty millions.

26. The Fulani never thoroughly conquered the country, and succeeded only in gaining the submission of the great towns in the plains where their horsemen were effective. The pagan tribes in the hills and broken country and even in large areas of the plains maintained their independence. They were constantly raided for slaves, and retaliated by attacking caravans and frequently carried the war up to the gates of the Fulani walled towns. This state of chronic war and unrest devastated the country. Caravans could only reach the Niger from the north if powerfully escorted, while the tribute in slaves to Sokoto and the number retained for use in each

Emirate led to the depopulation of the country not merely by reason of the numbers captured—vast as they were—but by the numbers killed in these raids or left to starve in the bush.

Fulani Taxes and Raids.

27. Wherever a Fulani army had been it left a depopulated desert. Greed was one of the chief characteristics of the new dynasty, and tax after tax was enforced upon the people, so that at the present day there is no conceivable trade and no profession which has not its own special tax. Every form of handicraft, the dyers, weavers, blacksmiths, &c., was taxed. Even the collectors of honey in the woods paid their dole to the chiefs, and there exists, I believe, a complete system of death duties. Though only some eighty or ninety years have passed since the Fulani conquest, the decadence which was already apparent in the time of Barth had reached its extreme before the end of the nineteenth century. Bribery, corruption, and extortion marked the so-called administration of justice, whilst the multiplication of harems and the growth of a large class of idle "princes" led to nepotism and imposition of tax after tax to meet the necessities of the rulers and their idle sons and relatives. No man's life was safe; common people were killed without compunction; notables were removed by poison or secret murder. Trade was paralysed by extortionate levies and rendered difficult by the insecurity of the roads.

Advent of Europeans.

28. The conquest of Nupe by the Royal Niger Company hastened the process of disintegration and decay by upsetting the existing form of rule and substituting nothing for it, and in every direction the subject peoples began to refuse to pay their taxes, and the slaves and serfs to leave their masters and run away to the south bank of the Niger (which had been taken from the Nupe kingdom by the Company) and there to lead a life of vagrancy at Lokoja, or of comparative idleness in the surrounding country. The deposed Emir returned and ousted the Company's nominee. Fresh campaigns,—now with the aid of Government troops,— were undertaken against Lapai and Argeye (sub-Emirates of Nupe) in 1898; discontent increased in 1899; and when the transfer to Government took place in 1900 the Emir of Nupe, unable to control his people and driven to desperation by the loss of the farm slaves and of his revenue, allied himself with the arrogant fighting chief of Kontagora and attacked the Government canoes on the Kaduna, and threatened the small garrison at Wushishi, at the same time laying waste the whole country and carrying off its people as slaves.

Ruin of the Country by the Fulani.

29. It is improbable that the dynasty could have lasted long even had its collapse not been thus accelerated, for the passion of the Fulani for slave raiding had, as I have described, denuded the country of its population, and as slaves became more difficult to procure from the old hunting grounds, the rural populations even of the Fulani tributary provinces were harried and destroyed. The truly awful desolation and destruction of life caused by this slave raiding is apparent to-day in every direction. Enormous tracts of land have gone out of cultivation, and one constantly sees the ruins of great towns now overgrown with jungle. Nigeria, once described as the most densely populated country in Africa, is to-day throughout its greater area but sparsely inhabited. Mr. Wallace, travelling through Kabba, writes:—"With regard to the depopulation of Northern Nigeria by the Fulani, which is so apparently manifest to the merest novice in the service, a traveller (in the country, for instance, between Kabba and Egga) would not, I am certain, come across 200 people en route, in what, even in my time, was a densely populated country. Again, in the Nassarawa country, a once fertile and populous province, one can now only view the remains and ruins of large and totally deserted towns, bearing witness to the desolation wrought by 100 years of internecine strife and slave raiding by the Fulani." Major Sharpe, Resident of Kontagora, described his Province as denuded of all its inhabitants except old men and babies.

30. Such was the condition of affairs when His Majesty's Government entrusted me with the task of setting up an administration in the country in 1900. Already the Fulani rule was decadent, and its decay had been greatly accelerated by the advent of Europeans. In my view the time had come for the transfer of the suzerainty to the more capable hands of the British, who, fortunately for the country, were ready to undertake it. Till the close of the first year (1900) the administration was paralysed by the withdrawal of most of the troops for the Ashanti War, and the task of creating the different departments was also no light one; but before I returned to England early in 1901 I had been able to put a stop to the depredations of the worst of the raiders—Kontagora—and to incorporate that Province and Nupe, without further bloodshed, under the administration.

Fulani System of Rule.

31. The system of Fulani rule was a feudal one, in which the right to all land was vested in the Emir, and fief holders paid a rent or tribute to the overlord. This in the case of Fulani holders appears to have been a tithe of the produce,

but in the case of conquered pagans the amount was arbitrarily assessed and frequently doubled as a punishment for rebellion. I have yet to learn the full details of the land tenure system throughout the Protectorate, nor would space permit me to deal with the question at any great length here. I will, therefore, only instance the system as it obtains in Nupe from the account supplied by Mr. Goodair (Assistant Resident). Over each district there is appointed a chief who resides at the capital; under him is a chief "ajele" (tax gatherer) who also remains at the capital in attendance on his lord. The actual assessor and collector is the subordinate ajele who resides in the district. He lives upon the peasantry, and his staff of messengers also are at free quarters. The district itself is under a headman, a native of the country, who actually collects the taxes from village headmen, and hands over the proceeds to the subordinate ajele who had fixed them. The proportions taken are as follows:—Emir, 50 per cent.; fief holder, 25 per cent.; senior ajele, 12½ per cent.; junior ajele, 6¼ per cent.; headman of fief, 6¼ per cent.; village headman, nil (though, of course, he takes care to secure something). The chief officers of state (Fulani) hold many fiefs. The Yerima of Bida, for instance, has 18, and these pass with the office. Only the headman is local, the rest being alien Fulani, who render nothing in return for the 93¾ per cent. of the tax which accrues to them. The headman is in theory appointed by the Emir, but in practice by the fief holder. The subordinate ajele does not in theory rule the district, but as everything depends upon his reports to his chiefs he is virtually the despotic ruler, and the nominal ruler (the local headman of the district) fears him too much to contradict his wishes. There is thus a dual rule. There is a right of appeal to the Emir, but it must pass through each of these grades. So detested have these ajeles become that they have been expelled during the recent relaxation of the Emir's power by most of the districts, and the Emir is therefore at a loss to collect his tribute. Captain Abadie, Resident of Zaria, and Mr. Dwyer, of Illorin, report that it was the custom of the ajeles to extort money by a gate tax and by payments for hearing cases, also by seizing slaves, in addition to their extortions in the collection of tribute. They paid for nothing, raped women, and if a town demurred to such treatment it was reported to the Emir as rebellious and raided. I propose in future (if found possible) that the fief holder shall reside on his fief; that both the ajeles shall be abolished, and that the local headman of the district shall, under the supervision of the Resident, assess the tribute and collect it, and that it shall be distributed as follows:—Emir, 40 per cent.; Government, 28 per cent.; fief holder, 20 per cent.; headman of district, 10 per cent.; village headman, 2 per cent. This scheme will abolish two out of the three absentee landlords (the Emir alone taking a share with-

out residence), and will do much towards freeing the population from oppression.

BRITISH AND FULANI.

32. Turning to the second point,—the relation of the British to the Fulani. Up to the year before the crisis with the French in Borgu and the raising of the West African Frontier Force (1898), the Royal Niger Company had been dominated by the fear of the then powerful Fulani Emirs, against whom they were not strong enough to hold their own and to cope at the same time with aggression on their frontiers. In 1897 Sir George Goldie risked all in a conflict with Nupe, which else (it was said) had purposed themselves to attack and demolish the Company. Prior to that date the Company had paid an annual subsidy to Sokoto and to Gando in accordance with the treaties. The Niger Company's war with Nupe, one of the Sokoto states and the immediate vassal of Gando, put an end in fact to the treaties, and was so regarded by Sokoto, who at first declined to receive his annual subsidy, or to have any further dealings with the Company, and sounded his Emirs as to reprisals. Finding no ready response, he yielded to persuasion and took the subsidy which the Company, who were about to hand over the administration to Government, were anxious that he should receive as a token of the continued validity of the treaty, upon the recognition of which by Sokoto depended their ability to transfer the country to Government. The treaty contained certain stipulations which amounted to a transfer by the Sultan of a part at any rate of his sovereign rights to the Company. That they had ever understood or agreed to this the Sokoto chiefs entirely denied. For the rest it amounted to a compact of friendship, and was understood as such by the Sultan. This maintenance of friendship was in fact the only *quid pro quo* he recognised in return for his subsidy, and this he now no longer maintained.

33. When it was finally decided that the transfer to Government should take place on January 1st, 1900, I drew up and submitted to the Secretary of State a proclamation announcing the change, and saying that the new Government would remain bound by the pledges given by the Company and would expect from the chiefs a fulfilment of the obligations into which they on their part had entered under the treaties. This was translated into Hausa, and I despatched the document by the hand of the messenger of the highest standing I had. At the same time I provided in my estimates for the amounts payable under the treaties which would presumably fall due on January 1st, 1901.

34. My messenger to Sokoto was treated with indignity, and no acknowledgment of my letter was sent to me, a deliberate insult according to Fulani custom. I learnt later that

my letter had caused fear and that its tone was considered insulting, and that the Sultan on reading it had said that never again would he accept or read a letter from the white man. As there was nothing in the original except a courteous intimation, approved by the Secretary of State, in the sense I have described, I am compelled to attribute this misunderstanding to the translation. The hostile acts done by Nupe and Kontagora (vassals of Sokoto) against the Government, described in my last report, constituted a further breach of the treaty. I was, however, unwilling to denounce it, and after the defeat of Kontagora I sent a letter to Sokoto asking him to nominate a successor. This was a very significant act and equivalent to a recognition of his ancient prerogatives. I received no reply, but in May last (1902) a letter reached me saying that between the Mussulmans and Government there could be nothing but war; nor was this declaration withdrawn in a subsequent letter, though couched in more courteous terms (in consequence of the conciliatory efforts of the Emir of Nupe), in reply to one I sent to the Sultan informing him of the reasons for which I had deposed the Emir of Bautshi.

35. This letter, in my view, was a final denunciation of the treaty. Up to this time I had not regarded the treaty as being denounced, and the subsidy was merely a year overdue, but I had refrained from sending it until the Sultan should exhibit a more friendly attitude and claim it, and acknowledge the proclamation which I had sent in the name of His Majesty's Government confirming the treaties and inviting him to declare his adherence to them. Looking to his previous refusal to accept the subsidy from the Royal Niger Company, it would seem not improbable that to send it would be merely to court a rebuff and to precipitate trouble.* Gando had, like Sokoto, maintained for these two years an attitude of passive hostility. Though by treaty a friend, no European could visit his capital, and a Lagos trader who without my knowledge attempted to do so in January, 1902, was summarily turned back. Nupe, the immediate vassal of Gando, had taken up arms against Government, and his other vassal, Illorin, had received letters inviting him to do the same; while Raha and other Fulani chiefs close to Gando had raided the Dalul Mauri district, and had been engaged

* I give in Appendix I. copies of these letters to and from Sokoto :—
1. The original proclamation sent by my own messenger and unacknowledged.
2. My letter asking the Sultan to nominate an Emir for Kontagora.
3. My letter informing the Sultan of the Bautshi garrison.
4. The Sultan's letter declaring war.
5. The Sultan's letter acknowledging mine *re* Bautshi.
6. Colonel Morland's letter informing him *re* Kano and of our advance.
7. His reply.

I do not recollect any other letters to have passed between us.

in fighting there with our troops under Captain Keyes and others. This attitude and these acts in my opinion gave ample justification for the denunciation of the Gando treaty, notwithstanding that in June, 1902, on the urgent representations of the Emir of Nupe, Gando had sent friendly letters to me. He had never dissociated himself from the declaration of war sent by Sokoto, had sent no customary message of friendship or civility, nor claimed the benefit of the treaties so long as it suited him to discard them. In the meantime, being compelled to reply to his overtures at the time of the fight at Sokoto, I instructed the Resident to point out these facts to him, and to add that in my view the treaties had expired, but that I welcomed his present friendly attitude, and so long as he conformed to the conditions upon which the Government would recognise him as Emir he should not lose his place and would receive our protection and help. I added that I hoped the prosperity and goodwill which had followed the adhesion of the two Emirs who were at one time his vassals (Nupe and Illorin) would also follow the inauguration of his rule as a subject of the Government. After the capture of Sokoto a number of Arabic letters from Gando to Sokoto (among others), were found. These were carefully translated by Captain Merrick, R.A., and pointed to the fact that Gando was tributary to Sokoto and held no independent sovereignty, and acquiesced in his hostile attitude to the Government.

CONCLUSIONS.

36. The Fulani, therefore, held their suzerainty by right of recent conquest, nor has time enough elapsed for those rights to have become stereotyped by sales and transfers of title as in an older community. The misrule of the Fulani had rendered them hateful to the bulk of the population, who would welcome their overthrow, and I can myself see no injustice in the transfer of the suzerainty thus acquired to the British Government by the same right of conquest. This suzerainty involves the ultimate title to all land, the right to appoint Emirs and all officers of state, the right of legislation and of taxation. I explained this to each of the Emirs whom I installed at Sokoto, Kano, and Zaria, and also at Katsena. What they had won by conquest they had lost by defeat. They appeared in all cases to accept this as an obvious truism, and to be delighted at the intention of Government to still maintain them as vassal rulers, with their quondam dignity and customs, and to be relieved and pleased at the lightness of the yoke imposed and the smallness of the taxes which I proposed to inflict upon them. The case of these alien conquerors is wholly different from that of ancient chiefs ruling over people

of their own race for long centuries past, as I believe is the case, for instance, with the Yoruba chiefs of Lagos, who are of the same race as their subjects, and have held their position for centuries with a well established system of communal land tenure. Nor were the Fulani a warrior dynasty identified with a large section of the governed races, and holding their sceptres from immemorial time, as in the native states of India. The British conquest of this vast country has been almost bloodless; the people have welcomed our advent. But in my view the tradition of British rule has ever been to arrest disintegration, to retain and build up again what is best in the social and political organisation of the conquered dynasties, and to develop on the lines of its own individuality each separate race of which our great Empire consists. That has been our policy in India; and Northern Nigeria, though but a third the size, and many centuries behind the great Eastern dependency, still presents to my imagination many strangely parallel conditions. I believe myself that the future of the virile races of this Protectorate lies largely in the regeneration of the Fulani. Their ceremonial, their coloured skins, their mode of life and habits of thought, appeal more to the native populations than the prosaic business-like habits of the Anglo-Saxon can ever do. Nor have we the means at present to administer so vast a country. This, then, is the policy to which, in my view, the administration of Northern Nigeria should give effect, viz., to regenerate this capable race and mould them to ideas of justice and mercy, so that in a future generation, if not in this, they may become worthy instruments of rule. My desire to utilise the Fulani as rulers has been described in a former report and has met with the approval of the Secretary of State. They are unfit at present to exercise power except under supervision, nor do I hope for any great success in the present generation, but I hope and believe that with careful guidance their sons and grandsons will form invaluable rulers under British supervision, and that their superior intelligence can be developed as a useful asset in our administration.

Kano-Sokoto Campaign.

37. Being, therefore, well aware, by no empirical conclusions, but by an intimate knowledge of the circumstances, that the war between Kano and the white man would be one as between the British Government and the Fulani only,—a war from which the populace would hold aloof except when coerced by the rulers who exercised a terrorism over them—I felt that, if our troops were eager for the encounter and well led and organised, we had nothing to fear, and that the troops at my disposal were sufficient for the task. The eagerness of the men left nothing to be desired. Many of them bore the distinguishing names of Kano, Katsena, Sokoto, or

Babeji, showing them to be natives of those towns, and these were at least as eager as the rest. In case, however, of any check, I did not allow it to be known what were our plans, and throughout the country it was believed that we certainly did not intend to go beyond Kano. Finally I suggested precautions against poisoned wells, the only form of disaster which seemed to me possible, for in the Hausa states running water is rare and the supply is obtained almost solely from wells. I thought it advisable, moreover, to place in the field the strongest force possible, and to effect this I temporarily withdrew the garrison, and consequently the Resident, from Bautshi. In all, the expeditionary force consisted of 1,020 rank and file, and some 50 Europeans, including the Zaria garrison. All preliminary arrangements for transport and supply were completed, and the bulk of the force was concentrated at Zaria early in January.

38. I had not considered it necessary to ask for assistance from any other Colony, for the garrisons left throughout Northern Nigeria were, in my opinion and that of the Commandant, adequate, and the force in the field was much larger than that employed against Kontagora, Yola, or in the occupation of Bornu. From the reports received from very many different sources I had no reason to anticipate a resistance appreciably greater than that offered on those occasions. As the result has proved, the opposition at Kano, where no one on the British side was killed and only 14 wounded, in spite of the fact that they had incomparably better defences and were fully warned and prepared for our advance, could not compare with the fighting at Yola, which was taken quite by surprise, and where we had 47 casualties.

39. In order, however, to guard against any unforeseen contingency or unexpected check, the Secretary of State directed that reserves of 300 men each were to be ordered up from Southern Nigeria and Lagos. Brigadier-General Kemball, D.S.O., Inspector-General of the West African Frontier Force, who was then at Lagos, was also directed to proceed to Northern Nigeria to take command, in accordance with the arrangement providing for the command of operations in which troops from different Colonies or Protectorates are employed. Delay was, however, impossible, for the troops and carriers at Zaria, numbering over 2,000, required one and a half tons of food per day, and could not have been fed there for another week without resorting to forced levies from the villages around, thus alienating and distressing the people.

40. Prior to General Kemball's arrival, therefore, I had given orders to Colonel Morland to advance, and on January 29th (1903) the expedition, consisting of 24 officers, 2 medical officers, 12 British non-commissioned officers, 722 rank and file, with 4 guns and 4 Maxims, left Zaria. Colonel Morland was

opposed at Bebeji, eight miles across the frontier, and Captain Abadie (Political Officer) made a plucky attempt to avoid bloodshed by riding up to the walls of the town and endeavouring to persuade the people not to fight. Alieu, of Kano, however, had promised death to any one who should open the gates, and so after a discussion with the defenders on the ramparts, which had its humorous side, the fight began. It was brief, for a shell blew in the gate, killing the king and two chiefs who were standing behind it (the defenders had protested by the king's command that the king was not in the town and they could not yield without his orders), and the storming party met with little resistance. The town was not looted or injured and non-combatants were unharmed.

A series of towns, each with newly-built ramparts of great strength, are situated on the road to Kano, and each, in accordance with orders, had prepared to fight, but after the example of Bebeji the warriors had not stomach for the task. Each Fulani headman with his following therefore fled to Kano, while the mass of the people, well knowing that, contrary to all their own experience and custom in warfare, the British troops would not harm them, remained quietly in their towns and brought ample supplies of food and water for the troops. These were duly paid for as though no war was being waged; for, indeed, we had no war against the people of Hausaland, but only against their Fulani rulers. It was, I submit, a very striking testimony to the discipline of the troops and a very satisfactory witness to the humanity which has marked the dealings of Government with the people of Northern Nigeria that here, in the midst of a country into which no British soldier had ever penetrated, the people should have shown such absolute confidence in and knowledge of our methods instead of deserting their towns and "running into the bush," which is their custom on the slightest alarm.

41. Unopposed, therefore, the force reached Kano, where the extent and formidable nature of the fortifications surpassed the best-informed anticipations of our officers. Needless to say, I have never seen, nor even imagined, anything like it in Africa. The wall was 11 miles in perimeter, with 13 gates all newly built. Subsequent measurement at several points by the Public Works Department proved the walls to be from 30 feet to 50 feet high and about 40 feet thick at the base, with a double ditch in front. The loopholes four feet from the crest of the wall (which was here four feet thick) were served by a banquette and provided with mantlets at intervals, being crenulated between them. The ditch or moat is divided into two by a dwarf wall triangular in section which runs along its centre. The section and elevation are shown in Appendix IV. The gates themselves were flimsy structures of cow-hide, but the massive entrance tower in

which they were fixed was generally about 50 feet long and tortuous, so that they were impermeable to shell fire. Some of them were most cleverly designed in a re-entrant angle, so that the access to them was enfiladed by fire from the walls on either side, while the ditch itself was full of live thorns and immensely deep. Had all the gates been thus constructed Kano would have been practically impregnable to direct assault, but the enormous extent of the walls would have rendered it vulnerable to escalade by night. Fortunately, however, the gates were not all so built, and after a fruitless attempt at the "Zaria Gate," Colonel Morland effected a small breach at the next, which was then stormed by a party under Lieutenant Dyer. Had the defenders possessed any vestige of determination they could have rendered this operation impossible and cut each man down as he appeared; but the determined nature of the attack, the great prestige which our troops had already won throughout the country, and the effect of our shells, had caused the very volatile courage of the defenders to evaporate; and as soon as the head of the first of the storming party appeared on the wall they fled incontinently.

42. The inhabited part of the city of Kano covers only a small part (about one-third) of the great area enclosed by the walls, and a distance of one and a half miles separated the scene of the fighting from the town itself (*see* plan, Appendix IV.), so that Colonel Morland by attacking here was able to take care that not a soul was hurt except the actual combatants. These suffered severely in their retreat both from our shell fire and from the charge of the mounted infantry who awaited them outside the walls and did great execution, turning the flight into a panic-stricken rout, and creating that great moral effect which is in the long run (as it proved here later on) so effective a means of preventing subsequent bloodshed. The troops entered the town unopposed, the people, in their strange way, looking on as though the matter did not intimately concern them, and took possession of the king's palace, which consisted of a network of buildings covering an area of 33 acres, and surrounded by a wall 20 to 30 feet high outside and 15 feet inside, in itself no mean citadel. Here an unexpected resistance was offered by the head slave who was left in charge of the treasure and arsenal. With some half dozen followers he suddenly attacked Lieutenant Dyer, and inflicted a bad sword-cut on his wrist before he was overcome and killed. Guards were placed on the gates and no men were allowed to go into the city with arms, with the result that there was no panic, and the people continued to follow their usual avocations as though nothing had occurred. Our casualties were only 14 wounded, and this in spite of the heavy though ill-directed fire kept up by the defenders from the walls and the good shooting of a few deserters from the French and from Rabeh, from whose bullets there were many narrow

escapes. In the arsenal was found every conceivable kind of ammunition and a great quantity of powder. About 20,000 rounds of ammunition were destroyed, and 350 firearms. One of Alieu's women set fire to the magazine and a disaster was only narrowly averted.

43. It was now ascertained that the Emir Alieu had left his capital on January 2nd and gone to Sokoto (with the object, it is said, of saluting the new Sultan) with about 1,000 to 2,000 horsemen. He had left the town in charge of two head slaves, both of whom died in its defence, together with the kings of Kunshi and Ghirko, noted fighting men, and others, with orders to hold it to the death. These, with all the defenders of Kano, had after its fall gone off to join him. He had cleared out the whole of his private effects except the recently paid tribute (about £1,375 in cowries), and the rooms of his palace were found bare and swept clean. Some interesting letters from the late Sultan of Sokoto, together with letters from the Royal Niger Company, were found, but as Arabic letters are never dated it was difficult to say precisely when they were written. Those from the Sultan were for the most part injunctions to fight the British Government. The Emir had taken with him by force every possible representative of the dynasty and also the whole of the leading men of the town and officers of state, many of whom it is said did not wish to fight.

44. Alieu himself was a tyrant who was detested by the people, but had inspired so deep a dread and fear that his will was law. Certain death awaited anyone who disobeyed or who was even suspected of wavering, and thus he managed even in his own absence to compel a resistance which few besides himself desired. I had given orders to Colonel Morland that immediately after the occupation of the city he should close the slave market and visit the dungeon and take out the prisoners and enquire into their cases. So well, however, is our policy known, that the slave market closed itself, while it was found that the prisoners had been taken by the fighting men to the walls to witness our expected defeat and subsequently liberated by the townspeople. These malefactors at once began to loot throughout the city, and every effort, with the aid of the people, was made to recapture them.

45. I visited the dungeon myself. A small doorway 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches gives access into it. The interior is divided (by a thick mud wall with a similar hole through it) into two compartments, each 17 feet by 7 feet and 11 feet high. This wall was pierced with holes at its base through which the legs of those sentenced to death were thrust up to the thigh, and they were left to be trodden on by the mass of other prisoners till they died of thirst and starvation. The

place is entirely air-tight and unventilated except for the one small doorway, or rather hole, in the wall through which you creep. The total space inside is 2,618 cubic feet, and at the time we took Kano 135 human beings were confined here each night, being let out during the day to cook their food, &c., in a small adjoining area. Recently as many as 200 have been interned at one time. As the superficial ground area was only 238 square feet there was not, of course, even standing room. Victims were crushed to death every night and their corpses were hauled out each morning. The stench, I am told, inside the place when Colonel Morland visited it was intolerable, though it was empty, and when I myself went inside three weeks later the effluvium was unbearable for more than a few seconds. A putrid corpse even then lay near the doorway. It was here that the two West African Frontier Force soldiers were confined. One of the great pools in the city is marked as the place where men's heads were cut off; another near the great market is the site where limbs were amputated almost daily.

46. It had been Alieu's policy to substitute favourite slaves for the chief officers of the state, and the fact that he had taken with him every native official in his vast city would lead one to expect that chaos and disorder would have been rampant. It is a most remarkable tribute, both to the orderly disposition and good sense of the Kano people and to their knowledge of our stern repression of crime, that three days after the occupation three large and well equipped caravans started for Zaria, and others from the North and East continued to arrive, while within the same time the great market was in full swing again as though nothing unusual had happened. The market has daily increased and entire quiet has prevailed. On all occasions I have found that the people were not slow to bring to notice any crime or unfair dealing committed by our soldiers or carriers, and this, I think, is a striking proof of their trust in British impartiality. I regret to record an outrage by three soldiers who broke out of our camp in the king's enclosure and killed a man in the market. The murderer was tried by court-martial and shot, and I directed that some of the chiefs of Kano should witness this vindication of British justice. The quiet and good order I have described was in a large measure due to the exertions of the one man of any influence who was found in Kano—an old official who had been for forty-one years head of the market—but was to a still greater extent due to the discipline of the troops and the indefatigable efforts of Captain Abadie, Resident of Zaria, whom I had temporarily appointed to the charge of Kano. Captain Abadie made the headmen of the fourteen quarters of the town responsible for good order, and he fixed a rate of exchange between the local cowries and the British silver with which our troops and followers desired to purchase their daily food.

ADVANCE FROM KANO.

47. News was received that Alieu had left Sokoto and was returning towards Kano with an enormous following. Colonel Morland, having put the king's enclosure in a relative state of defence, was ready to march out to meet this force on February 9th. General Kemball, however, was now on his way from Zaria to Kano (arriving on the 13th), and on February 16th he left with Colonel Morland and a force of 600 rank and file and 34 Europeans, and marched towards the west, leaving 254 troops as a garrison in Kano. I had directed Colonel Morland to send letters to Sokoto and Katsena, telling them that we had no quarrel with them provided they would receive us in peace and carry out the conditions on which the Government was prepared to recognise and confirm them in their positions. (*See* Appendix I.) To the letter to Katsena a reply was received at once from the Emir saying he had no desire for war and was prepared to accept my conditions, but there was not yet time for a reply to be received from Sokoto. After the fall of Kano the surrounding towns all sent in to submit and to affirm their wish for friendship, but the king of each, with his Fulani following of horsemen, was absent with the hostile army, and each town was under its Galadema, the king's *locum tenens*.

48. When the force had reached some 100 miles from Kano a belt of waterless jungle was encountered, about 57 miles in breadth, on the further side of which Alieu's army was encamped. A detour was made, and Captain Wright and Lieutenant Wells were sent with a small party of 45 men of the Mounted Infantry to reconnoitre a second road. They fell in with a party of 200 of the enemy's horsemen, whom they defeated, capturing a large number of men and horses. From them they learnt that the main body was behind. Captain Wright had received similar information from the General Officer Commanding, but decided to advance and oppose his little force as a barrier to the enemy to delay their advance on Kano till the main body of our troops should have time to anticipate them. It seemed like certain annihilation, and his men, hampered by carriers on foot and by the captured horses, had barely time to form a square when they were charged by 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot under the Waziri and several of the more prominent fighting chiefs. Fortunately there was a little scrub around, of which, during the action, a zariba was made. Ten times the little square was charged, and yet the men held their ground with perfect steadiness, firing only at 50 yards range to save their ammunition, and only by word of command. Each charge was repulsed, though many of the enemy were shot fifteen feet from the rifles. The Waziri and seven other principal chiefs were killed, and the attack was beaten off with only one man wounded and three horses killed on our side. The enemy

lost very heavily. Had the square once been broken or the leaders lost their heads or been wounded, the little force would have been obliterated. The enemy retired in good order to a village named Chamberawa, where Captain Porter, with another small detachment of Mounted Infantry, came upon them and charged incontinently, taking them completely by surprise and routing the whole force. The people of the village shut their gates and thrust the Kano men from their walls when they attempted to enter, but received our party with cordiality. These gallant actions finished the opposition of Kano. A notable incident proving the attitude of the people towards us was the fact that at one time Lieutenant Wells was cut off, and would undoubtedly have been killed with the handful of men with him, had it not been for the action of a small village named Shankra, whose inhabitants, seeing his danger, came to his assistance, received him within their walls, and shut their gates in the face of the Kano army. This was a gallant act, since they could hardly expect that the handful of British would win, and our defeat would mean their own annihilation.

49. The night before the Waziri had started on his march to Kano, Alieu, the Emir, had deserted his forces and fled alone in the night. He was said to be a brave man, but he mistrusted all his chiefs, who detested him, and he feared to be deserted in the battle. He went north disguised as a salt merchant and was captured by the King of Gober, who sent to tell me and to ask what he should do with him. Meanwhile, however, Captain Foulkes, of the Boundary Commission, hearing of his proximity, rode 175 miles in two and a half days and brought him back. I directed that he should be sent down country, where he will be given a small subsistence allowance and permitted to reside. The Galadema, Alkali, and Lemam, with four petty chiefs and the Magaji of Keffi, fled with a handful of men to Sokoto. They represented Alieu's faction.

50. The night before Captain Wright's action there had been divided counsels in the enemy's camp. The Wombai, a brother of Alieu and of the Waziri, had separated from the latter with a considerable following and had taken a different road to Kano, saying he would not fight. After the dispersal of the Waziri's army and the death of its leaders, the bulk of the following made off through the bush and joined the Wombai.

Leaving Zungeru on February 2nd I had myself reached Zaria (170 miles) on the 11th, and after staying there five days had gone on to Kano. Here on March 4th I received news of the advent of the Wombai with an enormous following, and he now sent word asking for permission to enter Kano. I replied that I cordially welcomed the return of all fugitives, that the fighting was done, there were no old scores

to wipe out, and I had no grudge whatever against those who had fought us fairly. I, however, insisted that they should all come in together by a specified gate and not in driblets, and that all firearms should be surrendered. It was not possible to prevent thousands of footmen from scattering to their own towns, but the whole of the horsemen, estimated by Captain Lewis, who collected the arms, at about 2,500, together with some 5,000 footmen, surrendered on March 6th. Only 120 rifles were collected from them, but the Wombai promised to gather in many more later from the outlying towns.

51. Alieu, as I have said, had removed all the possible candidates for the Emirship, but after the fall of Kano the representative of the elder branch of Dan Tukkur, a man named Abdul Tukkur, had arrived from Zinder where he had taken refuge on Alieu's succession. His claims were strong, but he had no following, and I found after a time that he was quite unfit for the position, being eccentric and of weak intellect. The riff-raff of the town gathered round him, and I found that they had been looting the houses of the chiefs of the rival party in their absence. I therefore turned him out. The Wombai, who was not only the heir to the Emirship but the unanimous choice of all parties, had from the first been represented to me as the best and most popular candidate, and the death of his elder brother, the Waziri, and the flight of the king's son (the Galadema) had removed his only rivals. Both were very unpopular. The Wombai was a man with a most intelligent and humane face, in great contrast to the cunning, sensuality, and cruelty which were delineated in the features of the ex-Emir of Zaria. I summoned him, together with his six leading chiefs, and explained to them the conditions which I intended to impose.

Conditions of Appointment of Emir.

52. The British Government would in future, I said, be the Suzerain of the country, but would retain the existing rulers, exercising the right to appoint not only the Emirs but the chief officers of state. The rights of succession, nomination, or election customary in the country would not as a rule be interfered with, but the High Commissioner would retain the right of veto, and the king or chief would lose his place for misconduct. Similarly in the matter of law and justice; Mohammedan law, so long as it was not contrary to the law of the Protectorate, would not be interfered with, and the Emir's and Alkali's courts would be upheld and strengthened under the supervision of the Resident. Mutilation and imprisonment under inhuman conditions would not be allowed, and no death sentence would be carried into execution without the prior concurrence of the Resident. Bribery and extortion

would be checked, and certain classes of offences would be tried in the Provincial Court, in which alone all cases affecting non-natives and Government servants would be heard. Government would impose such taxes as the High Commissioner might see fit, to pay for the cost of administration, but these would not be of an oppressive character. Traders and caravans would be encouraged, and were not to be taxed by the Emir, whose levies would be subject to the approval of the High Commissioner. The Fulani, I observed, had lost their domination, and in future the ultimate title to land and minerals would be vested in the British Government, but owners would not be deprived of their land unless it was needed for necessary public works or Government requirements. I emphatically forbade all slave raiding and all transactions in slaves, while saying that it was not my intention to interfere with the existing domestic slaves; but these would, like anyone else in the land, at any time, have a right of appeal to the Resident, and, if they proved cruelty on the part of their masters, would be liberated. We recognised, I said, no less than they did that labouring classes must exist, and I had no desire to convert the existing farm and other labourers into vagrants, idlers, and thieves, but I hoped that they would by and by see the advantage of paid free labour, which we considered more profitable and better than slave labour. In future, I said, neither the Emir nor any chief would be allowed to have recourse to armed force, and the "Bogari" (gunmen) would be abolished. If the Emir were unable to enforce his legitimate orders he would refer to the Resident, for in the British Government alone was to be vested the task of policing the country. Consequently firearms would not be required and must be rendered up, and, unless in special cases authorised by permits from the Resident, their possession would involve punishment. All supplies would be fairly paid for, and they need have no fear in taking to the Resident all complaints against soldiers or other Government servants who might commit any violence or deal unfairly. The garrison would be located outside the town and soldiers would not be allowed to enter it with their arms. When I added that liquor was prohibited, there was a motion of appreciative assent, and to my announcement that they were absolutely free in the exercise of their religion there was a quite remarkable expression of joy and relief. Sokoto, I said, would remain the religious head, but no tribute of slaves might be sent to him in future. I added at the close of my remarks that it was not the desire of Government to upset and to change such native laws and customs as were good, and that it would be our desire to study them so as to understand the people. I finally spoke of the advantage of a coin currency and the necessity of a fixed rate of exchange between British silver and cowries. I assured them that the British had come to stay, and nothing would ever cause us

now to leave the country. I presented to the new Emir of Kano the Staff of Office of the First Class, as I subsequently did to the Emir of Zaria, and I later promised the same to Sokoto and Katsena, together with formal letters of appointment. It is important to note that on each occasion I had the best interpreters in the country and the words were paraphrased into simple English. The interpretation was checked at Sokoto by Major Burdon and at Katsena and Kano by Dr. Cargill (the two most fluent Hausa scholars), and at Zaria by Captain Abadie. All of them frequently corrected the interpreter when he had not thoroughly grasped the sense. The intelligent comments and questions of the chiefs showed that they thoroughly understood. Turning to the circumstances of Kano itself, I declined to appoint the Wombai as Emir until I had returned from Sokoto, whither I proposed to go at once, judging that this period of probation would not be without good effect, while for my own part I was unwilling to act with precipitation even though the circumstances, as I saw them at the time, seemed to leave no alternative and though we appeared singularly fortunate in the candidate proposed. Meanwhile he was left in charge of the town but was not to occupy the king's quarters until finally installed. I said that I had decided to occupy, as residency and barracks, the place named Nassarawa, a suburban residence belonging to Alieu which was about 800 yards from the city walls, and that I should also require the Emir to build a house and courthouse in the city near to the palace, which the Resident might occupy from time to time. This is a somewhat important matter, since I believe the people regard it as a sign of suzerainty that the British representative should have a house in the city itself and fly the flag there. I added that the king's buildings would be evacuated the next day when I myself left, and I required the Emir to build barracks at once for the troops before the rains set in. This order to build a residency and barracks constituted the only approximation to a war indemnity, and since every town would be called upon to send its quota of men for the purpose the burden was a trivial one. I had already commenced to make a broad breach in the walls opposite the Nassarawa gate. All the chiefs who had now returned were to resume their old positions, but no vacancies in chiefships existing at this date were to be filled till my return.

53. With these conditions the chiefs appeared well satisfied. They had entered my room in a state of extreme nervousness and we parted with much cordiality.

Journey to Sokoto.

54. Next day, March 7th, I left for Sokoto, taking Captain Abadie with me, and leaving Dr. Cargill as Resident of Kano. I had also with me Mr. Hopkins, Private Secretary, and

Dr. Paterson, and an escort of 80 men and a maxim, under Lieutenant Baillie-Hamilton. I was escorted beyond the gate one and a-half to two miles by the Wombai and the Kano horsemen, and the former greeted me most cordially at parting. I marched fast, and reached Maradi, 50 or 60 miles from Sokoto, in seven days. I had sent letters to General Kemball asking him to despatch a party to meet me and bring me to Sokoto, but messenger after messenger produced no reply, and I found later that my letters had never reached him until after the return of the force from Wurno. Our route led through a thickly populated country (Kano-Samfara-Sokoto), in which large walled towns of great strength succeeded each other every few miles, and in some districts groups of these must have numbered 30,000 to 40,000 people. That the High Commissioner himself (whose capture or death would, of course, have been regarded as equivalent to a defeat of our forces) should have been able to traverse this country with but three officers and an escort of 80 men, and should everywhere have received ample supplies, and an apparently friendly welcome, while Sokoto was at the very time collecting its forces to fight, was, I submit, a very striking confirmation of the state of feeling throughout the country on which my plans for this campaign had been based. On the road we met various Kano fugitives, to whom I gave permission to return in peace to Kano, and, finding that the Samfara people had been capturing some of the dispersed force, I ordered their liberation. At Maradi I heard that General Kemball's force had turned southwards. I therefore made a detour in the same direction. Shortly afterwards (being but two marches from Sokoto) I got into communication with him, and hearing that the place had since been occupied, I came on without delay, reaching the camp early on the 19th.

Capture of Sokoto.

55. The expeditionary force, meanwhile, had, after Captain Wright's action, advanced on Kowra, where a depôt of sick was formed and left under the charge of an officer. During the march from Kano they had suffered greatly from the intense cold at night, the Hamattan gale, and from thirst. Lung diseases were prevalent among the soldiers and carriers, and 52 had died. As no reply had been received to the letter which had been sent by my instructions to Sokoto (saying that we had no desire to fight and inviting him to come to terms), a second was sent in the same sense, and to this an evasive answer was received. Copies of these are contained in Appendix I.

56. The force then advanced to Shagali, and, turning south, effected a junction with Captain Merrick's troops (about 200), who had been in occupation of Argungu for several months, acting first as escort to French convoys traversing the British sphere under international arrangement, and later as escort to

the Boundary Commission. Thus reinforced, the column, numbering 656 rank and file, with 1,100 carriers, and with 25 officers, two guns and four maxims, advanced on Sokoto, where, contrary to expectation, they were opposed by a force estimated at 1,500 horse and 3,000 foot. The Sokoto army contained many fanatics, who charged our square in ones and twos, and courted certain death, but except for these the resistance shown was feeble, and the whole army was soon in full flight, pursued by our mounted infantry. Their loss was estimated at 70 killed and 200 wounded. Our casualties consisted of one carrier killed and one wounded. The troops now marched on Wurno, the alternative capital, but found it deserted, and returned on the 18th, camping near the walls of Sokoto.

Settlement at Sokoto.

57. On the morning of the 19th March I arrived myself, and at precisely the same moment the Sokoto Waziri and two or three other chiefs with a large following came in and surrendered. They were allowed to return, as at Kano, on giving up their firearms, and I allowed them, as before, to retain their horses and their swords. Next day I summoned the leading councillors to the Sultan's house, and told them that I considered it of importance either to find and reinstate the fugitive Sultan, or to appoint a successor at once. I invited them to let me know whether the Sultan would return, and, if not, whom they would desire to appoint. After a private consultation they named Atahiru. This man had been elected in due form on the death of the late Sultan, but a rival of the same name arose, who was supported by the best fighting man (his brother) in Sokoto. To avoid a civil war Atahiru had retired, and he had lived quietly on his own farms ever since, declining also to take part against the British. He now came in to pay his salutations. No mention was made of the claims of the fugitive Sultan, and, in reply to my questions, all concurred in saying that no one had any notion whither he had fled. So far as I could judge no one seemed to care, including the brother who had made him Sultan, who was one of those present.

58. As at Kano, so again here, I considered that we were fortunate in the nominee of the chiefs, for Atahiru was a man whose face and manner greatly prepossessed me in his favour. He appeared to be in the proper succession. (*Vide* genealogy, Appendix II.) I agreed to appoint him Sultan, and I fixed the next morning to explain to them the future *régime*. I was glad to find that there was no apparent desire to restore the fugitive Sultan, for he too had received the Magaji of Keffi (Moloney's murderer) with honour. I again took the opportunity of telling them that any one who harboured the Magaji would be liable to punishment, and of offering a reward to any one who would capture him. The elders replied that he had

merely come in the suite of Alieu of Kano, and they believed he had been killed in the fight. I added that if the ex-Sultan retired quietly to his own town (each Sokoto chief being head of a town in addition to any office he may hold at the capital), he would not be interfered with, and that I had no desire to capture or punish him.*

59. Next day the elders, headed again by the pathetic figure of the blind old Waziri, assembled at my camp, and a paper which I had roughly drawn up setting forth the conditions of the future was carefully translated word by word by a very good interpreter, checked by Major Burdon (holder of the Hausa scholarship), whom I had appointed Resident of Sokoto. This document may be of interest, and I have therefore attached it, together with Major Burdon's notes of the interview of the previous day, as an appendix (III.). It will be seen from this that in addition to what I had said at Kano I explained to them also my point of view regarding the treaties, and I showed them the original letter from the late Sultan declaring war,

* Events which have occurred subsequent to the writing of this report are as follows :—The ex-Sultan, contrary to my expectation, did not accept my conciliatory offers. It would probably have been easy to have captured or driven him out of the country, but I hoped that he would settle down peaceably. Probably he could not believe in the genuineness of such proposals to the head of an army which had recently opposed us, and supposed it to be merely a ruse to capture him, and he was in all probability encouraged in this belief by the Magaji of Keffi, who it appears had joined him, and who knew that for him there was no pardon. There were also with him, Abu Bekr, ex-Emir of Bida, Belo, who had neglected his chances of being Emir of Kontagora, the Galadema and other irreconcilable chiefs of Kano, with the implacable Lapini of Bida, &c. The ex-Sultan established himself at Gusao with a small following. This village being near Sokoto, the garrison of that place drove him out. He found no following in his own territory, and the Sokoto chiefs remained loyal. He then passed eastwards between Kano and Zaria, giving out that he was about to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and ordering all the people to follow him. Not a chief or man of any sort left Kano, but the villagers of the districts he passed through, appealed to on religious grounds, and misunderstanding his intentions, flocked to him by thousands. A party of mounted infantry from Zaria attacked him, and inflicted some loss upon him (two of our men being killed), whereupon many of the villagers returned to their homes. The ex-Sultan fled eastward into the only portion of the Protectorate still untraversed by our troops and to which no Resident had as yet been appointed. The people of this district, which consists of a number of small but ancient Emirates lying between Kano and Bornu, could only have received the usual exaggerated and often wholly untrue reports of the events which had been taking place, which in Nigeria are circulated with magical rapidity. Probably under the impression that the British had ousted the head of their religion and declared war against "the Faith," enormous numbers joined in the so-called pilgrimage. These consisted largely of unarmed peasantry and women. "From all I can gather," writes the Acting High Commissioner, "the movement was not against us; the Sultan wished to establish himself in some region remote from our influence, and simply called upon the people to follow him." During his flight, writes another officer, he scrupulously avoided our posts, and had even passed close to the Resident of Kano, who had only a tiny escort with him, without attempting to molest him. Captain Sword, from Kano, joining forces with the Bautshi garrison, pursued the ex-Sultan, and after a series of skirmishes, in all of which he

which, in consequence, I had had no option but to accept, with the results which they now realised. I appointed the next day (22nd) for the installation of the Sultan.

Ceremony of Installation.

The troops were drawn up (as subsequently at Kano and Zaria) in a hollow square, and the ceremony was a most effective one. It was marked by the really extraordinary murmur of deep satisfaction from the assembled masses when I announced the complete freedom of their religion, and by a prayer recited aloud by the Mallams so soon as I had installed the Sultan. So far as I could judge, the people seemed quite satisfied at the selection. The ceremony was completed by the bestowal of a gown and turban. Hitherto the Sultan of Sokoto had received no present on installation. It had been, on the contrary, his custom to present the insignia to his vassal emirs as a token of his suzerainty. The fact, therefore, that it was intimated to me that the ceremony would be incomplete without this present was a remarkable and spontaneous acknow-

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was successful, arrived at the town of Burmi on the confines of Bornu. Here was a colony of aliens, who coming from the north and probably of Tuareg origin, had settled here, and had received the remnants of the Mallam Jibrella's army after his defeat by Colonel Morland in March, 1902. One of the sons of that chief had been elected "Mahdi" in his place. Captain Sword attacked the town and severe fighting took place, for these people were of a very valiant race. An officer and a British non-commissioned officer and 60 rank and file were wounded, while four were killed. Captain Sword, having no big gun to breach the walls, which were very strong, was unable to storm the town, and retired on Bautshi with his wounded unmolested during the night. The loss inflicted on the enemy appears to have been very great, and this, combined with a defeat which a party of mounted infantry from Kano inflicted upon a separate section of the ex-Sultan's adherents, broke up the hostile gathering. Meanwhile steps had been taken to concentrate a powerful force at Bautshi with the object of capturing the ex-Sultan and his principal chiefs, including the Magaji, but before it could take the field messages were received from him saying that he had no desire for further fighting, and that his adherents were starving. It appears probable that very many of the misled peasantry must have died in this way. A reply was sent to the effect that the Sultan must surrender unconditionally, and meanwhile the expedition pushed on. On reaching Burmi it was opposed (on July 27th) with great determination and fanaticism. The town was taken after a fight which lasted till dusk, and about 700 of the enemy were killed, including the ex-Sultan and most of the chiefs. Our losses were Major Marsh (commanding), a most valuable and gallant officer, and 10 men killed, with three officers and 69 men wounded. This decisive and successful action has completely broken up the party of the irreconcilables, as well as the remnant of the Mahdi's following, but the death of Major Marsh is a very great loss to the W.A.F.F. It has been stated in the press that the ex-Sultan had unfurled the ancient banner of Dan Fodio (which though captured at Sokoto by us had unfortunately been misplaced and lost again during the action), and that it was to this standard that the people had flocked. There does not appear to be any grounds for this report, and the green flag has not again been heard of. The ex-Sultan found no appreciable aid in the country recently traversed by the Kano Expedition, and the newly appointed emirs and chiefs remained loyal.

ledgment before all his people that he accepted the British as his future suzerains. The same afternoon I broke up the expeditionary force. General Kemball returned *viâ* Argungu and the Niger to Zungeru and the coast; a force under Captain Merrick started due south for Kontagora to traverse the Dakurrekurre country, the people of which had long been giving trouble by killing traders and closing the roads; Colonel Morland, with the bulk of the force, marched direct for Kowra and Kano.

60. On the 23rd, the day after the installation, I myself, with an escort of about 60 mounted infantry, took the road to Katsena. I was again escorted by the Sultan, and throngs of chiefs and horsemen, who would not be persuaded to turn back for a long time, in spite of the burning heat, which the Fulani feels as much or more than a European, and our parting in its cordiality almost resembled that of old friends. They thanked me profusely for all that had been done, and I think that they are really immensely relieved that the long looked for crisis has at last come and gone, and astonished to find that the British are not the ogres which they expected, while their own position in the future, though changed, has advantages as well as disadvantages, and is vastly better than they had anticipated that it would be after defeat. We told them that they had made a more plucky stand than Kano had, for they had faced us in the open, while the Kano warriors had only fought behind their stupendous walls, and had bolted at the first assault. This seemed to please them greatly, and to be all they cared for. Strange as it may seem, I believe that, as a matter of fact, their cordiality was not a mere assumption, and that they were not altogether sorry at the turn events had taken, and genuinely surprised and pleased at their treatment.

61. On leaving Sokoto I had a very disagreeable task to perform. Hundreds of slaves had secretly crowded into our camp, hundreds more clambered over the walls to follow us, and no prohibition would stop them. Turned out of the line of march, they ran parallel to us through the fields, or ran on ahead. I had promised not to interfere with existing domestic slaves; I had no food for these crowds, and in front of us was a desert untraversed and unmapped, in which the infrequent wells were far apart, and could only supply a very limited amount of water. Moreover, this exodus of slaves would leave Sokoto ruined, and its social fabric a chaos. There was nothing to be done but to send these poor wretches back, and instruct the Resident to enquire into all deserving cases. We did so, and presently found that the King of Gober, who was following me with an army of 300 or 400 wild horsemen of the desert, had appropriated all he could catch. We made him disgorge them, and set them at liberty to return. Doubtless very many bolted to neighbouring towns, but I considered my obligations of honour and of necessity were satis-

fied when I turned them out of my own following, and I did not enquire too curiously what became of them.

KATSENA.

62. Marching fast across the arid and often waterless tract which separates Sokoto from Katsena, we reached the latter place on the night of the 28th March. In answer to the letters sent by Colonel Morland I had received a reply and an ambassador at Kano from the Emir of Katsena, protesting that he had nothing to do with Sokoto or Kano, and did not wish to fight, and professing much pleasure at our coming; I had accordingly sent back messages saying that I had no quarrel with him, and would visit him later and explain the conditions of British suzerainty, and that a Resident and garrison would be quartered near his town. On my approach, however, the Emir and people were obviously in a state of panic, notwithstanding the friendly letters which had passed between us, and it was some time before I could succeed in inducing the Emir to come out and lead me into the town according to custom. I found he had made elaborate preparations for our arrival, and had turned out of his own buildings and had had them thoroughly cleaned for my occupation. But I also learned secretly that there had been a strong "war party," who were for opposing us. Next day I summoned the Emir, Abu Bekr, and the seven principal chiefs, and I went through the same formula as at Sokoto, informing the Emir that we would recognise him as King, and fully informing him of the conditions to which he must conform, which as suzerain of this country the Government now claimed the right to enforce. These I have already detailed.

63. Since Katsena boasts that it is the seat of learning and literature, I added that I would be only too glad to give all assistance possible to education. I further added that the Boundary Commission would shortly arrive on the frontier, and explained its objects and enlisted the assistance of the Emir in them. I told him of the Royal Niger Company and the present Government; of the history of the Treaty with Sokoto; his declaration of war; the reception of the Magaji by Kano; and the sequel to these acts. He assured me that if the Magaji entered Katsena territory he would at once be seized, and he agreed to all my conditions and proposals. I impressed on him in particular the advantage of a stable currency, and explained the British silver coinage, and fixed a rate of cowrie exchange, and (as I had done in each previous instance) I dwelt on the advantage of peace and good order, which should enable trade and prosperity and wealth to increase and the population which was now so diminished to grow to its former size. I arranged also for a residency and barracks, but I do not think that there will be any necessity to maintain troops, or for a Resident to have his permanent quarters here.

I am, however, maintaining a garrison, if only as a link and forwarding agency, pending the arrival and departure of the Boundary Commission. I left part of my escort as a temporary garrison.

TESSAWA, BETWEEN KATSENA AND ZINDER (FRENCH).

64. I received here an embassy under the Kowra of Tessawa, north of Katsena, from the town of Gangara (Tessawa). They stated that they had been driven out by the French, and were camped in the bush to the number of 5,000, where only the day before they had (so they said) been threatened by the French, and they now requested permission to reside in the British sphere. On enquiry it appeared that their town was, as nearly as possible, on the frontier line. I therefore told them to await the arrival of the Boundary Commission, and I arranged with the Emir of Katsena to allow them to build a town in the British sphere, if their own should be adjudged by the Boundary Commission to be in the French sphere, since they declared that nothing would induce them to return to the French sphere. They expressed the greatest delight at my permission to remain in Nigeria. I told them that they would have, of course, to pay the usual taxes. I informed the French Administrator at Zinder of these complaints, and, in his reply (received long afterwards) he wholly denied that they had been threatened in their present retreat, whilst admitting the destruction of Gangara for rebellion.

GOBER.

65. The two brother kings of Gober had come, as I have said, with a large following of desert spearmen to meet us on our way to Katsena, and they accompanied us for several marches. Their country, though in the British sphere, had been overrun by the French, who had at first taken the side of the Asbenawa, and ousted the Gober King, but later, finding the Asbenawa intractable, had turned against them and installed these two kings, imposing their usual war indemnity. They asked that I should fix a boundary between them and the Asbenawa (with whom they were at constant feud), and professed an entire loyalty to Government and a readiness to obey all orders. I experienced some difficulty in checking their looting propensities, and was glad when at last I was rid of them.

ASBENAWA.

66. The Asbenawa belong to the district of Asben in the French sphere. They are a nomadic tribe, and each year enter British territory with great herds of sheep and cattle, and many camels. They are the transport contractors for Sokoto and Kano, and import the so-called "potash" and the live stock which form the bulk of the Kano-Lagos trade. The

large parties which enter Nigeria reside for nine months in the British sphere, returning during the rains (July-September) to Asben to get salt, since they say that their camels will not survive in Nigeria, but they own villages (18 in Gober district) all over the northern provinces, which they claim to have conquered before the French interfered. They leave in them a certain number of women and others to gather in the crops, pending their return to these permanent villages at the end of the wet season. They would therefore appear to be natives of the British rather than of the French sphere. It is a matter of some difficulty to decide how the conditions of the modern partition of Africa shall be made to apply to these nomads, and whether they are to be considered as natives of the British Protectorate or as French subjects. In order to give confidence to these people, and to inaugurate a system of camel transport by contract, I engaged a batch of 50 camels with their attendants to travel with me from Kano to Sokoto and back *viâ* Katsena, so I am in hopes that next year I may succeed in enlisting them for the transport service in the north.

Installation of Emir of Kano.

67. On April 2nd I reached Kano, and on the next day I installed the Wombai as Emir with the usual ceremonial. The special tradition of Kano prescribed the gift of an umbrella, a sword, and a dagger; the two latter I fastened on myself, and opened the former. It is also the custom at Kano that no King shall enter the royal enclosures by the gate used by his predecessor. A great breach in the palace walls had therefore been made prior to the ceremony, and temporarily made good with wet mud, which could easily and quickly be torn down. I left without witnessing this curious ceremony, since it appeared to be their wish to complete the installation in their own way, without our assistance. There was a very great concourse of people in the great open space in front of the King's enclosure. On our arrival he had come out with all his horsemen to meet us and escort us through the town, and on my departure on the 4th the same ceremony was observed. I note this as a significant and satisfactory sign. Our parting was exceedingly cordial, and I really believe that Abassi will do his utmost to conform to the new *régime* loyally. On April the 7th I reached Zaria, and installed the new Emir, Dan Sidi, as I have already described, and on the 14th I reached Zungeru. It was just 38 days since I had started from Kano, and in this period close on 800 miles had been traversed (in 32 marching days giving an average of about 25 miles per day) and matters settled at Sokoto, Katsena, Kano, and Zaria. a really wonderful record when one considers that loaded carriers covered this distance in a waterless country at the hottest time of the year.

General Review of Provinces.

68. At the beginning of the financial year 1902-3 the Protectorate consisted of 13 provinces, and the operations which I have described have added three more, making a total of 16, for which provision has been made in the estimates of the current year (1903-4). The whole Protectorate has now been taken under administrative control, and it is important to recollect that by so doing we have not added new territory and new responsibilities to the Empire, but have simply recognised those which we had already accepted. My task has not been to annex new kingdoms, but to endeavour to fulfil the obligations and responsibilities to which we have pledged ourselves, with regard to the territory placed under my charge. The new provinces are, Sokoto, Kano (including Katsena), and Katagum (or Damergeram) lying to the east of Kano and between it and Bornu. The attached map (Appendix V.) will show the divisions of provinces as they exist at present, pending more accurate adjustment of some of the frontiers.

I have sketched at some length the inclusion of the provinces of (1) and (2) Bornu (Northern and Southern), (3) Bautshi, (4) Sokoto, (5) Kano, (6) Katagum (which has come under administrative control with the inclusion of Kano), and I have spoken of the condition of (7) Zaria and of (8) Yola. I will now briefly allude to the remaining eight provinces.

Kontagora (9).

69. It will be remembered that the province of Kontagora was brought under control in March, 1901. It had been completely laid waste by its Emir, the noted slave raider Ibrahim, who escaped and at the date of my last report was, with a large force, raiding and harrying the province of Zaria (which was not then included under the Administration). In February, 1902, on the appeal of the Emir of Zaria, I sent an expedition under Major Dickinson to endeavour to effect the capture of Ibrahim. This was brilliantly effected with a handful of mounted infantry, almost without firing a shot, by Captains Abadie and Porter, who captured Ibrahim, together with his two sons and brother and other chiefs, and the whole of his enormous following, estimated at 20,000 people. Large numbers of these who were recently captured slaves fled into the bush and found their way back to their villages. About 660 were repatriated to Wushishi, the Chief of that place being in the retinue of Ibrahim, and some 4,200 more were brought back to their homes in Kontagora, and 188 to Bida. Ibrahim himself was transported to Lokoja and left in gaol for a few days on a charge of murdering the Mallam of Wushishi, but I deemed it inexpedient to try him, and I exiled him to Yola for a time. I was unable to obtain a suitable man to succeed him as Emir, and an attempt to restore the old Pagan dynasty did not prove a success. Ibrahim,

though an inveterate slave catcher, was a man of strong character, nephew of the Sultan of Sokoto, and of great influence throughout the country. He was, in appearance, and I believe in character, a changed man since his downfall and humiliation, and since Kontagora had now been without a chief for two years I decided to bring him back and put him in charge of the town and immediate district, not of the whole province, where he would be under the eye of the Resident. It will in future be wholly impossible for him to slave-raid; he will have neither men nor arms. I believe that his restoration, even though partial, will have a most excellent effect throughout the country, and tend to do away with the misgiving which the unavoidable deposition of the Emir of Zaria created. It will, I know, give the greatest pleasure at Sokoto. Ibrahim has had a severe lesson, and the man who said he would "die with a slave in his mouth" seemed absolutely sick at the mention of a slave when I asked if he would have dealings with them again, and the vehemence and earnestness of his abjuration was almost laughable. The province is under Major Sharpe, C.M.G., and will, I hope, gradually recover its population and prosperity. Major Sharpe states that at present its condition is lamentable. There are few children and no girls, and everywhere are to be seen the ruins of burnt villages. He estimates the population of the province at 9,500 men, 6,000 women, and 5,000 children. The truculent tribes to the north, against whom were constant charges of wanton murder, have seen a British force march through their country (Captain Merrick, returning from Sokoto), and have been warned that such practices must cease.

Nassarawa (10).

70. Captain Moloney's sad death was a very great loss to the province of Nassarawa, where he was doing most excellent work. In consequence of his murder by the Magaji, the subordinate and friend of the ex-Emir of Zaria, I detached that portion of the Zaria dominions which fell into this province from the Zaria control. They formed a long narrow arm reaching down to the Benue. Mr. Granville has succeeded Captain Moloney, and during the interval before his arrival Mr. Cargill took temporary charge of the province and effected a great improvement by bringing about the voluntary abdication of the aged and useless Chief of Keffi in favour of his son. In spite of the punishment inflicted on Abuja, I fear that that nest of robbers has not yet been effectually broken up. The province consists of a great number of separate tribal jurisdictions, with no permanent Emir, and will afford scope for an administrator with talent for organization.

Muri (11).

71. On Mr. Hewby's transfer to Bornu the province of Muri fell to Mr. Cargill, before he left for Nassarawa and finally for

Kano. His intimate knowledge of Hausa enabled him to detect the malpractices of the hitherto trusted native officials in this province, who, for a period of three years, have been acquiring slaves and other wealth in the name of the Resident. The senior of the two was found to have 65 slaves in his possession, besides all he had sold from time to time; the junior had 30. These, chiefly girls, had been acquired either on the statement that the Resident required them, or by threats of false reports which would involve (so he represented) terrible punishments. Mr. Cargill, on his transfer to Nassarawa, discovered similar malpractices on the part of the native agent there, and also the guilt of the agent Awudu, upon whom retribution came when Captain Moloney was killed. This matter is one of transcendent importance. The absence of honest native interpreters and agents is the curse of the country, and renders administration very difficult. The only remedy is for Residents to learn Hausa, and now that the initial appointments have been filled, I hope to make the promotion of juniors, and even the retention of seniors, dependent upon their passing the language test. In order to increase continuity—which is vital—the period of residential service for political officers has been increased from one year to eighteen months. The Native Courts in this province have been working especially well. There are a large number of lawless pagan tribes, with some of whom it has not yet been found possible to establish satisfactory relations.

Bassa (12).

72. The province of Bassa is said to be full of rubber forests, and other valuable products, but it is inhabited by some half dozen or more extremely truculent pagan tribes—the Bassas, Okpotos, Igbiras, Munshis, &c.—among whom it is not at present safe to travel, and who still practise barbarous rites and are continually perpetrating wanton outrages. I am anxious to co-operate with the High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria in the enforcement of rubber laws for the preservation of the trees, &c., and I hope during the coming year to be able to introduce something more like law and order into this province.

Kabba (13).

73. The excessive amount of work devolving upon the Resident at Lokoja, both judicial and executive, has tied down the officer responsible for the province of Kabba to his headquarters to an extent which has involved the unavoidable neglect of the outlying districts. Since this country was detached from Nupe by the Royal Niger Company in 1897 there has been no paramount chief, and much lawlessness prevails. The enforcement of taxation will, I hope, do away with much of the idleness and apathy which I am told at present exists everywhere,

and induce the people to work their land, as I am informed they did in former days, without, as then, being yearly raided for slaves as well.

NUPE (14).

74. The province of Nupe, under the intelligent rule of the Emir Mohamadu, and the sympathetic supervision of Mr. Goldsmith and Mr. Goodair, continues to show progress, and the chiefs are apparently very loyal. The Resident reports that the area under cultivation is double what it had been at any previous time, and that the men formerly kept as the Bida standing army are all now farmers. The population is estimated to have increased by 3 per cent. in Bida, Lapai, and Argeye. It is estimated for the whole province at 650,000. An event of much importance during the year was the amicable settlement of the long standing feud between the Emir and the Kuta, who is chief of all the canoeing and riverain population. I fear that oppression and extortion have been going on under the "ajelo" system in Nupe, and that the peasantry have been afraid to come to Bida to complain. I have already (para. 31) described this system, which I propose to abolish, and the one which I intend to substitute for it. The radical remedy is for the Resident to be constantly on the move through his province listening to the grievances of the people on the spot. Hitherto in every province he has been detained much at his headquarters, in consequence of the amount of work involved in the preparation of accounts &c., but the increase of staff will considerably improve this, nor will these routine duties involve so much time as the staff becomes more familiar with the system. The Emir is ever ready to assist in every way, and has made rough roads throughout his dominions and planted trees along them, and has shown himself an enlightened and progressive ruler. In November last he came with a large retinue of many hundreds of horsemen and followers, and with all his chiefs, to pay me a ceremonial visit at Zungeru. His camp is said to have numbered some 10,000 souls. I received him with some ceremonial on the polo-ground, where his horsemen galloped past by batches under their leaders and saluted. They were greatly impressed by some evolutions of a troop of our mounted infantry, which followed. The Emir was, of course, greatly struck with what he saw at Zungeru, especially with the railway and the electric light in Government House. The buildings, masonry-bridges, &c., did much to convince him of the fact, which hitherto they have never believed, that the British have come to stay. This visit of a ruling Emir is a significant acknowledgment before the whole country of the British suzerainty, and was voluntarily made at a time when the situation as regards Kano was growing acute. I was interested to hear what was the view taken by this Emir of the fighting at Kano, for he is a man

of great loyalty to his caste, and has ever been the special advocate of those who had brought retribution on their heads. Alieu of Kano had been a personal friend of his, and he had done his utmost to bring him to reason and to prevent war. I am informed that neither he nor his chiefs expressed the smallest sympathy for him, saying he had brought a just fate on his head, but that they expressed the greatest satisfaction on hearing that Kano had not been looted and had suffered no harm.

ILLORIN (15).

75. Mr. Dwyer has achieved what I believe to be considerable progress in the province of Illorin. He has indefatigably toured and mapped, and assessed the tribute payable by each village to its chiefs and to the Emir. The result, as reported by him, is that the Emir is now not less devoted to the administration than he of Nupe. Formerly he was a puppet in the hands of the four Baloguns or war chiefs, and these exercised what extortion they chose. By steadily supporting the authority of the Emir, and by personally supervising the tribute paid to him, Mr. Dwyer, without the assistance of the extortionate ajele, has assured to the Emir a regular and substantial income, based on the ancient tribute, which amounts to £900, and is paid in cash. As Illorin is the destination of most of the Kano and Sokóto caravans, heavy work in connection with the new taxation will devolve upon the Political Officer of this province, but a good beginning has, I understand, already been made, and I am hopeful that the full amount anticipated will be raised this year. It is worthy of note that when the Sokoto-Kano affair began to grow acute, the Emir of Illorin, who formerly was a malcontent, received a letter from a Sokoto chief accusing him of disloyalty, and urging him to foment disorder in his part of the country. The Emir brought the letter to the Resident and read it to the people, and, refusing its accompanying present, turned the bearer out of the town with the message that he intended to pay no more taxes in slaves or otherwise to Sokoto and had accepted British rule.

BORGU (16).

76. Under Mr. Kemble (acting in charge) the province of Borgu has maintained the character it has always borne since it was administered in 1898 and 1899 by the West African Frontier Force as an orderly, law-abiding district. The excellent Chief of Kiama is as personally keen as ever in constructing roads and helping the Resident in every way.

POLITICAL OFFICERS.

77. Objection has in some quarters been taken to the appointment of military officers as civil residents. Failing the

supply of men with African administrative experience I have found that selected Army officers are an admirable class of men for this work. They are gentlemen; their training teaches them prompt decision; their education in military law gives them a knowledge of the rules of evidence and judicial procedure sufficient when supplemented by a little special study to meet the requirements of a not too technical system of court work, and their training in topography enables them to carry out the surveys of all their journeys. Officers, more especially those who have served in India, have done some excellent work in Northern Nigeria, and their sympathy with and understanding of the people is certainly not less than that of the civilian. It is indeed a characteristic of the British officer that when in civil employ his rule is often marked by less "militarism" than that of the civilian, and he is more opposed to punitive operations.

Both Oxford and Cambridge are now coming forward with offers of facilities for the special training of graduates to enter the Colonial service, and young men of the best class are eager to accept such appointments. "No suitable opportunity," says the Oxford Circular of December 27th, 1902, "should be lost for drawing closer the relationship between the educational centres and the empire." Cambridge is arranging to institute an examination and give a diploma in Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, and already has a Hausa Scholarship. Major Burdon suggests that a chair should be endowed for Hausa and Arabic, which should also include instruction in the religious tenets and the law and polity of the western Mohammedans similar to the school which exists in Paris for the training of Algerian officials and the parallel school in Berlin. No better scheme could be suggested, nor one that would more greatly benefit the Crown Colonies concerned.

Native Staff.

One of the most serious difficulties in administration in Northern Nigeria lies in the almost complete absence of material for creating a native staff. In the clerical departments (secretariat, &c.) I find the greatest difficulty in filling the posts, for the demand is much greater than the supply. With a few notable exceptions the native clerks are unreliable and have not the education to enable them to undertake the work required of them. Yet they receive salaries of £120 to £180 per annum with free quarters as may be available. In the matter of political agents to collect taxes and keep Residents informed of events and carry out subsidiary missions, &c., and of interpreters, the case is even worse. There are extremely few available, and experience has proved that they are with few exceptions thoroughly dishonest, and in some cases have done incalculable harm before being found out. If

we could but find a few honest and efficient native subordinates, the task of administration would be greatly simplified.

General Administration.

78. In this *résumé* it will be seen that the policy as regards the Fulani which I sketched in my report for 1900, and which received the approval of the Secretary of State, has been steadily adhered to. Every effort, as I have said (para. 36) has been made to utilise the abilities of this race, while putting an end to the tyranny and oppression which had hitherto marked their rule. My efforts, however, to introduce any permanent reforms were of little avail so long as Kano defied the Government and Sokoto remained, in theory at least, the suzerain. Now that the absolutely necessary action has been successfully taken to place our relations with those states on a basis which all Nigeria can understand, and the King's Government is acknowledged as the sole suzerain in Northern Nigeria, it is possible to develop the policy further, and to lay down in more detail and with a firmer hand the requirements of the administration. These I have sketched in describing the conditions which I have publicly announced to Sokoto, Kano, Katsena, and Zaria, in so far as general principles are concerned.

Absentee Landlords.

The two first internal reforms which I hope to introduce (apart, of course, from the abolition of inhuman punishments and of the dungeons I have described, and the sale of slaves, &c.) are (1) to regulate the appointment of officers of state and (2) to reorganise and reassess the taxation. Concerning the latter, I have written elsewhere (paras. 31 and 80). As regards the former, the existence of this large idle class of "absentee landlords" was one of the chief evils of Fulani rule (as I have shown in para. 31). In Zaria alone (for instance) there were 65 such chiefs draining the peasantry for the means wherewith to uphold their state. Alieu of Kano (to take another instance) was one of 64 brothers, for all of whom, besides uncles and sons, places of dignity had to be found. He ousted the old traditional holders of offices, who were freeborn, and some of whom had held hereditary office from the old Habe dynasty, to replace them by favourite slaves and sons. The Kano hierarchy consists of 12 chiefs, who are appointed from the royal family, 20 hereditary offices, six non-hereditary, and eight held by the Emir's chief slaves. Below these 46 are many petty office holders. In future the appointments to these offices as they fall vacant will be confirmed by the High Commissioner, and I hope gradually to bring it about that they shall be filled either by men who perform some useful work for the state, or else by the chiefs of the neighbouring

cities, who will reside at their towns, and only be summoned to the capital on important occasions to aid with their counsels. This is already, I believe, the system at Sokoto, but nowhere else. It was also largely the system in Uganda.

Firearms.

79. With regard to firearms, I lost no time in giving effect to my words, that the possession of them had become illegal, and they are being collected and destroyed. With the increased supervision which the small extra staff now provided to control the frontiers affords, I hope to prevent the illicit importation which has hitherto gone unchecked. The existing law gives all the powers required, and is now being enforced throughout the Protectorate. The large standing army kept up by the Sultan of Bornu has been disarmed. 180 breech-loaders and 530 muzzle-loaders have already been handed in, and more are to come, and the Resident reports that he does not think there are 100 unlicensed muzzle-loaders or 12 breech-loaders left in the province. A few permits are given to Emirs and influential men for a very limited number of muzzle-loaders for show.

Taxation by Chiefs.

80. In the kaleidoscope of successive dominations the question of the so-called "lawful jurisdiction" of the various chiefs in any part of Africa tends to become hopelessly confused, and, in my view, the very first essential of an effective suzerainty, and the basis of all administrative organisation, depends upon the impartial and patient investigation and settlement of this vital question. It has, therefore, been the primary object of my policy in Northern Nigeria, by dividing the country into provinces, and deputing a Resident to the charge of each, to effect throughout the whole Protectorate a demarcation of existing jurisdictions, and a reassessment (in accordance with the actual taxable capacity of each village) of the tribute, rent, or dues which it shall pay to the over-lord, to replace the present unequal incidence and the arbitrary and tyrannical levies of the past. Recourse to force for the collection of tribute, "lawful" or otherwise, by the chiefs, with its waste of life, and its continual unrest and war is now prohibited, and the British administration is, therefore, responsible for the enforcement of such dues as it may decide to be justly payable. In my view it is a natural corollary that the whole population should pay alike, if not to the alien Fulani, then to the Government direct. In a country blessed with a fruitful soil, and the luxuriant productiveness which marks the tropics, the necessaries of life are procurable with a very minimum of labour, and the small additional work required to meet the demands of the tax or tribute is a benefit, not a burden, to the

population. Some progress has been made with this scheme of assessment.

81. Simultaneously with it a census, and a geographical survey, together with the collection of a mass of statistical information regarding products, area under cultivation, &c., are being effected in a rough and ready way; but the work of fully grappling with and completing so large a task still belongs to the future. Its most effective realisation so far has been achieved in the Illorin province, since it was one of the three first taken under administrative control. During the past year a revenue of £900 has been assessed, and paid in to the Emir of this province. The result, I believe, has been most beneficial to the people, who greatly appreciate the advantages of a fixed and final settlement, in place of the arbitrary imposts of the past, while the Emir is no less grateful for our assistance, and appreciates the advantage of an income which comes in steadily and without trouble. I have already described the mode of collection in Nupe, where I hope to abolish several of the middlemen. It is these intermediaries who bleed the country, and the reduction of their numbers to the lowest effective minimum should be the object of the administration.

Taxation by Government.

82. As the period of initial construction of an administration feeling its way cautiously among a great population and gradually acquiring a knowledge of the peoples with whom it has to deal gives place to a scheme of rule based on a settled policy, the cost of the machinery necessarily increases, notably on account of the need of more administrative officers and of additional police, and the necessity for raising a local revenue to meet that cost consequently becomes imperative. Beyond doubt the best method of taxation in Africa is the "indirect," viz., by customs; but assuming that the revenue from this source, collected on the coast by Southern Nigeria and Lagos, has reached its maximum, the next best in the condition of the country appears to me to be by *class* taxation. I have, therefore, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, introduced tolls on caravans and licences on canoes and on the sale and manufacture of native liquors. Of these I will speak later. These alone are, however, insufficient, nor do I think that the principle of direct taxation, though it should be cautiously applied, and its incidence should at first be very light, should be wholly set aside in laying down the lines of policy which are to guide the future development of this country. I, therefore, have proposed to levy from all chiefs who collect tribute and whose ability to do so now depends solely on the Government, a certain proportion (limited under present conditions to one quarter) of the tribute so collected; while in the new assessment all those who pay to no chief, having in many cases abandoned their allegiance, through

the instrumentality, more or less direct, of the white man, shall pay for the present their tribute direct to Government.

83. To make this system effective and to prevent fraudulent and excessive exactions by agents will need an efficient staff. I should be amply satisfied if at present the product of the tax did no more than pay for that staff, since the machinery thus introduced would effect much more than the sole collection of the tax, and since by the introduction of this system without injustice and friction the basis would be laid of a revenue which would continually grow from year to year and form eventually a substantial contribution to the task of rendering the country self-supporting. If a fully adequate supervision is not supplied *ab initio* the result will be extortion and consequent discontent. It is unfortunately one of those cases in which capital outlay must be incurred with a prospect of deferred returns; but however costly the machinery, the expense should not, in my view, be grudged, for whereas it is now not difficult to find acceptance of such a system, its introduction at a future period would infallibly produce discontent. It is for these reasons that the Secretary of State has approved in the present year (1903-1904) of a small additional department (the Revenue Department) whose duties will consist in the assessment and collection of this revenue and otherwise in work identical with that of the Assistant Residents.

84. The taxation I have proposed is upon the revenue of chiefs or communities. I am opposed to direct taxation by Government upon individuals (as I said in my report for 1900) because (1) I think it premature until individual property in land has become recognised, and (2) until the system of serfdom has given place to one of independent agricultural labour, and (3) until a currency has obtained a footing so as to obviate too frequent a payment in kind. In writing this I do not reverse what I wrote on this subject in my report for 1901. I then said that I deprecated direct taxation in the earlier stages of the development of an African Protectorate "while maintaining the absolute right of Government to levy such a tax for benefits conferred." Progress has been somewhat more rapid than I then anticipated, while the necessity of finding a revenue has grown even more imperative, and I consider that it is now possible to introduce the *principle* though its application should at first be tentative and gradual. Moreover, I think that it is better to translate assistance rendered in public works, &c., into liquidation of a recognised payment to the revenue than to allow it to drift into something perilously akin to a system of forced labour.

85. The tax is concerned with the ownership of land and its produce, and my remarks, therefore, both as regards the

recognition of individual property and as regards independent labour do not refer to the urban or to the trading communities, in both of which these principles are already largely recognised. Property in a city, whether real or personal, descends to the legitimate heir, and in Fulani cities is subject to death duties. Labour employed by traders is largely independent and carriers are often engaged and paid for their services. But the farm slaves or serfs—*adscripti glebae*—"paying yearly little dues of wheat, and wine, and oil," as their forefathers paid, do not own their holdings or understand individual land tenure, and their contribution to the revenue should, in my view, be deducted from those dues,—fairly assessed,—and not take the form of a poll or hut tax. The land in theory belongs to the Suzerain, hitherto the Fulani Emir and now the British Government, and with that transfer of suzerainty begins the right of Government to a share in the occupier's rentals, but not, in my view, the right to an additional impost upon the tenant. In similar fashion the communities not under Fulani rule pay their dues to Government as the immemorial mark of their recognition of suzerainty, and in return they receive immunity from the raids of the Fulani or other slavers and raiders.

86. The other taxes to which I have alluded above are (1) the caravan tolls, (2) canoe licenses, and (3) the local liquor tax. The caravan tolls consist of a levy on goods of 5 per cent. in each Province traversed by a caravan up to a maximum of 15 per cent. on its down journey, and a similar levy on its up journey. This is in return for the safety of the roads and their improvement, and is in lieu of the exorbitant imposts which used to be levied by Emirs, without any such compensating advantages, and which are now abolished. The Royal Niger Company levied, from 1897 onwards, a tax on the staple of trade of 15 per cent., which, since the transfer to Government, has lapsed. The French, I believe, enforce no taxes on caravans but compel them all to pass through Zinder (and Gaya on the west) and take out registration papers.

(2.) A licence on canoes, according to their earning capacity, varying from 5*s*. to £3 per annum. Large transport and ferry canoes in the season can earn £2 and upwards per month. The tax, therefore, is not excessive. Both these taxes are levied on the classes best able to pay in the country, and who have benefited most from the British administration. The canoe owners especially have earned enormous sums by carrying for Government.

(3) The remaining tax is on the manufacture and sale of locally made intoxicating liquors. The duty formerly imposed by the Royal Niger Company of £1 per ton on salt imported into Northern Nigeria from Southern Nigeria has also been revived.

87. The taxes which I have described, together with contributions from Southern Nigeria and Lagos, and the duties which the new staff will enable me to collect on frontiers not conterminous with those Administrations will together, I anticipate, yield a revenue which, though it be as yet but a fraction of the amount required to meet the expenditure, will still compare not unfavourably with any Protectorate in a like stage of development.

TRANSPORT.

88. The question of transport is becoming one of the most serious which the Administration has to solve. Carriers are exceedingly costly, and since the chronic unrest of former times has been replaced by comparative order and quiet, a great number of the floating population from whom carriers have hitherto been drawn have, I am told, settled down on the land and to the cultivation of profitable industries. The demand, therefore, for carriers is much greater than the supply, and since the need for the conveyance of supplies to garrisons and other such necessities of the Government is imperative, recourse must be had either to some substitute for carriers or to forced levies. Since the latter alternative is inadmissible, and subversive of all British principles of rule, it remains only to consider the former. In the north, transport animals will live and are not too costly, but the expense of creating the requisite organisation will be considerable, and it will be imperative also to make roads. These are tasks to be undertaken without delay in the coming year, but in my opinion the only feasible way of meeting the difficulty, and by far the cheapest and most effective, is by running a light line as far as Zaria, and thence (having reached a country where animal transport is available and animals thrive), to construct roads to Kano, Sokoto, Bautshi, and Bornu, and organise a cart service upon them. The *construction* of a road to Zaria would be little less costly than that of the track of a surface line, the chief additional expense of the latter consisting in the cost of rails and sleepers, while the up-keep of a transport train, with its necessarily costly supervising staff, the replacement of animals, forage charges, &c., would probably exceed the working expenses and interest on capital of a light railway, apart from the incomparably greater efficiency and rapidity of the latter.

89. The cheapest form of animal transport is the light cart drawn by two oxen. These animals do not require the daily grain ration, the expensive harness, or the individual care and attention necessary for mules and horses. They are procurable in large numbers at low cost, and provided the tsetse fly is absent, and roads possible for carts are made, there is no reason why they should not serve as a cheap means of transport in

the northern provinces. It is to be hoped that the recent investigations into the mode of propagation of the blood parasite, of which the tsetse is the transmitting agency, and the attempts to discover an antitoxin to confer immunity, may have a successful result. I hope that the Medical Department of Northern Nigeria may be able to contribute its share to these invaluable investigations, and that we may also shortly have more reliable information as to the local geographical distribution of the fly. I have already three experimental carts, and hope shortly to introduce many more. The value of transport animals at Kano is approximately as follows:—Camels, £5 to £10; mules, £4 to £7; oxen, £2 to £4. The latter are fairly plentiful, but are troublesome animals to pack, and useful only for draught. Though I hope we may before long have a road to Zaria and Kano, it must be many years before a track fit for carts can be made through the hilly country to Bautshi, and onwards to Bornu. Transport, therefore, to the east at any rate, must consist of mules. There are very few indeed of these animals in the country, and it will be necessary to import them. The Treasurer (Mr. Harrisson), during a recent visit to Argentina, made full enquiries, at my request, concerning the cost of importing mules thence to West Africa, and I myself, in 1899, made similar enquiries, both from Messrs. Houlder Brothers and from the Remount Department, War Office. Mr. Harrisson's local knowledge of Buenos Ayres enabled him to furnish me with valuable figures. They are as follows:—Provided a whole ship-load is taken (viz., 900 animals), one firm with whom he communicated could deliver them at Forcados for £14,400, and another for £15,500, viz., £16 and £17 per mule respectively. This includes freight, vessel's fittings, attendance, fodder, commission, and insurance. Mules (exclusive of shipping) cost £25 and upwards in the Canaries, and some personal knowledge of this matter in India and elsewhere enables me to say that their cost would be much the same from most other sources, nor is there any great supply. The Pernambuco mule should stand the climate of Northern Nigeria well.

90. British Colonies are, I venture to think, much behind those of Germany and France in the matter of road construction. It is several years since the French in West Africa completed a road, 500 miles in length, and fit for motor traffic, to connect their various railheads. The Germans in East Africa long ago completed a main trunk road from the coast to Tabora and thence branching to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria, and another from the port of Bagamoyo to that of Dar-es-Salaam and thence to Lake Nyassa, while their West African Colonies are, I believe, equally well supplied. Such roads reduce the cost of transport by rendering it possible to use carts; they promote trade, and are of great strategic value. I hope that before long Northern Nigeria will be able to boast of some

development in this direction, but hitherto the more absolutely urgent work in other directions has compelled me to defer road construction, except in and around cantonments.

RAILWAYS.

91. No further survey for the extension of the Lagos Railway into Northern Nigeria has been undertaken during this year. I have, however, been able to discover a port (at Baro) on the Niger to which the existing light surface line between Zungeru and Bari Juko could be extended to reach the river, without traversing the great belt of swamp and flood area which extends along its left bank from the Kaduna mouth. From this port a rough survey has been made by the Director of Public Works through the trade centre of Bida, and no difficulty has been encountered. A location survey as far as Bida is now being made by Mr. Scott, Surveyor. This extension would, if made, place Zungeru within 18 hours of Lokoja, and enormously facilitate the transport of stores, mails, and passengers, saving much valuable time at present wasted by the ten days or more occupied by the Kaduna route, and providing a quicker and less distressing means of transport for invalids than the present journey (for nine months in the year) by open canoe. Incidentally the railway would add very greatly to the comfort of Europeans by enabling us (now that the stern-wheeler "Sarota," which has a refrigerator, has been placed on the river) to bring up frozen meat and vegetables, and so vary the ceaseless diet of fowls, which are not nutritious. Supplies of meat and English fruit and vegetables could be bought from the steamers at Forcados, brought up by the "Sarota" to Baro, and delivered thence in Zungeru in eight or ten hours by rail. This would effect an improvement in health.

92. The line would, moreover, traverse the greatest trade route in Nigeria, and render possible the export of cotton and other produce grown in the Nupe province and in Southern Zaria. Without it cotton cannot, I fear, be profitably exported from those districts. The great additional demand for transport from Lokoja to Zungeru, consequent on the increase of the Political, Military, and Police Departments, can with difficulty be met without this line.

93. Alternative routes the whole way from Zungeru to Zaria have also been examined and roughly surveyed by the Director of Public Works (who has great experience of railway work in India) and a feasible track for the ultimate extension of this surface line has been found. The length would be 153 miles. The further distance to Kano from Zaria (82 miles) has also been roughly surveyed. This is a somewhat more expensive section, but I do not consider that this further extension is very

necessary, and not at all comparable in importance with that to Zaria, which is the real centre of all caravans and trade, and the point from which the roads to the north, east, and west diverge.

94. If the cost of an extension of the Lagos line be assessed at £6,000 per mile (which is the estimate for the last extension sanctioned), the total cost from Ibadan to Zaria would be at least £3,000,000, apart from the bridge across the Niger. The Lagos railway, moreover, would be in competition with steamer transport on the Niger, and this would compel it to so reduce its carrying freights southwards that a traffic greatly in excess of what exists, or can exist until new industries have been created, would alone enable it to pay even its working expenses. In my view, a light line from the Niger to Zaria could deal adequately with the existing traffic, and create the new industries which will later provide traffic for the more costly line. It would work northwards from the Niger, and would, therefore, be in co-operation with and not in competition with the steamer transport. Meanwhile, the extension of the Lagos line to Oshogbo, and eventually to Illorin, has been approved by the Secretary of State, and this extension will, as Sir William MacGregor points out, enable it to tap a very fertile district and pass towns having populations of 60,000 to 100,000 souls and upwards.

95. The great urgency is for an *immediate* line to serve the needs of the Administration in lieu of the failing supply and costly method of human carriers, and to secure to British ports the trade of the north, as well as to render feasible the development of the cotton and other possible industries. These objects cannot be achieved otherwise than by the rapid construction of a light line at low cost. The light line I advocate may, in fact, be described better perhaps as a tramway, since its gradients, curves, and speed are not intended to rival those of a railway.

SURVEYS.

96. Considerable progress has been made in surveys, and the map of Northern Nigeria is now beginning to be filled in with some degree of accuracy. I have had a separate map of each province compiled on a scale of $\frac{1}{250000}$ (approximately four miles to one inch), and upon this has been traced every route surveyed since February, 1901, when the existing data were last incorporated. A map of a portion of the Protectorate on scales of $\frac{1}{500000}$ and $\frac{1}{1000000}$ (eight and sixteen miles to one inch) has been compiled by the Intelligence Division of the War Office, and these will be corrected and brought up to date by the recent information in the large-scale maps. I have also had a map made on a scale of $\frac{1}{2000000}$

(approximately 32 miles to one inch), incorporating all information up to date, a copy of which is attached to this report, Appendix V. From it will be seen the tentative division into provinces, the boundaries of which have been in many cases surveyed and fixed in accordance with tribal jurisdictions.

Economic.

97. Additional consignments of cotton seed have been received from England and distributed. Samples of indigenous cotton from each province have been sent to the British Cotton Growing Association, and also some samples of the cotton from the new seed, but as yet their report has not been received. I hear that the latter has been valued at the very high price of 6¾d. per lb. It is under consideration to send a cotton expert to Northern Nigeria, as has been done to each of the other West African Colonies, who should instruct the natives in the use of ginning and pressing apparatus, and report on the suitability of various districts and soils for cotton cultivation, and upon the prospects of the industry if taken seriously in hand. My own view is that imported products such as cocoa, improved cotton, coffee, &c., should not be grown in plantations by Europeans, but introduced as a crop among the agricultural villages, and their cultivation promoted by a distribution of plants and seeds, and by a promise to buy the produce, and by bonuses for good results, in order to naturalise them in the country. The extensive growth of the onion and leek throughout the Hausa States shows that the people readily adopt a new culture. It is necessary to establish nurseries of such plants for distribution, under the care of an expert Curator, and I think it would be most useful to place in the Government gardens specimens of indigenous trees of economic value (*e.g.*, the various rubber plants, wood-oil trees, gambia pod, &c., &c.), so that Residents and others on arrival could learn to recognise these, and promote their cultivation, and check their destruction in their provinces. It is, above all, important to teach the people the use of oxen in agriculture, and to introduce the American or Indian plough used by the Kaffirs of South Africa. It has been pointed out by many writers, that since throughout Africa oxen are only driven or tended by men, the introduction of ploughs has the result of emancipating the women to some extent from the labour of field work, and causes it to be undertaken by men. Men, however, already work in the fields throughout the greater part of Northern Nigeria.

Local Trade.

98. Apart from the trade done by the merchants for overseas export, there are several other forms of trade carried on in Northern Nigeria, concerning which a few observations may not be out of place.

99. There are in Kano four distinct classes of traders. I interviewed the chief merchants of each class separately and informed them of the slavery and firearms laws, and of the taxation on caravans, &c.

100.—(1.) *Tripoli.*—The first class consists of a small colony of white traders (Arabs) from Tripoli. The extent of the trade done by them may be gauged from a despatch recently received from the Consul at Tripoli, in which he states that a caravan from Kano and the south had just arrived, consisting of 1,220 camels laden as follows:—

	£
Feathers, 200 loads, value £800 each	= 16,000
Skins, 1,000 loads, value £24 each	= 24,000
Ivory, 20 loads, value £50 each	= 1,000
	£41,000

together with 20,000 to 25,000 five-franc pieces bought at two for one Maria Theresa dollar. The caravan had been 11 months on the journey. The cost of transport is estimated at £27 per ton. Of these goods the Morocco leather comes from Nigeria, and perhaps a portion of the feathers and ivory. It is difficult to see how this northern trade can survive when once competition from the south begins, or what articles there are except Morocco leather, which already goes largely to the south, and Kano gowns and cloths, which can bear the heavy transport charges to Tripoli. It would be interesting to know whether these traders have hitherto managed to export any slaves to Tripoli and Turkey. When in Kano I impressed on them the prohibition against slave dealing in any form and against the import of firearms. Their imports were said to consist of burnouses and cloths, sweets, scents, tea, &c.

101.—(2.) *Salaga.*—The second batch of traders who came to see me at Kano, and who form a separate community, are the Salaga merchants, who import kolas from the hinterland of the Gold Coast and Togoland, taking cloths and live stock, Kano leather work, antimony, and some "potash," &c., in exchange. Upon this import in future the authorised customs will be levied. Lack of staff, and the precarious footing which we held in the north, has prevented the levying of this tariff hitherto. The chief route enters at Kengakoi, near Illo, and passes through Sokoto to Kano.

102.—(3.) *Asben, &c.*—The third, and by far the most important, trade of Northern Nigeria is that in "potash" and live stock. This "potash" (which consists of carbonates of soda)

is of two kinds, slabs of rock and loose or powdered. Its value is reported as follows (per ton):—

Kano: "Stone," £18 13*s.*, at 1,200 cowries equal 1*s.* "Loose," £4 16*s.* to £6 14*s.*

Zaria: £24.

Bida: £42.

Lokoja: £42.

Lagos: £40.*

Kola nuts, per 100:—

Kano: 6*s.* 6*d.*

Lagos: 1*s.* 3*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

103. The greater part of the potash comes from Asben and from Minau in French territory, but there are also areas which yield it in the northern part of British Bornu, and (it is said) some of the islands in Lake Chad, *e.g.*, Kawa, three days' journey to the east. Each year the Asbenawa enter Nigeria in the dry season with trains of camels laden with this "potash," and with herds of live stock (cattle and sheep, and a few goats, all males). These they sell to the Hausa merchants (the fourth distinct trading community of Kano), receiving kolas and black cloths, and British cotton and hardware goods, in exchange. There are a few resident Asbenawa in Kano established as merchants, and dealing in the produce annually imported by their tribesmen.

104.—(4.) *Hausa.*—The Hausa merchants form enormous caravans, chiefly of small donkeys, and transport this potash (together with live stock and articles of Kano manufacture) to Illorin and Lagos. They are unwilling to dispose of it en route (hence the equality of prices at Lokoja, Bida, and Lagos), and trade it in Illorin chiefly for kolas, and for cotton, hardware, and other goods. It is largely used by the natives for cooking purposes, and is an indispensable adjunct to the yam diet of the Yorubas. It is also greatly in demand for horses, to whom it is given in large quantities.

LOCAL INDUSTRIES.

105. There is also a considerable local trade in raw and manufactured cotton. Zaria, for instance, produces large quantities of raw cotton, which is carried to Kano and manufactured there into cloth, and the Hausa gown, or "tobe," which is generally beautifully embroidered with patterns in white or colours. The leather trade is another local industry, Kano and Zaria being the chief centres where shoes, slippers, long riding and wearing boots, saddles, and innumerable other articles of leather, are made. These also are embroidered or

* The price was £60 before the roads in Northern Nigeria were made safe.

worked in different coloured leathers. The leathers are red, yellow, and green, the last being the finest and most costly. Bida is the only place where a glass factory exists that I know of, and every large city has its guild of blacksmiths and workers in iron. The embossed brass and copper work of Bida in especial is very good, and the designs of their goblets, in which brass and copper are beautifully blended, are extremely elegant. Space does not permit of my detailing the lesser manufactures and industries, but the preparation of indigo, and the dyeing of cloths, which is carried on in almost every town, is an industry so extensive as to merit mention. Horse-breeding is a source of profit throughout the towns in the north, and a small troup of brood mares is met with in almost every town of Samfara.

Prospects of Trade.

106. The inclusion of the northern Hausa States under the Administration has been effected only just in time to check the diversion of trade routes, a matter in which the French have shown such great activity. The Germans also have endeavoured to prevent traders and caravans from crossing the frontier into British territory, and have prohibited the export of ivory from Adamawa. As, however, it is only a short time since the trade centre of Kano came under British control, and as the German and French frontiers are only now being delimited, it is premature to discuss the opportunities for trade expansion which the inclusion of the northern States will involve. I hope in a future report to be able to give some useful statistics of the various openings which present themselves. At present I can only point out that the population is dense, and imbued with a keen trading instinct, and that if a cheap form of transport, *e.g.*, a light line, were constructed, the country might produce immense quantities of cotton, ground nuts, capsicums, beniseed, and the various other exportable agricultural products; while the sylvan resources, the so-called "gutta" of Hausaland (the rubber of the "Gamsi" tree), shea nuts and shea butter, wood oils, &c., are at present practically untouched, and must remain so for lack of transport. From Bornu the Resident, Mr. Hewby (who has an expert knowledge), reports great quantities of gum which is not collected, as well as gambia pod, kino, copaiba, tamarind, shea, and a considerable quantity of rubber (in the south), while skins, feathers, and ivory are exported northwards to Tripoli.

107. The Niger Company showed some enterprise in asking permission to attach one of their staff to the Bornu expedition. This gentleman, and also another who was attached to their prospecting expedition, report on the country (1) from Ibi *viâ* Bautshi to Bornu and thence to Yola, and (2)

from Zungeru to Zaria and thence to Bautshi and the tin district at Badiko. Their reports may be summarised as follows:—*Ibi to Bautshi.* Trade prospects excellent when the roads are safe. People eager to trade. Much shea, ground nuts, beniseed and balsam. *Bautshi through Bornu.* Country absolutely desolated by war before the advent of our Government; very rich and fertile; little population, except in Gombe district. Gum, shea, balsam, "gutta," and tamarind. *Bornu to Yola.* Rich and populous; people eager to trade; benefit of safe roads. *Wushishi to Zaria.* Trade prospects very good, especially at Gwari. People eager to trade. Much shea, cotton, a little palm-oil, ground nuts, and tobacco. At Zaria hardly any Company's cloth. Native leather work and cloth in quantities; "gutta," 25*s.* for 75 lbs. *Zaria to Bautshi.* Prospects hopeless. Much rubber and "gutta." People apathetic, except at Lere. Cotton, cattle and some rice and beeswax. *Bautshi.* Much rubber for sale, some beniseed. Company's cloth in the markets. Roads must be made safer.

I believe that the Company has it in contemplation to open trading depôts at Zaria and other interior towns, a proposal I welcome with great pleasure.

108. In the northern States I observed that the shea butter tree disappears, and is replaced by the "Gamsi Maifadigaine" (*i.e.*, broad leaved), and very many other new varieties of trees. I noticed throughout the country that the stately trees, which give a parklike appearance to the cultivated areas (chiefly the "locust" with its useful bean, and the shea, and in the north the tamarind), are all of many years growth and are being extensively cut down. Young trees to take their place are non-existent, for the Fulani dynasty (at any rate for years past) appears to have neglected the good of the country, and to have only endeavoured to squeeze what they could out of it. I hope to remedy this, and to introduce new and valuable trees, but had our advent been much longer delayed I fear all this country would have become deforested, since the tree growth in the north is not exuberant as in the Delta. The Asbenawa are great offenders, for they cut down the young acacias and tamarinds, and lop great limbs off the older trees, to graze their camels, till nothing remains but a dying bole.

The Bassa province produces ivory, and, I believe, is full of rubber forests and of valuable timbers. Colonel Pavel, of the German expedition, reports the country north of the Benue to be rich and cultivated, with a fertile soil, producing cotton and rubber. Dikwa, on the Anglo-German frontier line, imports coffee, sugar, velvets, silks, weapons, and gold and silver objects from Tripoli, chiefly, I believe, through the British sphere.

109. The country north of Zaria appears to offer every facility for raising stock. Many excellent fodder grasses abound, and

the tsetse appears to be entirely absent. The magnificent type of oxen in the country can hardly be improved, and the importation of a few Spanish jackasses would enable us to breed a very serviceable and strong mule. The breed of horses might also be greatly improved by the importation of a few stallions. I think also that ostrich farming might prove a lucrative business. A light railway would also secure as freights the really prodigious tonnage of potash annually transported south by men and animals. In return for the products I have named there is a practically unlimited market for salt and for cotton and hardware goods.

110. This trade, however, will never be developed, and may not improbably be diverted to the French sphere, unless two conditions are fulfilled, and that without delay. The first is, as I have said, the construction of a light line, which will reach the centres of trade within a few years. The second is that merchants will take the trouble to go inland and establish depôts for the collection of produce, instead of confining their stations to the banks of the Niger and waiting for trade to come to them. The Administration has opened up these markets and rendered many of the routes to them perfectly safe, which were not traversable a year ago, though others still remain as yet dangerous to traders. It is in contemplation to make a good road from Zungeru to Kano, and what is now required is that merchants with enterprise shall import carts or mechanical transport (pending the construction of the light railway), and take advantage of the opportunities thus offered. The existing monopoly in Northern Nigeria was its salvation at a time when a number of rival traders, with warehouses side by side, at some two or three stations on the Niger, bid against each other for a limited output of native produce, the quantity of which was not appreciably increased by their competition and consequently enhanced prices. It is now an anachronism, and retards the development of the country, which is large enough, and offers opportunities enough, for many firms without mutual interference. Since the great obstacle to the advent of competition is the difficulty of procuring transport up the Niger (the Niger Company alone possessing river vessels), I am considering how far Government may be able to assist all merchants alike by conveying a limited quantity of merchandise up river in Government vessels.

111. I would more particularly welcome development on specialised lines. One firm might undertake the carrying trade as "transport riders," and, by utilising draught transport and steamers, collect produce at various depôts. Failing British initiative, I shall hope to utilise the Tripoli merchants and the Asbenawa with their camels. (As a beginning I engaged 50 of the camels of the latter to accompany me to Sokoto and back to Kano, and I hope soon to be able to induce them to accept contracts for carrying telegraph and building materials, and

stores in the northern provinces.) Another might undertake the development of the cotton and cocoa* industries. With regard to cotton, the following note (dated December 9th, 1902), furnished me by the Niger Company, gives some precise and useful information:—

> "As far back as 1888 the question of working commercially the indigenous cotton was considered, and samples of small shipments sent home. As shipped it much resembled rough Peruvian, and was marketable at about equal value, say then 5*d.* to 5¼*d.* per lb.
>
> "At that time it was decided to make trials in the various experimental plantations and in other parts of Northern and Southern Nigeria. Trials were made with Egyptian and American cotton seed, &c. (Georgian, Nankin, Louisiana, Sea-island, and Garo Hill.)
>
> "The trials were in almost every case eminently satisfactory. Altogether several hundredweights of cotton were sent home from various parts of Nigeria, of course having been prepared in a primitive fashion. The reports from Liverpool, Manchester, and London referred to the length and strength, and valued as follows: Egyptian cotton 5½*d.*, as against 6⅜*d.* marketable Egyptian. On the samples of the other cottons the valuation varied from 5*d.* to 6*d.* per lb., and would average over 5¼*d.*, which was then the market value of middling American. The Directors having satisfied themselves that there was a future for cotton in Nigeria, postponed any larger experiments, knowing that the labour difficulty could not be immediately overcome. Considering that there were large quantities of vegetable products awaiting collection, and wasting yearly through native lethargy, the time was not considered ripe for the development of the cotton industry."

In respect of agriculture and sylvan produce, it would be necessary to import seed, and, as I have said, to introduce the "American" or Indian plough used in South Africa, and to teach the natives the use of animals, and of machinery, for agricultural purposes.

112. In a word the chief needs of Northern Nigeria now are (1) cheap transport, and (2) European competition, for the development of its natural resources, and the introduction of new articles of commercial value. Any new comers would find the Administration keenly eager to assist in every possible way, and ready itself to share in the pioneer work and expenses,

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* Cocoa was started 10 years ago in the Gold Coast Colony, and the value this year of the exports is estimated at £80,000. The results in the Cameroons are even more striking.

but such development should not rest on the shoulders of Government alone, nor in the past history of our commerce has British trade looked to the initiative of Governments to lead the way for unenterprising merchants.

113. I had hoped to be able in this report to give some statistics of the imports from Lagos, but the Resident of Illorin has been too much pressed with the multifarious duties of his post to be able as yet to ascertain these with any degree of accuracy, nor have I been able up to now to summarise and produce in tabular form the statistics regarding trade which I have received from the various provinces. The new caravan tolls will afford valuable data on this head, which I hope to incorporate in my next report. I was aware that an enormous quantity of merchandise passed to and from the northern States and Illorin, but I was not prepared for the actual volume which I saw on my way from Zungeru to Zaria. It is simply amazing, and nowhere in Africa did I conceive that there was anything like it. The road I traversed is but one of several routes, and along the whole route one meets a continual stream of laden men, women, and asses, numbering thousands, together with ceaseless herds of live stock. The value of merchandise passing through Bida was estimated at £49,850. The heads of the caravans expressed great pleasure at the complete safety of the roads. During the year the Niger Company's cash trade again increased very largely, but no returns are given, since they prefer that the statistics on this head should be treated as confidential.

TRADE.

114. I append tables (Appendix VI.) showing in detail the imports and exports by the Niger Company. They show a falling-off in the total of £35,552. The value of the exports only decreased by £4,831. The shea crop failed this year, as it occasionally does, and accounted for a decrease of £17,446. Since this was due entirely to natural and exceptional causes, it may be expected to recover itself fully next year. Apart from this it will be seen that the value of other exports increased by £12,615, in spite of the decrease in ivory, due to the advent of the German expedition in the hinterland of the Cameroons and the prohibition they have placed upon its export. The bulk of the ivory has in past years come from German Adamawa and has been steadily decreasing. The trade of the Protectorate may therefore be said to be increasing in a satisfactory way. The disproportionate decrease in imports of £30,721, with a corresponding decrease in duties of £3,238, can only be due to the consumption of existing stocks. On powder alone, for instance, £12,000 had, I am told, been paid in duties in 1900 and the stocks are still unconsumed.

115. During the year Messrs. John Holt & Company established factories at Lokoja and at Quendon, but I have not been able to obtain any statistics of the trade they have done. The trade carried on by petty traders is, I believe, very largely on the increase, especially that of small Lagos merchants at Illorin. The Lagos returns for the year show a very marked increase in the importation of cotton goods, and I think that a great portion of the amount is due to the large increase in imports into Northern Nigeria (chiefly *viâ* Illorin) from Lagos.

116. I think I may say that the two primary objects for the development of trade, which I noted in my last report, have now been to a large extent realised, viz., (1) the inclusion of the northern States under administrative control and the opening up of the markets they supply, and (2) the suppression of slave raiding and the safeguarding of the main routes from pillage and robbery. I am informed that the consequent increase of trade is enormous, and along the whole route to Zaria I constantly met women travelling alone, and all caravans were practically unarmed. The employment of armed forces by the Fulani on the one hand has been completely prohibited, but among the pagans in the difficult hills to the south and west of Bautshi the pastime of cutting up traders still prevails to some extent. It would have been manifestly unfair to coerce these free pagans so long as Kano and others were left free to raid and capture them, but it now remains to render these lesser routes as safe as the main arteries, and to compel the lawless bands to cease from pillage, for which, with the cessation of Fulani slave raids, they have no longer any excuse. The general sense of security afforded by the administration is well instanced by the fact that since our troops have occupied Argungu (in order to escort French caravans across British territory, and later for the protection of the Boundary Commission) traders from Sokoto and Gando have entered the town in increasing numbers. Seeing that Argungu has been at war with the Fulani more or less for the last 100 years, such a thing as the advent of Sokoto people to Argungu was unheard of, and it is a testimony to the attitude of the people towards us that where our troops go the traders and indigenous population feel they are safe. It was again strikingly manifested in the Kano campaign, when the traders by hundreds met our troops on the march daily, and there was no break whatever in the trade, and it was in fact greater than at any previous time. So again in the east, the pagan tribes who have for years been hostile to Bautshi, now come to trade peaceably in the market, relying on the protection and security afforded by the Government.

117. The next objects to be achieved are (1) the improvement of means of transport, as already suggested, and (2) the establishment of depôts and purchasing agencies in the interior to

collect and purchase existing products and introduce new ones (as, for instance, half way between Bornu and Yola, and between Zaria and Zungeru), and to compete on the spot with the trade to Tripoli and the north.

Nature of Trade.

118. I have dwelt strongly on this point in former reports, and I there observed that the imports into Northern Nigeria are exclusively of a useful kind (cottons, hardware, &c.), the produce of British industry conveyed in British ships, and do not include liquor, which is a foreign article largely transported in foreign ships, and which adds nothing to the progress of the people. I added also that the trade we are developing is in substitution of the trade in slaves, which has hitherto formed the main traffic in Northern Nigeria. These points are worth recalling, for, although Northern Nigeria has cost, and is yearly costing, the British taxpayer a very large sum of money, it is satisfactory to bear in mind that the markets which are being opened up are markets for British industries, and that, though Governments are not philanthropic institutions, the outlay of the taxpayers' money has resulted in the suppression of a vast slave trade and the cessation of the worst and most extensive slave-raiding system in Africa. Though it would seem to be of late somewhat the fashion to scoff at forcible measures undertaken for suppressing slave raiding, I venture to say that in the last three years the results achieved in this direction in Nigeria have been effective, and attended probably by less bloodshed than perhaps fifty years of dhow-catching on the east coast, for which a large sum was yearly voted by Parliament, estimated, I believe, at not less than £200,000 per annum. If the British taxpayer likes to have "something to show for his money," I think he may rest assured that his contributions have not been ill-spent in Northern Nigeria, and have already produced an amelioration in the condition of the people which cannot be expressed in terms of £ s. d., while the future promises well for his trade.

Minerals.

119. A large number of "exclusive prospecting licences" under the Minerals Proclamation were taken out during the year, but, with the exception of the Niger Company, the syndicates do not appear to have produced any very tangible results so far. The Chairman of the Niger Company in his annual report speaks as follows of the results of their prospecting expedition under Mr. Nicolaus in the Bautshi Province:—

"The tin that is found is alluvial in coarse and fine grains. It can be secured very pure by simply washing the sands and gravel, the resulting product, technically known as black

tin, having a value of £73 sterling per ton without smelting. The tin contains no impurities whatever detrimental to its smelting and it would not even require to be refined.

"Mr. Nicolaus has brought home samples which he tells us are the result of promiscuous washing of sand and gravel in the river and give a fair criterion of their value. The produce of black tin is calculated at the average value of this quarter's prices, *i.e.*, £73 per ton. The average value of a ton of river gravel is, by the samples, £1 5*s.* 6*d.*, the approximate cost of treating the same would, at the outside figure, not come to more than 2*s.* On the above calculations he points out that as a mining venture, situated as this is, the profits on working the tin deposits even in a rough and ready manner would be considerable.

"The prospecting brought to light that the coarser grained alluvial tin did not travel further than about three miles from the range of hills down the river. The richest of the stanniferous gravels and sands in and near the river and its tributaries extend a distance of about 11 miles, which is the only area worked for stream tin by the natives. The fine tin can be traced for a distance of about 14 miles, making altogether a length of about 25 miles of river commercially workable for tin.

"The question of transport is one on which hangs the life of every commercial undertaking or industry in that part of the country, but, in the opinion of Mr. Nicolaus, it is in no way insurmountable.

"He concludes his report by saying 'We have great pleasure in being able to assure you of the evident richness of the areas we have advised being held in tin-bearing gravels and the fairly conclusive evidence of tin ore being found in the granite. In comparing the value of the area with other alluvial tin fields, irrespective of its situation and question of transport, you will see that its possibilities and capabilities are great, and although the purpose of the expedition was to locate the tin area, ample evidence has, we think, been secured for its further prospecting and development.'"

Receipts and Expenditure.

120. The tables in Appendix VII. show the expenditure and receipts (estimated) for the last completed financial year, together with the actual figures of previous years.

121. The cost of the Northern Nigeria Regiment of the West African Frontier Force (direct and indirect) absorbs a very great part of the revenue, and it must be remembered that this force is not merely a local asset. During the greater part of 1900 a large part of it was employed in quelling the rising in Ashanti; in the following year a strong detachment

was again sent to that country; and in the year under review a force was sent to Southern Nigeria to assist in the Aro expedition.

COINAGE.

122. The quantity of specie imported during the year is as follows:—

	1901.			1902.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Gold	3,000	0	0	—		
Silver	90,000	0	0	147,000	0	0
Bronze	350	0	0	—		
Total	93,350	0	0	147,000	0	0
From Niger Company	2,109	19	4	11,425	16	0

The use of slaves as currency, to which I referred in my last report, has been abolished, and may, I think, be said to have practically ceased throughout the whole Protectorate, though of course the buying and selling of slaves still goes on illicitly to a large extent. The area of circulation of British currency is continually increasing. The new coin with His Majesty's effigy was introduced in 1902 and is apparently popular. I impressed upon the rulers of Kano, Sokoto, and Katsena the necessity and advantage of at once bringing British silver into effective circulation. So soon as British currency becomes thoroughly understood and accepted at Kano, I anticipate that it will rapidly become popularised throughout the whole Protectorate. The recently imposed taxes, especially the caravan tolls, will tend greatly to its promotion. The value of cowries varies from time to time and increases as they are carried further northwards. The number of cowries equal to 1*s.* is approximately as follows:—

Yola, 1,200.	Kano, 1,200.
Illorin, 4,000.	Katsena, 1,200.
Bida, 3,000.	Sokoto, 1,200.
Lokoja, 2,500.	Kontagora, 2,500.
Illo, 1,000.	Nassarawa, 2,400.
Zaria, 2,000.	

JUDICIAL.

123. The appointment of a Chief Justice at the end of 1901 enabled me to institute an effective Supreme Court; and a new series of Proclamations, together with Rules of Court, have been enacted for the Supreme, the Provincial, and the Cantonment Courts. The principles adopted in the original judicial administration have been retained with some few modifications, notably that the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court may be, and has been, extended over the whole Protectorate by "Gazette" notice, and that the Cantonment

Courts are now affiliated to the Supreme Court. The latter has now concurrent jurisdiction everywhere with the Provincial Courts, and the Cantonment Magistrate is a Commissioner of the Supreme Court. The procedure of the Courts has been regularised by rules. The great distances and defective communications still render any circuit system impossible. A very great improvement is noticeable in the working of the Provincial Courts. Every Cause List is checked by the Attorney-General and by the High Commissioner; and the Cause List itself, accompanied by a *précis* of cases and full minutes of all requiring confirmation, operates, as before, as an appeal on behalf of the condemned. Residents without exception have taken great pains to improve their judicial work, and with most satisfactory results. The offence of "personation" and of extortion in the name of the Government still remains exceedingly rife throughout the Protectorate and causes an incalculable amount of oppression and misery. A new Proclamation giving increased powers in respect of this crime has been drafted.*

LEGISLATION.

124. The following is a list of the laws enacted during the year 1902:—

1. Liquor Prohibition.—Amending the existing law without change of principle.

2 and 3. Customs and Customs Tariff.—Providing for the management and regulation of customs, and imposing a tariff identical with that of Southern Nigeria and Lagos. All goods which pay duty at ports in either of these two administrations are exempt from further customs in Northern Nigeria. They form, of course, practically the entire bulk of the imports.

4. Non-natives Registration Amendment.—Disallowed owing to a technical error and re-drafted. Its scope is to exempt Government officials from the necessity of registration.

* Personation is carried on (1) by independent scoundrels, who go from place to place demanding slaves, sheep, and cattle, or other property, in the name of the white man; (2) by discharged carriers, who loot as they please in the towns through which they pass; and (3) by Government employees, soldiers, and civil agents. I have already described how one of the most trusted political agents has recently been convicted, after a long trial, and was found to have 65 slaves in his possession, while his subordinate had 30. The great difficulty in the last class of case is to induce the people to come forward and give evidence. In the second class there is always the danger of false accusations, for the purpose of securing compensation for wrongs never done. I took occasion as I passed through each town, on my way from Zungeru to Kano, to summon the chiefs, and reiterated to each one that they were at liberty to seize and bring before the Resident all persons making such demands, which were *never* genuine.

5. Minerals Proclamation.—Laying down the conditions for mining and prospecting.
6. Supreme Court.—*Vide* Section "Judicial," *Supra.*
7. Cantonment Courts.—*Vide* Section "Judicial," *Supra.*
8. Prisons.—For the establishment and regulation of prisons.
9. Provincial Courts.—*Vide* Section "Judicial," *Supra.*
10. West African Frontier Force.—In identical terms, *mutatis mutandis,* with those enacted by all other Colonies in West Africa, constituting the Northern Nigeria Regiment and forming the Military Code. [No. 10 of 1901 was never brought into operation and was superseded by the present enactment.]
11. Petitions of Right Proclamation.
12. Patents.—Identical, *mutatis mutandis,* with other West African Colonies.
13. Lands Proclamation Amendment.
14. Departmental Offences.—Conferring power on heads of departments to inflict small fines upon subordinates.
15. Protection of trees within half a mile of Government Stations.
16. Crown Lands.—Vesting the lands taken over from the Royal Niger Company in the High Commissioner.
17. Surrender of the murderers of Captain Keyes to the French Government for trial.
18. Niger Navigation.—Giving effect to the Berlin Act.
19. Unsettled districts—Prohibiting unauthorised persons from entering certain districts.
20. Niger Transit.—Enacting regulations for transit on the Niger.
21. Telegraphs.—Regulating construction of lines and penalising the divulging of messages and other matters in connection with telegraphs.
22. Master and Servant.—Regulating the relations between employer and employed, and engagement of labour for service in or beyond the Protectorate.

125. In addition, various regulations under existing Proclamations have been made, more especially under "The Wild Animals Preservation Proclamation," Postal Regulations under Proclamation 18 of 1900, and Telegraph Regulations under No. 21 of 1902, &c.

SLAVERY.

126. As regards slavery I am now able to take a much stronger line than before, in accordance with the conditions of appointment for Emirs which I have laid down in each case. Hitherto there has been no law against dealing in slaves, other than in slaves moved from one place to another for sale,

or those recently enslaved. It would have been but a pious resolution—an edict *pour rire*—to have declared the buying and selling of domestic slaves illegal, so long as the Administration was as yet unable to enforce prohibition, and slave dealing was sanctioned by the suzerain at Sokoto, the central slave market at Kano remaining beyond our control. The prohibition against all dealing in slaves has now been publicly declared, and publicly acquiesced in in these capital cities themselves, and I have already submitted a new Proclamation giving effect to this edict. I do not, however, propose to interfere with the serfdom of the agricultural peasantry, or the house-born domestics of the cities, in so far as avoidance is compatible with the abolition of the "legal status" which has already been declared. The anomaly under which the law of the Protectorate admits the right of every human creature to assert his freedom, while the executive desires not to interfere with the only existing form of labour contract, or to overturn the social system, is one which, of course, presents constant difficulties. These can only be met in a practical way by dealing with each case on its merits. The cases which present themselves fall usually into certain classes, and with these I have dealt in a series of instructions to Residents. I regret that space precludes the possibility of a fuller examination here of this very intricate question. I can only say in brief that one class of cases is really rather a question of divorce than of slavery, and can be dealt with as such by Native Courts. Another, that of farm servants, *adscripti glebae*, involves the right of taking up new lands, and, when necessary, can be dealt with on those lines. Others, such as cases of ill-usage, sale of a house-born slave, &c., are already liberally dealt with by the Koranic law, which needs only to be enforced.

Freed Slaves Home.

127. The returns from the Freed Slaves Home are not entirely accurate; its management has so frequently changed hands, and it was only put on a proper basis during the year. They show a total of 46 inmates on December 31st, 1901. During the year 173 have been received at the home, of whom 144 have been discharged as follows:—Married, 38; apprenticed, 1; died, 60; left the home, 45. That the death roll has been very heavy has been largely due to the fact that the small children generally arrive in a starved condition and die before they can be restored to health. It is also due to the fact that at first I had no place in which to put them, the conditions were deplorable, and the water bad. I receive a monthly report, and of late the Medical Officer's certificate has been as follows:—"Health good, sanitation satisfactory, food sufficient and of good quality." As soon as the new Freed Slaves Home, with matron's house attached, is completed, I shall have the institution under my own eye at Zungeru, and I look for a very great improvement in the conditions.

Number Freed.

It is impossible to render a return of the total number of slaves freed during the year At the capture of Ibrahim of Kontagora, some thousands of newly enslaved persons were freed. The Muri province, from which 74 of the children at the home were received, reports a total of 543. In Bornu I learn that in addition to the adults who have gone to their homes, about 200 children and others are on their way down. "The occupation of Kano," writes the Resident, "has dealt a severe blow to the slave trade from Bornu," *e.g.*, from Baghirmi and Adamawa *viâ* Dikwa.

Native Courts.

128. The Court of the Alkali (El Kadi) offers an admirable machinery for the native administration of justice, more especially in civil actions, and in most of the great cities it is presided over by men of much learning, with a keen appreciation of the impartiality and supremacy of the law. The Emir of Bida, for instance, announced in his speech at the annual Mohammedan festival of the Sala, that he himself would, if summoned by the Court, appear before it; and the theory of the supremacy of the judicial over the executive is acknowledged by them all. Something has been done to regulate the scale of fines and fees, and summaries of cases tried and awards given are sent to me monthly by most of the Courts.

129. The question of tribunals for pagan communities is a more difficult one. The whole question is as yet in embryo, and in a matter of such vital and grave importance, I have felt that no action should be taken until we are in possession of full information as to existing systems, the theory and basis of the codes employed, the scale of punishments inflicted, the adequacy of existing systems to meet requirements, and the direction in which improvements can be judiciously introduced without sapping the vitality or destroying the groundwork of such institutions as may exist. During the past year and a half a great deal of information has been collected on the subject of native judicial procedure, both Mohammedan and pagan, and during the coming year I hope to be able to deal with the question. For in this, as in all other matters affecting subordinate races, I hold strongly that the hasty introduction of revolutionary "improvements" is to be deprecated, and I have impressed upon Residents that systems eminently suitable for Europeans, or for Asiatics, are often opposed to the prejudices and root ideas of Africans. As an illustration I may remark that there rightly exists in Europe and in Asia a rooted prejudice to flogging, and a great partiality for imprisonment, whereas in Africa—East, West, and South—and especially in West Africa, flogging is a national punishment, carrying with

it none of the stigma that it does among more highly developed peoples, while imprisonment is often either a farce, or inhuman, or else wholly misunderstood. Flogging is the common punishment inflicted by Native Courts on men and women alike. It is usual to allow the condemned to "buy his lashes," and this is commonly done. In most cases the infliction is humane, the rule being that the flogger must retain cowries under his armpit, which prevents the infliction of a severe blow. On the other hand, I recall an instance in 1900 where, after the Political Officer had for months with the exercise of great tact and patience won the confidence of a section of intractable Munshis, the whole of his work was undone and lost by the infliction of a small sentence of imprisonment. "We thought," said they, "that you did not make slaves like the Fulani, and we now see that you do."

130. I hope, in a future report, to deal more fully with this subject of Native Courts and native jurisdiction. I will here, therefore, make but one further observation. I have hitherto in Northern Nigeria adhered to the principle that the Native Courts shall carry out their own sentences, subject to the general supervision of Residents, whose duty it is to see (as far as they can) that the sentence is not manifestly unjust, or the punishment inhuman. No prisoners condemned to imprisonment by a Native Court are confined in a British gaol. I feel strongly that the Executive which carries into effect a punishment should be itself fully responsible for the justice of the sentence, and in the present stage I cannot saddle Residents with responsibility for the justice of the sentences of Native Courts; their duties are too multifarious to admit of their being present at all trials in such Courts, and pending a closer connection between the British and native judicial administration, I do not desire to identify the British Executive in the eyes of the people with what may, on closer examination, prove to be native injustice. The two, therefore, at present run more or less independently, and the Native and British Courts have concurrent jurisdiction; the former are supervised by the Residents and by myself alone; the latter by the Judicial Officers of the Protectorate and by myself. The Native Courts are for the most part reported as doing well. In some of them Hausas have been admitted as members, and an oath is now administered. It is found that this has a very useful effect.

Senoussi.

131. Enquiry from every Province has elicited the information that there is practically no Senoussi cult in Northern Nigeria except possibly in Bornu. The fact is that the religious influence of Sokoto has perhaps been hardly appreciated by those who have dreamt of some great Senoussi organisation in this country. The Mussulmans of Northern Nigeria

and of a great area lying beyond British territory look to the Sultan of Sokoto as the "Sarikin Muslimin," and for all practical purposes he is their sole head, though the Mecca pilgrimage is carried out by a very few, and the "Sultan of Stamboul" is, I believe, recognised as a shadowy and distant Pope. Captain Moll, the French Boundary Commissioner, informed me that from Agades, 350 miles to the north, to Timbuctoo, 600 miles to the west, the selection of every king must be confirmed by Sokoto, and is invalid until so confirmed. The Senoussi, therefore, can effect no hold on Nigeria until he has destroyed the dominant influence of Sokoto. I realised fully the importance of the ceremony when we created a new Sultan, since his influence I knew would extend far beyond British territory, and my words regarding the freedom of religion and my attitude generally would be carried by fleet messengers over thousands of miles of desert throughout the Sudan. It was, therefore, with the greatest possible satisfaction that I left Sokoto on such cordial terms, and I have every confidence that Major Burdon (who is known throughout the country as the friend of the Fulani) will maintain and increase this cordial goodwill; for indeed I regard it as an important matter to secure and to utilise this potent religious influence in aid and support of the administration. I think I may say that the policy hitherto pursued has enlisted it on our side. The Senoussi has, of course, made many efforts to gain a footing. To Kano, for instance, an emissary, named Mohammed Sidi, came four years ago and stayed twenty days. He was treated with courtesy but not allowed to preach. I have heard of other emissaries, but it would seem that all have been treated in much the same way.

MISSIONS.

132. The Toronto Mission has acquired a site for its experimental farm work at Pataji, opposite the Kaduna mouth, and it appears to be doing well with the cultivation of cotton, of which I sent them some of the new seed. The Church Missionary Society's establishment at Loko has been moved to Ghirko, near Zaria, with my concurrence. The Church Missionary Society at Oyo (Lagos) have applied to establish a mission at Illorin, and to this the people are much opposed. I am myself of opinion that it is unwise and unjust to force missions upon the Mohammedan population, for it must be remembered that without the moral support of Government these missions would not be tolerated. In effect, therefore, the mission obtains its footing on the support of British bayonets, and if they are established by order of Government the people have some cause to disbelieve the emphatic pledges I have given that their religion shall in no way be interfered with. I have, how-

ever, held out every encouragement to establish missions in pagan centres, which appear to me to need the influence of civilisation and religion at least as much as the Mohammedans, but I regret to say that the local Church Missionary Society representative at Oyo did not agree with my views, replying that if they were to wait for the concurrence of the Mohammedan chiefs they might wait for ever. The Roman Catholic Mission of the Holy Ghost, which has done most excellent work in Southern Nigeria, have applied to establish a mission at Ibi, among the pagans, and to open a freed slaves home and a freed slave village there. I have secured for them the necessary sites, and I believe they intend to open the mission shortly.

EDUCATION.

133. With the exception of the infant school and the training of girls in laundry work afforded in the Freed Slaves Home and the openings for technical education as apprentices in the Public Works Department workshops, and in the Telegraph, Printing, and Marine Departments, I have as yet been unable to do anything with the resources at my disposal for education. Looking to the fact that these resources must for a long time hence be very limited, I fear that the Administration can do little more than continue the present opportunities for technical education, and endeavour by very small grants, devoted perhaps to the appointment of an English-speaking native, to improve the primary education given in the Mohammedan schools. My desire would be limited at present to teaching the children English, and possibly to substituting by degrees the Roman for the Arabic character. How far this may be practicable I am not yet aware.

FRENCH FLOTILLA.

134. A second French flotilla, under Captain Fourneau, consisting of one other officer, four non-commissioned officers, 276 sailors and natives (French subjects), two labourers, five native soldiers and an interpreter, with 19 barges and one steel canoe, arrived at the French concession near Bajibo on February 12th and 16th. Captain Fourneau was unable to comply with the conditions of transit laid down in the Transit Proclamation, but as he had left Europe before he could be acquainted with the law, I allowed him to tranship and land at places not declared as ports of entry, and waived the obligations with regard to seals, &c., in this instance, warning him that any future convoy must comply with the strict law. The flotilla reach ' the frontier safely with the loss of one barge only.

Boundary Commissions.

135. The Anglo-French Commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Elliot, Royal Engineers, and two subalterns with several non-commissioned officers, since increased by the appointment of another Royal Engineer officer and a doctor, etc., reached Lokoja on November 1st. Their task is to carry on the delimitation of the north-western and northern boundary from the Niger to Chad, taking it up from the point on the Niger where Lieutenant-Colonel Lang-Hyde and Commandant Toutée left it in 1900, and carrying it round the arc described around the town of Sokoto (radius 100 miles). After some delay at Lokoja and Jebba, the party started up the Niger, all arrangements for carriers and canoes being made for them by the Resident of Borgu, and reached Illo on December 25th. Here they were shortly after joined by Captain Moll, the French Commissioner, and his party, and by February 18th, 1903, they had completed their survey up to the first intersection of the arc with the 14th parallel. The Commission will pass within 20 miles of Katsena, and, as I have now been able to establish a garrison and depôt at that place, the supplies which Colonel Elliot needs can be sent up to await him there. Had it not been for the recent inclusion of Kano and Katsena under the Administration, the very greatest difficulty would have been experienced in forwarding these supplies, and the safety of the party would have been a matter of anxiety to me. It can now traverse a country which, so far as the British side is concerned, will, I have every reason to believe, be peaceable and friendly throughout. The British escort consists of two officers and 50 men of the Northern Nigeria Regiment, West African Frontier Force.

In January, 1903, the Anglo-German Commission to delimit our frontier with the Kameruns reached Lokoja. The British section consists of Lieutenant-Colonel Jackson, R.E., three Royal Engineer officers, and a doctor. They left without delay in canoes by way of the Benue, but as that river was at the time at its lowest, they would have to march a considerable part of the way. Their escort of two officers and 75 rank and file, with a maxim, is commanded by Captain MacCarthy Morrogh, West African Frontier Force, who accompanied Colonel Morland to Bornu, and knows the country, and he has made all arrangements for carriers and horses. Their task is to delimit the frontier from Yola to Chad.

136 I am informed that a considerable number of people (among others the Tessawa, to whom I have alluded) are immigrating into British territory from the north and north-west. The Residents of both Bornu and Yola also inform me that people are flocking across the frontier in considerable numbers on our eastern and north-eastern boundaries.

MEDICAL.

137. The total cost of the Medical Department for the financial year 1901-1902 was £16,130 (deducting receipts for hospital charges, &c.), being £5,000 under the estimate. The staff is as follows:—

—	Establishment.		Should be in Africa.	
	1901-02.	1902-03.	1901-02.	1902-03.
Doctors	21	24	14	16
Male Subordinates	27	14	18	9
Nursing Sisters ...	12	12	8	8
Native Assistants and Servants.	19	16	19	16

138. Under the management of the Principal Medical Officer, Dr. McDowell, C.M.G., the hospitals and medical establishment generally have been efficient and well-organized. The medical staff is now distributed over an area of about 300,000 square miles, in medical charge of the various stations in the Provinces. The marked improvement in the health of the Europeans, to which I called attention in my last report, has been well maintained.

139. I hope next year to establish dispensaries for the free treatment of natives at all centres of the administration. The small sum required for the building of such dispensaries at Lokoja and Zungeru has been provided. The result will, I hope, be to confer a great benefit on the people, to popularise our rule, and to check the present mortality. Investigations into the causes of the great mortality among native infants, estimated by Dr. Miller, C.M.S., at 50 per cent., will, I hope, result in a diminution of this evil. My own opinion is that the main cause is the horribly insanitary condition of the native cities, which Residents are already doing what they can to improve.

SANITATION.

140. The deplorable state of things described in my report for 1901 has been very greatly improved, but the constant struggle against the exuberant growth of grass and weeds is a weary and a costly one. I hope by holding each tenant of a Government bungalow responsible for an area round his house, and by laying out a considerable portion as public gardens, to reduce considerably the area of waste land which cantonment labour must keep clean.

CLIMATE.

141. The climate of Northern Nigeria, situated as it is between the 7th and 14th parallels of north latitude, is, of course, tropical, but the prevalence of the "Hamattan" wind, which blows from the north-east for half the year or more, modifies the temperature in a very marked and even extraordinary degree. This wind, coming from the dry desert of the Sahara, is singularly devoid of moisture, and the evaporation produced when it meets the moist air of the Niger valley, and even in the plains to the north, results in a great fall of temperature. In the extreme case where the wind, without having absorbed any moisture, meets the mists and vapours of Lake Chad, I believe that the temperature falls below freezing point. Generally speaking, throughout Northern Nigeria the nights are cold for the greater part of the year. During the rainy season, July to November, the atmosphere is laden with moisture, and a "damp heat" results. For the rest of the year, the "Hamattan," and the total absence of rain render the air extraordinarily dry. The climate of Northern Nigeria is probably far more healthy than that of the Coast, to the climate of which it only approximates in the close vicinity of the river. The highlands of Bautshi enjoy a charming climate, and throughout the greater part of the country the climate is not, I think, exceptionally trying. The health of Europeans in the centres of Lokoja and Zungeru has been improved in a very marked degree by the better housing, the sanitation, and the better means of living, which have been introduced in the last year or two.

142. METEOROLOGICAL.

Jebba.

Month.	Highest Temperature in the Shade.	Lowest Temperature in the Shade.	Mean Temperature in the Shade.	Diurnal Variation.	Niger: Rise and Fall.	Rainfall.
	°F.	°F.	°F.	°F.	Ft. in.	In.
January	96	60	76·9	34	+ 2	—
February	99	72	—	24	+ 2	0·10
March	96	—	—	—	+ 1½	0·60
April	102	—	—	—	— 7	0·6
May	No Returns.				— 2 0	—
June					— 2 1	—
July	—	—	—	—	+ 1 1½	—
August	—	—	—	—	—	—
September	—	—	—	—	—	7·69
October	—	—	—	—	—	—
November	97	59	80·1	36	—	4·19
December	97	60	78	37	—	—

Lokoja.

Month.	Highest Temperature in the Shade.	Lowest Temperature in the Shade.	Mean Temperature in the Shade.	Diurnal Variation.	Rainfall.	Niger: Rise and Fall.
	° F.	° F.	° F.	° F.	In.	Ft. in.
January	92	60	75·5	30	—	—
February	98	68	83·5	26	0·41	—
March	98	70	—	24	3·16	—
April	98	70	—	26	5·54	+ 1
May	101	68	—	28	12	— 1
June	102	68	—	26	*—	— 2 8
July	92	72	80·99	18	6·92	+ 5 11
August	89	70	79	16	4·51	+ 5 2
September	96	58	76·6	35	*—	+ 4 0½
October	94	60	76·04	30	2·65	— 2 8
November			No Returns.			— 11 1½
December	94	51	74·6	38	—	— 2 0

* Total rainfall not reported; greatest in one day 2·40 ins. and 2·80 ins. In September rain fell on 15 days.

Zaria.

Month.	Highest Temperature in the Shade.	Lowest Temperature in the Shade.	Mean Temperature in the Shade.	Diurnal Variation.	Rainfall.
	° F.	° F.	° F.	° F.	In.
January	—	—	—	—	—
February	—	—	—	—	—
March	—	—	—	—	—
April	—	—	—	—	—
May	—	—	—	—	—
June	—	—	—	—	—
July	—	—	—	—	—
August	86	62	74	21	8·18*
September	92	65	76·6	27	6·31
October	98	63	78·69	30	2·65
November	96	57	79	38	—
December	94	51	71·6	28	—

* In Ghirko, near Zaria, the rainfall for August was 15·93 ins. and for September was 13·85 ins.

EUROPEANS.

143. The number of Europeans in the service of the Government is made up as follows:—

—	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	1902-1903.
Civil	104	155	163
Military	200	163	157
Total	304	318	320
Should be in West Africa ...	202	212	214

These figures include the subordinates (British non-commissioned officers, Public Works Department artisans, male nurses, masters of river vessels, &c.). The average number of Europeans employed in Northern Nigeria by the Niger Company has been 20, and by Messrs. Holt, 1. In addition to these, occasional visits have been paid by the heads of these firms to their stations in the Protectorate. The average number of white missionaries has been:—Church Missionary Society, three or four; Toronto, 4. Several Europeans came to prospect; and the French Flotilla and the German Adamawa Expedition (*viâ* Lokoja and Yola) introduced others for varying periods.

PUBLIC WORKS.

144. Owing to the abnormal lowness of the river and the lateness of the annual rise, it was not until September that I was able to transfer the headquarters from Jebba to Zungeru. This was successfully accomplished without mishap, and for the first time since the administration was set up I was able to provide Public Offices for the Treasury, Secretariat and printing and Military Brigade office. Only three out of the five buildings designed for the purpose have as yet been built, but the increase of space and general improvement was an immense advance upon the makeshifts previously employed, when a bungalow with three twelve-feet-square rooms had to accommodate the European and native clerks and the records of the Treasury, a similar house serving as Secretariat, while my own office was the verandah of a similar hut which served as Government House. The new Government House is a comfortable building with an annexe which provides quarters for the Private Secretary, and offices. It

has been fitted with electric light by the adaptation of the search-light dynamo taken over from the Royal Niger Company. It was, as described in my last report, at the very end of 1901 (December 18th) that the section of light railway from the Kaduna at Wushishi to Zungeru was sufficiently completed to render it possible to move the building material thence to the new site. Under the capable and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Eaglesome, Director of Public Works, and his staff, who worked ceaselessly and with enthusiasm, sufficient houses were erected to render the move possible in September, though the lowness of the river delayed the arrival of necessary material and threw back the work.

145. At the present time the following works have been completed at Zungeru.

1. Three Public Offices of masonry, begun in 1901 by Captain Molesworth.

2. A bridge over the Dago, 200 feet long, with masonry piers 25 feet high, and three bridges over ravines entering it.

3. Three miles of roadway which still require metalling.

4. Government House and annexe with power house for dynamo, servants' quarters, cook-house, stables, &c.

5. A large and excellent hospital with mortuary, &c.

6. Quarters for nursing sisters; one large house, with cook-house.

7. Quarters for male subordinates; one house, with cook-house.

8. Quarters for doctors; one house, with cookhouse.

9. Native hospital and native clerks' hospital.

10. A gaol, consisting of an enclosure 2,000 square yards in area, surrounded by a masonry wall 12 feet to 16½ feet in height. The interior buildings are not yet made, and temporary shedding is used for the protection of the prisoners. The prison staff is also not yet housed. These buildings will be undertaken in the current year. The gaol will hold 200 prisoners.

11. Barracks for police and soldiers will be undertaken in the current year. One armoury, one temporary orderly room, two quarter-master's stores, one transport officer's store, have been erected. Armourer's shop and guard room require completion.

12. An officers' mess, consisting of one four-roomed bungalow, cook-house, &c.

13. Eight two-roomed dwelling houses, accommodating 15 officers, viz., two in each (except the one allocated to the officer commanding battalion), cookhouse and stables.

14. Quarters for civil officers. 3 four-roomed and 6 three-roomed houses with cookhouses.

15. Slaves Home. One masonry building in hand. Another to be built with quarters for matron and lady superintendent.

16. Three storehouses. Gunpark, gun store, and two magazines.

17. One non-commissioned officers' bungalow; a second to be built this year.

18. One civil subordinates' bungalow; a second to be built this year.

19. The large number of native clerks, artisans, &c., occupy temporary buildings at present, but the native quarter has been laid out and the construction of suitable houses will be undertaken this year. A good deal remains also to be done to finally complete the buildings named in some minor details.

20. In addition to the above, the fencing around the compounds of the houses is now being pushed forward. Till this is done the waste land between buildings has to be kept in a sanitary state at the public expense, and it is therefore an urgent matter.

21. The light railway has been extended for 10 miles to Bari-juko, above which point the navigation of the Kaduna to Wushishi is extremely precarious and difficult. Necessary railway buildings have still to be made and the new section has to be ballasted. The original twelve miles from Wushishi to Zungeru have been greatly improved by ballasting and straightening, and the completion of the bridges, &c.

146. Two bungalows raised on 10 feet piles, each with five large rooms, have been erected as rest-houses for first and second class passengers at Burutu, and a new wharf has been begun.

147. At Lokoja the wharf has been practically completed. A masonry bridge over the stream which runs through cantonments has been made. Two others are still required. Two public offices for Marine Department, Public Works Department, and Store and Issue Department (which have their headquarters at Lokoja) are completed, as also a large and satisfactory post and telegraph office, all of masonry. Four additional three-roomed houses for Civil Staff have been put up,

and one three-roomed and one two-roomed bungalow for military officers. Three more two-roomed houses are now in hand. A large masonry mess-house is in course of completion. Houses for British non-commissioned officers, to replace the old huts, have still to be made, and the officers houses, gun-park, artillery gun store and office, artillery guard-room, armoury, quarters for native prison staff, two store sheds, a small Freed Slaves Home for children *en route* to Zungeru, and various minor works with their outhouses to be completed. One block of the regimental barracks out of twelve is completed. The police barracks are not yet built. A great improvement has been effected in the sanitation and cleanliness of the place; drains have been dug and roads made in every direction, but much still remains to be done. The gaol, accommodating 75 prisoners, and the magazine are completed. In both cantonments a large area of ground is unavoidably included which is not suitable for building. I propose to convert some of this into public gardens and so to prevent its becoming an insanitary and unsightly piece of jungle. Four of the new type of clerks' houses have been erected, and additional ones are in course of construction. The mile of mono-rail which has been in use has proved invaluable in saving labour, especially in carrying bricks, &c. The dwelling-houses are wooden bungalows raised on iron or masonry supports.

148. Speaking generally, I may say that although some few more houses are required, and military and police barracks, together with a great number of houses for clerks, artisans, prison staff, &c., remain to be erected, the housing of Europeans and the office and store accommodation at both centres are now fairly adequate and satisfactory. There remains the large question of the accommodation and works required at out-stations, viz., at each provincial headquarters, together with the headquarters buildings for the new Mounted Infantry Battalion. In most provinces there will be two political and one police and one revenue officer, with probably two military officers and one or more non-commissioned officers, for whom dwelling-houses must be provided, together with a strong room for treasure and ammunition, a court-house and office, a guard-room or temporary gaol, and the necessary minor buildings, clerks houses, cook-houses, stables, &c. At present the greatest difficulty prevails as to lock-ups at out-stations. Many prisoners awaiting trial, or convicted of murder, whose arrest had been effected with much trouble, have escaped. At Illorin the Resident had to resort to confining his prisoners in the native gaol—an extremely unsatisfactory method—with the result that one died, three fell ill with small-pox, and the remainder escaped. I propose in the coming year to make a beginning in this direction, and I intend that at all

the stations distant from the river these buildings should be of brick locally made in order to save the prohibitive cost of transport of material; the doors, windows, roofing, and minor fittings and furniture being alone transported up-country. During the ensuing year provision has been made to begin brick-making for these works, which will be constructed on the most strictly economical lines. On their completion the staff of the Protectorate will for the first time be housed in something better than native huts, and no doubt health and efficiency will be correspondingly increased, as it has been to a notable extent in Lokoja and Zungeru. Zungeru has proved to be admirably situated for the capital. The health of Europeans and natives alike has been much better than at Jebba, and the new large hospital has on some occasions for quite long periods contained not a single patient.

149. On the whole very satisfactory progress has been made in public works. This is due to the ability and untiring energy of Mr. Eaglesome, and the money provided has, by the study of economy in each detail, and by thorough and constant supervision, been made to go a very long way, as the list of works I have enumerated testifies. We are now able to turn our attention outside the centres of Lokoja and Zungeru and to commence the necessary buildings at out-stations, and begin the construction of roads which will cheapen transport and promote trade.

TELEGRAPHS.

150. During the year and up to date (May, 1903) the following extensions of the telegraph system have been completed:—

1. The line from Lokoja to Ibi and Yola has been carried from Loko to Keffi, and thence as far as Lafia (total 140 miles). I hope that this line will be completed to the Benue shortly, but the cutting has been extremely heavy.

2. The line from Zungeru to Zaria was only begun on February 15th, and has been carried to Kagera (34 miles), whence a branch line will be made to Kontagora. The main line to Zaria has reached Wusheba (42 miles) and construction is being pushed forward. Material for this line can be got as far as Zungeru by water and rail, thence to Zaria is 170 miles, so that about 3,700 poles, weighing 100 lbs. each, have to be carried an average distance of 85 miles, viz., including wire, &c., about 220 tons (one and a quarter tons per mile). In my last report I expressed the hope that the Benue line would be completed to Azara or Ibi, and the northern line to Zaria in 1902, and it will be seen that these hopes have not been fulfilled. The chief reason has been the want of foremen for construction, and the great strain on the river transport consequent on the late

rise of the river and the move to Zungeru. The Niger Company, who had promised assistance, could not carry the amount expected, and the northern line has, therefore, been greatly delayed. The same causes delayed the completion of the small extension of the railway, and so again delayed the transport of the telegraph material beyond Barijuko. The greater part, however, has now been brought up, and construction will proceed rapidly. The Benue line has been delayed through like causes, and the cutting and clearing on that line has (as I have said) been exceedingly heavy. I hope, however, during the current year to complete the northern line to Zaria and possibly to Kano, and the branch line to Kontagora, and to carry the Benue line to Gassol, the headquarters of the Muri province. I am exceedingly glad to hear that the line from Forcados to Lagos (constructed by the Southern Nigeria and Lagos Governments) is approaching completion. This will place Burutu in telegraphic communication with Zungeru, and the boon to Northern Nigeria will be immense. The total mileage of telegraphs in the Protectorate is as follows:—

Illorin-Lokoja ...	...	275 (partly wooden poles).
Lokoja-Lafia ...	...	245
Pataji-Zungeru ...	...	95
Zungeru-Wusheba	...	42
Total ...	...	657, of which 187 is new.

West African Frontier Force.

151. The Northern Nigeria regiment of the force, under the able command of Colonel Morland, D.S.O., has well maintained its efficiency and reputation. The troops forming the garrisons of Lokoja and Zungeru (headquarters) were inspected towards the close of the year 1902 by the Inspector-General, who reports as follows:—"The zealous spirit that I have everywhere remarked in the Regiment, and its satisfactory state of efficiency are creditable to all ranks, and an assurance that the Corps will do as good service in the future as it has done in the past."

Important Operations.—(1) Aro.

152. The troops under Lieutenant-Colonel Festing, D.S.O., which formed part of the Aro Expedition, returned in April, 1902, and Sir Ralph Moor expressed to me his appreciation of the services they rendered; they participated in some 14 actions. For their services in this campaign the troops received the medal, and the following officers were rewarded:—Lieutenant-Colonel Festing, D.S.O. (in command), received a C.M.G., Captains Rose and Mayne the D.S.O., and Sergeant-Major Jordan a D.C.M.

(2.)—Bornu.

153. The Bornu expedition has already been described.

(3.)—Kano and Sokoto.

154. The success of the expedition to Kano, and the capture of that town by Colonel Morland, were the subject of mention in the King's speech at the opening of Parliament on February 17th, 1903. These operations and those against Sokoto have already been described at length. They commenced on January 29th, 1903, when Colonel Morland advanced from Zaria, and terminated on March 20th (seven weeks in all), after the capture of Sokoto, when the force broke up and returned by different routes. The important engagements were (1) the taking of Babeji, (2) of Kano, (3) of Sokoto, and (4) the actions of Captain Porter and Captain Wright with the Kano army near Rawia. The hardships due to cold, lack of water, and the Hamattan wind, were great, and resulted in the death of many native soldiers and carriers.

Minor Actions.

155. The capture of the ex-Emir of Kontagora (for which the D.S.O. was awarded to Major Dickinson): the reduction of the Shiri and Ningi tribes in Bautshi, and of the Gurkawa, Bassema, Yergums, and Wurkums on the Benue: the capture of Abuja: a small expedition in the north-east of the Nupe province: and the operations of Captain Merrick near Argungu: with other minor occasions on which troops were employed to enforce an arrest or restore quiet: have, together with the more important campaigns first mentioned, afforded work for the force, which has in every case been carried out with complete success, and with humanity and avoidance of unnecessary bloodshed or destruction of property. The returns of the forces engaged and the casualties are as follows:—

156.—Summary.

Name of Expedition.	Commander.	Date.	Strength of Force.						Casualties.				Remarks.
			Officers.	British N.C.Os.	Rank and File.	Guns.	Maxims.	Detons	—	Officers.	British N.C.Os.	Rank and File.	
Aro Expedition in Southern Nigeria.	Lieut.-Col. Festing, D.S.O.	Oct., 1901–April, 1902.	9	4	300	1	2	1	Killed ...	—	—	5	
									Wounded.	1	1	17	
Bornu-Bautshi	Col. Morland, D.S.O.	February–April	13	5	515	2	4	3	Wounded.	—	—	2	Mr. Wallace, C.M.G., as Political Officer as far as Bautshi.
Yergum Tribe	Lieut.-Col. Beddoes	February ...	2	1	7[illegible]	—	1	1	Killed ...	—	—	1	
Bassema-Wurkum ...	Major Cubitt ...	March-May ...	7	1	130	2	2	1	Killed ...	—	—	1	
									Wounded.	1	—	1	
Kontagora	Major Dickinson ...	February ...	4	1	135*	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	*37 Mounted Infantry.
Shire Tribe	Capt. Monck-Mason	May	1	—	60	—	1	—	Wounded.	—	—	1	
Ningi Tribe	Capt. Monck-Mason	July	1	—	80	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Abuja	Lieut.-Col. Beddoes	July	6	4	218	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	Much sickness.
Lefu in Nupe...	Capt. Bridgman ...	October	1	1	50	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	
Kano and Sokoto ...	Brig.-Gen. Kemball, D.S.O. Col. Morland, D.S.O.	Jan.–March, 1903	24	12	722†	4	4	2	Killed*	—	—	53	* Including disease.
									Wounded.	3	—	18	Major Burdon and Capt. Abadie as Political Officers.
Argungu	Capt. Merrick ...	Aug. 1902–Jan., 1903.	6	2	250	1	2	2	Wounded.	—	—	2	

† Reinforced before action at Sokoto by 250 Rank and File under Captain Merrick.

157. Since the close of the South African War there has been no difficulty in getting officers for the Force. There are now a very large number of applicants for every vacancy. Recruits were obtained in sufficient numbers to keep the force up to strength, and were of good physique on the whole. Latterly, about 60 a month have been obtained. The occupation of the northern provinces should greatly increase our facilities for recruiting. Discipline was well maintained on the whole, but a comparison of the serious offences with previous years shows some increase. There were 16 Courts Martial during the year: 2 General, 4 District, 2 Regimental, and 8 Field General, for offences of a military nature. Only 12 cases of assault on natives were dealt with by military officers, but a number of cases have been dealt with by the Civil Courts. The amount of crime at headquarters has not been great, but there have been several serious cases of forcible appropriation of goods by soldiers in the districts, accompanied by assaults, and in one or two cases by murder. These have been very severely dealt with. The number of out-stations in December amounted to 19; practically three-quarters of the infantry of the force are on detachment. The average number of privates at headquarters of battalions throughout the year was, Jebba or Zungeru, 298; Lokoja, 272. The Commandant expresses the view that to maintain the efficiency of the force four companies of each battalion should be at headquarters, and that companies on detachment should be kept together as much as possible. The increase of the police will tend to the accomplishment of these objects.

158. Mounted troops are very necessary, now that we occupy a greater part of the Hausa States, and the Commandant fully concurs with me in the view that the additional battalion to be raised next year should consist of mounted infantry. The value of this arm was conclusively proved in the Kano operations. So long as our garrisons were confined to the banks of the Niger it was not found possible to maintain the mounted infantry establishment which formed part of my original organisation of the Force, for practically the whole of the horses died in the rainy season. In the northern states, however, they thrive well, and their mobility makes a small number equivalent in value to a large infantry garrison.

159. There were 31 desertions during the year, which is a very small percentage, but there has not been so general a desire on the part of time-expired men to re-engage. There were about 300 men discharged (time-expired) during the year, and some 400 more after the Kano operations were completed.

160. Since its birth in 1898 portions of the Force have been constantly and continuously employed on active service, and

its men have taken part in probably a larger number of expeditions during this period than any other force of a similar nature. Many of the men are now veterans. In peace time musketry training is put before everything, and the necessity for their devoting their utmost attention to it is impressed upon all officers, while the Commandant endeavours to select the best shooting companies for active service in order to encourage and reward proficiency with the rifle.

The new dwelling houses and mess at Zungeru have added very greatly to the comfort of the officers and non-commissioned officers, and the similar buildings now in progress at Lokoja will effect the same great improvement for the garrison there. The new barracks for the rank and file will be much appreciated by the troops, and will greatly tend to sanitation and the exclusion of undesirable camp followers. The new orderly rooms and the new rifle ranges and other minor works were much required.

POLICE.

161. During 1902 the Police were increased from 100 to 150, and in the coming year they will be further considerably increased and organised as a Constabulary. Hitherto the six or eight constables attached to Provinces have been almost useless as police, and have been employed as couriers, &c. With the increased establishment I shall be able to have a small and effective force of about 50 men under a European "District Superintendent" in each Province, and thus to relieve the troops of many duties which interfere with their training. Much has been done to check the prevalence of theft in cantonments. The head of the Department reports that during the year 113 criminal cases have been investigated by the Police as follows:—Larceny, 41; Extortion, 4; Forgery, 3; Burglary, 10; Enslaving, 15; Liquor, 13; Other Offences, 27. 124 persons were arrested in respect of these 113 cases, of whom 109 were convicted and sentenced as follows:—

1 year and upwards	16
6 months and upwards	43
Under 6 months	50

These do not include the Provincial Court convictions throughout the Protectorate, since there have been no Police except at cantonments.

The registration of servants instituted this year has proved a success. 186 are now on the register. Hitherto there has been a continual import into Northern Nigeria of the thieves and riff-raff of the coast, who engage as servants to officials on their way to Nigeria.

PRISONS.

162. The following is the abstract of prison returns forwarded by the Keeper of the Gaol, which are not, however, at present very reliable:—

I.—ADMISSIONS TO GAOL.

—	1901.	1902.
Convicted by Supreme Court	41	44
" " Provincial Courts...	786	362
" " Cantonment Courts	95	91
Total admitted	922	497
Number executed	3	3
Number escaped and not recaptured	18	14

II.—NATURE OF CRIME.

—	1901.	1902.
Murder	34	17
Assault	2	7
Highway robbery (with violence)	41	105
Theft	435	56
Extortion	39	36
Personation	26	21
Police offences	4	205
Political	34	—
High treason	—	5
Enslaving	—	46
Housebreaking	—	3
Rape	—	1
Forgery	—	4
Perjury	—	6
Breach of trust	—	4
Neglect of Government property	—	7
Debt	—	35
Contempt of Court	—	4
Manslaughter	—	1
Total	615	563

VESSELS.

163. The new passenger and cargo boat "Sarota" has been placed on the river. She is a stern-wheeler (two wheels), 4 feet 8 inches draught, and is 135 feet long and 25½ feet beam. She has cabin accommodation for six first-class and two second-class passengers (and can carry many in addition), with about 150 tons cargo, and is provided with a refrigerator and with electric light. Her arrival has enabled me to place the "Empire" on the slip for repairs, which should have been done a year or even two years ago. The hull of the small launch "Bendé" (which in my

last report I said had been condemned), has been fitted up as a hulk for the condenser at Lokoja. The "Heron" has been dismantled, and her hull is used as a barge, and I propose to use her condenser at Zungeru. The vessels now in commission are the "Sarota" and "Empire" (under repair), the stern-wheel launches "Karonga" and "Kampala" (a third of this class, the "Kapelli," will be completed next year), the old launch "Zaria," which has been refitted, and the old steam pinnace "Francis." In addition there are now two steam canoes which appear likely to prove a great success; and nine poling canoes (steel). A new and comfortable boat (to be named the "Corona," in commemoration of His Majesty's coronation) is being built for the High Commissioner's use, and should be ready during the coming year. The Niger Company have now completed a slip-way at Burutu 432 feet long and capable of taking vessels of 500 tons. This enterprising undertaking has already been of great use to the Government.

Post Office.

164. There is a fortnightly despatch of mails from Lokoja, to every station in the Protectorate, and a weekly delivery to Zungeru and stations *en route*. The various routes with approximate distances are as follows:—

By Land.	Miles.	By Water	Miles.
Egga to Zungeru	81	Burutu to Lokoja	305
Zungeru to Sokoto (*via* Kontagora, Yelwa and Illo).	370	Lokoja to Egga	95
		Egga to Mureji	50
Zungeru to Kano (*via* Zaria)	250	Lokoja to Yola	550
Zaria to Maidugeri (*via* Bautshi and Gujba).	470		
Pateji (Mureji) to Illorin (*via* Jebba).	122		
Jebba to Yashikera (*via* Kiama).	110		
Lokoja to Kabba	43		
Mozum to Dekuia	20		
Loko to Keffi	57		
Total	1,523	Total	1,000

——	1900-1901.	1901-1902.	Increase.
	£	£	£
Total cost of postal and telegraph service.	5,530	5,726	196
Revenue derived	641	1,283	642

The great increase in revenue (£783 in excess of the estimate) was due chiefly to the large orders for stamps given by collectors, which will probably not be maintained. The cost of the postal service of course has been very greatly increased during 1902 by the inclusion of the new and distant Provinces. I have recently drawn up full postal regulations, with the assistance of Mr. Somerville, and planned as effective a scheme of postal delivery as is possible with the means at command. The General Post Office is at Lokoja, with a branch at Zungeru. The headquarters station of each Province is a sub-postal station, and the Resident is the Postal Officer.

Cables.

165. The high rate for telegrams to England (6*s*. 3*d*. per word) still remains in force. The total amount paid to the Eastern Telegraph Company by the Government of Northern Nigeria in the financial year 1901-02 was £1,262.

Banks.

166. No new developments have to be reported. The Anglo-African Bank at Lokoja has made no extensions and no others have been established.

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APPENDIX I.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH SULTAN OF SOKOTO.

(*See paragraph* 35.)

1.

PROCLAMATION.

(*See paragraph* 33.)

Be it known to all men, that by the order of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, the Administration of the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, hitherto known as the Niger Territories, situated between the possessions of France to the West and North, and of Germany to the East and bounded on the South by the Protectorates of Lagos and Southern Nigeria, will cease from this day to be vested in the Royal Niger Company Chartered and Limited and is hereby assumed by Her Majesty. And be it known further to all men that the treaties concluded by the Royal Niger Company by and with the sanction of Her Majesty and approved by Her Majesty's Secretary of State will be and remain operative and in force as between Her Majesty and the Kings, Emirs, Chiefs, Princes, or other signatories to the same, and all pledges and undertakings therein contained will remain mutually binding on both parties, and all rights, titles, and interests, of whatsoever nature, acquired by virtue of the aforesaid treaties will be vested in Her Majesty, and all obligations thereunder undertaken by the Royal Niger Company will henceforth be undertaken by Her Majesty. And be it known further to all men that Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint as High Commissioner for the said Protectorate, Colonel Frederick John Dealtry Lugard, Companion of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Companion of the Distinguished Service Order. And that the said Frederick John Dealtry Lugard has this day taken the requisite oath of Office and assumed the Administration of the said Protectorate. In virtue whereof he has made this Proclamation, whereto his signature and seal are appended, this first day of January one thousand nine hundred.

1st January, 1900. (Signed) F. D. LUGARD.

2.

LETTER from HIGH COMMISSIONER to Sultan of SOKOTO, *re* Kontagora.

In the name of the Most Merciful God. Peace be to the Generous Prophet.

Salutations, peace, and numberless honours.

To the Emir of Mussulmans in Sokoto, whose name is Abdul-Lahai, the son of the late Emir of Mussulmans, whose name is Atiku.

I desire to inform you who are head of the Mohammedans and to whom the Fulani rulers in this country look for advice and guidance that the Emirs of Bida and Kontagora have during many years acted as oppressors of the people and shewn themselves unfit to rule. More especially in these latter days they have raided the towns and villages in the districts close to their own cities, and have depopulated vast areas so that the fields are lying uncultivated and the people are destroyed or fled. Moreover they have gratuitously attacked my men when proceeding with mails or canoes, and

have seized the mails, and stolen and destroyed goods in the canoes. I have therefore found it necessary to depose both these Emirs, and to place troops near their respective cities, to keep the peace and protect the people.

In the case of the Emir of Bida, I have made the Makum Emir instead of Abu-Bakri, which proves to you that I have no hostility to the Fulanis or to your religion, provided only that the Emir of a country rules justly and without oppression. In the case of Kontagora, many evil people tried to burn the town. It may have been the slaves who had been ill-treated by their masters or it may have been the carriers with my troops. But through all the night the Commander of the Force made the soldiers and carriers extinguish the flames, so that the town has not suffered.

I desire that the people shall return and live in peace under a just ruler, and I write to you to appoint a man who will rule justly, and if he does so I will support him and uphold his power; send him to me with a letter and I will install him as Emir of Kontagora with pomp and honour. But warn him that if he acts treacherously and with deceit, he will share the fate of Kontagora the Gwamachi.

With peace from your friend Governor Lugard.

(Signed) F. D. LUGARD.

March 18th 1901.

3.

LETTER from HIGH COMMISSIONER to the Sultan of SOKOTO, *re* Bautshi.

(Titles, Salutations from the Governor, &c.)

I have heard that you sent a letter to the Emir of Bautshi warning him to desist from oppressing his people, but he does not obey your instructions nor listen to your words of wisdom. I have, therefore, been compelled to send my troops to compel him to act properly. I do not know whether he will oppose them and fight. If he does so, he will probably lose his place. But I do not wish to drive out the Fulani and the Mohammedans, I only wish that they shall rule wisely and with humanity. If, therefore, the Emir is driven out because he himself attacks my troops I shall endeavour to find his proper successor and shall install him as King if he is a man who will rule well. So also in the matter of Kontagora, I hear that he and Abubekr will not listen to the words of your messenger or desist from raiding the towns of Zaria. So Zaria has appealed to me for help, and I have sent troops to support him and to drive out these marauders.

Peace be with those who seek peace and trouble on those who make trouble.

Since I wrote this letter I have news that Ibrahim of Kontagora and all his people and following have been captured by my troops. I am restoring all the people to their places but Ibrahim and his chiefs will be sent to me to be judged.

(Signed) F. D. LUGARD.

(L.S.)

About March, 1902.

4.

TRANSLATION of ARABIC LETTER from SULTAN of SOKOTO to the HIGH COMMISSIONER.

Seal
undecipherable.

From us to you. I do not consent that any one from you should ever dwell with us. I will never agree with you. I will have nothing ever to do with you. Between us and you there are no dealings except as between Mussulmans and Unbelievers ("Kafiri") War, as God Almighty has enjoined on us. There is no power or strength save in God on high.

This with salutations.

(Received about May, 1902).

5.

TRANSLATION of ARABIC LETTER from SULTAN of SOKOTO to the HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Seal of)
Em r l'Muslimin.

In the name of God.

To Governor LUGARD.

I HAVE to inform you that we do not invite your administration in the Province of Bautshi and if you have interfered we do not want support from any one except from God. You have your religion and we have ours. We seek help from God, the Best Supporter, and there is no power except in him, the Mighty and Exalted.

Peace.

(Received about June, 1902).

6.

LETTER from Colonel T. L. N. MORLAND to the SULTAN of SOKOTO.

In the name of God. Blessing and peace on the Prophet the exalted.

From Colonel Morland the representative of the High Commissioner (Governor Lugard) salutations, peace, contentment and increasing honour to the Prince of the Believers Attahiru Emir El Muslimin. After salutations know that the cause of our fighting with Aliu is that Aliu received with honour Magaji, the murderer of a white man, when he came to Kano, and that he also sought war between us. For those two reasons we fought him and are now sitting in his house.

We are coming to Sokoto and from this time and for ever a white man and soldiers will sit down in the Sokoto country. We have prepared for war because Abdu Sarikin Muslimin said there was nothing between us but war. But we do not want war unless you yourself seek war. If you receive us in peace, we will not enter your house, we will not harm you or any of your people.

If you desire to become our friend you must not receive the Magaji. More, we desire you to seek him with your utmost endeavour and place him in our hands.

If you are loyal to us, you will remain in your position as Sarikin Muslimin, fear not.

If you desire to be loyal to us, it is advisable for you that you should send your big messenger to meet us at Kaura (or on whatever road we follow). Then he will return to you with all our words.

My present to you is five pieces of brocade.

(Signed) T. L. N. MORLAND.

February, 1903.

7.

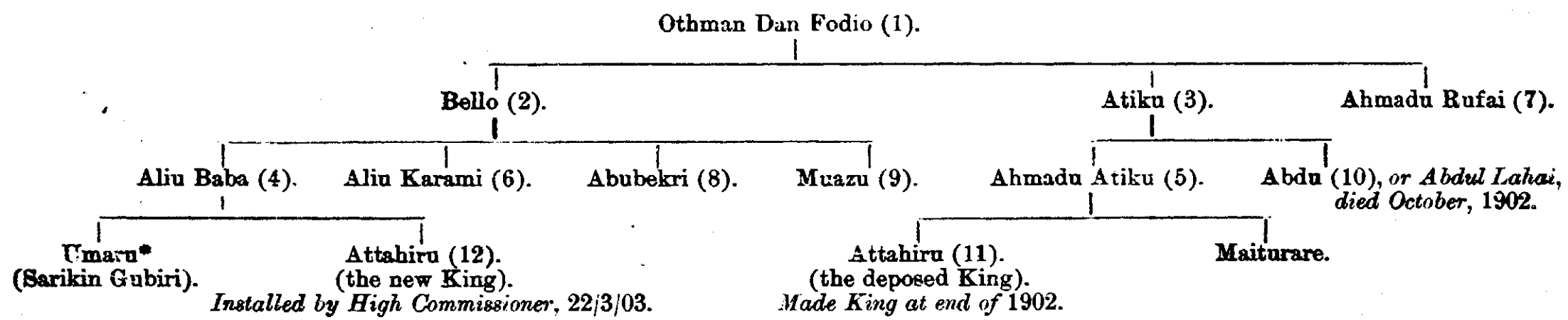
TRANSLATION of ARABIC LETTER from SULTAN OF SOKOTO to Colonel T. L. N. MORLAND.

From us to Colonel Morland. All salutations to you. Know that I have seen your messenger with your letter, the purport of which I understand, I have sent to call in my councillors from every district, but now that I see they are taking some time to assemble, I am sending you back your messenger. When we have assembled and have agreed on our decision I will write to you what is enjoined on me by them for the settlement of this affair. Salutations.

APPENDIX II.

(*See paragraph* 58.)

GENEALOGY OF THE SULTANS OF SOKOTO, SHOWING THE LINEAGE OF THE LAST AND PRESENT SULTANS.



The above only shows those descendants of Othman who became Sarikin Muslimin (Sultan of Moslems) (except in two cases of present importance). The numbers after the names give the order of succession.

I cannot be absolutely certain of the correctness of the above.

A. B.

---

* *Umaru was the man first selected; he is doubtless the proper heir, but is old and has lost an eye, and Attahiru* (12) *is the next heir. Umaru had been already passed over when Attahiru had been first elected. Attahiru* (11), *the deposed Sultan was not the heir so long as a representative of the elder branch survived.*

F. D. L.

APPENDIX III.

(*See paragraph* 59.)

First Address by the High Commissioner to the Waziri and Headmen of Sokoto, March 20th, 1903.

Present :—Waziri, Galadima, Umaru Sarikin* Gobiri, Marafa or Maiturare, Sarikin Burmi, Sarikin Sanfara, Sarikin Kebbi.

"I am very glad to see you, very glad that you have come back. You "made war on us ; we beat you and drove you away ; now the war is over "and it is peace. It is not our custom to catch the people who fight us or "kill them ; therefore all those who have run away must come back to their "houses.

"There will be no interference with your religion nor with the position "of the Sarikin Muslimin as head of your religion. The English Govern- "ment never interferes with religion ; taxes, law and order, punishment of "crime, these are matters for the Government, but not religion.

"I have come to you now that the fighting is over to settle your country "so that all can settle down in peace. But that can't happen till there is a "Sarikin Muslimin ; therefore it is necessary at once either to find and "reinstate Attahiru or to appoint a new Sarikin Muslimin. I want you to "talk it over and let me know this evening what you think ; whether "Attahiru will come back or whether it is best to appoint some one else, "and if so whom."

The Marafa then asked leave for the headmen to go out and discuss and settle the matter at once. Permission granted. After an interval a message was sent in to say that the whole council was of opinion that Umaru Sarikin Gobiri should be appointed Sarikin Muslimin, and that they were all ready to follow and obey him.†

On the council's return the High Commissioner continued :—

"I have heard your answer. I see that Umaru is the eldest son of Aliu "and apparently the rightful heir. I should like to think it over to-day "and see you all in camp to-morrow morning. Then I will explain to you "all matters connected with our rule and the conditions of appointment for "the Sarikin. If things are all right, if you all agree to the conditions, the "day after to-morrow I will instal the Sarikin. I want you to send out to- "day for all the remaining headmen and people, so that all men may hear "my words and be present at the installation." (At this point there were complaints about the returning fugitives being looted on approaching Sokoto by soldiers and labourers, and complaints about the slaves, especially slave women and concubines, being harboured in camp. Reassurance and promise of protection were given in both cases.)

"You must send messengers to tell Attahiru to return. The Council has "elected the Sarikin Gobiri to be Sarikin Muslimin, so Attahiru cannot "return to the kingship. But he must go back to his town (Chimola), and "there he may live in peace.

---

* Sarikin=king of.

† Later when Attahiru (the present Sultan, not the ex-Sultan of same name) came to salute me the elders reversed their choice and begged for him as Sultan. I would not agree until they had fully thought it over and discussed it. They retired again for the purpose and came back unanimous, and I therefore agreed.

"But Dan Tanmusa, the Magaji of Keffi, must be caught. If Attahiru "keeps him with him after this, or if he takes him back with him to his "town, he will be arrested himself. From to-day anyone who harbours or "entertains the Magaji will be treated the same as the Magaji himself."

The Waziri here said that the Magaji's intended refuge was always Kano, not Sokoto. "He only came here in Alieu of Kano's suit. He is not likely "to return here again."

The High Commissioner replied, "The Magaji will bring trouble on any "man who harbours him, but there will be a reward of 50 bags of cowries "for anyone who catches him and gives him up."

N.B.—The above was taken down, as spoken in Hausa at the interview, by Major Burdon, Resident.

SECOND ADDRESS by SIR F. LUGARD, HIGH COMMISSIONER, to the SULTAN, WAZIRI and ELDERS of SOKOTO, regarding the CONDITIONS of BRITISH RULE, REASONS for the WAR, &c., MARCH 21st, 1903.

Translated to them by Kiari, and checked, word by word, by Major Burdon, Resident, Sokoto (Hausa Scholar), and others.

Present:—SIR F. LUGARD, COLONEL MORLAND, D.S.O., Commandant, MAJOR BURDON, Resident, Lieut.-COLONEL MCCLINTOCK, Commanding Battalion, MAJOR CUBITT, R.A., Brigade Major, CAPTAIN ABADIE, Resident, Zaria, and others. Also the SULTAN elect, the WAZIRI, GALADEMA, MAITURARE, and other Elders of Sokoto.

"The Royal Niger Company made a Treaty with Sokoto many years ago. The Sultan promised friendship and alliance; the Company promised to pay a subsidy, and did so. Three years ago the King of England sent his own officers to administer this country instead of the Company and appointed me as Governor. I at once sent my trusted messenger, Kiari, to take my salutations to the Sultan of Sokoto, and to say that I held to the promises made by the Company, and I looked to the Sultan to fulfil his pledges. I brought money to pay the subsidy when it should fall due. But take note of what happened. My messenger was treated with indignity. It is he who is now interpreting. Ask him what happened and he will remind you. No answer was sent to my letter, which was an insult to me and to my King. Owing to the treaty the Sultan had made with the British the French could not touch his country. But the Sultan of Sokoto sent no friendly message. The Treaty was made in the name of all the Mahommedan Emirates under Sokoto, but they took arms against the British—Nupe, and Illorin, and Yola, and Kontagora, and Kano. But I did not wish to denounce the Treaty, and I sent to the Sultan to ask him to nominate an Emir for Kontagora, when Ibrahim fought against us and was driven out. Again he sent no reply, till a year ago I received this letter declaring war (*original letter shown to the Elders for identification*).

"So the Treaty was killed by you yourselves and not by me. Then the Magaji of Keffi murdered the Resident—a lame man without arms to defend himself—and he ran to Kano and the Emir Alieu received him with honour.

So we went to Kano and fought and drove out Alieu, and the Magaji ran to Sokoto and was treated with honour. Again I wished not to fight with the head of the Mussulmans and I sent a friendly letter, but I said that the Magaji must be given up, and that I wished to place a Resident and garrison at Sokoto. I came with troops, for though the Sultan had made a treaty of friendship it was well known that a white man could not come as a friend alone to Sokoto. My letter was put aside and the army of Sokoto came out to fight. We fought and your army was dispersed, and the Sultan fled and no one knows where he is gone. Now it is necessary for me to place a Resident and a garrison here, for this country is close to the country of the French and we are responsible for keeping peace and good order on our frontiers. The Resident is Major Burdon, who comes to you as an adviser and a friend. You will consult him on all matters and be guided by him.

"The old treaties are dead, you have killed them. Now these are the words which I, the High Commissioner, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times under Dan Fodio conquered this country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule which has come into the hands of the British. All these things which I have said the Fulani by conquest took the right to do now pass to the British. Every Sultan and Emir and the principal officers of State will be appointed by the High Commissioner throughout all this country. The High Commissioner will be guided by the usual laws of succession and the wishes of the people and chiefs, but will set them aside if he desires for good cause to do so. The Emirs and Chiefs who are appointed will rule over the people as of old time and take such taxes as are approved by the High Commissioner, but they will obey the laws of the Governor and will act in accordance with the advice of the Resident. Buying and selling slaves and enslaving people are forbidden. It is forbidden to import firearms (except flint-locks), and there are other minor matters which the Resident will explain. The Alkalis and the Emirs will hold the law courts as of old, but bribes are forbidden, and mutilation and confinement of men in inhuman prisons are not lawful. The powers of each Court will be contained in a warrant appointing it. Sentences of death will not be carried out without the consent of the Resident.

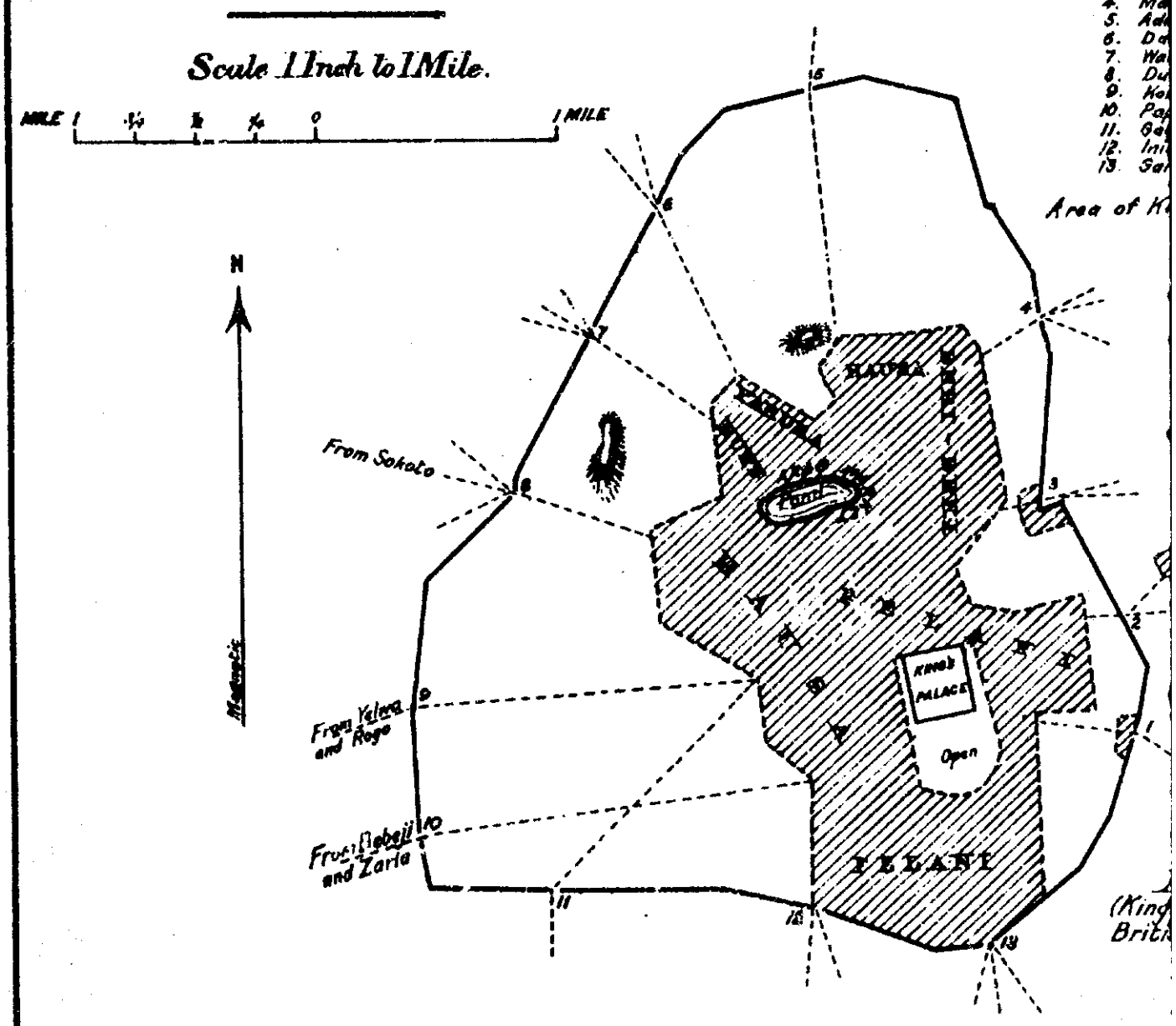
"The Government will, in future, hold the rights in land which the Fulani took by conquest from the people, and if Government requires land it will take it for any purpose. The Government hold the right of taxation, and will tell the Emirs and Chiefs what taxes they may levy, and what part of them must be paid to Government. The Government will have the right to all minerals, but the people may dig for iron and work in it subject to the approval of the High Commissioner, and may take salt and other minerals subject to any excise imposed by law. Traders will not be taxed by Chiefs, but only by Government. The coinage of the British will be accepted as legal tender, and a rate of exchange for cowries fixed, in consultation with Chiefs, and they will enforce it.

"When an Emirate, or an office of state, becomes vacant, it will only be filled with the consent of the High Commissioner, and the person chosen by the council of Chiefs and approved by the High Commissioner will hold his place only on condition that he obeys the laws of the Protectorate and the conditions of his appointment. Government will in no way interfere with the Mohammedan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please. Mosques and prayer places will be treated with respect by us. Every person, including slaves, has the right to appeal to the Resident, who will, however, endeavour to uphold the power of the native courts to deal with native cases according to the law and custom of the country. If slaves are ill-treated they will be set free as your Koran orders, otherwise Government does not desire to interfere with existing domestic relations. But slaves set free must be willing to work and not to remain idle or become

PLAN OF

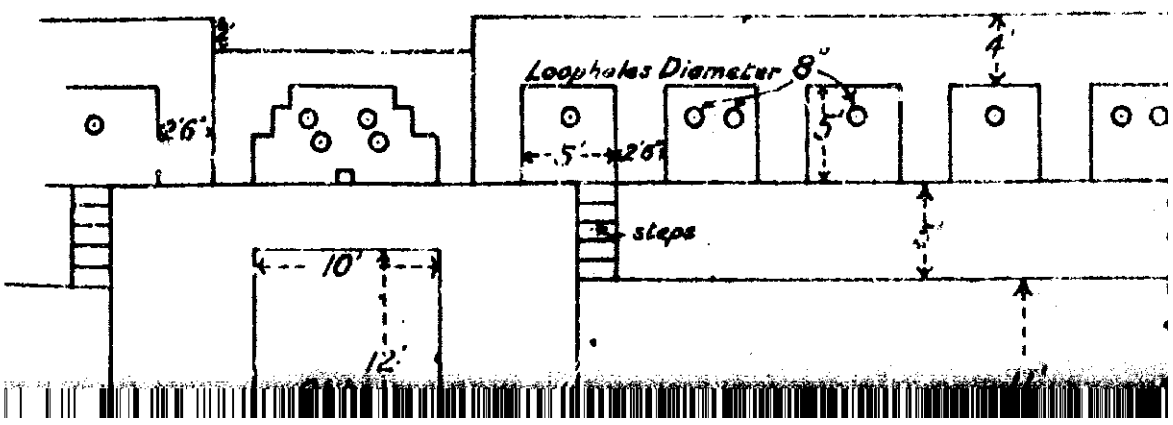
KANO CITY

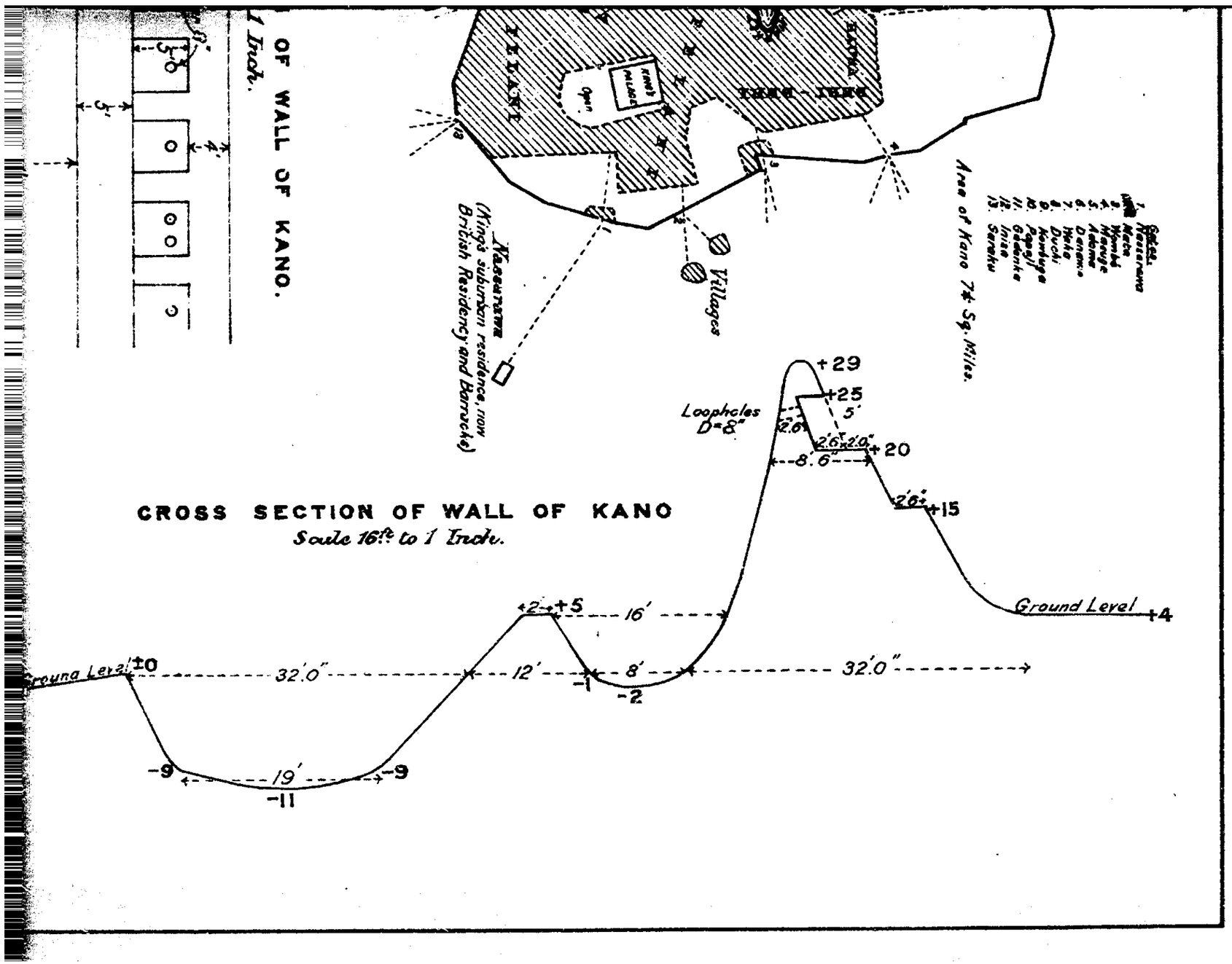
Scale 1 Inch to 1 Mile.

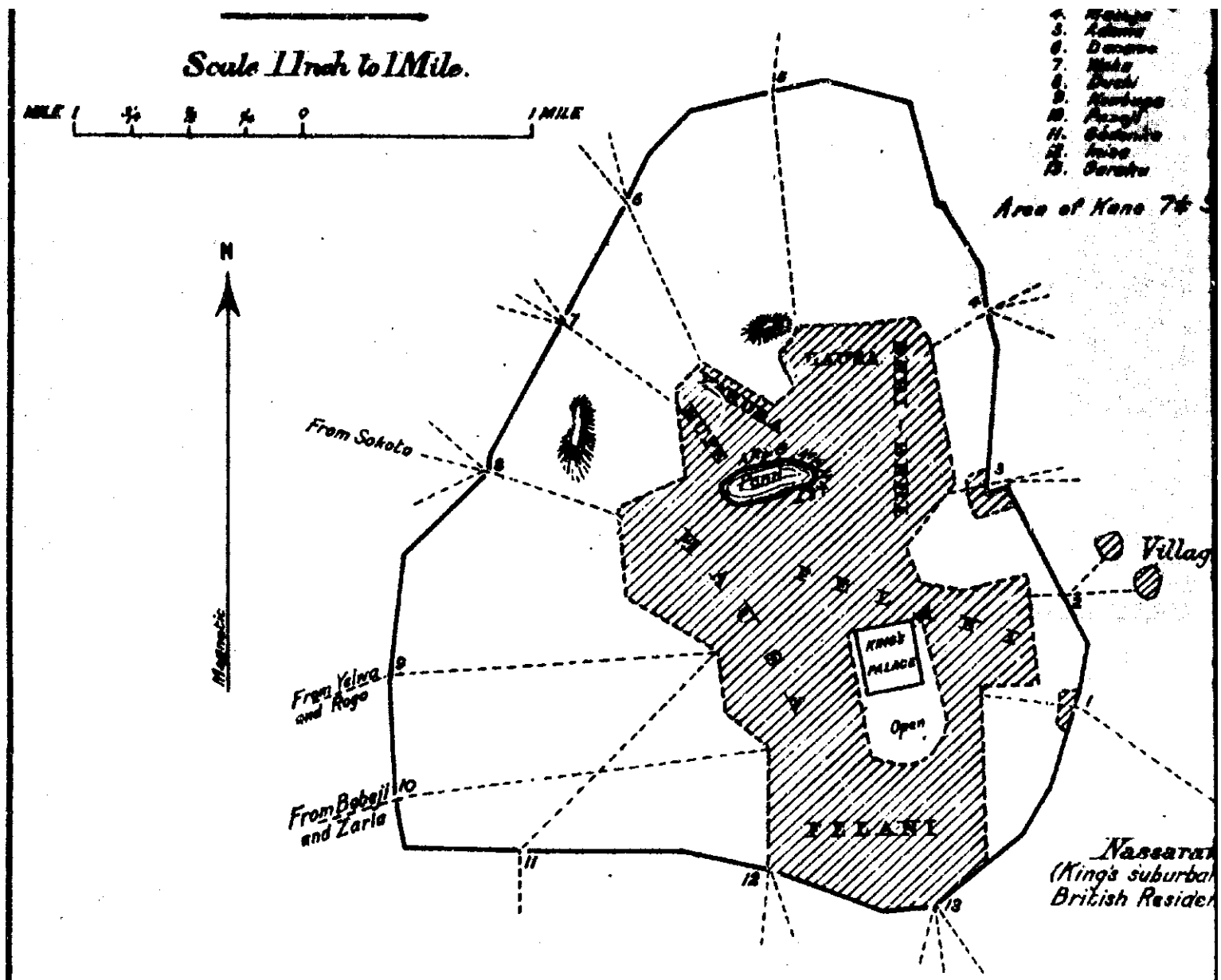


INTERIOR ELEVATION OF WALL OF KA

Scale 16ft to 1 Inch.

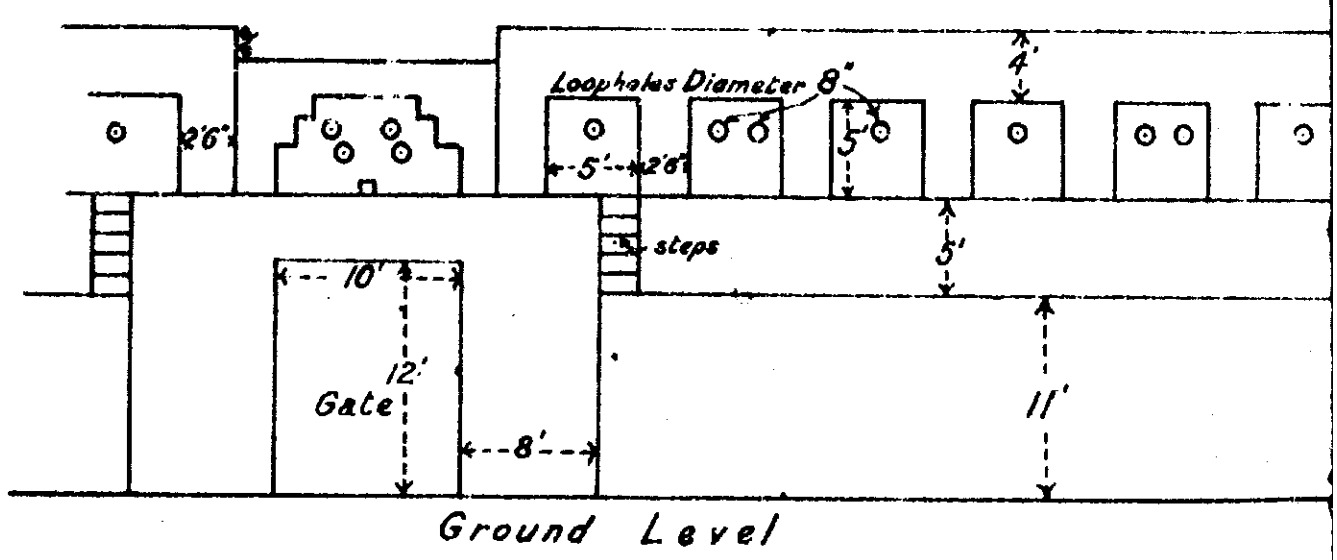



Area of Kano 74 Sq. Miles.
Villages
Kwarbai
(Kings suburban residence, now British Residency and Barracks)
OF WALL OF KANO.
1 Inch.
CROSS SECTION OF WALL OF KANO
Scale 16ft to 1 Inch.
Loopholes D=8"
Ground Level
±0
32'.0"
-9
19'
-11
-9
12'
+2
+5
16'
-1
8'
-2
32'.0"
+29
+25
5'
2'6"
2'6"
2'0"
+20
8'.6"
2'6"
+15
Ground Level
+4



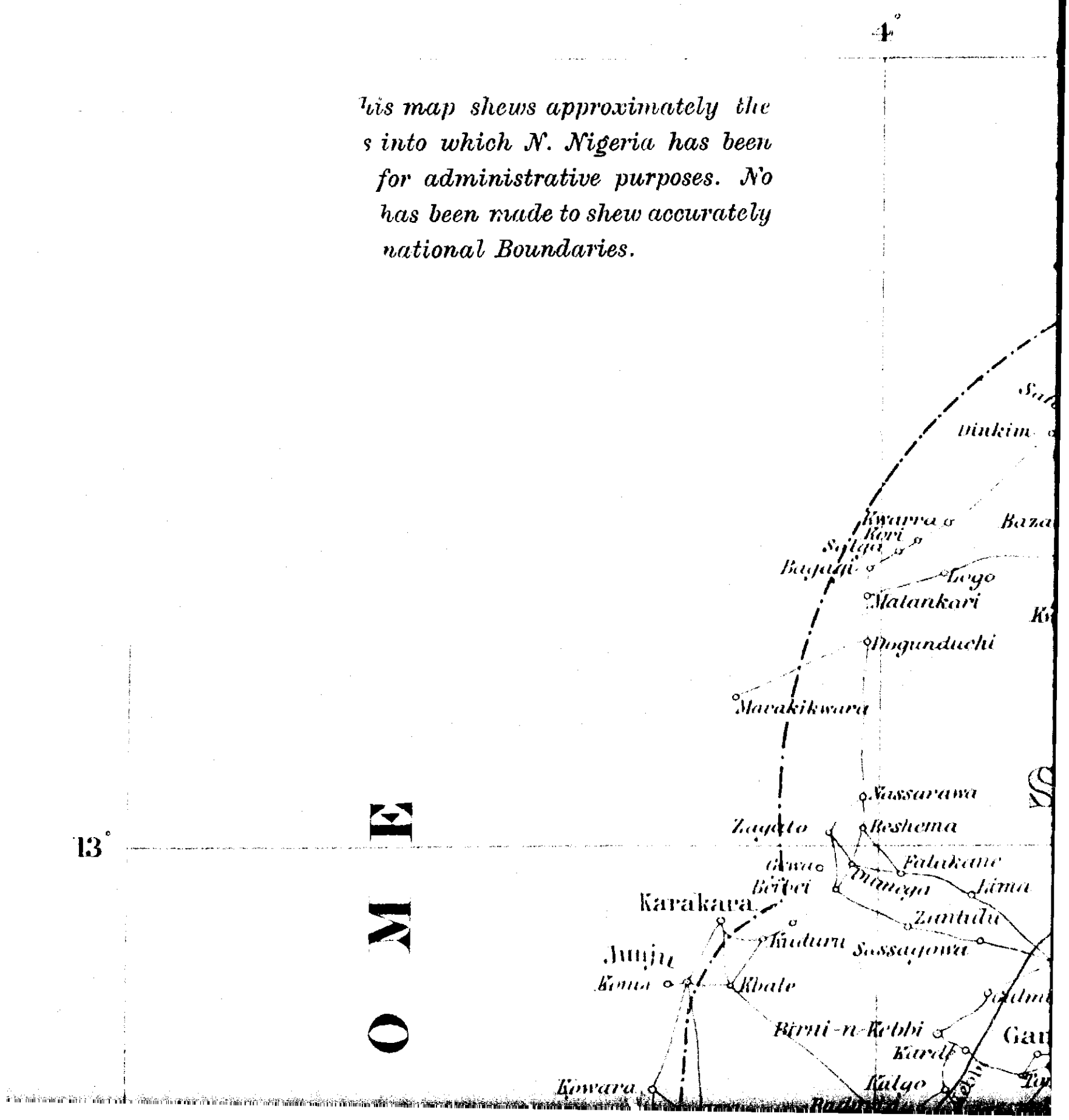
INTERIOR ELEVATION OF WALL OF KANO.

Scale 16 ft to 1 Inch.



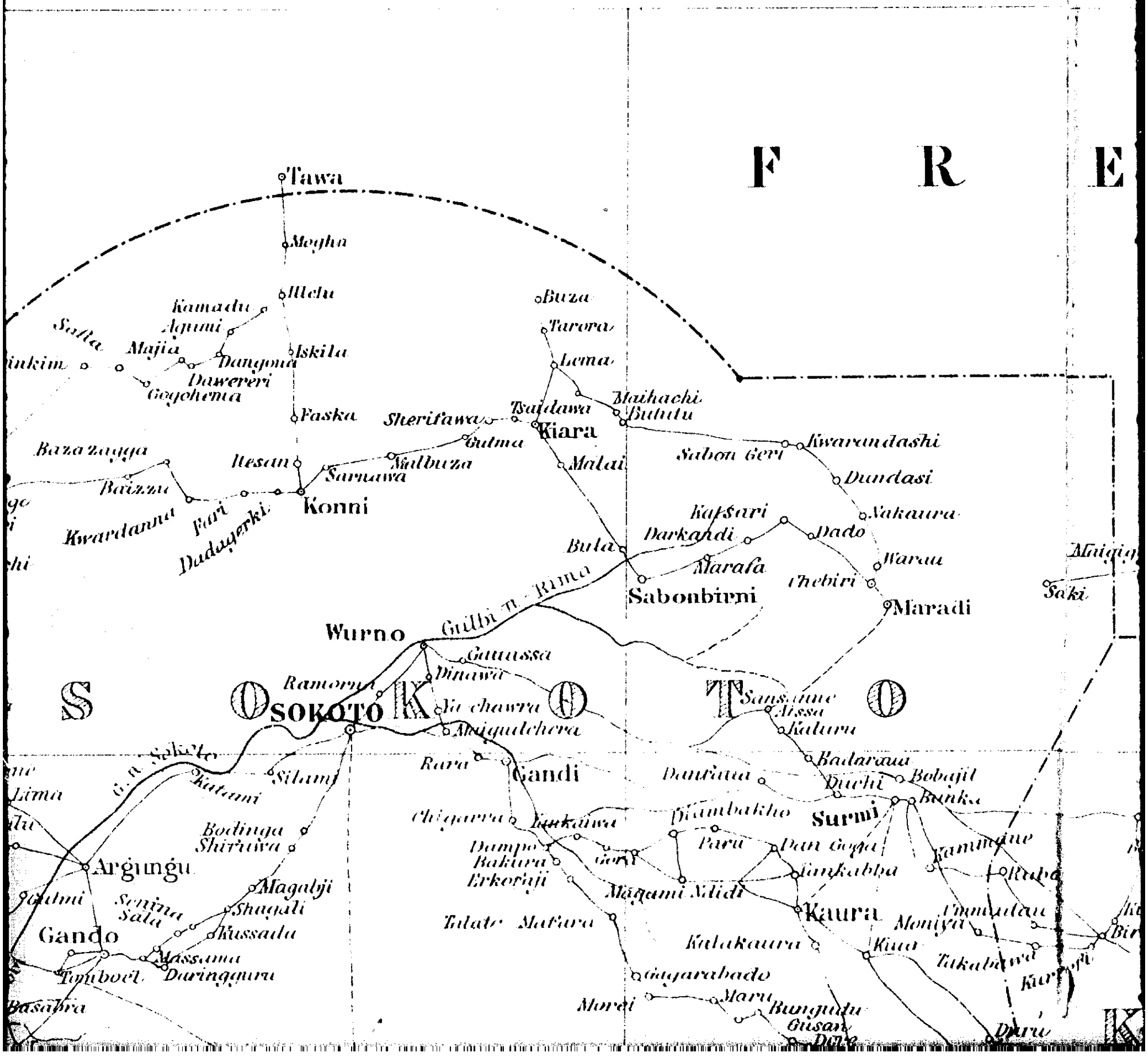
WALL OF KANO.
Kazaurawa
(King's suburban residence, now
British Residency and Barracks)
Villages
Loopholes
D=8"
+29
+25
5'
+20
8.6
+15
Ground Le
CROSS SECTION OF WALL OF KANO
Scale 16ft to 1 Inch.
Ground Level ±0
32'0"
12'
+2'
+5
16'
8'
-1
-2
32'0"
-9
19'
-11
-9

his map shews approximately the
s into which N. Nigeria has been
for administrative purposes. No
has been made to shew accurately
national Boundaries.



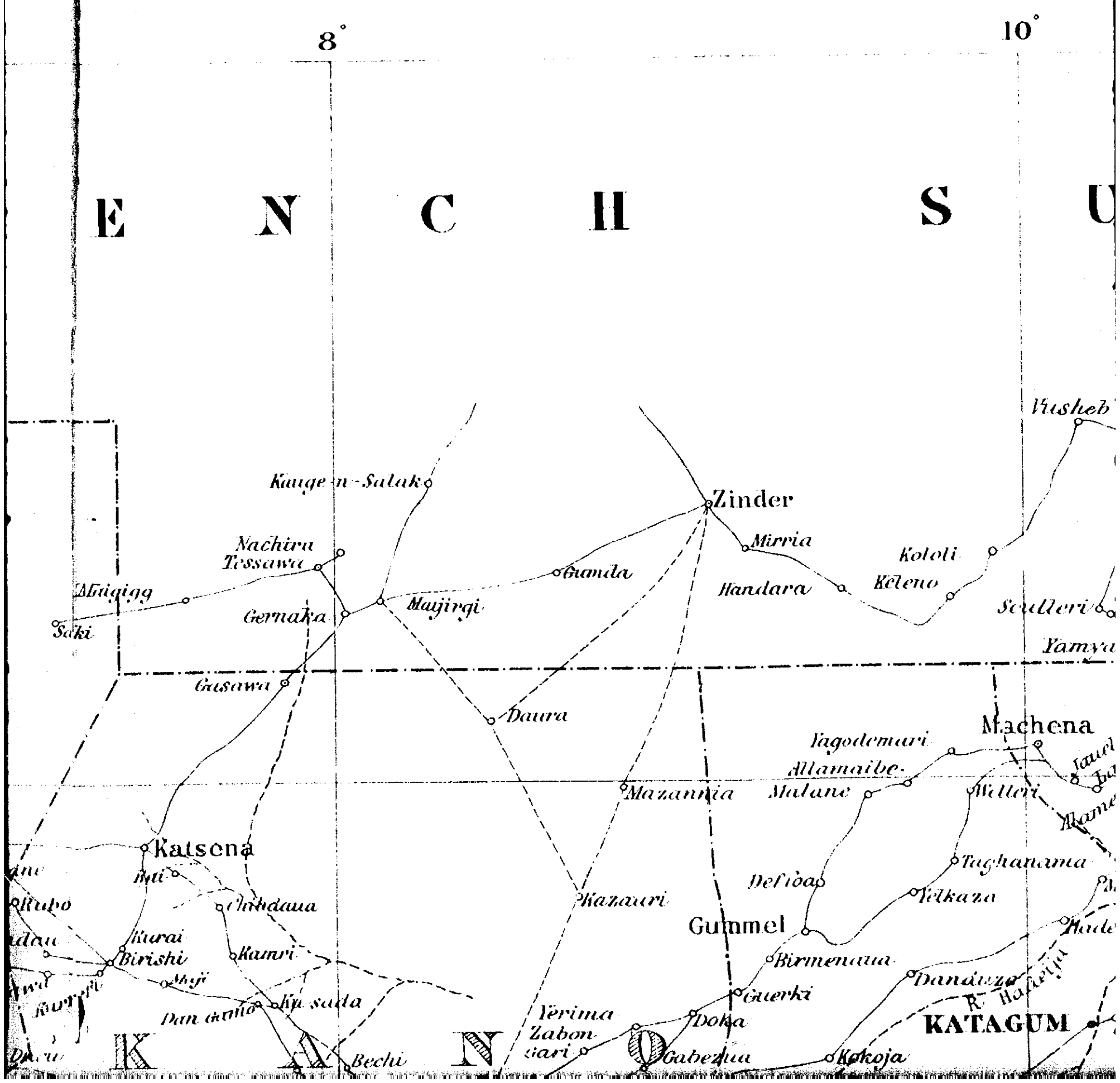
SKETCH MAP

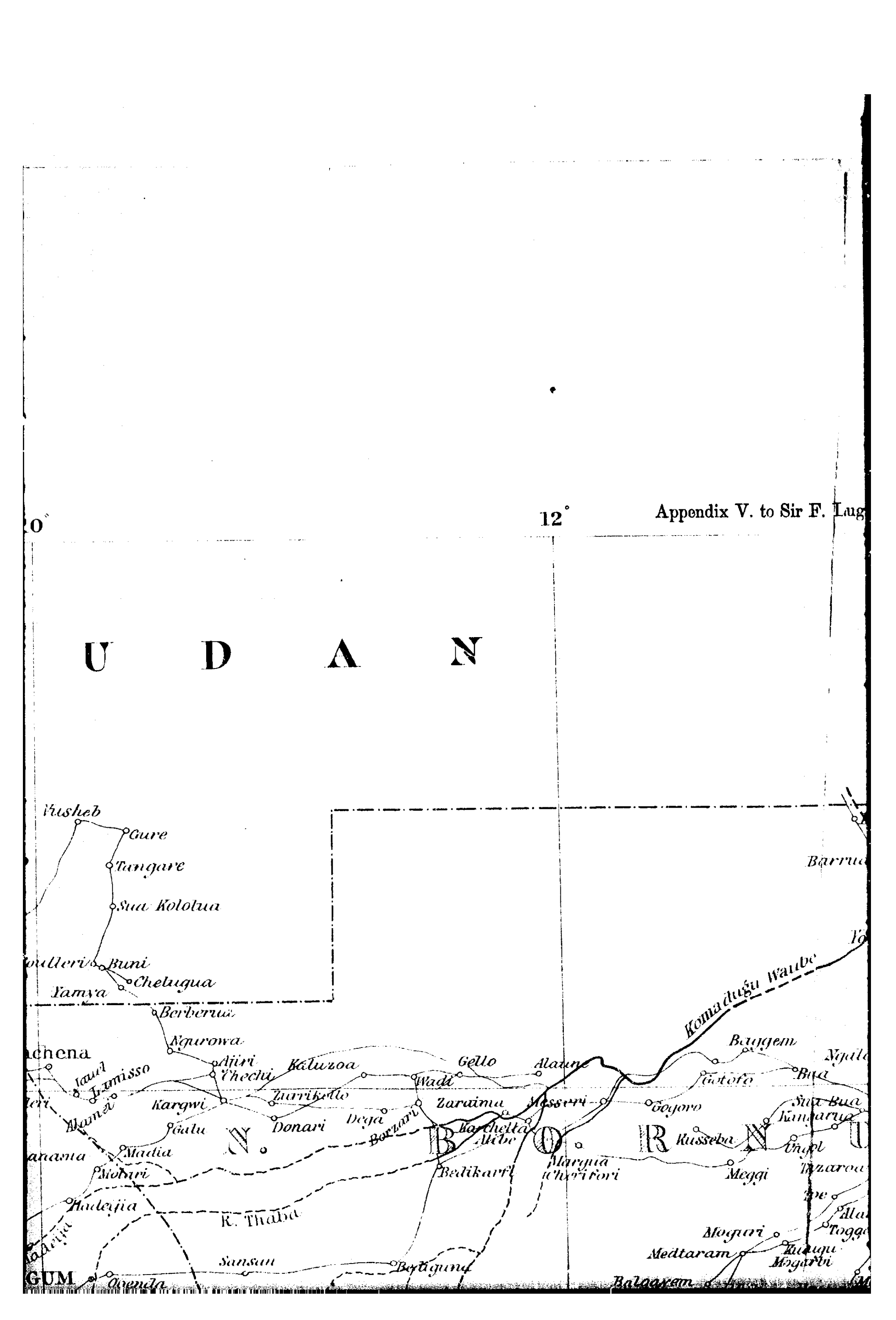
(from a map



MAP OF NORTHERN NIGERIA

(map supplied by the High Commissioner)




12°
U D A N
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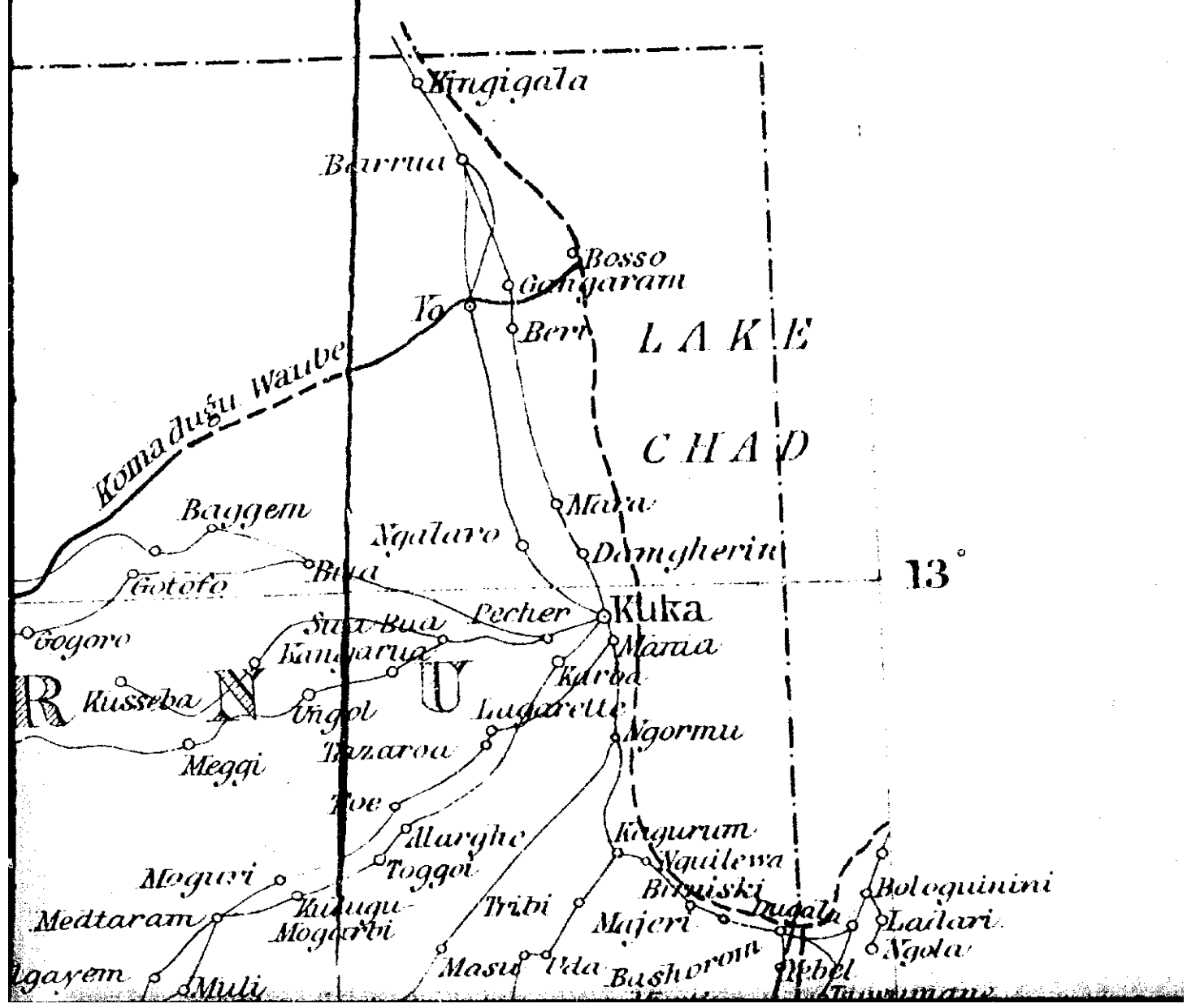
Gure
Tangare
Sua Kololua
Buni
Cheluqua
Yamya
Berberua
Ngurowa
Ajiri
Chechi
Kaluzoa
Gello
Alaune
Wadi
Zurikello
Zuraima
Kargwi
Donari
Deja
Borzari
Gulu
Madia
Motari
Hadejia
R. Thaba
Sansan
Bertigum
Avenda
Bedikari
Mibe
Margua
Cheritori
Messeri
Komadugu Waube
Baggem
Gotofa
Gojoro
Kusseba
Meggi
Mogari
Medtaram
Mogarbi
Balgaram
Barrua
Kangarua
Ungl
Togga
GUM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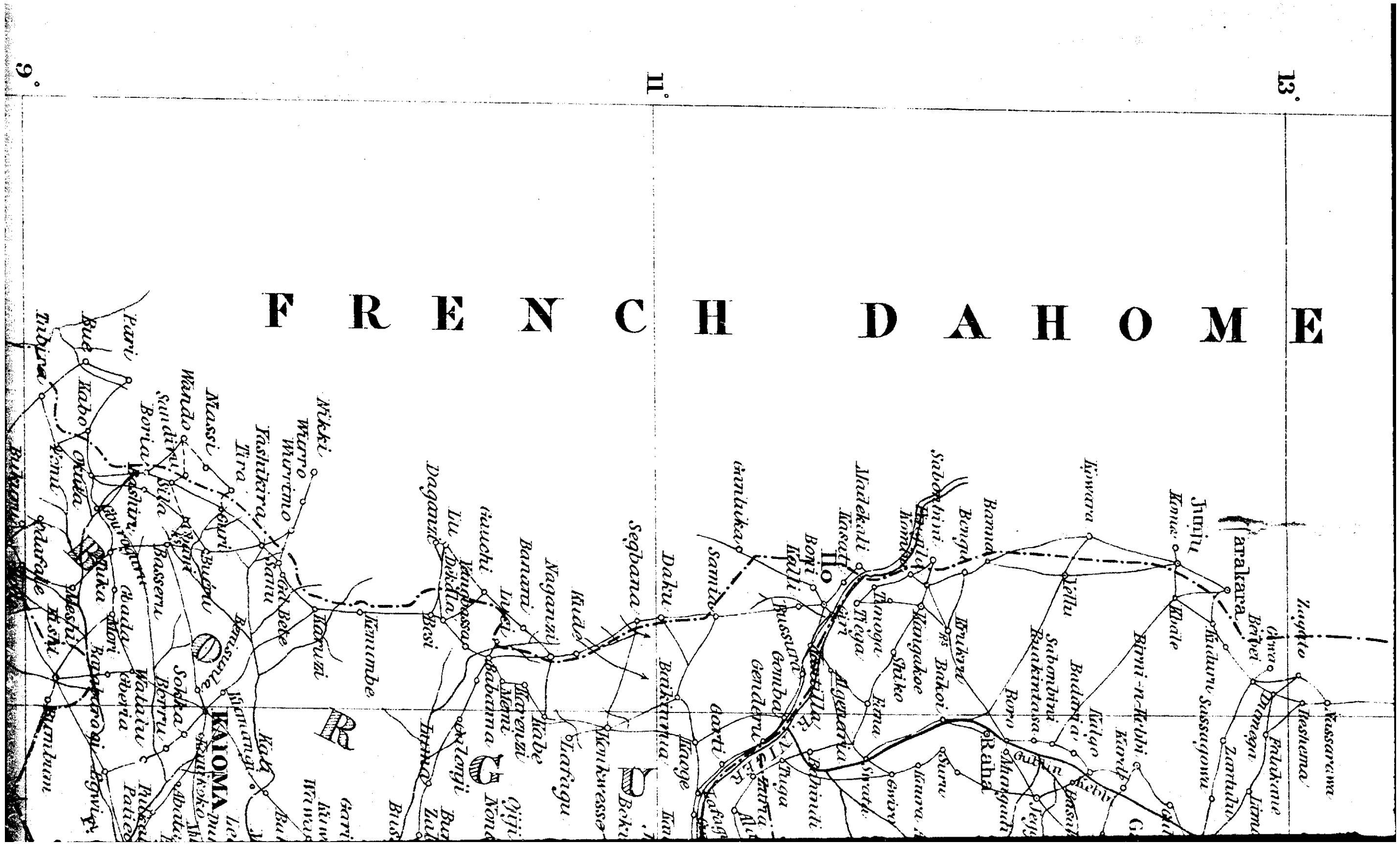
Barrua
Bosso
Gongaram
Yo
Bera
LAKE
CHAD
Komadugu Waube
Baggem
Ngalaro
Mara
Damgherin
13°
Gotofo
Bua
Pecher
Kuka
Gogoro
Sua Bua
Kangarua
Marua
Karoa
Kusseba
Ungol
Lugarette
Ngormu
Tazarou
Meggi
Toe
Allarghe
Kugurum
Toggoi
Nguilewa
Moguri
Bornisk
Bologuinini
Kuluqu
Tribi
Mujeri
Lailari
Medtaram
Mogarbi
Ngola
Masu
Ida
Bashorona
Muli
Rebel


FRENCH DAHOME
9°
11°
13°
Kassarema
Zugdo
Beshema
Falokame
Dameya
Limu
Zantulu
Sassagowa
Kudunu
Kwale
Birni-n-Kebbi
Kwara
Jebba
Badagri
Kalgo
Kebbi
Basa
Gulbin
Jega
Bauchi
Sabambiri
Buakintasa
Bornu
Mangadi
Rahal
Bauna
Bengal
Bakoi
Kwiwi
Kano
Kiawa
Kangakoe
Shiko
Kiara
Sivata
Madekadi
Tanoga
Tega
Kasai
Ilo
Algaparia
Bonni
Kelli
Bassira
Gomba
Tuga
Gendaru
Garti
Lafiagi
Samiu
Dakku
Bakinnua
Kiage
Segbana
Kouikwessa
Bekuru
Kudu
Nagaunzi
Banani
Larigu
Mabe
Mareguzi
Memi
Kabanna
Ilorgi
Bussa
Zaki
Dagauna
Dekkla
Kauchi
Kauchossa
Besi
Kenumbe
Kaiama
Nikki
Wurro
Wurrimo
Gri Beke
Yashikira
Tira
Massi
Wando
Sandina
Bida
Borgu
Bussansa
Kaiama
Kali
Boria
Bassera
Kabo
Okala
Kinu
Kulka
Gwada
Bori
Bashiru
Bakkaraoi
Egwira
Hoshi
Kishi
Sokka
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Watiru
Beria
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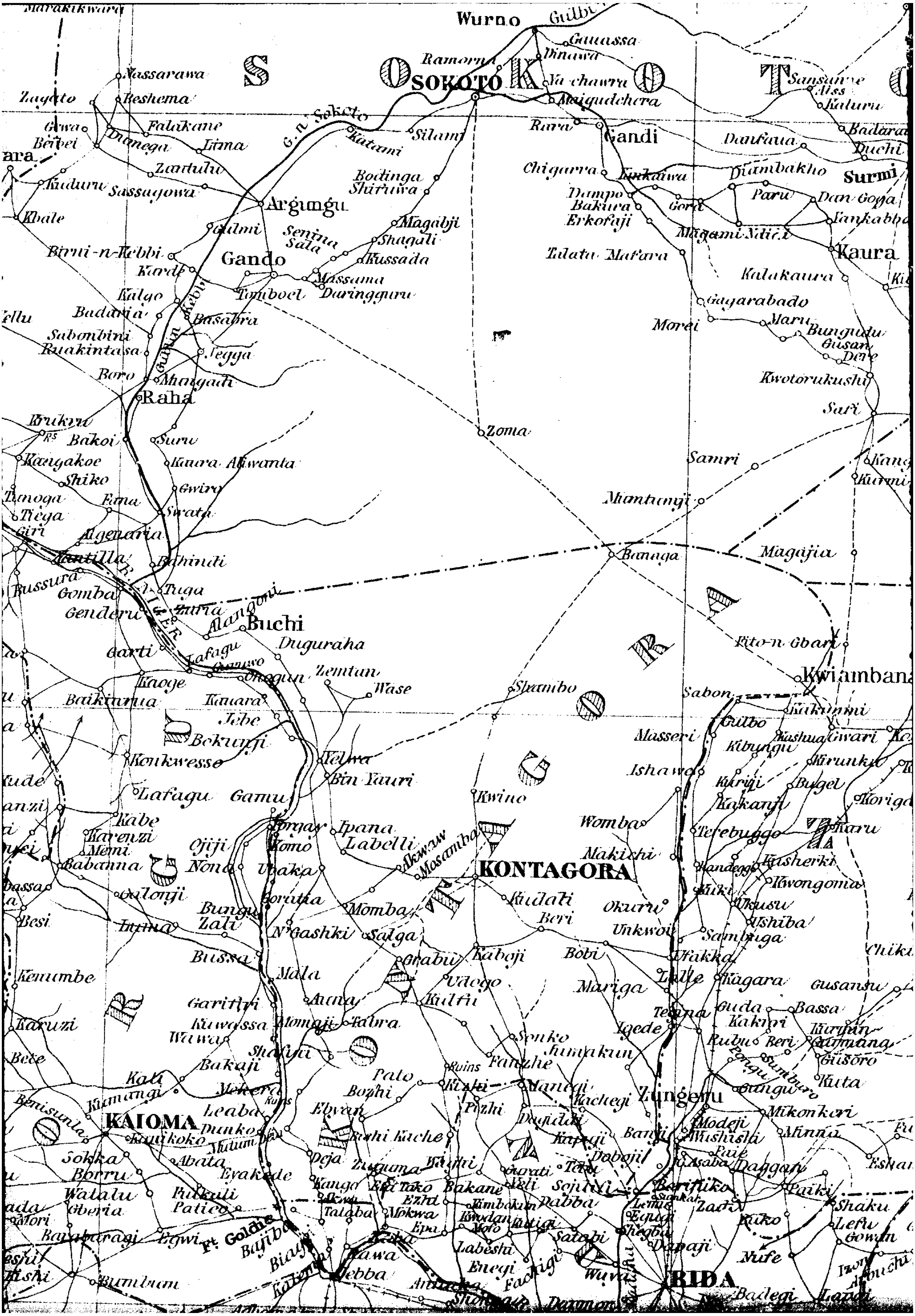
Bukkum
Pari
Rud
Kaba
Tibina
Bukkum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Dinawa
Ramorna
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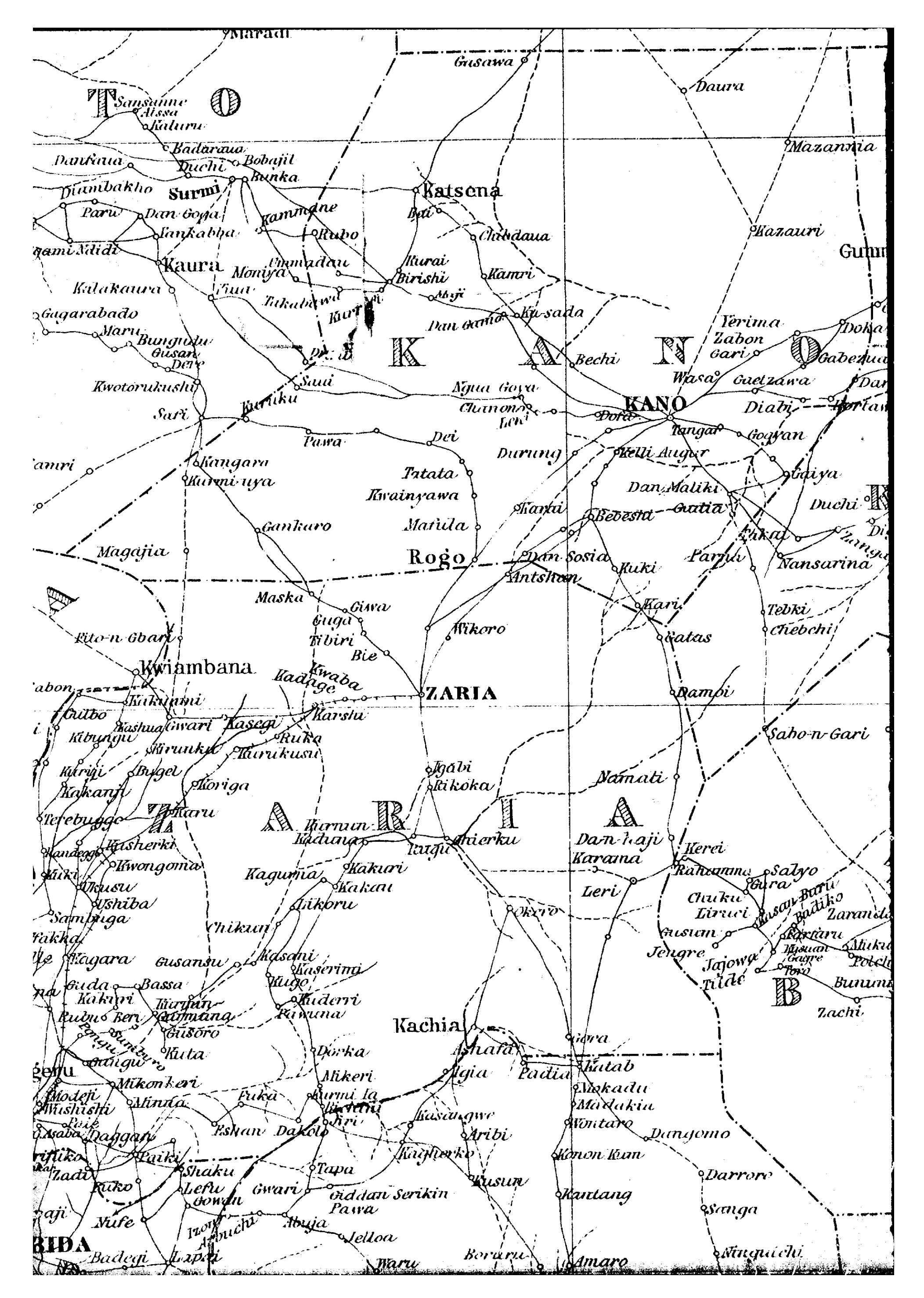
Maigudchera
Sansanne
Aiss
Kaluru
Badara
Duchi
Surmi
Danfaua
Diambakho
Paru
Dan Goga
Gora
Magami Nduci
Kaura
Kalakaura
Gagarabado
Morei
Maru
Bungudu
Gusan
Dere
Kwotorukushi
Safi
Samri
Miantungi
Banaga
Magajia
Fito-n Gbari
Kwiambana
Zoma
Rara
Gandi
Chigarra
Dampo
Bakura
Erkofuji
Talata Mafara
Silami
Katami
G. n. Sokoto
Bodinga
Shiruwa
Magabji
Shagali
Kussada
Massama
Daringguru
Argungu
Gando
Tomboel
Senina
Sala
Gulmi
Birni-n-Kebbi
Karde
Kalgo
Badaria
Basabra
Kebbi
Sabonbini
Ruakintasa
Jegga
Boro
Mungadi
Raha
Gulbin
Nassarawa
Reshema
Zagato
Gwa
Beibei
Dunega
Falakane
Lima
Zardulu
Sassagowa
Kuduru
Khale
Bakoi
Kangakoe
Shiko
Suru
Kaura Aliwanta
Gwiro
Swata
Fana
Tiega
Giri
Algenaria
Jantilla
Bahindi
Bussura
Gomba
Genderu
Tuga
Zuria
R. NIGER
Alangoni
Buchi
Duguraha
Garti
Lafagu
Kaoge
Zemtan
Wase
Baikimua
Kauara
Jebe
Bokunji
Konkwesse
Lafagu
Gamu
Telwa
Bin Yauri
Shambo
Kwino
Kabe
Karenzi
Memi
Babanna
Ojiji
Nona
Ubaka
Torgay
Komo
Ipana
Labelli
Akwaw
Mosamba
KONTAGORA
Momba
Salga
N'Gashki
Bungu
Zali
Bussa
Galongi
Inima
Besi
Kenumbe
Karuzi
Bete
Mala
Garitiri
Auna
Kuwassa
Momaji
Tabra
Wawa
Shafini
Bakaji
Kali
Kumangi
Mekera
Leaba
Dunko
KAIOMA
Benisunla
Kaiikoko
Abata
Sokka
Borru
Walalu
Gberia
Pukuli
Patico
Mori
Egwi
Ft. Goldie
Bajibo
Bumbum
Jebba
Rawa
Kabaji
Kudali
Beri
Bobi
Okuru
Unkwoi
Makichi
Womba
Ishawe
Masseri
Sabon
Gulbo
Kakunmi
Kashua
Gwari
Kibungu
Kirunku
Kuriji
Bugel
Kakanji
Terebuggo
Karu
Kandeggi
Kusherki
Kwongoma
Kuki
Ukusu
Ushiba
Sambuga
Chiku
Fakka
Lalle
Kagara
Gusansu
Tegina
Guda
Bassa
Kakuri
Mariga
Igede
Rubu
Beri
Kuryan
Gurmana
Gusoro
Kuta
Pongu
Sumburo
Bungu
Udogo
Kulfu
Sonko
Jumakun
Fanzhe
Pato
Bozhi
Ebvan
Ruins
Kiahi
Manegi
Pozhi
Kachegi
Zungeru
Dagidda
Kapagi
Banji
Modeji
Mishisla
Mikonkari
Minna
Dobogi
Asaba
Daggan
Eshan
Pato
Deja
Zuguma
Kango
Taloba
Mokwa
Bakane
Kimbokun
Kwodan
Moso
Labeshi
Enegi
Fachigi
Satabi
Wuya
BIDA
Dabba
Sojilli
Barifiko
Lemu
Egbaji
Shegba
Dapaji
Zadi
Kuko
Nufe
Paiki
Shaku
Lefu
Gowan
Badegi
Landi
Izon
Kaboji
Shonga
Ebuatsa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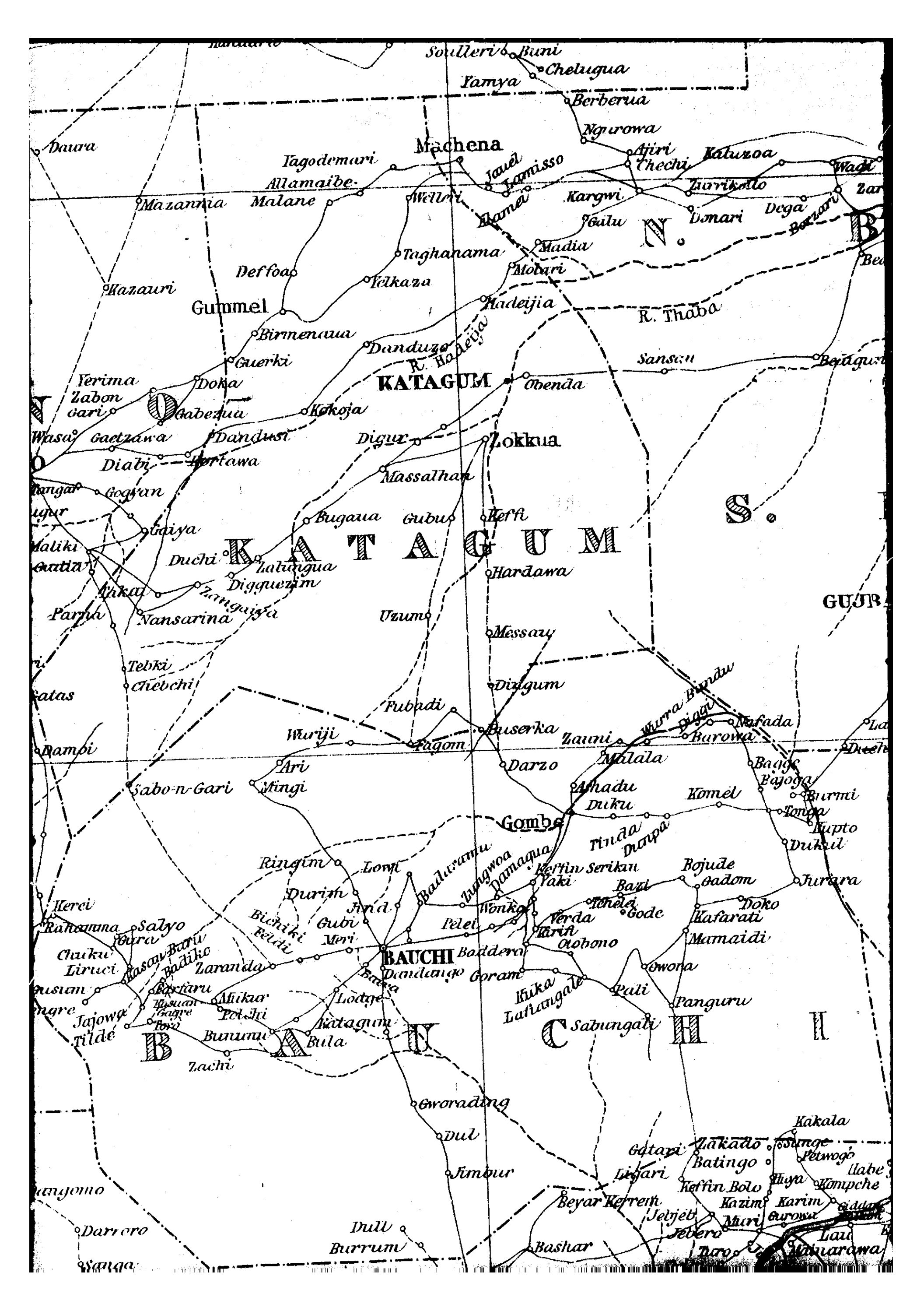
Sansanne
Aissa
Kaluru
Badarawa
Duchi
Bobajil
Runka
Dantiau
Dambakho
Surmi
Katsena
Paru
Dan Goga
Kammane
Rubo
Bati
Chibdawa
Mazanria
Kazauri
Gumm
Kauru
Moniya
Birishi
Kurai
Kamri
Kalakaura
Tukabawa
Maji
Gagarabado
Maru
Dan Gamo
Ku-sada
Yerima
Zabon
Gari
Doka
Bungudu
Gusau
Bechi
Gabezua
Kwotorukushi
Saui
Ngua Goya
Wasa
Gaetzawa
Dar
Kurfiku
Chanomi
Lchi
KANO
Diabi
Sari
Dora
Tangar
Goyan
Pawa
Dei
Duruug
Kelli Augur
Kangara
Kurmi-uya
Tatata
Kwainyawa
Dan Maliki
Gaiya
Duchi
Kanki
Bebesta
Gatia
Ganduro
Matida
Rogo
Dan Sosia
Kuki
Parmu
Nansarina
Magajia
Antshan
Maska
Giwa
Guga
Tibiri
Bie
Wikoro
Kari
Tebki
Chebchi
Gatas
Kwiambana
Kwaba
Kadage
ZARIA
Dampi
Kikunmi
Karsha
Kasegi
Ruka
Kurukusu
Saho-n-Gari
Kirunku
Igabi
Rikoka
Namati
Koriga
Bugel
Kakanji
Terebuggo
Kiaru
Kurmin
Kaduna
Rugu
Chierku
Dan haji
Karama
Kerei
Kasherki
Kwongoma
Kagunna
Kakuri
Kakau
Leri
Salyo
Gura
Ushiba
Chikoru
Chuku
Lirui
Sampiga
Okro
Chikun
Jengre
Jajowa
Tilde
Kagara
Gusansu
Kasani
Kaserima
Kugo
Bassa
Kuderri
Kuta
Kachia
Dorka
Ashafa
Padia
Kutab
Mikeri
Igia
Mikonkeri
Minda
Fika
Kurmi Ia
Mokadu
Madakin
Kasungwe
Aribi
Dakolo
Dangomo
Daggan
Kuchierko
Konon Kun
Paiki
Tapa
Kusun
Darroro
Zadi
Shaku
Kuko
Lefu
Gwari
Kiddan Serikin
Kantang
Pawa
Sanga
Nufe
Abuja
Jelloa
Ninquichi
Badegi
Waru
Borarru
Amaro
Zachi


Soulleri
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Chelugua
Yamya
Berberua
Ngurowa
Machena
Daura
Tagodemari
Allamaibe
Malane
Mazannia
Jauel
Lamisso
Ajiri
Chechi
Kaluzoa
Kargwi
Ziarikello
Dmari
Dega
Borzari
Gulu
Madia
Motari
Taghanama
Yelkaza
Deffoa
Kazauri
Gummel
Birnenaua
Guerki
Doka
Yerima
Zabon
Gari
Gabezua
Kokoja
Wasa
Gaetzawa
Dandusi
Diabi
Hortawa
Dandu
R. Hadeija
Hadeijia
R. Thaba
Sansan
Obenda
KATAGUM
Digur
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Massalhan
Gogran
Bugaua
Gubu
Keffi
S.
KATAGUM
Maliki
Duchi
Zalungua
Diggueziim
Hardawa
Nansarina
Parpa
Uzum
Messay
GUJR
Tebki
Chebchi
Dizigum
Fubadi
Buserka
Wuriji
Fagom
Darzo
Zauni
Malala
Wurra Burdu
Digri
Nafada
Barowa
Ari
Mingi
Sabo-n-Gari
Ahadu
Duku
Komel
Gombe
Tinda
Dnapa
Ringim
Lomi
Durin
Jinda
Badaramu
Jungwoa
Damagua
Keffin Yaki
Serikin
Bojude
Gadom
Bazi
Tchelei
Gode
Doko
Kafarati
Mamaidi
Kerei
Rahoarana
Salyo
Gura
Chuku
Liruci
Hasan Baru
Badiko
Zaranda
Bichiki
Feldi
Gubi
Meri
Pelei
Wonka
Verda
Karin
Otobono
BAUCHI
Boddera
Dandango
Goram
Owona
Pali
Panguru
Kika
Lafiangale
Sabungati
Lodge
Katagum
Bula
Bununu
Zachi
Jajowa
Tilde
Mukar
Pol Jri
Gworading
Dul
Jimbur
Kakala
Gatari
Lakado
Batingo
Petwogo
Ligari
Keffin Bolo
Kazim
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Kompche
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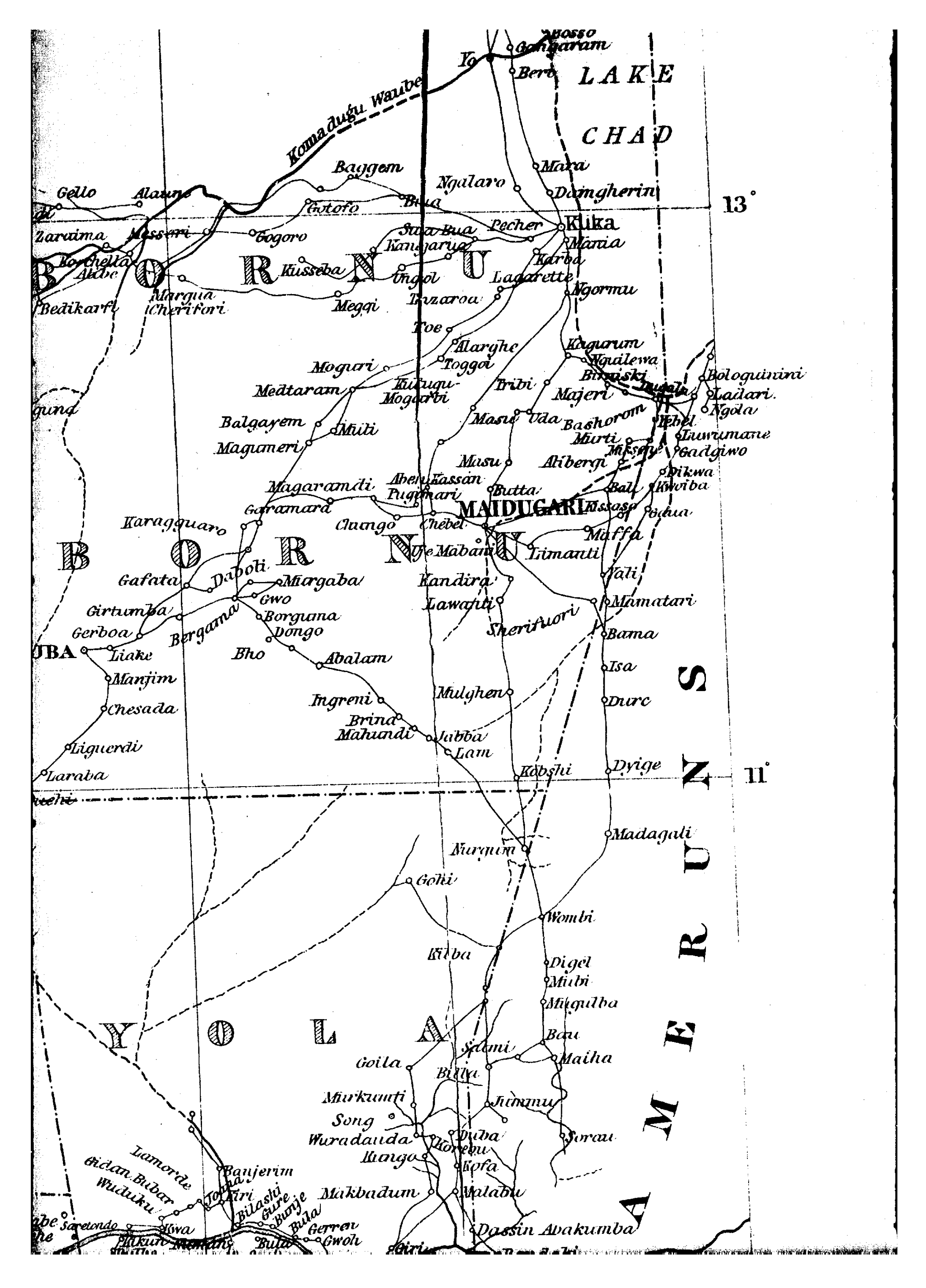
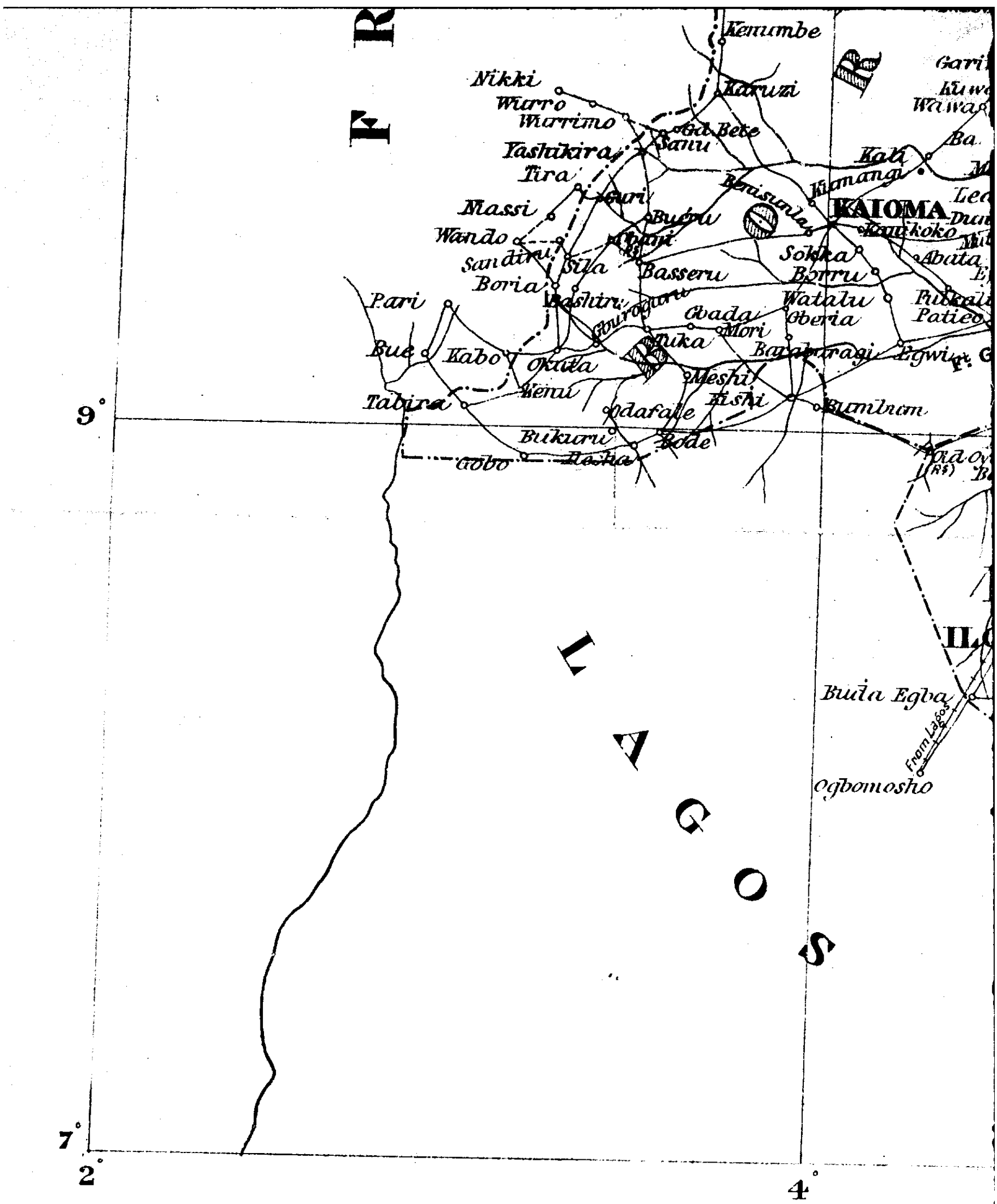
Kerrem
Jelrjeb
Muri
Jebero
Darrero
Dull
Burrum
Bashar
Sanga


LAKE
CHAD
Komadugu Waube
Yo
Bero
Mara
Damgherin
Ngalaro
Baggem
Gotofo
Bua
Gello
Alaung
Zarraima
Messeri
Gogoro
Pecher
Kika
Mania
Karba
Kangaruo
Kusseba
Ungol
Lagarette
Ngormau
Bedikarfi
Margua
Cherifori
Meggi
Tuzaroa
Toe
Alarghe
Toggoi
Kagarum
Ngalewa
Bologuinini
Mogari
Medtaram
Kuluqu
Mogarbi
Tribi
Majeri
Lailari
Ngola
Balgayem
Muli
Masu
Vda
Bashorom
Ibbel
Murti
Luurumane
Magumeri
Gadgiwo
Musu
Aliberqi
Dikwa
Magarandi
Abeu
Fassin
Pugimari
Butta
Bali
Kwoiba
Garamara
MAIDUGARI
Kissasa
Ngua
Karagguaro
Clungo
Chebel
Maffa
Mabani
Limanti
Gafata
Daboli
Miargaba
Kandira
Yali
Girtumba
Gwo
Lawanti
Mamatari
Borguana
Gerboa
Bergana
Dongo
Sherifuori
Bama
Liake
Bho
Abalam
Isa
Manjim
Mulghen
Ingreni
Durc
Chesada
Brina
Mahundi
Jabba
Liguerdi
Lam
Laraba
Kobshi
Dyige
Madagali
Nurqum
Goki
Wombi
Kilba
Digel
Miubi
Mugulba
Bau
Salmi
Maiha
Goila
Billa
Murkumti
Jumanu
Song
Wuradauda
Duba
Korenu
Kungo
Kopfa
Lamorde
Gidan Bubar
Wuduku
Banjerim
Jorna
Tiri
Bilasli
Gure
Bunje
Bula
Makbadum
Malabu
Saretonde
Kwa
Makum
Bula
Gerrew
Gwoh
Dassin
Abakumba
Y O L A
B O R N U
B O R N U
S A M E R U
13°
11°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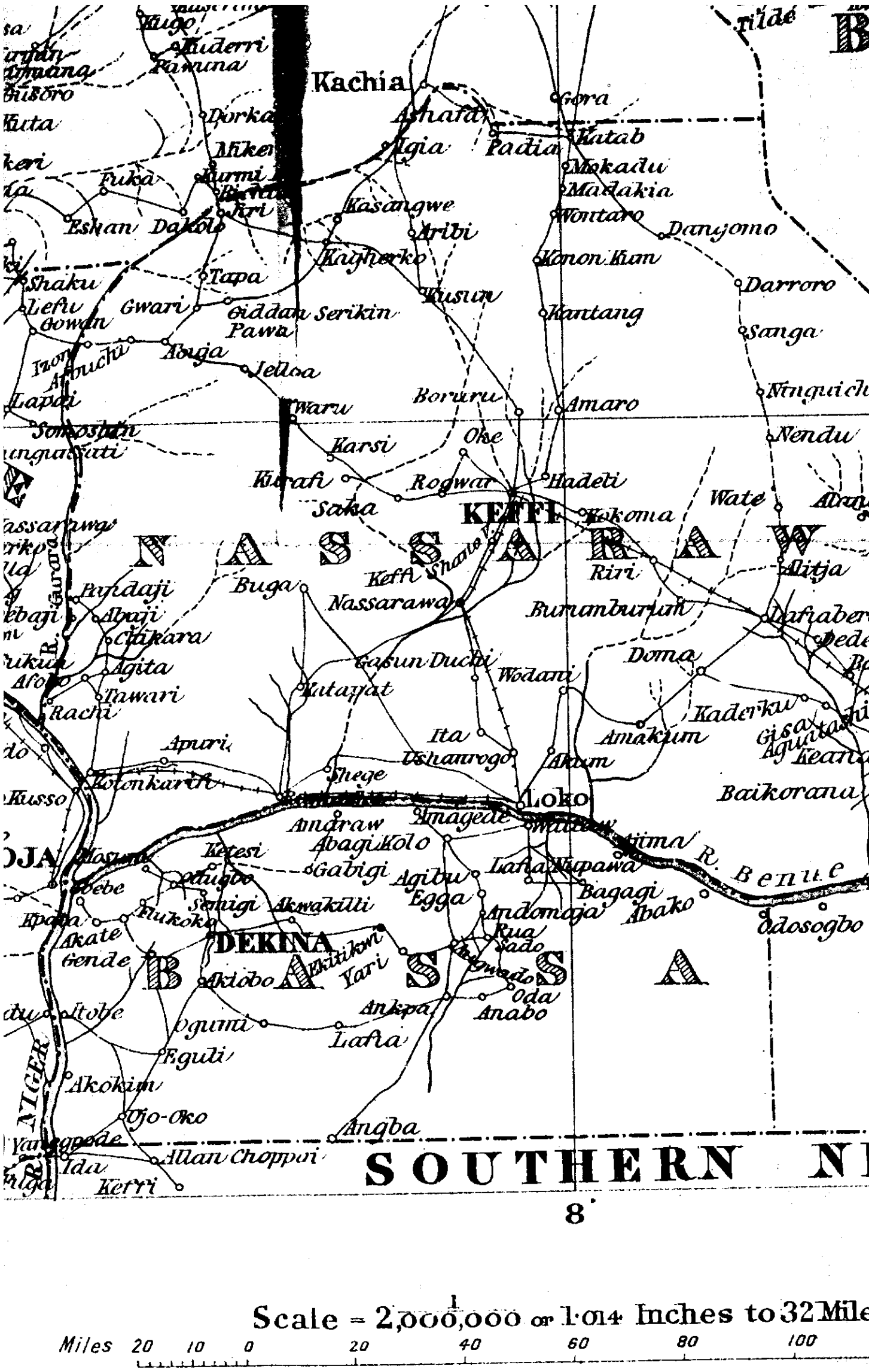
Wurro
Wurrimo
Karuzi
Old Bete
Sanu
Yashikira
Tira
Kali
Kiamangi
KAIOMA
Massi
Wando
Sandiru
Boria
Basseru
Sokka
Borru
Watalu
Oberia
Pari
Bue
Kabo
Okuta
Tuka
Mori
Meshi
Tabira
Kenu
Bukuru
Bode
Gobo
Bumbum
Buida Egba
From Lagos
Ogbomosho
LAGOS
9°
7°
2°
4°

I. D. W. O. 1796.

KAIOMA
Garifiri
Kuwassa
Wawa
Bakaji
Kali
Leaba
Dunko
Abata
Eyakade
Fukkali
Patieo
Egwi
Ft. Goldie
Bajibo
Biagi
Jebba
Bumbum
Tabra
Pato
Bozhi
Ebyan
Deja
Kargo
Tataba
Mokwa
Epa
Labeshi
Enegi
Fachigi
Fanzhe
Ruins
Pizhi
Bakane
Ezhi
Dabba
Satabi
Wuva
Mariga
Igede
Bassa
Kakiri
Kuta
Zungeru
Mikonkeri
Kachegi
Bargi
Mishishi
Paie
Daggan
Paiki
Shaku
Lefu
Gowan
Gwari
Eshan
Fuka
Nufe
Abuga
BIDA
Badegi
Lapai
Argeye
Dakomba
Dapmon
Shonga
R. NIGER
Agbamaku
Shakumusa
Dumaji
Bodesadu
Bandiko
Share
Adio
Zumlofu
Famole
Patigi
Lata
Shagbeoyede
Goba
Telegraph
I L O R I N
ILORIN
Igbaja
Odo Ode
Oke Ode
Balogun
Odo Eku
Pamo
Sanhu
Oke Kimi
Owa
Isalu
Buda Egba
From Lagos
Ogbomosho
Alasse
Agberi
Ila
Ikirun
Oke onigbin
Omu
Gogo
Ede
Aiede
Ikole
Eruku
Idofin
Egbe
Eliba
Eri Towns
Ejuku
Obo
Iworo
Isin
Ode
Agbado
Irun
Ise
Imure Ise
Yayu
Idauani
Owo
Egpesse
Ogpe
Imure Ile
Ipele
Ishoka
Egbom
Eroguni
Kosobeji
Shale
Feraji
Pati Sura
Ilokpa
Adde
Akpara
Susso Kusso
Shokko
Abodo
Buge-Kussb
Muva
LOKOJA
Alekpa
Zongo
Ohakerte
Okodu
Itobe
Megba
Meke
Austri
Ida
Keffi
Akokim
Ojo-Oko
Eguti
Oguma
Gende
Akate
Fukoko
Bebe
Rachi
Tawari
Agita
Abaji
Pundaji
Debaji
Gulia
Karko
Nassarawa
Duma
Sunguasati
Somoshin
Apuri
Kotonkarifi
R. Gurara
R. Kaduna
NIGER
6°
Miles 20 10 0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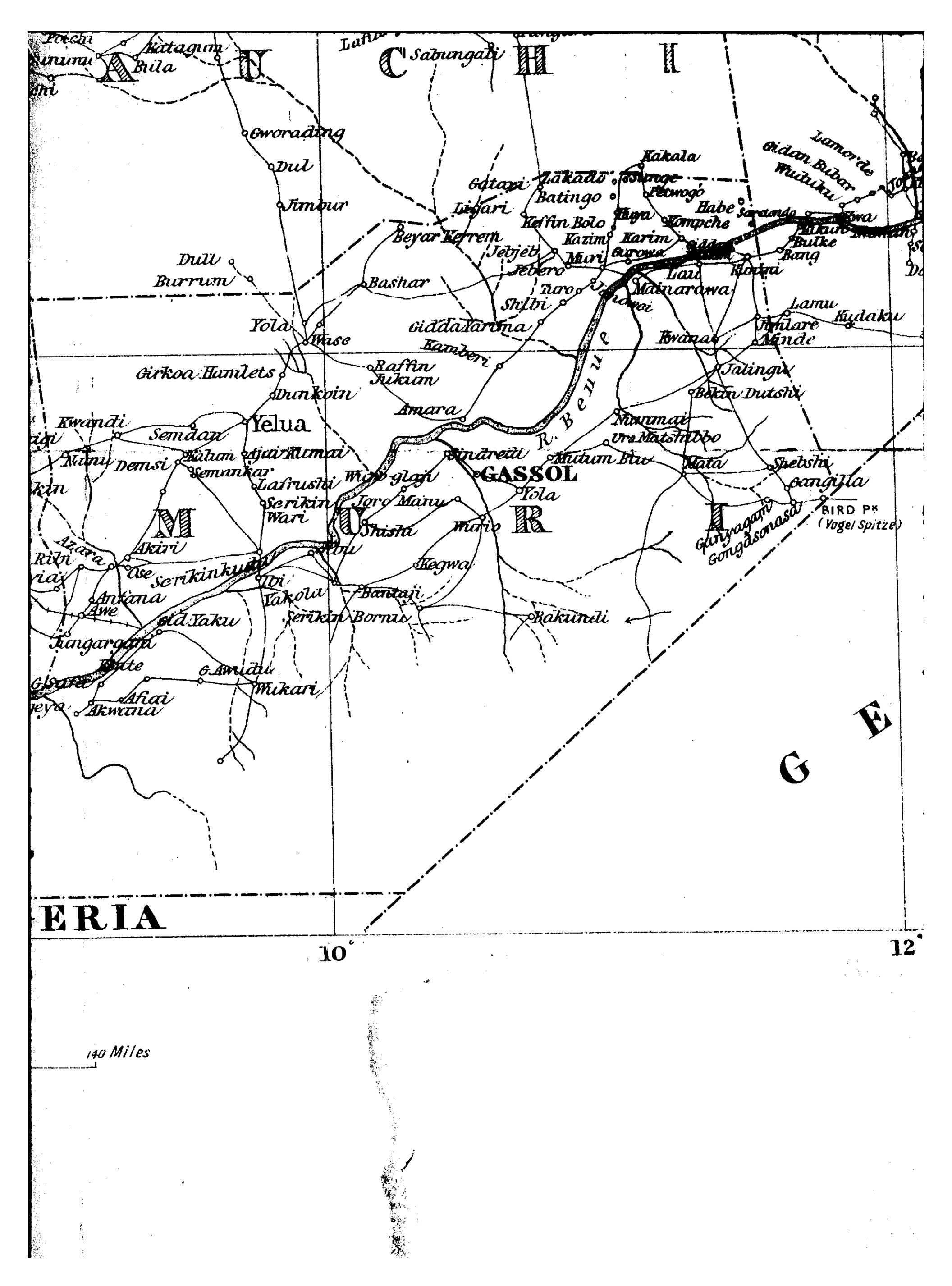
Gora
Katab
Mokadu
Madakia
Wontaro
Danjomo
Darroro
Sanga
Nnguich
Nendu
Amaro
Hadeti
Wate
Kokoma
KEFFI
NASSARAWA
Riri
Nassarawa
Buga
Doma
Wodani
Amakum
Loko
Baikorana
Odosogbo
Bagagi
Abako
Andoma
Egga
Agitu
Gabigi
Akwakulli
DEKINA
BASSA
Oda
Anabo
Lafia
Angba
Akokim
Ojo-Oko
Kerri
SOUTHERN N
8°
Scale = 1/2,000,000 or 1·014 Inches to 32 Mile
Miles 20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100


Katagum
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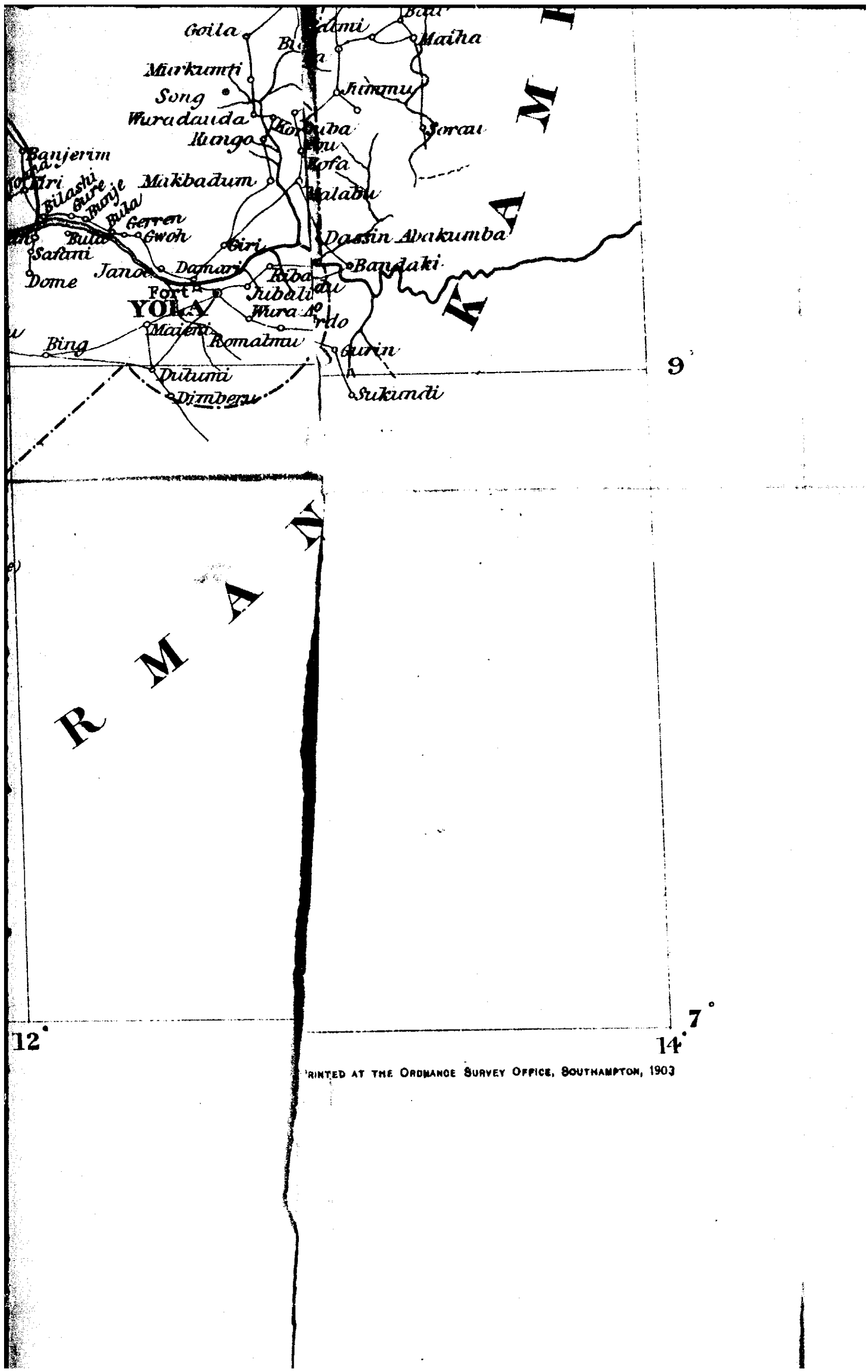
Sabungali
Gworading
Dul
Jimbur
Lingari
Beyar
Kerrem
Dull
Burrum
Bashar
Yola
Wase
Girkoa Hamlets
Dunkoin
Raffin
Fukam
Amara
Yelua
Semdau
Demsi
Semankar
Lafrushi
Serikin
Wari
Akiri
Ase
Serikinkuta
Antana
Awe
Jangargari
Afiai
Akwana
Kakala
Batingo
Keffin Bolo
Kazim
Muri
Jebjeb
Jebero
Giddaferina
Kamberi
Kwanga
Mainarawa
Lamu
Kudaku
Mande
Jalingi
Bekin
Dutshi
Numai
Ura Matshibbo
Mutum Biu
Mata
Shelshi
Gangila
GASSOL
Yola
Mario
Shisha
Kegwa
Bantaji
Bakundi
Bornu
Yakola
Idi
Gurgagari
Gongdsonasa
BIRD Pk
(Vogel Spitze)
Habe
Bulke
Bang
Lamor'de
Gidan Bubar
Wuluku
R. Benue
140 Miles
10°
12°



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thieves. The Resident may give permits to trustworthy men to bear firearms. Any person who harbours the Maggit of Kull will be liable to be arrested and punished. It is his duty to catch him and bring him to the Resident.

"It is the earnest desire of the King of England that this country shall prosper and grow rich in peace and in contentment, that the population shall increase, and the ruined towns which abound everywhere shall be built up, and that war and trouble shall cease. Henceforth no Emir or Chief shall levy war or fight, but his case will be settled by law, and if force is necessary Government will employ it. I earnestly hope to give effect in these matters to the wishes of my King.

"In conclusion, I hope that you will find our rule sympathetic and that the country will prosper and be contented. You need have no fear regarding British rule, it is our wish to learn your customs and fashion, just as you must learn ours. I have little fear but that we shall agree, for you have always heard that British rule is just and fair, and people under our King are satisfied. You must not fear to tell the Resident everything and he will help and advise you."

(*This outline was, of course, amplified and fully explained in the verbal translation.*)

F. D. L.

APPENDIX VI.

(*See paragraph* 114.)

THE NIGER COMPANY'S TRADE RETURNS.

A (1.)—Imports into Northern Nigeria by the Niger Company, Limited.

Quantity. 1901.	Quantity. 1902.	Description.	Value. 1901. £ s. d.	Value. 1902. £ s. d.
		Imported Direct—		
		Ammunition	2 12 6	—
		Beads	616 16 4	—
	5,096 doz.	Beer and Stout	290 14 10	861 9 10
	76,000	Cigars	389 6 2	232 6 9
	849,000	Cigarettes		246 13 6
		Cordage and Twine ...	10 13 1	—
		Cottons	60,044 16 5	28,891 12 1
		Drugs and Chemicals ...	399 16 4	—
		Earthenware	1,473 16 5	—
		Enamelled Ware	—	1,413 13 1
		Firearms	9 2 0	—
		Furniture	185 15 4	—
		Glassware	74 3 0	—
		Gunpowder (Trade) ...	3 10 0	—
		Guns (Trade)	54 0 0	—
		Haberdashery	236 3 2	—
		Hardware	5,169 0 9	1,692 0 8
		Leather Goods	207 1 9	—
	1,848 doz.	Mineral Waters	1,118 2 10	193 16 11
	73 galls.	Perfumery	98 0 3	70 10 2
		Provisions	5,490 5 11	4,103 17 3
		Silks	5 10 0	—
		Soap	228 19 7	—
	4,816 galls.	Spirits	1,098 1 1	1,869 8 7
	2,035 cwts.	Sugar	—	1,890 8 10
		Sundries	2,292 5 5	4,782 5 2
		Sundry Liquors	58 7 6	—
	1,824 lbs.	Tea	—	141 12 2
	1,074 lbs.	Tobacco, manufactured...	99 9 6	119 11 8
		Tobacco, unmanufactured	610 14 2	—
		Wearing Apparel ...	1,495 12 6	—
	1,846 galls.	Wines	475 2 2	1,288 3 11
		Woollens	243 11 8	—
		Imported Indirect—		
		Building Material ...	2,268 3 0	—
	150 tons.	Coal	290 7 6	225 0 0
		Cottons	—	550 0 0
	179 tons.	Cowries	2,100 0 0	1,253 0 0
	12,790 lbs.	Gunpowder	—	319 15 0
	200	Guns	—	100 0 0
	21,720	Iron Bars	41 14 2	728 0 0
	400 cases.	Kerosene	67 18 4	160 0 0
	50 galls.	Liquors	—	18 2 6
	3,186 tons.	Salt...	4,102 5 6	7,965 0 0
	1,300 lbs.	Tobacco Leaf	—	32 10 0
		Total	91,841 19 2	59,048 18 1

A (2.)—IMPORTS by the NIGER COMPANY, LIMITED, consigned to MISSIONS and PRIVATE PERSONS.

Quantity.		Description.	Value.	
1901.	1902.		1901.	1902.
			£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1 gall.		Brandy	0 11 0	—
		Camp equipment	11 11 6	—
		Carpenters' tools	—	4 8 5
2,850	4,800	Cartridges	20 1 11	20 12 10
	1,000	Cigarettes	—	0 18 0
		Clothing, &c....	226 7 4	—
		Cottons	82 18 2	149 5 0
		Drugs	18 1 10	98 10 5
		Earthenware...	2 10 0	—
		Educational stationery and books.	6 10 6	—
		Firearms	10 10 0	—
		Hardware	71 14 0	15 7 0
24 galls.		Kerosine	3 17 6	—
		Leather goods and saddlery	76 19 0	—
		Mining tools...	—	82 16 11
	2 galls.	Perfumery	—	3 15 0
	3 lbs.	Powder	—	0 8 0
		Provisions	345 1 8	306 19 11
	7	Rifles	—	26 10 0
		Scientific instruments ...	—	39 1 6
		Spirits	—	18 18 11
		Sundries	58 6 8	488 15 7
30 galls.		Whisky	24 0 0	—
16 galls.	20 galls.	Wines...	18 14 0	14 17 6
		Total	912 15 1	1,160 10 0

A (3.)—IMPORTS (estimated) by NATIVE TRADERS from the NIGER COMPANY'S SOUTHERN NIGERIAN STATIONS.

Quantity.		Description.	Value.	
1901.	1902.		1901.	1902.
			£	£
		Cottons and Sundries ...	15,000	16,500
20,000 lbs. (about).	1,000 lbs.	Gunpowder	500	25
500 (about).	150	Guns	150	75
3,000 tons (about).	1,950 tons	Salt	4,500 (at 30s. per ton).	4,875 (at 50s. per ton).
		Total	20,150	21,475

B.—Exports from Northern Nigeria by the Niger Company, Limited.

Description.	Weight, &c.			Value.		
	1900.	1901.	1902.	1900.	1901.	1902.
	T. C. Q. Lb.	T. C. Q. Lb.	T. C. Q. Lb.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Beeswax	0 5 0 12	0 19 1 19	1 9 0 25	17 13 0	67 0 5	100 16 5
Benniseeds	58 14 3 10	76 4 0 6	174 15 3 14	261 8 4	389 2 1	777 16 8
Capsicums	18 19 0 7	11 6 6 19	60 9 1 13	274 7 0	168 13 9	875 4 4
Deer Skins	2,314	7,694	605 pcs.	26 18 6	96 3 6	7 11 3
Dyed Skins	—	—	640 pcs.	—	—	11 1 6
Ebony	—	—	5 1 3 3	—	—	18 18 10
Gambia Pods	8 9 2 0	9 7 0 5	15 14 1 17	29 17 6	82 19 2	[illegible]
Ground Nuts	652 4 0 18	202 15 3 6	340 12 3 6	3,750 3 9	1,166 1 0	[illegible]
Gum Arabic	91 19 1 3	202 17 0 4	200 12 1 7	1,563 7 0	3,448 9 7	[illegible]
„ Copal	—	—	22 0 2 27	—	—	[illegible]
„ Elemi	—	—	3 7 2 28	—	—	[illegible]
Igara	—	1 4 2 13	—	—	7 12 8	—
Indigo	0 1 0 0	—	—	17 2 8	—	—
Ivory	17 9 0 24	18 7 2 11	12 15 0 14	11,815 0 6	9,051 17 0	[illegible]
Kino	—	—	0 3 1 19	—	—	11 2 8
Mandioca Flour	24 16 0 16	9 6 0 2	1 2 0 8	245 1 6	98 0 2	11 0 9
Oguru Seed	—	—	10 11 1 24	—	—	704 16 9
Palm Kernels	474 6 0 0	495 2 0 0	1,600 4 3 6	3,046 13 4	3,242 18 1	10,481 11 6
Rubber	107 10 3 22	192 13 3 16	198 1 2 18	11,905 10 0	21,888 5 11	21,927 15 11
Shea Butter	626 12 3 0	266 2 1 16	181 16 0 2	14,412 13 3	6,162 5 0	4,181 8 5
Shea Nuts	1,406 4 2 10	3,419 4 3 9	1,422 9 0 0	10,918 13 6	26,489 2 6	[illegible]
Tin	—	—	1 1 2 17	—	—	78 18 8
Wood Oil	3,480 galls.	10,529 galls.	20,879½ galls.	522 0 0	1,579 7 0	3,131 13 6
Total ...	3,489 12 2 10	4,900 12 1 14	4,252 9 1 19	58,799 9 10	73,272 17 10	[illegible]

C.—TOTAL TRADE of the NIGER COMPANY, LIMITED, with NORTHERN NIGERIA.

———	1901.	1902.	Decrease.
	£	£	£
Imports ... ... (A1, A2, and A3.)	112,405	81,684	30,721
Exports	73,273	68,442	4,831
Total	185,678	149,626	35,552

D.—TOTAL CASH TRADE by the NIGER COMPANY, LIMITED, in NORTHERN NIGERIA.

1900.	1901.	1902.
£	£	£
31,734	35,685	53,715

APPENDIX VII.

(*See paragraph* 120.)

ABSTRACT OF REVENUE for the YEARS 1899–1900 to 1902–3.

—	1899–1900. (one quarter) Actual.			1900–1. Actual.			1901–2. Actual.			1902–3. (Estimate).		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Local Revenue:—												
Licenses, Excise, &c.	13	17	10	332	5	5	631	0	8	2,075	0	0
Fees of Court, &c. ...	24	12	0	415	19	3	1,393	14	10	1,475	0	0
Post Office and Telegraphs.	—			641	3	0	1,283	11	1	1,000	0	0
Interest	—			28	14	9	29	11	9	—		
Rents of Government Property.	—			—			1	0	0	500	0	0
Miscellaneous... ...	—			761	11	8	1,085	1	10	550	0	0
Total	38	9	10	2,179	14	1	4,424	0	2	5,600	0	0
Imperial Grant-in-Aid	56,530	0	0*	88,800	0	0*	280,000	0	0	290,000	0	0
Contribution from Southern Nigeria.	—			44,750	0	0	34,000	0	0	34,000	0	0
Total Receipts ...	56,568	9	10	135,729	14	1	318,424	0	2	329,600	0	0

* Not inclusive of grant for W.A.F.F.

ABSTRACT of EXPENDITURE for the YEARS 1899–1900 to 1902–3.

Heads of Expenditure.	1899–1900. Civil Expenditure only (one Quarter). Actual.			1900–1. Civil Expenditure only. Actual.			1901–2. Actual.			1902–3. (Estimate.)		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1. High Commissioner's Office.	758	11	8	3,858	3	2	3,848	18	0	4,229	10	0
2. Secretariat	310	9	8	1,901	8	0	2,145	3	7	2,525	10	0
3. Political (and Slave Home).	491	13	11	7,470	11	6	11,418	14	4	30,487	10	0
4. Stipends to Chiefs...	15	0	0	125	5	0	—			—		
5. Judicial	438	8	11	1,719	17	9	1,786	0	7	2,610	8	0
6. Treasury	545	14	2	2,986	16	1	3,738	12	8	6,211	15	0
7. Postal and Telegraphs.	426	2	5	5,530	2	8	5,726	2	3	6,437	5	0
8. Medical	1,255	15	6	6,744	17	8	16,360	2	7	22,306	16	0
9. Printing	71	0	10	361	4	11	956	1	11	1,286	5	0
10. Audit	—			506	12	8	832	7	4	1,251	2	0
11. Police and Prisons...	159	3	0	1,522	18	3	3,596	12	11	5,991	10	0
Carried forward												

ABSTRACT of EXPENDITURE for the YEARS 1899–1900 to 1902–3—*cont.*

Heads of Expenditure.	1899–1900. Civil Expenditure only (one Quarter). Actual.	1900–1. Civil Expenditure only. Actual.	1901–2. Actual.	1902–3. (Estimate.)
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Brought forward				
12. Store and Issue (and Transport).	374 16 0	2,501 0 9	4,197 5 8	5,164 6 0
13. W.A.F.F.	—	—	132,588 1 8	129,372 18 10
14. Marine and Workshops.	1,774 6 9	15,756 19 1	29,103 2 8	26,869 0 0
15. Miscellaneous ...	1,190 12 4	5,489 12 2	27,840 10 11	31,729 0 0
16. Public Works Department (and P.W. Recurrent).	28 6 10	6,158 2 11	10,014 16 10	13,146 8 0
Total Ordinary Annual Expenditure.	7,889 17 0	62,578 12 7	254,187 18 11	289,118 18 10
17. P.W. Extraordinary	30,198 5 4	22,686 15 4	42,998 5 2	66,758 0 0
18. New Steamers, &c....	7 8 2	11,191 12 1	—*	
19. Railway Survey ...	—	—	1,383 6 11	
Total	38,045 10 6	96,457 0 0	298,519 6 0	355,876 18 10
W.A.F.F. Expenditure, March, 1901, not brought to account in 1900–1.	—	—	54,567 4 6	—

* Included under "Marine."

STATEMENT of the AMOUNTS EXPENDED, compared with the AMOUNTS GRANTED for the SERVICE of the WEST AFRICAN FRONTIER FORCE in NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1897–8—1900–1.

Year.	Grant.	Expenditure.
	£	£ s. d.
1897–98...	130,000	95,690 12 1
1898–99...	250,000	221,724 1 2
1899–1900	250,000	148,377 17 2
1900–1901	200,000	145,399 15 10

NOTE.—The surplus shown on the account for each year was surrendered to the Imperial Exchequer.