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Gt. Brit. Colonial office.

COLONIAL REPORTS—ANNUAL.

347

No. 346.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

REPORT FOR THE PERIOD FROM 1ST JANUARY, 1900, TO 31ST MARCH, 1901,

BY THE

HIGH COMMISSIONER OF NORTHERN NIGERIA,

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR F. LUGARD, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty.

February, 1902.

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No. 346.

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900–1901.

NORTHERN NIGERIA.

(Report for period from 1st January, 1900, to 31st March, 1901.)

London, 1st May, 1901.

Ceremony of transfer

Arriving at the end of December, 1899, I took over the administration from the Royal Niger Company, and the Union Flag was hoisted in place of the Company's, at 7.20 a.m., at Lokoja, on January 1st, 1900, in presence of a parade of all arms, at which all civilians were present in uniform.

Incorporation of Royal Niger Constabulary.

My first task was to take over the Royal Niger Constabulary and to incorporate them in the West African Frontier Force, with the exception of 300 serving in Southern Nigeria. That Protectorate required about 160 more to complete its strength, and I was able to obtain this number of willing volunteers through the influence of Major Burdon, their late Commander. I also called for volunteers for the Gold Coast, but without success. Fifty of the men were detailed for Civil Police, and after the selection of these, and the discharge of a certain number who were time-expired and of a few who were not considered to be useful soldiers, there remained sufficient for incorporation in the West African Frontier Force to bring the establishment to full strength, for the first time since the force was raised. A few senior non-commissioned officers remained in excess, but these could not be discharged without a breach of contract and were gradually absorbed. Matters connected with the deferred pay, armament, and clothing of the men transferred, occupied some time, but everything was satisfactorily accomplished by the indefatigable work of Colonel (now Sir James) Willcocks and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole. The re-distribution of the garrisons

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NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900–1901.

Preventive service.

throughout the Protectorate was immediately arranged, and I detailed two companies to form a preventive service on the south frontier, from the Niger to Borgu, whence to the French frontier the garrisons in Borgu would continue the line. The outbreak in Ashanti, unfortunately, compelled me to withdraw these troops during the greater part of the year. A certain amount of liquor continues to be smuggled into Northern Nigeria, but so far as I can ascertain it is small and chiefly enters by canoes along the Niger waterway from Southern Nigeria. The raising of the duties in Lagos has, no doubt, had a great effect in decreasing the liquor traffic, and while the revenue from spirits has, I am informed (by the Governor of Lagos), suffered no diminution, and an increase of £5,000 is anticipated next year (in consequence of the consumption of existing stocks), the import has decreased by at least a third. The result is, naturally, especially felt in the towns furthest from the coast, and Sir William MacGregor informs me that little or no liquor is to be found in the frontier villages. I am unable to give any statistics, owing to the withdrawal of the preventive service for Ashanti.

Company's depôts.

I immediately took steps to survey the commercial stations and waterside depôts assigned under the terms of the transfer to the new Niger Company, and with the exception of Liaba (unoccupied) and of the three small depôts beyond Ibi, on the Benué, which I have not found time to visit, these stations have been accurately surveyed, and agreements drawn up, which have been approved.

Surveys north of the Niger.

In accordance with the views which I had submitted to the Secretary of State, I lost no time in sending out survey parties to examine the country lying to the north of the Niger, between the river Kaduna and the eastern highlands of Bautshi. Mr. Wallace informs me that representatives of the tribes of these parts (in whose country the new administrative centre will be) had come with presents, in 1899, asking for protection, and eager to welcome Europeans. Lieutenant-Colonel Morland took charge of one party, with a powerful fighting force in case of difficulties with the Emirs of Bida, Kontagora, and Zaria. His instructions were to survey the course of the Kaduna as far as Ghierko, together with the country to the east towards the Gurara river. Lieutenant Monck-Mason proceeded with a smaller party up the Gurara, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole undertook the survey of the Okwa river. These parties were instructed to avoid all hostilities, and to make every effort to win the confidence of the peoples whose territories were traversed; full reports on the economic and geographical conditions were to be submitted, and they would especially look out for an advantageous site for the establishment of the future administrative centre; they would unite in the neighbourhood of Ghierko, and if time permitted would then make a further survey towards Bautshi. Excellent

work was done, and much topographical information was obtained which will be invaluable in correcting existing maps. Early in May, Colonel Willcocks, commandant, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kemball, second in command, left headquarters to join the survey parties, which had, by that time, all reached Ghierko. The former was recalled for the Ashanti campaign, but Colonel Kemball joined the survey and brought the combined parties back. Some opposition was met with by Lieutenant Monck-Mason, who found himself compelled to fight the intractable tribes near Chikara, who had attacked him without provocation, and Lieutenant-Colonel Cole was also compelled to reduce the large pagan town of Limu (near Ghierko), whose inhabitants had kidnapped one of our carriers and refused to render him up. These operations, in which Colonel Cole, Major Bryan, Captain Abadie, Lieutenant Symonds, Sergeant Heffernan, R.A., and Colour-Sergeant Moran were wounded, were very ably and successfully carried through, and have been fully reported. The tribes concerned were those who make a practice of attacking all caravans, and closing the trade routes, and their defeat tended to open up the routes to the interior.

Other surveys.

Meanwhile, the late Mr. Carnegie had done some admirable survey work in the Illorin district, and Major Burdon had produced some valuable sketches in the Lower Benué province, while other survey work by political and military officers had been sent in from various parts of the Protectorate, and this, with all later additions will, I hope, form material for much improvement in the map of the country. Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, Captain Abadie, and Captain Molesworth (who accompanied Colonel Kemball), have done especially good work.

Telegraph construction.

On my arrival, I found that the telegraph line under construction from Lokoja to Ibi, on the Benué, had been arrested by the hostility of the Munshi tribes, with whom the telegraph escort was engaged in fighting. A strong expedition, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, was at once organised, and by the end of March the Munshi country, to the north of the Benué, had been traversed by our troops, and severe loss inflicted on the tribe in a series of engagements. These people use poisoned arrows of a very deadly kind, and are a constant source of trouble, firing at canoes proceeding up the river, and defying authority in the dense forest and undergrowth which cover their country. The principal chiefs made submission, but the season was already too far advanced to admit of the extension of the telegraph beyond Akwaneja, on the borders of Munshiland, 100 miles from the Niger. The staff employed had already completed their period of service, and the medical authorities deprecated their stay during another rainy season in the unhealthy swamps and forests of the Munshi country. The lines completed, therefore, are: (1) that from the Lagos frontier to Jebba (connecting with Lagos), and (2) thence to Lokoja, together with the extension from Lokoja to Akwaneja. Subsequently the

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1901.

linesmen of the maintenance party cleared a line, southwards, along the Niger bank for some 25 miles, and poles have been erected along this for 15 miles. The lines now urgently required are, therefore, as follows:—(*a*) The completion of the Lokoja-Ibi line, which I propose to carry further to the north of the Benué so as to avoid the Munshi country. (*b*) A line to connect the new site with the Niger, and to be continued through Kontagora to Illo.

Lokoja.

I had expressed (in former despatches) my strong conviction that Lokoja should be abandoned as an European settlement, and a site further down the river selected, where the sewage of the native town would not vitiate the water supply, where a healthier situation might be found, and the rocks, which have caused the wreck of so many steamers at Lokoja, avoided. It was for this reason I had selected Quendon (25 miles down river), as the site for the workshops, and I had proposed to myself to make the new settlement not far from it. The collapse of the Public Works Department and the delay in the arrival of a capable Director, however, frustrated my plans. I was compelled, moreover, to put up a bungalow at Lokoja, as a shelter for new arrivals, and gradually the possibility of a transfer ceased to be practicable. I found, also, that the ridge (a mile from the town) occupied by the troops, had proved very healthy, and a fine polo ground had been made. I therefore laid out a cantonment, and Mr. Eaglesome commenced to erect the houses of the civil staff on a spur parallel to that occupied by the military lines. This work has, under his able and energetic control, advanced rapidly. Four bungalows and two small public offices are completed, and a fifth bungalow is in course of erection, as well as a masonry gaol and magazine. A market place, clerks' houses, storehouses, &c., &c., are also in course of completion. I attach a tracing of the plan of the cantonment, from which it will be seen that it is in the general form of a horse-shoe, between which and the river lie the houses of the native clerks and artisans, the market, storehouses and engineering yard, &c. All the houses are on high ground and built so as to catch the prevailing breeze. The rank grass and pools enclosed in this area require to be cleared away, and the whole place made sanitary, and for this purpose a considerable expenditure will be necessary in the coming year. I have it in contemplation to gradually move the native town six or seven miles down stream, and so to do away with the pollution of the water, and with other evils such as the proximity of a haven for thieves and prostitutes, the infection of mosquitoes with malarial germs, and the insanitary conditions inevitable around a large native town. I have already taken steps to this end. It will also, probably, be necessary to transfer the workshops to Lokoja—they are too distant at Quendon under this new scheme, but by doing this gradually I hope to incur but

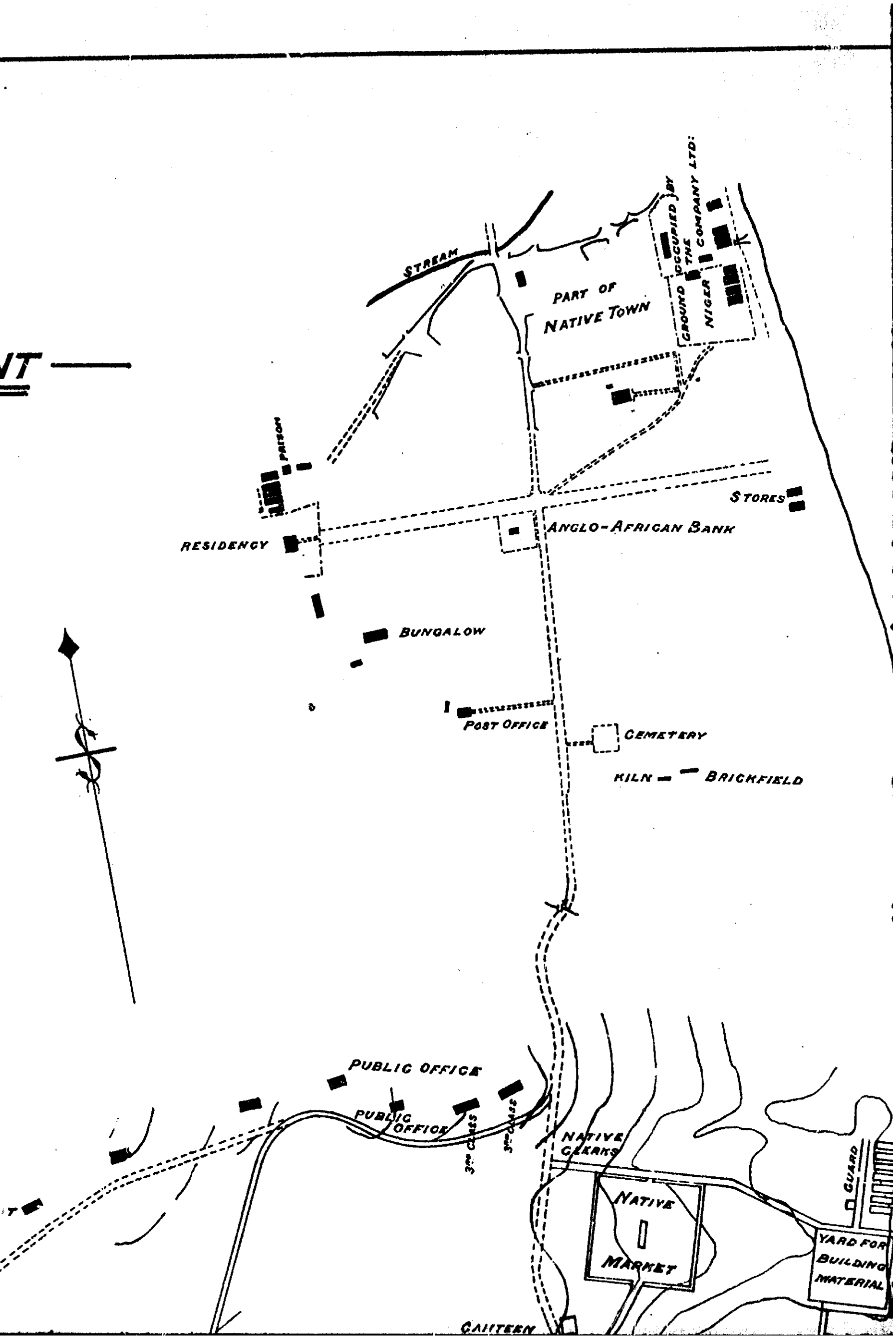
Lokoja cantonment.

C.O. 19520/01

NIGERIA

LOKOJA CANTONMENT

RESIDENT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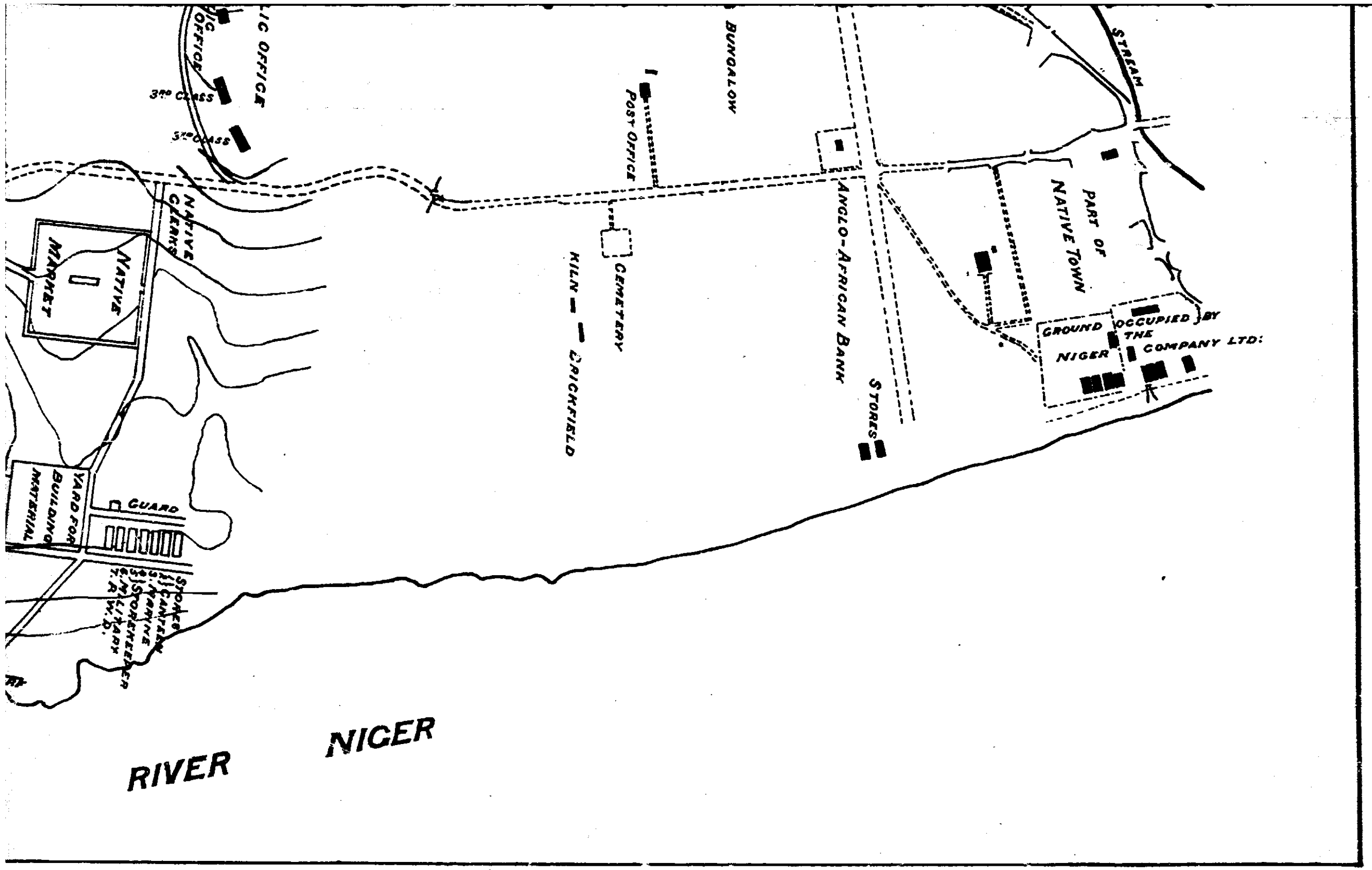
PART OF
NATIVE TOWN
GROUND OCCUPIED BY THE NIGER COMPANY LTD:
PRISON
RESIDENCY
ANGLO-AFRICAN BANK
STORES
BUNGALOW
POST OFFICE
CEMETERY
KILN
BRICKFIELD
PUBLIC OFFICE
PUBLIC OFFICE
3RD CLASS
3RD CLASS
NATIVE CLERKS
NATIVE MARKET
GUARD
YARD FOR BUILDING MATERIAL
CANTEEN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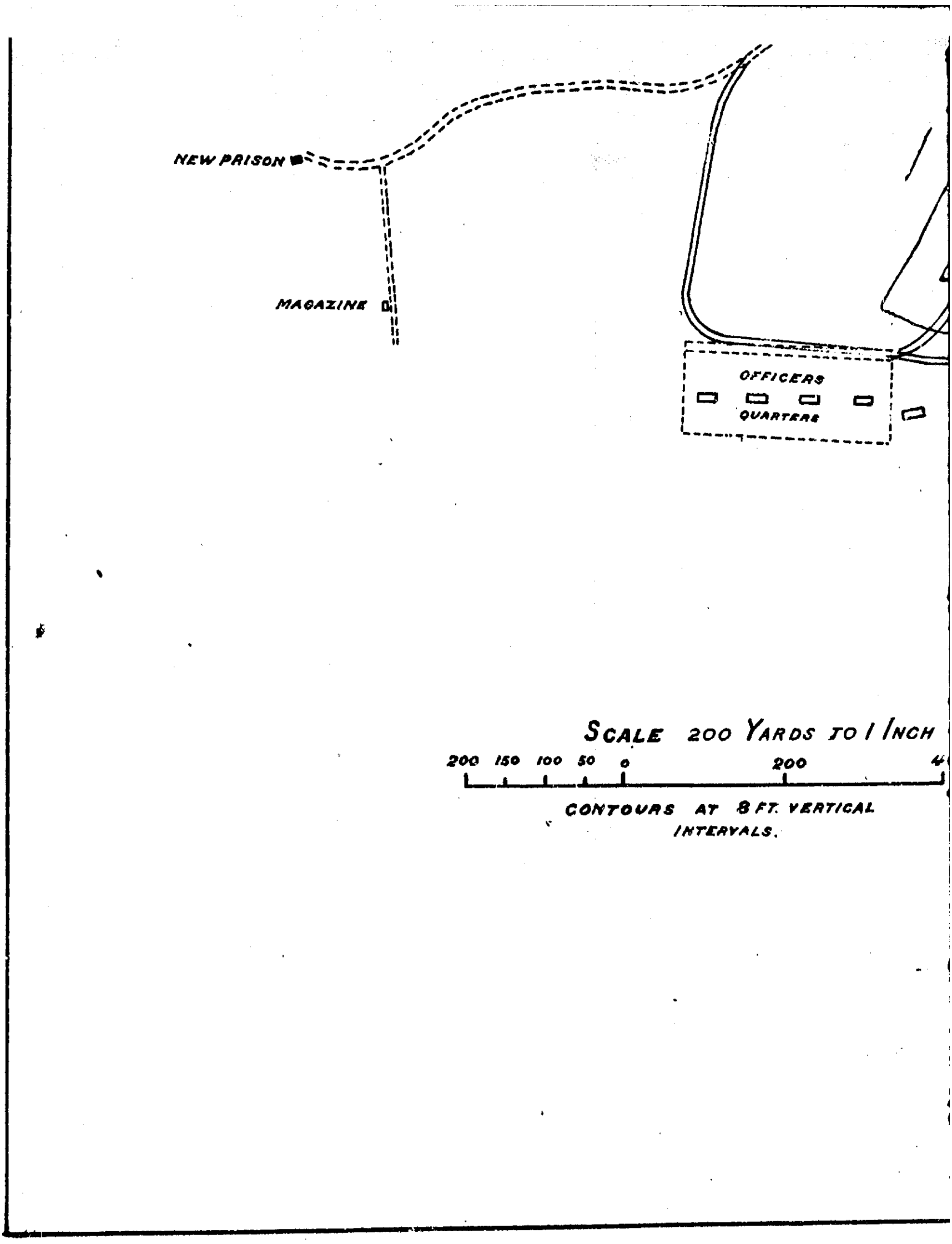
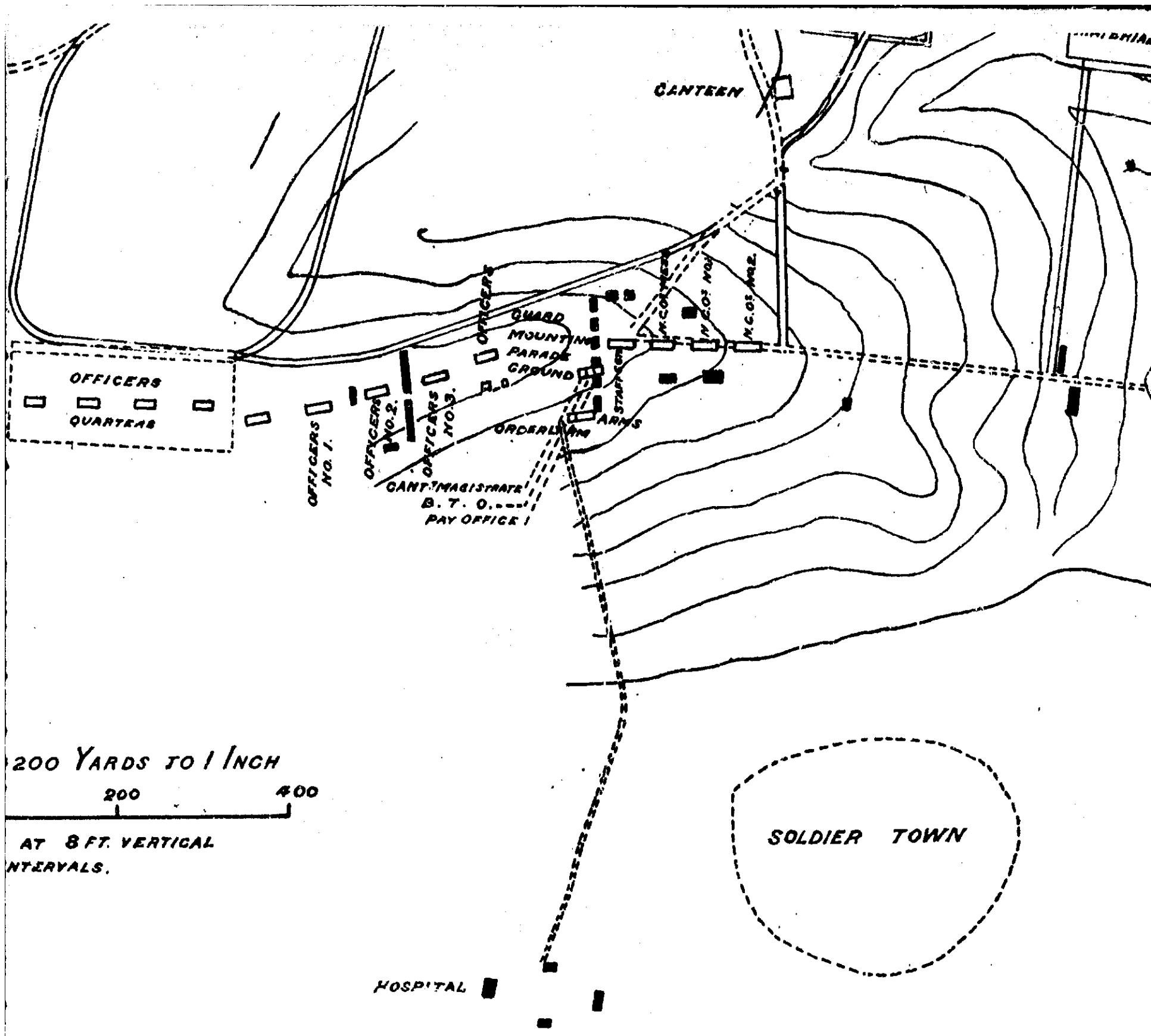


I.D.W.O. No. 1552 (b)



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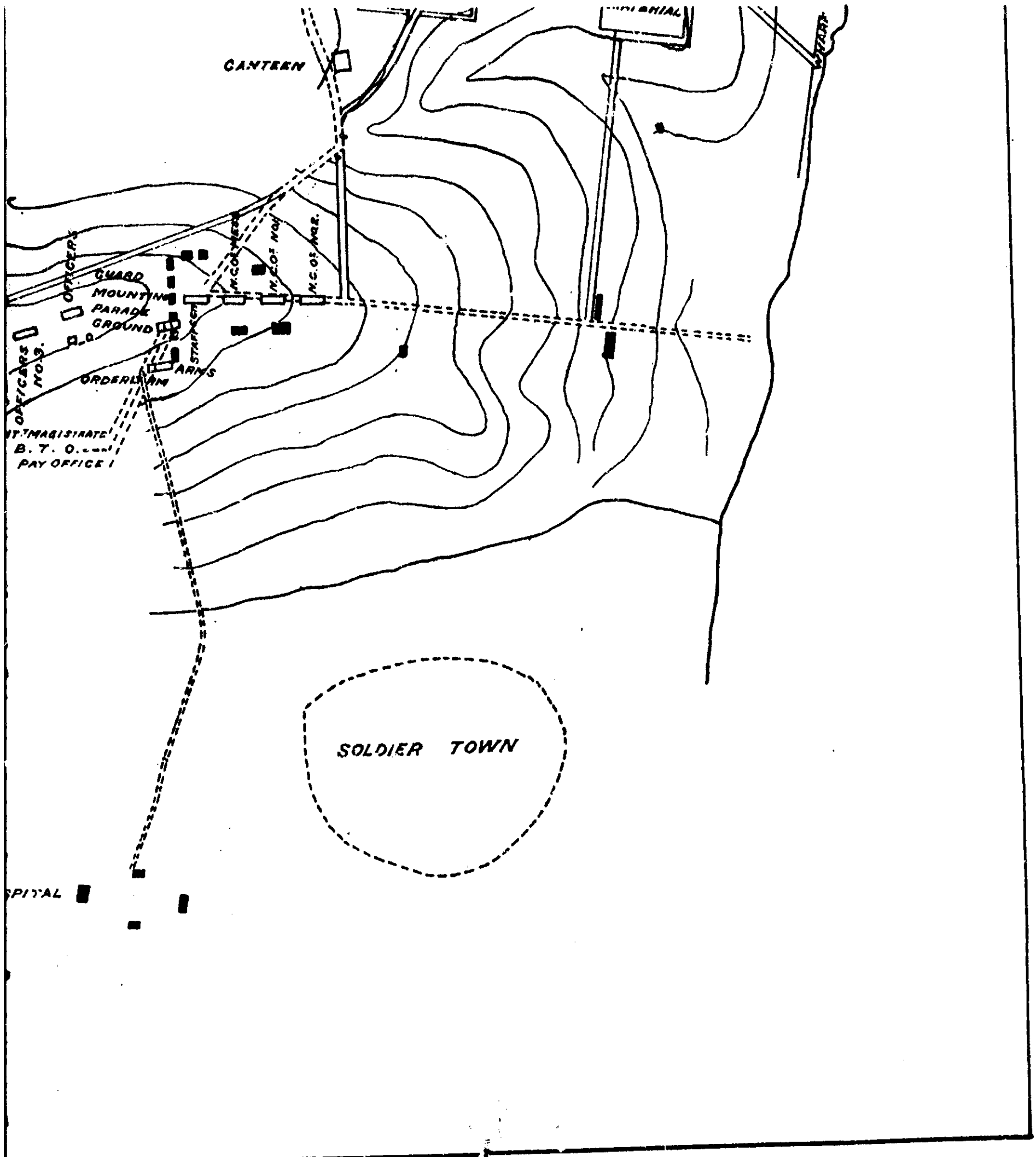


Printed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1901

little expense. On transfer of the administrative headquarters, one or two houses will be left at Jebba for the military detachment, and barracks for one company, West African Frontier Force, require to be erected. A small subsidiary gaol will also be built, for which bricks are now ready, and construction will begin at once.

Jebba.

No steps have, as yet, been taken to provide suitable housing for Europeans at out-stations, and this will require attention as soon as more pressing matters admit of it. Meanwhile, officers and others occupy well-made huts of native construction.

Out stations.

Much difficulty has been experienced in the housing of the Civil Staff, but since the arrival of Mr. Eaglesome, Director of Public Works, in November, 1900, much progress has been made. More houses are, however, required, and the very temporary and small huts for the British officers and non-commissioned officers of the West African Frontier Force must be replaced by a better and healthier class. They have already lasted the period they were expected to last.

Housing.

The reports of the survey parties were received in July or August. A very careful consideration of these led me to the conclusion that, with my present resources, it was impracticable to establish headquarters in the Eastern highlands. No river gives access in that direction to the interior. The Gurara is hopelessly tortuous, and navigation is interrupted by rapids, at a point not more than 30 miles direct from the Niger. In the rains the current is so strong that a steamer can hardly make head against it: in the dry season it is no longer navigable. The Okwa is only navigable a short way, and for a short period. But the greatest difficulty lies in the fact that the surveys did not disclose any practicable means of negociating the steep gradient by which the higher lands fall to the Niger valley. The trend of the Niger south-east from Jebba to Lokoja, also renders the distance from its waterway to any central and feasible site in the eastern highlands much greater than in the west. The neighbourhood of Wushishi, on the other hand, is accessible by the waterway of the Kaduna, which from that point runs due south in a very straight course, and which is navigable (with no strong current) for some four months for large steamers, and practically throughout the year for canoes, as far as Gwari Juko (eight miles below Wushishi). Compelled to decide at once, I selected this position, and, taking advantage of the Kaduna flood in July, August, and September, I pushed forward the wooden houses sent out for erection, and landed them at Wushishi. The outbreak of the Ashanti war left me for the time unable to protect the waterway of the Kaduna from the aggression of Kontagora and Bida, and for some months communication was much interrupted. Nothing could be done towards selecting the actual site of cantonments until after the settlement of the Kontagora-Bida

Selection of new headquarters.

NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1901.

trouble (on the return of the troops from Ashanti), but as soon as this had been accomplished I proceeded at once (on February 19, 1901) to Wushishi, accompanied by Dr. Langley (Acting Principal Medical Officer), Mr. Eaglesome (Director of Public Works), Mr. Scott (Surveyor), and Captain Abadie. Following the course of the Kaduna we found that the river lay in a deep valley. Its bed consisted of gneiss boulders, and at this (the driest) season was broken into a series of clear streams and waterfalls, connecting stretches of deep blue pools. About 10 miles beyond Wushishi the country became very difficult for the construction of a surface tram line. Spurs run down to the river, separated by deep depressions, and the country becomes more and more broken beyond Jimu. We followed round the right-angle bend of the river as far as Makakai, and I then struck due south to ascertain if it were possible to construct a line across from Wushishi.* A fairly level undulating plateau of considerable height extends around Mykunkerri, but is enclosed to westward by a semicircular range of hills. From this point Messrs. Eaglesome and Scott went across to Wushishi to thoroughly examine the intervening country. Briefly, their report was to the effect that the country was difficult, that they had discovered a tortuous gap in the hills, through which probably the tramway could be brought, but that its cost would be very heavy (40 miles), and its construction would take an additional year. There could be no hope of making a move to the new headquarters before the autumn of 1903, and it was probable that the line would be seriously damaged each rains, its up-keep, therefore, involving a heavy annual expenditure. Meanwhile, the materials at Wushishi, already deteriorating rapidly, would have become practically useless, for until the tramway is constructed they cannot be conveyed to the site. I considered it impracticable to go on living, as it were, from hand to mouth, with the temporary expedients I had hitherto employed at Jebba, for two more years. Offices and dwelling-houses must be erected at Jebba, unless the move was to be undertaken in the near future. Not only would these buildings have shortly to be abandoned again, but their erection would occupy my small staff to the further delay of the permanent constructions at the new site. Finally, I was unwilling to recommend this heavy expenditure on a line which, after increased knowledge of the country, might, after all, prove to be by no means the best, and on a site which we might afterwards find to be surpassed in situation and feasibility of access. In order, however, that we might thoroughly prove our conclusions, I determined to strike across to the Kaduna, meeting it at the point at which the difficult country had commenced, thus traversing the diagonal of the circle whose circumference we had traced. It proved, not merely impracticable for a railway, but most difficult to cross at all. Endless hills, separated by deep gorges and valleys, and formed of quartzite rock, offered

* *See* map attached.

C.O.19520/01

SKETCH

PROPOSE

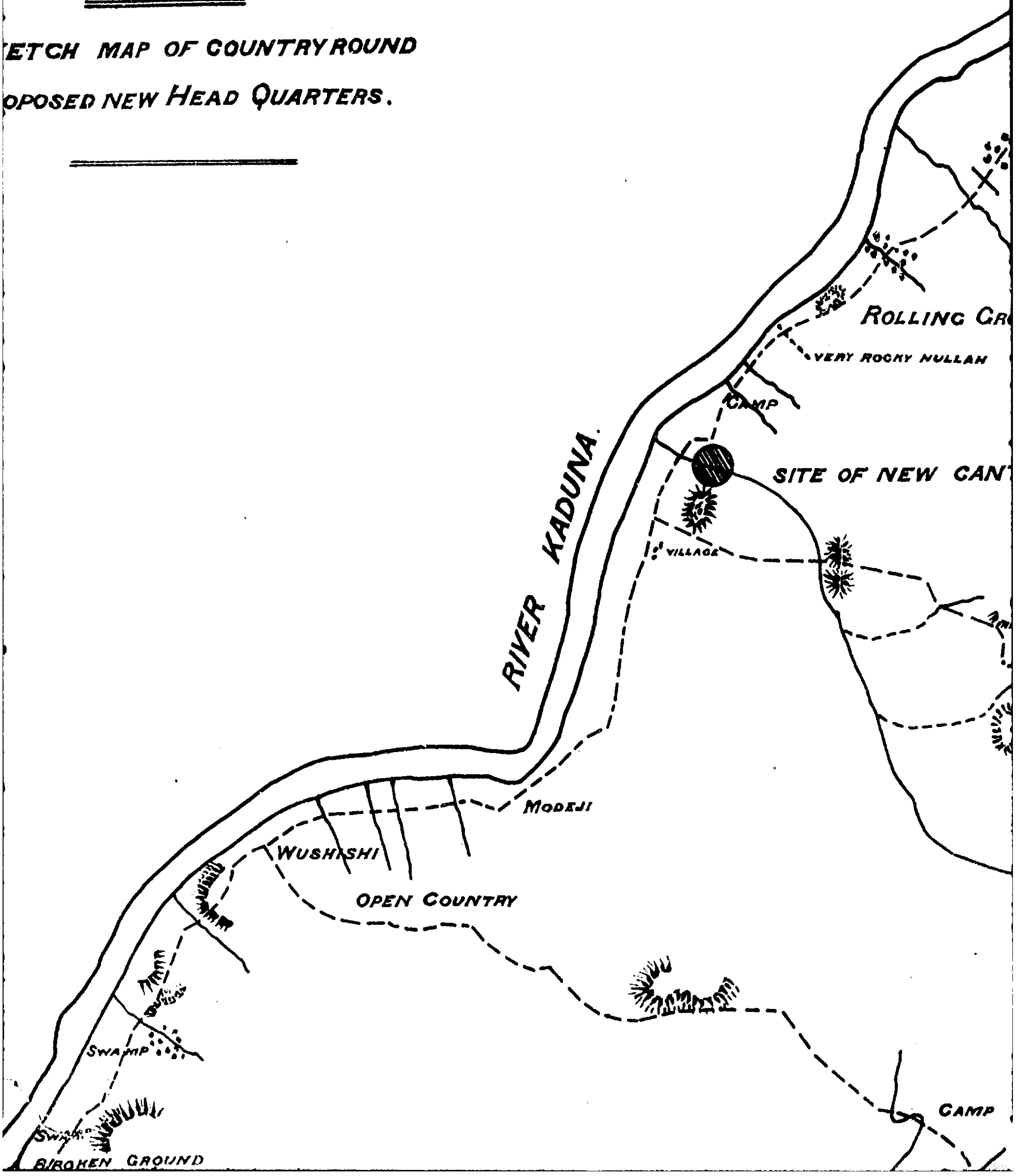
Swyb

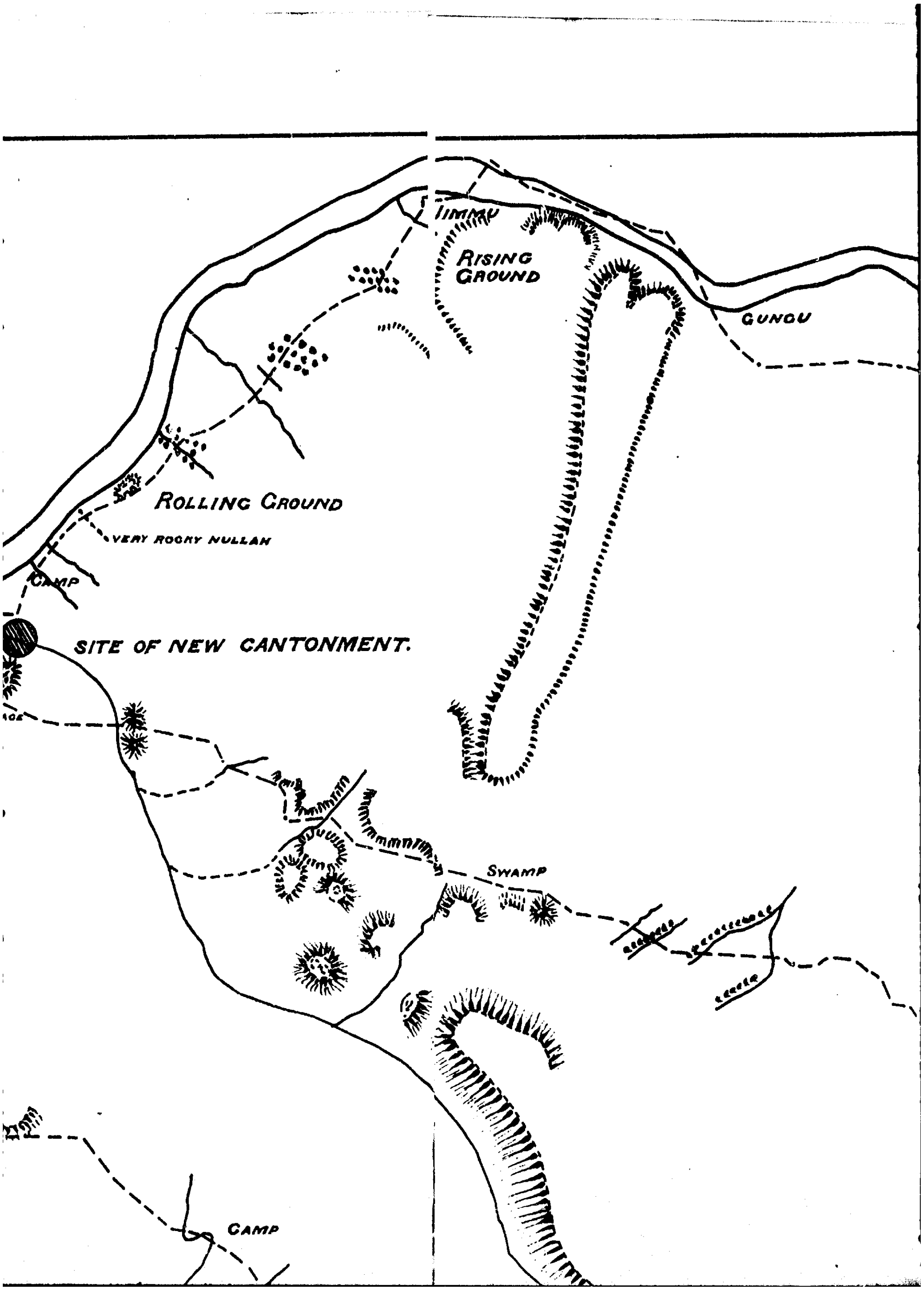
B/ROM

NIGERIA

ETCH MAP OF COUNTRY ROUND

OPOSED NEW HEAD QUARTERS.

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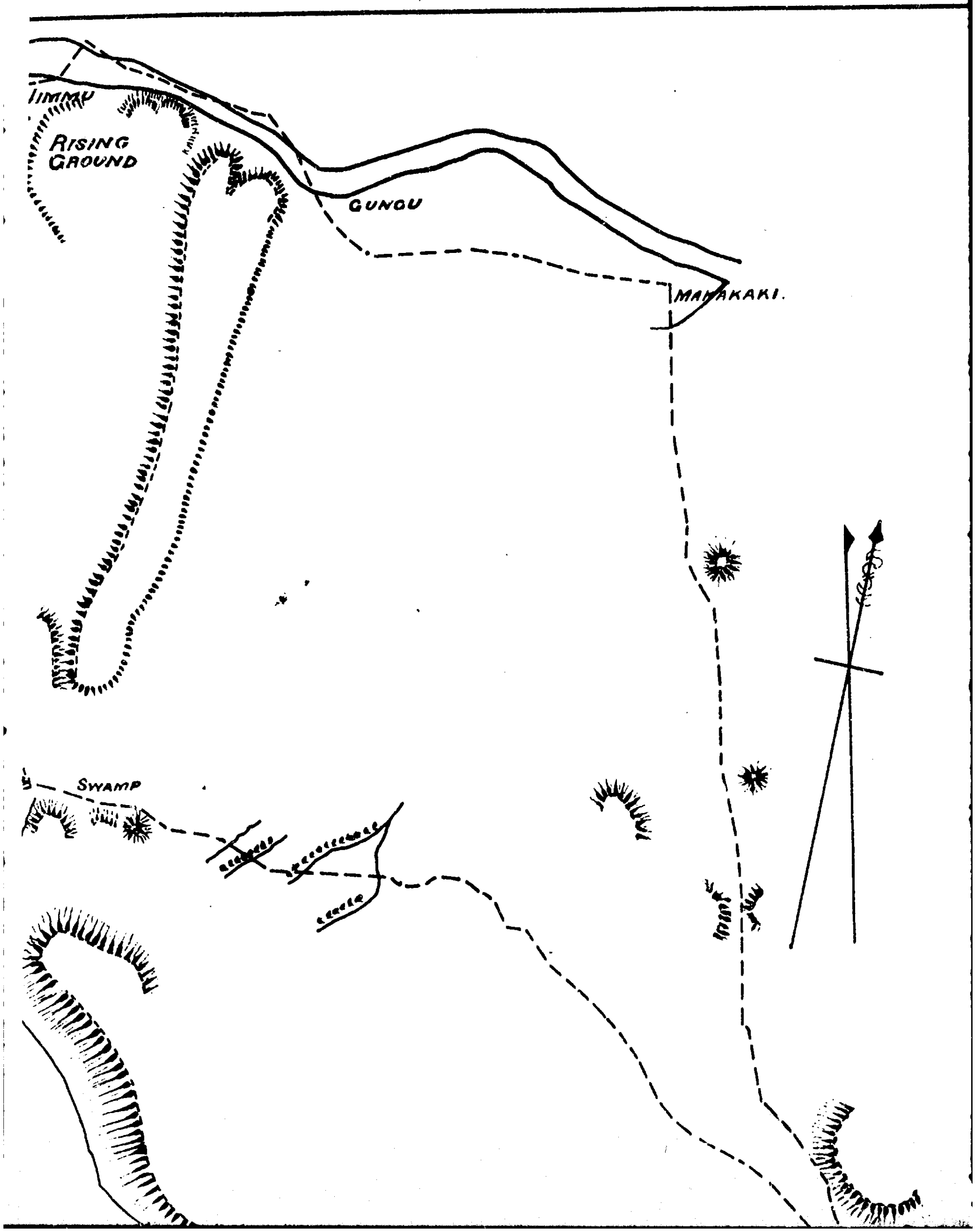
RISING GROUND
GUNGU
ROLLING GROUND
VERY ROCKY NULLAH
CAMP
SITE OF NEW CANTONMENT.
SWAMP
CAMP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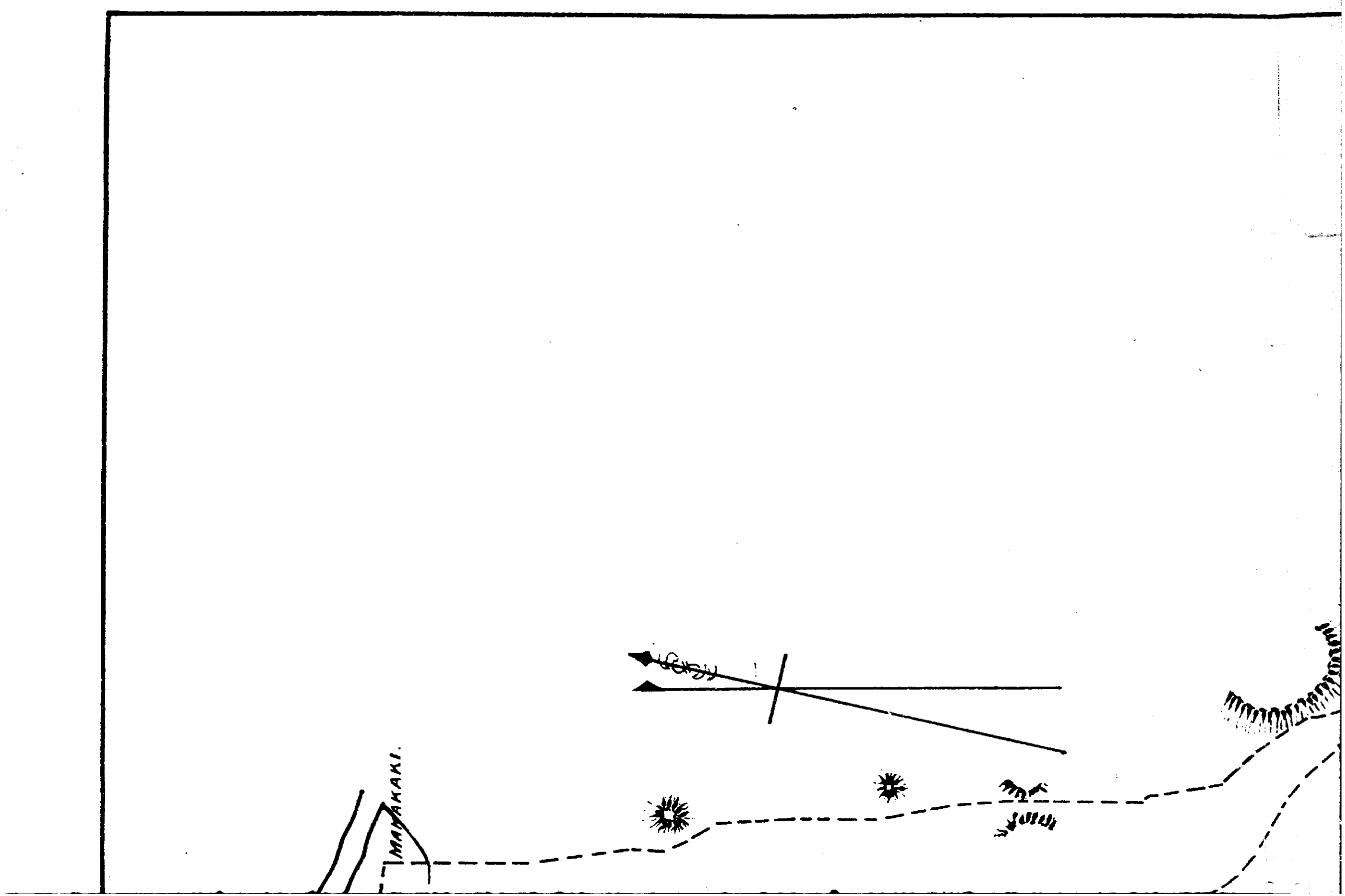
MANAKAKI.
SWAMP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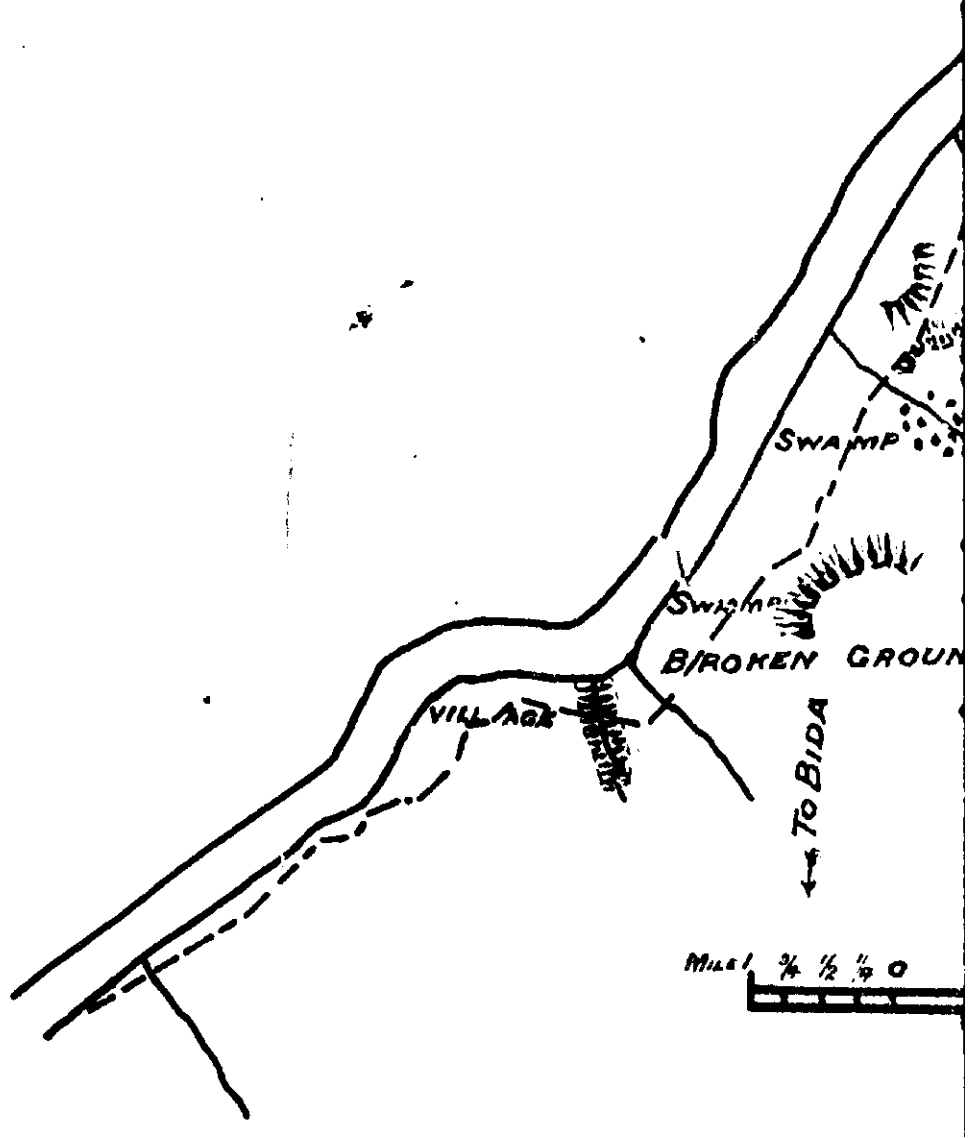

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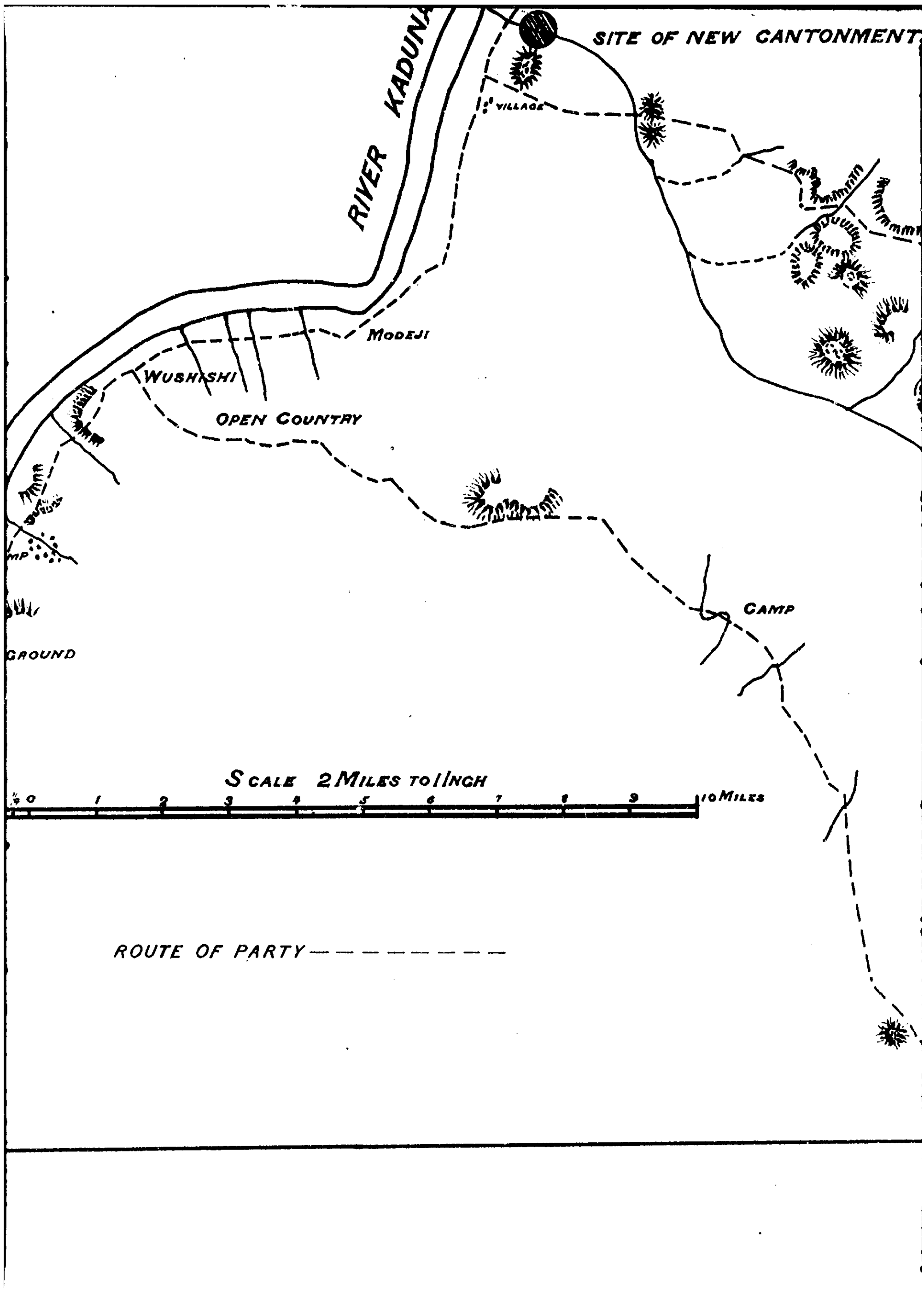
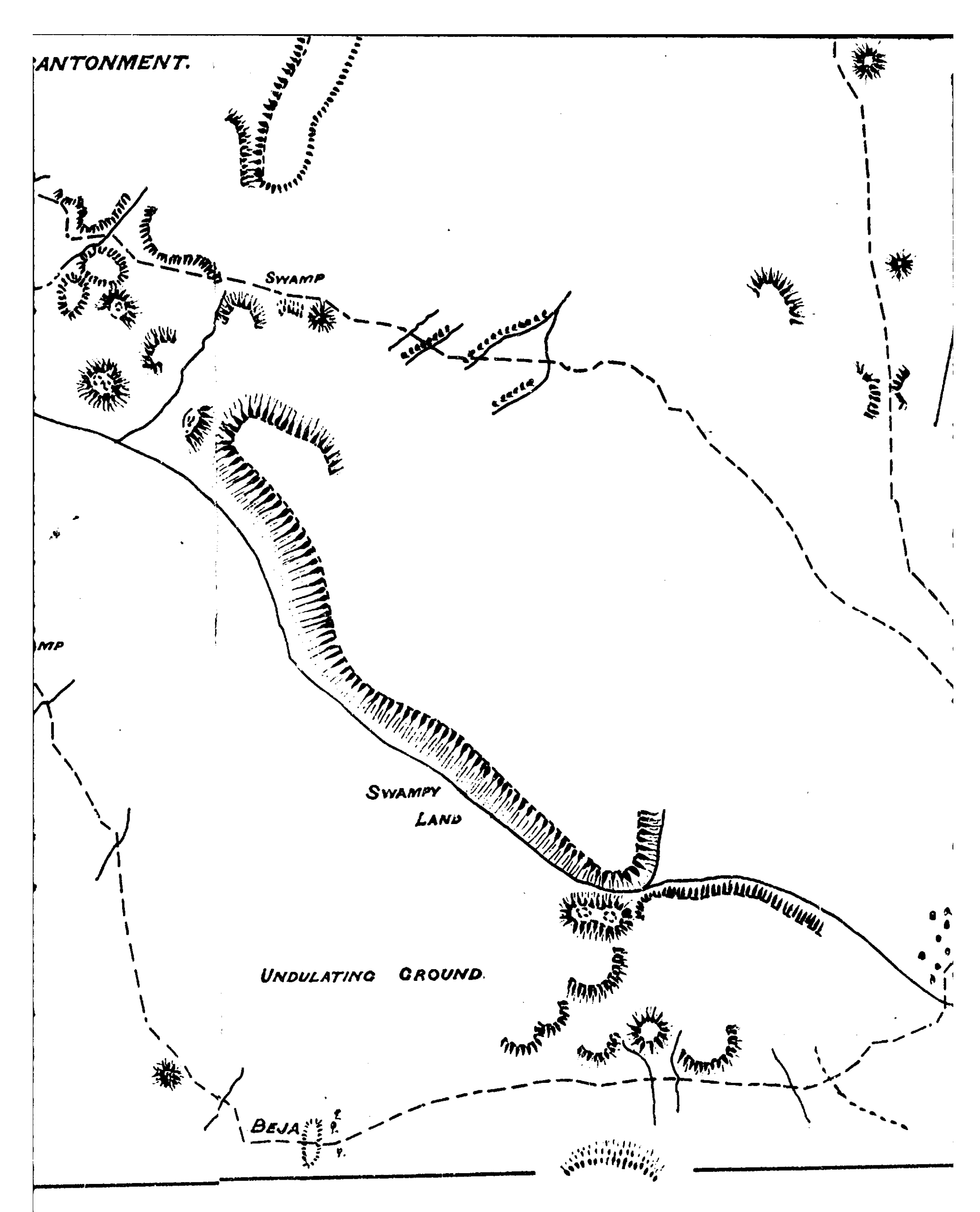

SITE OF NEW CANTONMENT
RIVER KADUNA
VILLAGE
MODEJI
WUSHISHI
OPEN COUNTRY
CAMP
GROUND
SCALE 2 MILES TO 1 INCH
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 MILES
ROUTE OF PARTY


ANTONMENT.
SWAMP
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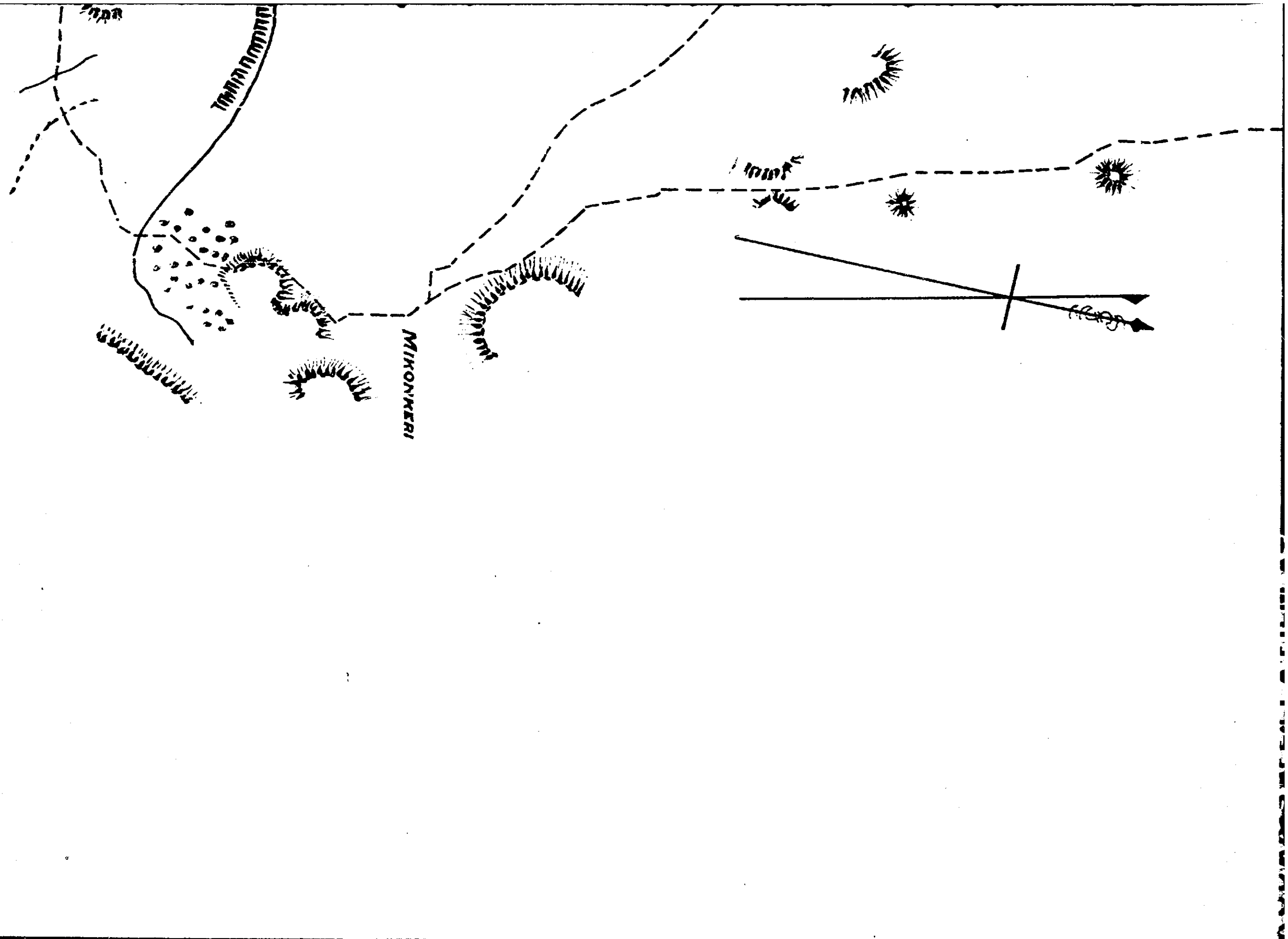
LAND
UNDULATING GROUND.
BEJA

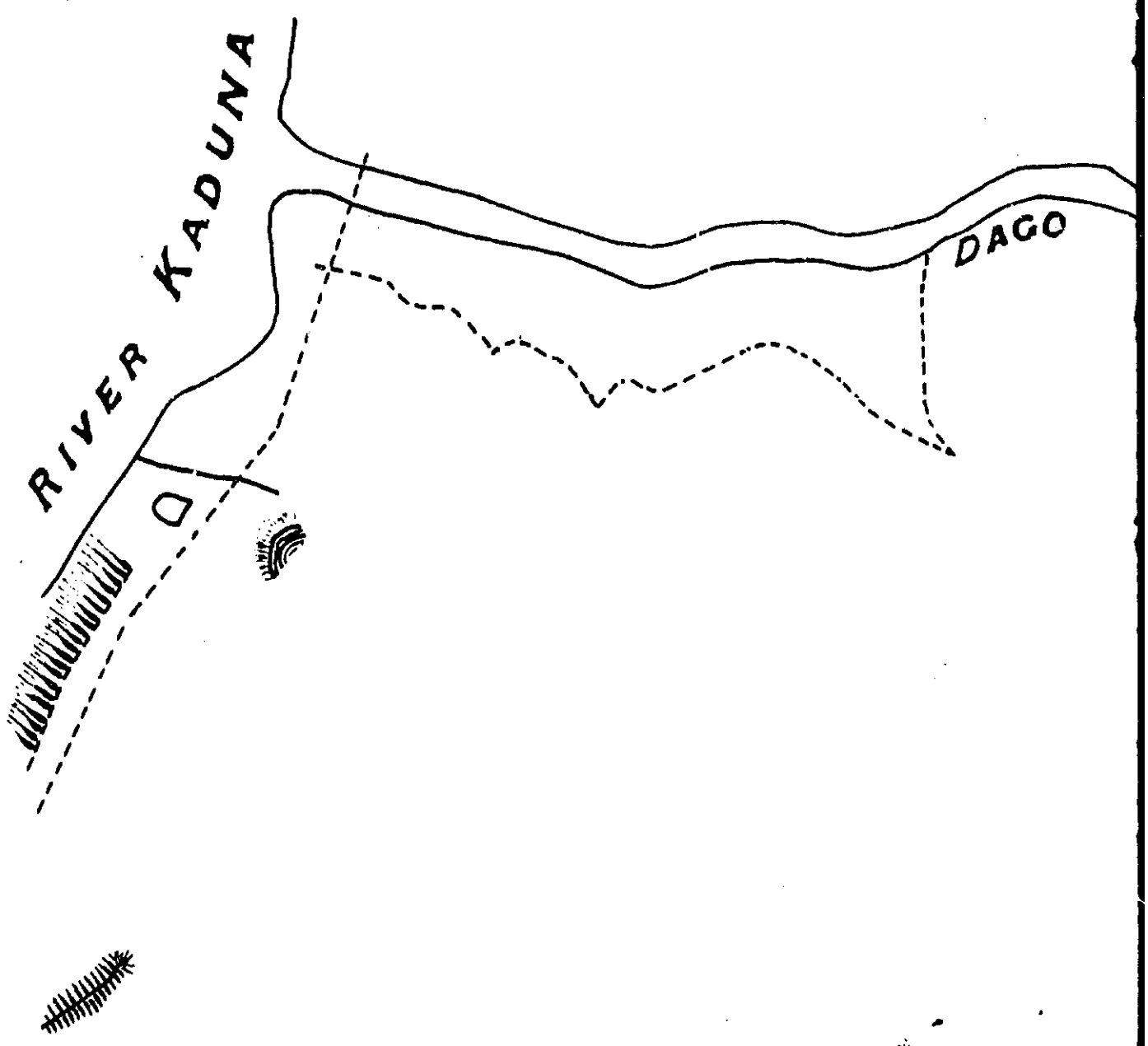

MIKONKERI

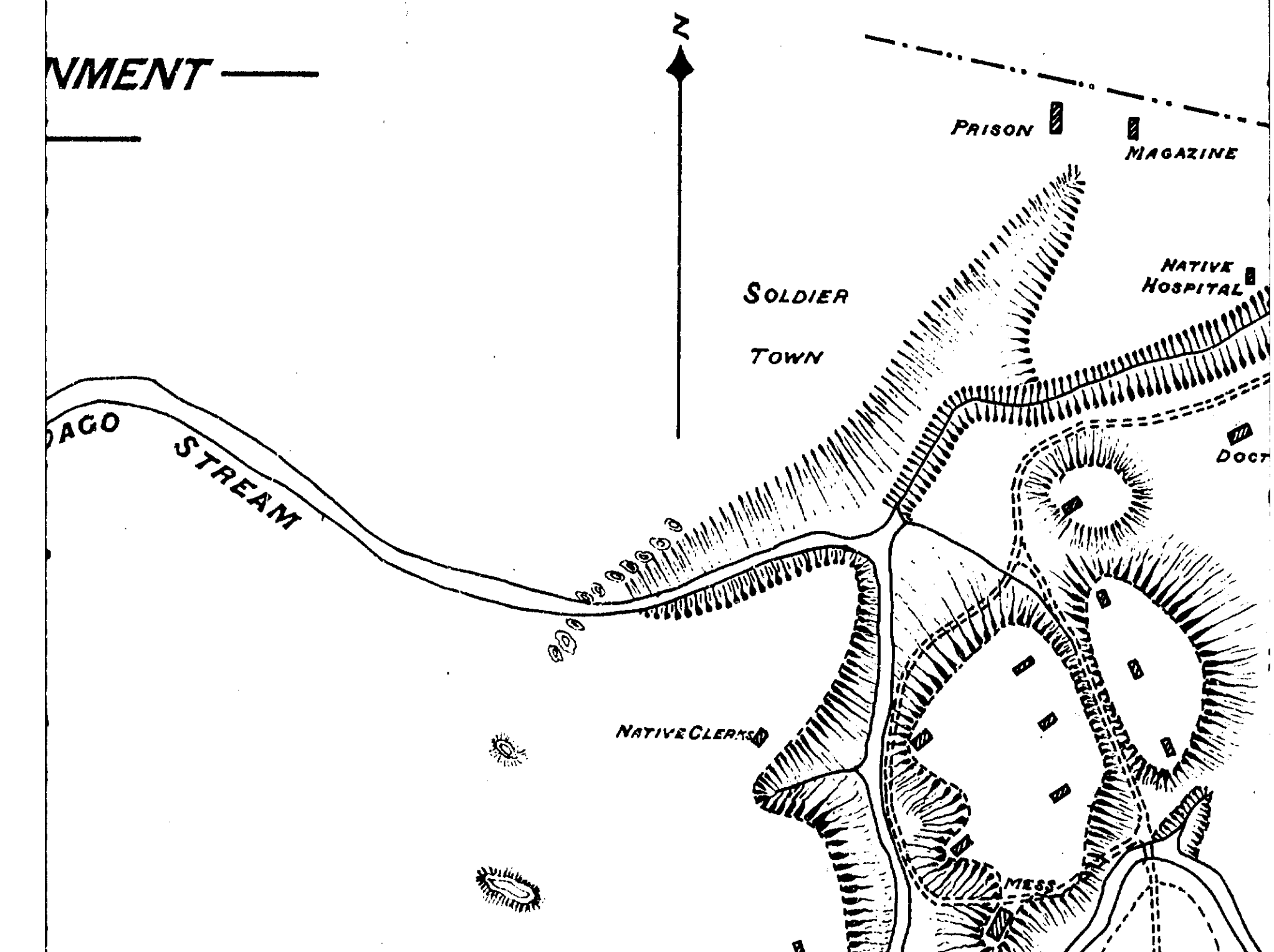
C.O. 19520/01

NIGERIA

PROPOSED NEW CANTONMEN

NEAR WUSHISHI

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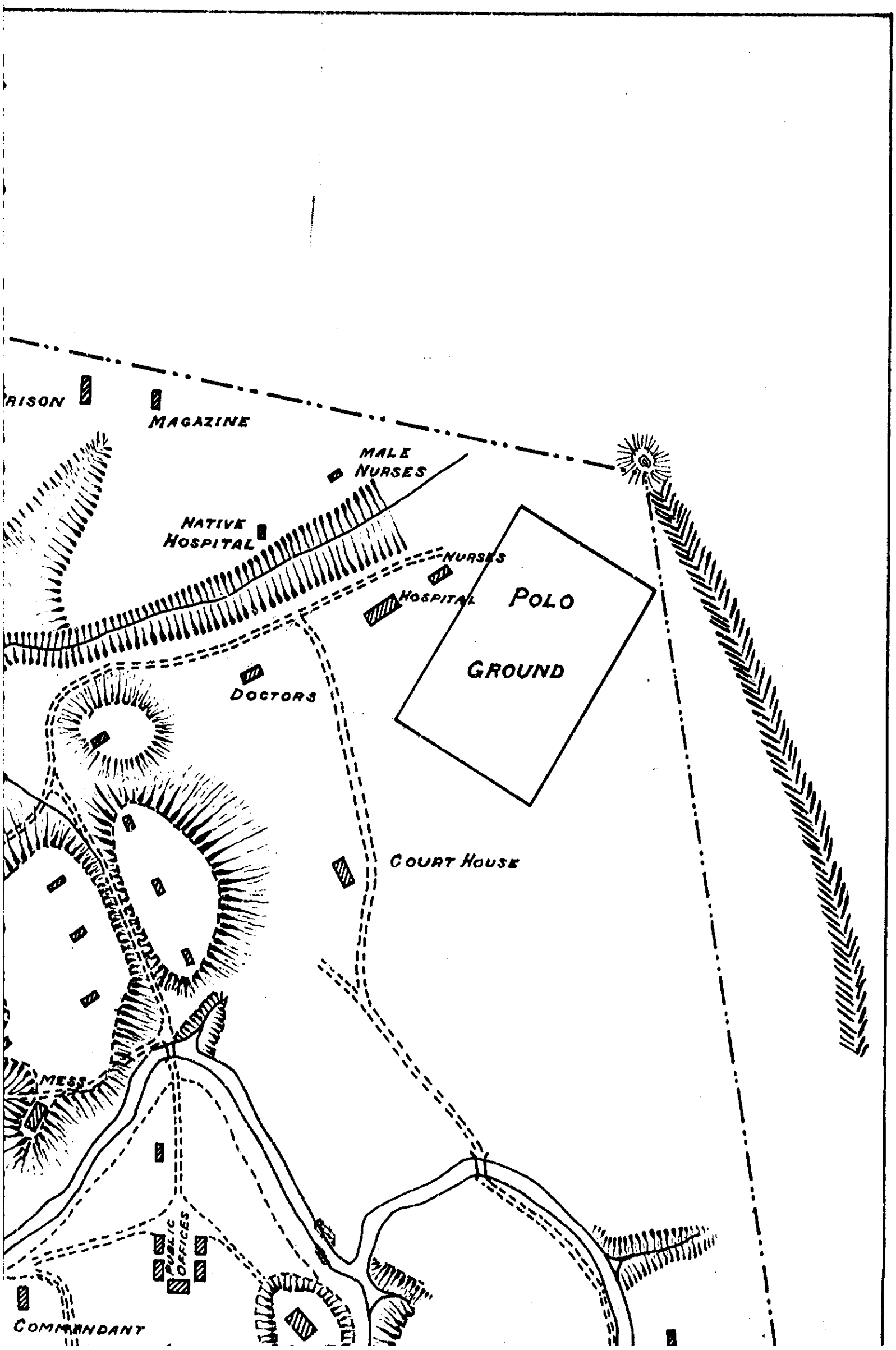
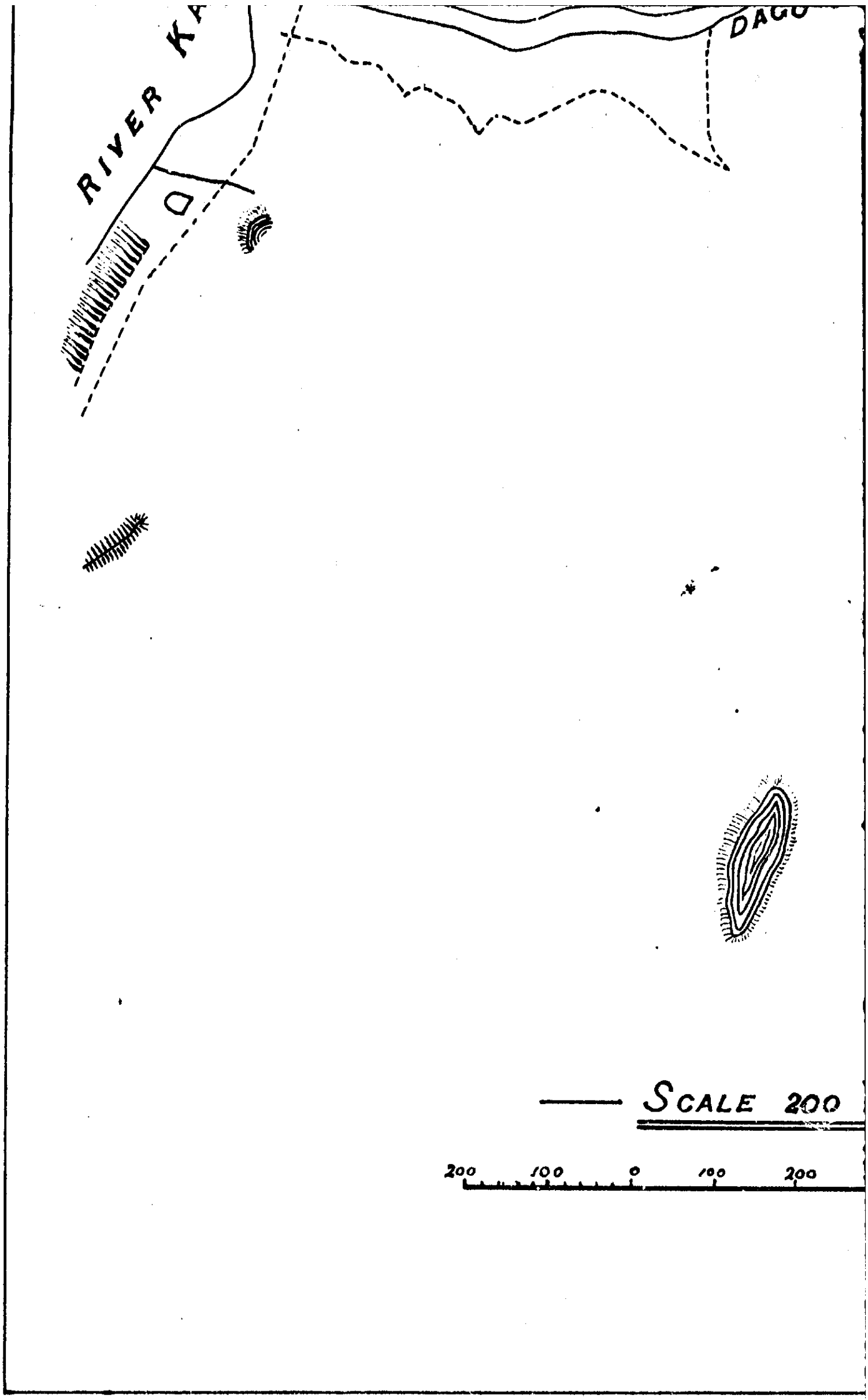
NATIVE HOSPITAL
SOLDIER TOWN
DAGO STREAM
NATIVE CLERKS
MESS


PRISON
MAGAZINE
MALE NURSES
NATIVE HOSPITAL
NURSES
HOSPITAL
POLO GROUND
DOCTORS
COURT HOUSE
MESS
PUBLIC OFFICES
COMMANDANT



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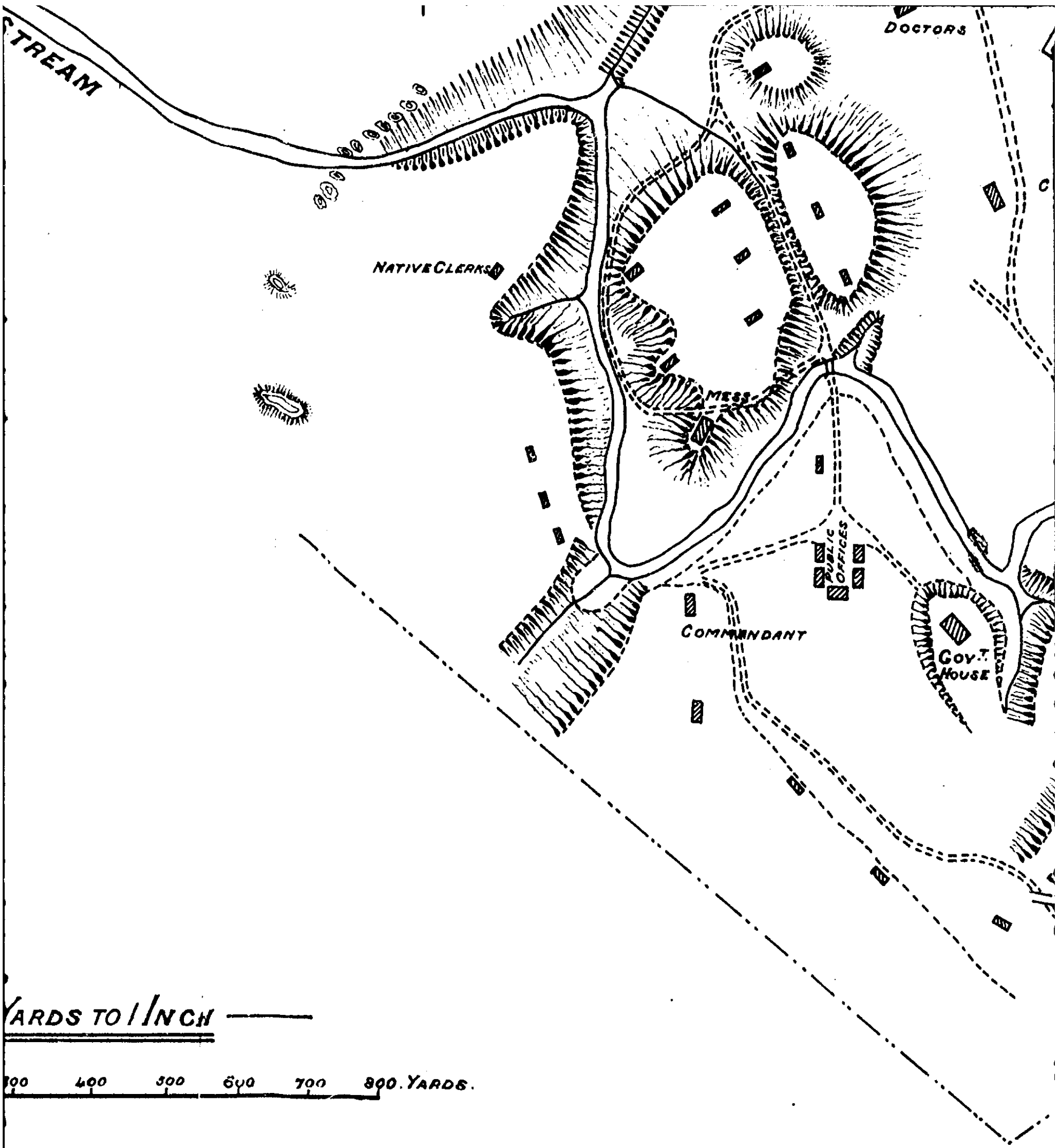
STREAM
DOCTORS
NATIVE CLERKS
MESS
PUBLIC OFFICES
COMMANDANT
GOV.T HOUSE
YARDS TO 1 INCH
400
500
600
700
800. YARDS.

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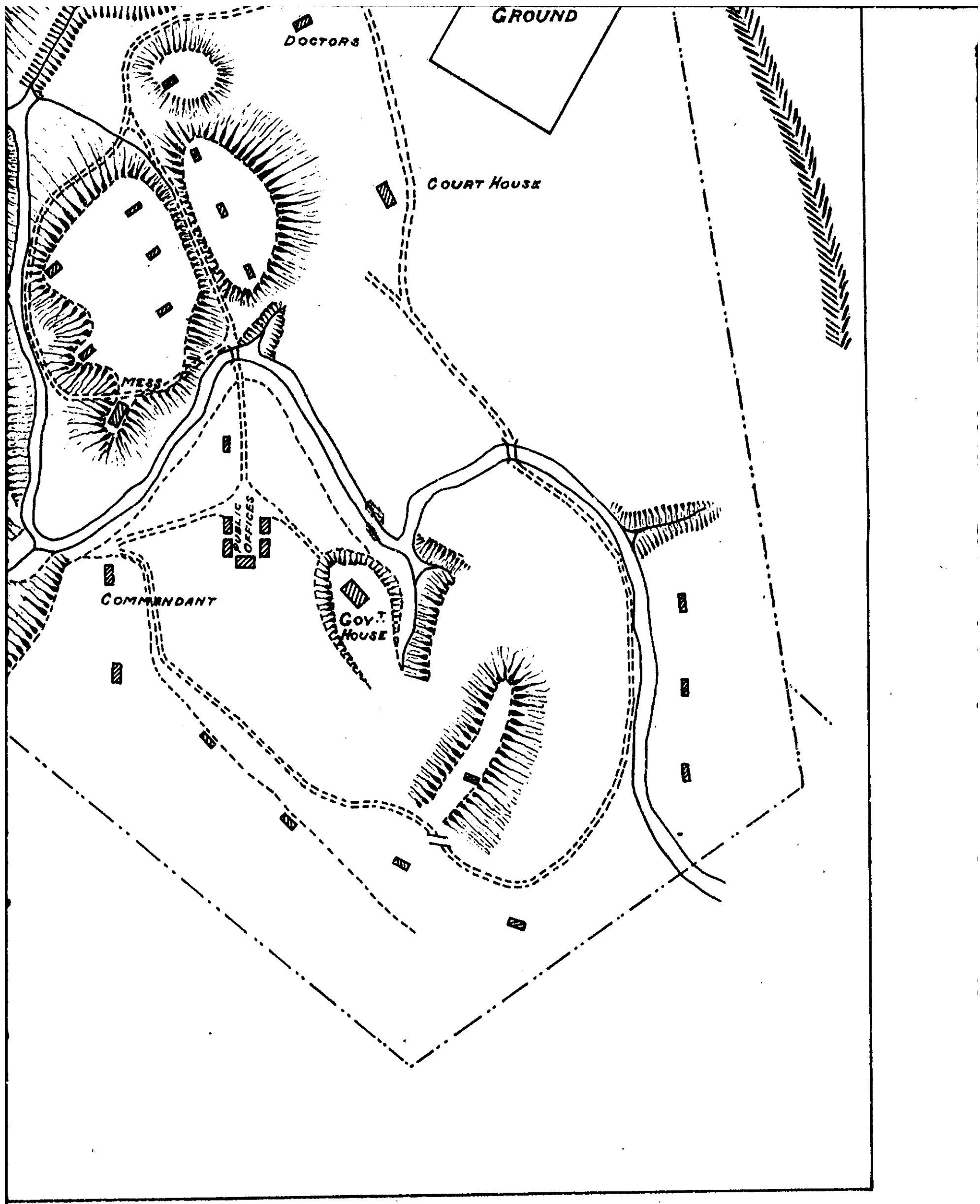

Printed at the Ordnance Survey Office, Southampton, 1901.

an interminable vista on every horizon. The drainage of this barren and inhospitable land was conveyed in several beautiful streams to one main channel, and I conceived that somewhere near the junction of this stream with the Kaduna, I might find a site which would offer some of the advantages I sought. I was anxious that the cantonment should be on both sides of a stream, rather than that it should consist of one long river frontage, involving great distances between the various houses and offices, and consequent delay in work, and exposure to the sun in getting from place to place. Moreover, by building on a tributary stream, I should evade the deep bed of the Kaduna, and every yard inland would add to the elevation, owing to the rapid fall of the ground. We selected a place which offered many advantages. It is about a mile from the Kaduna, and the exceedingly tortuous channel of the stream enables us to so arrange the houses that all have access to it within 200 or 300 yards, at most. In the dry season the stream can hardly be said to flow, but long reaches of deep, clear water, full of large fish, guarantee an ample and good water supply, while at a very little expenditure of work and money, the stream (which offers natural facilities for such operations) can be dammed so as to form a reservoir, and thus converted into a running river all the year round. There is, also, every prospect of our being able to find water by well sinking. The ground offers excellent sites for houses on knolls and ridges, and the intervening ground contains soil in which gardens can be made and trees planted. There is abundance of fuel around, and some fine trees on the site. Its distance from the Kaduna will, I hope, be great enough to free it from the mosquitoes (mostly of the anopheles genus) which infest that valley, and when the stream has been dammed it will be easy to abolish all pools in which these insects can breed. It is nine miles north of Wushishi. I could have wished that it had been a greater distance from the low-lying bed of the navigable Kaduna (at and below Wushishi) and its surrounding marshes, but the prevailing wind is, I believe, from the opposite direction, and, as I have explained, our efforts to find a site further away were unavailing. These nine miles can be covered by a steam tramway without any engineering difficulty whatever.

Having selected the site, I made, in consultation with the Director of Public Works, the Principal Medical Officer, and Captain Abadie, a rough plan of the way in which I propose to lay it out, and I enclose a tracing showing the sites upon which the various buildings will be erected. The dwelling-houses (including Government House), both civil and military, available for erection, are 21 in number, and there is, in addition, a hospital. I propose to build the public offices, court house, gaol, and magazine, of bricks made on the spot. Some more dwelling-houses will be required, but the number already available will, I trust, enable us to move up from Jebba in July of next year,

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if there is no delay in shipping the material for the tramway, and other requisites. The Director of Public Works returns, at once, to make the location of the line, and to begin upon the construction of the permanent way. This construction opens the work of the new (financial) year. I had left Bida on February 19. The examination of the ground was completed and the site selected by March 13th. On 18th I left, and marching rapidly viâ Bida, I reached the Niger (which I had left on February 11th) on March 21st. (I may add here that, having completed my work first at Jebba and then at Lokoja, I met Sir R. Moor at Forcados, on April 4th, and reached Lagos, with him, the following day, in order to confer with the Governor, Sir W. Macgregor, on various matters in accordance with instructions.)

Public works, general.

The abolition of the special staff for the erection of the houses, and the assumption of this task by the permanent Public Works Department, together with the other circumstances I have described, have rendered it impossible to carry out several urgent works which I had proposed to undertake. Among these are the proper sanitation and drainage of Lokoja, the construction of roads—more especially the extension of the Lagos road from the frontier to the Niger, and the improvement of the channel of the Niger by the removal of a few of the rocks and snags. These works are all urgent and must receive attention during the coming year. In addition, a road is required to connect Bida on the one hand, and Kontagora on the other, with the new headquarters. The native chiefs in Borgu, and also on the Upper Benué (under Mr. Hewby's excellent influence), have done something in the way of road making and opening up communication in their districts.

The past year has, of course, been one of initial organisation in the Administrative Departments. I regret that this is not yet as complete as I should have wished to have left it, but the inadequate staff has hampered my efforts, and thrown upon me, personally, so much detail work that I have been unable to accomplish as much in other directions as I otherwise might have done.

Political. Provinces and Residents.

That portion of the Protectorate of which we are in effective occupation has been divided into nine provinces, viz., (1) Illorin; (2) Kabba; (3) Middle Niger; (4) Lower Benué; (5) Upper Benué; (6) Nupé; (7) Kontagora; (8) Borgu; (9) Zaria. Additional provinces, which should be taken in hand as soon as possible, are (10) Bassa; (11) Muri (who would welcome us); (12) Bautshi; and (13) Yola. I have already emphasised the advantage of opening up these eastern territories without delay, mainly on the ground of their supposed salubrity and mineral wealth. The necessity of checking the rapid depopulation by organised slave-raiding in the eastern states, and of dealing with the problems offered by the advent of the French on Lake Chad,

and the arrival of Fad-el-Allah in British territory, are additional reasons. Though these provinces are far distant from Lake Chad, they will afford a base from which we can, to some extent, keep in touch with events in the north. The advent of Fad-el-Allah (son and successor of Rabeh) presents a problem which demands immediate attention. Either he must be attacked and driven out, or assigned a district in which to settle on terms of friendship. If matters are left to drift, the whole of this part of the country will become a cockpit of war, and will be depopulated and ruined. The destruction of the great town of Guaram, by Bautshi, early last year, when several thousand persons are reported to have been massacred or enslaved, proves the urgent need for the assertion of our power and the introduction of the Pax Britannica. When the new organisation, proposed in my estimates, comes into force, and there are two political officers actually in the country in each province, the "Middle Niger" can be abolished, leaving 12 provinces, for which 36 officers (including those on leave) are absolutely necessary.

Throughout the Protectorate, but especially in the southern provinces, the crime of extortion or personation is very prevalent. A man wearing a fez and a pair of trousers comes to a village and announces that he has been sent by the white men. He may remain there for months, levying blackmail from the ignorant natives. He will often not content himself with demanding horses, cattle, fowls, and grain (sometimes in large quantities), but by threats that he will bring against the people some serious charge which (he informs them) will result in their extermination by the forces of the Protectorate, he may terrorise them into yielding to him their wives and daughters. The uncomplaining acquiescence of the people, and their extraordinary credulity encourage this form of crime. It can only be checked by political officers constantly patrolling their districts, and informing the people, arresting such criminals, and thoroughly enquiring into all complaints of alleged raiding, &c., to ascertain that they are not false accusations, before taking any measures of repression against the alleged raiders. It is my conviction that throughout Africa—East and West—much injustice and oppression has been unwittingly done by our forces acting on crude information, and accusations of slave-raiding, &c., brought by enemies of the accused to procure their destruction. Patient and unwearying investigation by properly trained political officers with good interpretors, is the only way of checking both these forms of oppression, and it is for this reason that I urge so strongly that the Political Department should consist of able and experienced men, and that the staff should be maintained at an adequate strength. Native courts, under the supervision of residents, are gradually being formed. Mr. Hewby, in the Upper Benué province, has been especially successful, and has set up a native court in most of the larger

Personation.

Upper Benué.

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Illorin.

Borgu.

Bassa

Zaria.

Lower Benué.

Sokoto and Gando.

Slave raiding.

towns of his province. He receives regular reports of the cases tried, and informs me that very fair justice is done. The Assistant Resident in Illorin assures me that the public slave market there is now a thing of the past, and that great improvement is visible in the methods of trial, and the sentences inflicted by the new native court. There was much unrest in this province during the absence of the troops, but I hope that substantial progress is being made. Borgu has improved greatly during our occupation. The able chief, Kiama, is making roads in every direction, which he frequently superintends himself. The small patch of country on the east of the Niger, in the neighbourhood of the Dalul Mauri, has recently been occupied by troops, a course rendered necessary by French aggression, and the raids of the Fulani from Raha. I have instructed the Officer Commanding to punish the latter. There is no resident in the Bassa province, which, I am informed, is a very important one from a trade point of view, and the people have expressed great eagerness for a white man to live among them and settle their differences without recourse to inter-tribal warfare. The deficiency of staff has, however, prevented my taking this district in hand and assuring the safety of the roads for traders. Mr. Carnegie was appointed to this district, but his sad death occurred before he could actually visit it, though he had already done much, and given pledges to the chiefs who visited him in Lokoja. The Zaria district belongs rather to the coming than to the past year. It contains many large pagan towns, from which I hope to obtain a cheap labour supply for work on the new cantonments, and I am using every effort to avoid the introduction into this new centre of the preposterous labour rates which have obtained on the Niger and which hamper all development and progress. In the Lower Benué Major Burdon and (later) Dr. Cargill have made some progress in cultivating the friendship of the Munshi tribe, and also with the Fulani sub-emirate of Nassarawa and Keffi. Slave-raiding by the Mohammedan chiefs still continues, and produces continual unrest among the neighbouring pagan tribes, with the usual reprisals and closing of trade routes. I anticipate that this will cease without any recourse to drastic measures, as soon as I can place a small garrison at Nassarawa and establish the Resident there, but the telegraph line must first be made. The trade routes to the lower Benué will then be free from danger.

Pending the establishment of the new headquarters, I have not attempted to open up any relations with the distant Fulani emirates in the north. They still remain great centres of the slave-trade, as do also Yola and Bautshi, in the east. There is, probably, no part of the "Dark Continent" in which the worst forms of slave raiding still exist to so terrible an extent, and are prosecuted on so large and systematic a scale as in the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Each year, as the grass dries up, armies take the field to collect slaves. Nor are

they even provident of their hunting grounds, for those who are useless as slaves are killed in large numbers, the villages burnt, and the fugitives left to starve in the bush. The first great step to check this evil was taken by the Royal Niger Company in 1897, when, after the defeat of Bida, they severed from the rule of that emir all the territories south of the Niger (Kabba province). The relief came almost too late, for the country is depopulated, and hundreds of ruins attest the former existence of a population and a prosperity which have gone. Deprived of their hunting grounds, and anticipating the advent of European control, with its prohibition of slave-raiding, the Fulani and Nupés began early in the year to ravage the districts nearer home, and, with Kontagora the "Gwamachi" (destroyer), who bears the title of "King of the Sudan," laid waste the country from the Niger banks, on the west and south to the eastern highlands, and to the north as far as the borders of Sokoto and Zaria. At the beginning of July, information reached me that they had planned a combined attack on our small garrison at Wushishi, and I hurried thither myself with reinforcements, under Major O'Neill, R.A. The headmen of Wushishi itself were secretly murdered, and outrages on our soldiers within a few yards of the camp followed. Meanwhile, the two armies raided for slaves almost to the very banks of the Niger, and close to Jebba, while messages were sent to persuade Illorin to join in a rising, and to expel the white men, whose troops (it was said) had been exterminated in Ashanti. The people began to desert Wushishi, and the absolute necessity for obtaining supplies for our troops, and of protecting the villages which had shown us friendship, compelled me to instruct Major O'Neill to place small forts in neighbouring villages and to patrol the country. This task he performed most ably and with great dash, defeating the horsemen of Kontagora and Bida in a series of skirmishes and occupying the country for some 20 miles south and east of Wushishi. Great loss was inflicted on the slave raiders, and thousands of refugees crowded the protected villages for safety, while his handful of men had hardly any casualties. Mr. Dwyer, meanwhile, managed with much tact and pluck to keep things fairly quiet in Illorin, where he had succeeded Mr. Carnegie, an officer of exceptional promise, whose sad death was a very great loss to the Protectorate. In November, I directed Major O'Neill to endeavour to clear the waterway of the Kaduna. With a small force, ably assisted by Lieutenant Porter, he defeated a band of Kontagora's levies at Daba, and, crossing the river, he met and dispersed the gatherings of the Bida horsemen, and on December 19th pursued them to the walls of the town. With great gallantry he entered the city with only 30 men, and endeavoured to arrest the Emir with his own hand. He exposed his small party, however, to a most imminent risk of extermination, and only escaped, himself badly wounded, by the greatest good fortune. On the return of the troops from Ashanti at the end

Kabba.

Nupé and Kontagora.

Operations in 1900.

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Defeat of Kontagora.

of December, I immediately gave orders for an expedition to be organised against Kontagora. Colonel Kemball, Acting Commandant of the West African Frontier Force, himself took command, and in the middle of January marched north with a strong force to Ngaski along the Niger bank. There he met Lieutenant Keyes, with a detachment from the Illo garrison. The combined force marched on Kontagora, keeping to the north of the town to prevent the escape of the chief towards Sokoto. The town was captured, and the enemy defeated, with the loss of one man on our side, while the Fulani horsemen suffered very heavily. Colonel Kemball despatched two strong parties in pursuit of the flying chief, and these compelled him to abandon all his slaves and retinue, and he only escaped with a handful of followers. The town was saved from constant attempts at incendiarism, by great efforts, during the night. A company was left as garrison, and the force marched to the Kaduna, meeting with demonstrations from the villagers, who were overjoyed at the fall of the "Gwamachi." On their upward march the troops had passed through an absolutely depopulated country.

Deposition of Emir of Bida.

On February 9th, at Egbaji, I met Mr. Wallace (who had just arrived from England) and Mr. Watts of the Niger Company, who for years has been an intimate friend of the Bida chiefs and who speaks Nupé. I had sent messengers to the Emir and all the principal chiefs of Bida to meet me there, but only the Markun's party arrived. This man was appointed Emir by the Company, after the defeat of Bida in 1897, but the ex-Emir, Abu Bakri, had returned and ousted the Markun, and had since been recognised as Emir by the Company. I sent further messages to tell Abu Bakri to meet me on the Kaduna, whither I was proceeding, and assuring him that, no matter what the result of the interview, his return, in safety, would be guaranteed. Again, only the Markun's party met me. Colonel Kemball and his troops joined me here, and we marched on Bida prepared, if necessary, to fight. I had, however, assured the chiefs that not a shot would be fired unless I was attacked, but that all who attempted flight would be treated as enemies. Abu Bakri I could no longer recognise as Emir, but, if he would yet meet me at Bida, I would arrange to provide for his future in comfort. He, however, elected to fly, and was pursued for a great distance by troops sent to watch the rear of the town, towards Lapai. He barely escaped, with six followers only, while several important chiefs were wounded and captured. They were liberated later, after their wounds had been treated.

Appointment of new Emirs.

The troops marched through the town in a long procession, and formed a hollow square in front of the Markun's "palace," where I proclaimed him Emir before the assembled people. Following the custom in British India I gave him "a letter of appointment," containing the conditions on which he held the emirate. These, briefly, were, that he should rule justly and in accordance with the laws of the Protectorate, that he should obey the High Commissioner, and be guided by the advice of

the Resident; that minerals and waste lands should be the property of the Crown. In the case of Kontagora, I wrote to the Emir of Sokoto, asking him to nominate a successor, and explaining the reason why I had deposed the chief. He will receive a similar letter of appointment. The broad principles achieved may be thus summarised. Two of the most powerful of the Fulani Emirs have been deposed, because, after repeated warnings, they would not desist from laying waste the whole country and carrying off the people as slaves. Both the fine cities, which were the Fulani capitals, have been preserved from destruction. The loss of life has been confined almost entirely to the Fulani horsemen, viz., to the slave-raiders themselves, and they have suffered heavily, while the peasantry and slaves have suffered little. The Emirs themselves have been pursued with such energy that they abandoned everything, and reached Zaria, or elsewhere, in so miserable a plight that the effect will be very far-reaching indeed, and will not admit of the usual misrepresentation. The Fulani rule has been maintained as an experiment, for I am anxious to prove to these people that we have no hostility to them, and only insist on good government and justice, and I am anxious to utilize, if possible, their wonderful intelligence, for they are born rulers, and incomparably above the negroid tribes in ability. It was with this object that I invited Sokoto to nominate a new Emir for Kontagora, and I have hopes that the effect of such a message may lead to a better understanding between us and the Mohammedan rulers. The defeat of these chiefs has—again almost too late—checked the great organised slave raids towards the Niger. There still remain the great slave raiders in the east—Yola and Bautshi—and I propose this year to open up the trade routes in that direction. Meanwhile, the new provinces thus acquired urgently need political officers. Already, with the removal of the fear of the Fulani, each petty village is claiming its ancient lands, or raiding those of its weaker neighbour, and interminable feuds are the result. I greatly desire to properly survey the country, and make a rough land settlement, which it will be the duty of the new Emirs, under the supervision of the Resident, to enforce, and so to put a stop to this unrest.

Slave dealing.

I have found that there is a considerable export of slave children. These, when liberated, become "children of the State," and it is not an easy problem what to do with them. The custom of giving them to "respectable families" as wards is, in my view, most pernicious. Mohammedans can see no difference, nor can I, between this destination and their intended disposal, except that the recipients get them without payment. Some of the boys I have apprenticed to the workshops, &c., and two of the older girls have become servants to the nursing sisters, where I wish them to learn hospital nursing. The younger ones I propose to place in a Freed Slave Home, where they will receive some elementary education. Freed women can

also temporarily live there, as in the home at Cairo, until they can be repatriated or marry. In their case still more than in that of children I deplore the system of giving them as wives, or concubines, to soldiers or others or turning them adrift in a native town. I would compel no adult to remain in it against her will, and there should be no compulsory religious training.

Legislation.

Seventeen legislative proclamations have been enacted during the year 1900, and seven during the first quarter of 1901, while ten or twelve are still awaiting His Majesty's approval. Of those enacted the more important are:—

(1.) *The Courts Proclamation*, setting up a Supreme and Provincial Court. The appointment of a Chief Justice in September last has necessitated a revision of this Proclamation, and a draft of a new Supreme Court Ordinance has already been submitted. Generally speaking the system I have inaugurated is as follows. The Supreme Court will have original and appellate jurisdiction over all non-natives and in all cantonments. Judges of inferior Courts are Commissioners of the Supreme Court within its jurisdiction. In the provinces, which are separated by such vast distances that the Supreme Court could not act effectively, the residents have a jurisdiction (co-existent with the Native Courts) over natives, limited only by the necessity for confirmation by the High Commissioner of all serious sentences. Their cause lists operate as appeals, and the High Commissioner, advised by his legal adviser, can refer any case to the Supreme Court. In practice, where it is possible to set up a Native Court, that tribunal would deal with most cases of ordinary crime by natives, and with native civil actions, but crimes against specific laws of the Protectorate, such as those triable under the "Slavery," "Liquor," "Firearms," and "Personation" Proclamations, being foreign to native law and custom, would usually be dwelt with by the Provincial Courts. The Supreme Court administers strict law; Provincial Courts administer English law, modified by native law and custom. The administration of justice by Residents is frequently intimately associated with their political and executive functions, and their cause lists, therefore, are submitted to the Head of the Executive, the High Commissioner, advised by his legal adviser. In practice I am convinced that this system produces better results than would be obtained by making the Provincial Courts more directly subordinate to the Supreme Court, while it enables the High Commissioner to keep in closer touch with the work of the district officers. The Provincial Courts have, on the whole, worked well, and uniformity of sentences is gradually being arrived at.

(2.) *The Native Courts Proclamation.*—The system of Native Courts which I established has worked fairly well in the districts in which it has been possible to establish such Courts, but the greater part of the Protectorate with which we are in touch is

occupied by pagan tribes, without cohesion, and in a primitive state of development, in which regular Native Courts are not possible, since there are no chiefs and councillors of which to constitute them. I am considering certain modifications to the Native Courts Proclamation, which shall meet the requirements and conditions of these tribes.

(3.) *The Cantonments Proclamation.*—Under this Proclamation two cantonments only have been so far established, viz., at Jebba and Lokoja. The Cantonment Magistrate has the powers of a Small Cause Court. A revised draft of this Proclamation has already been prepared, under the provisions of which Cantonment Magistrates will become Commissioners of the Supreme Court, by whom their powers may be extended. The sanitary and other regulations under this Proclamation have provided adequate powers, but the funds raised by municipal taxation and court fees and fines have been insufficient to keep up roads and maintain the cantonments in anything approaching a sanitary state. As I have already said, much clearing of rank grass and bush, and much other work by the Public Works Department, is necessary and most urgently required before the cantonments can be said to be sanitary and in a fit condition to be maintained by the Cantonment Magistrate and cantonment funds. The military officers selected as Cantonment Magistrates require to be seconded, or at least relieved of some of their military duties, for their civil duties are too heavy to admit of their proper performance, in addition to their full military work.

(4.) *The Firearms Proclamation.*—This important Proclamation, giving effect to the obligations of the Brussels Act, differs slightly from parallel legislation in West Africa in that it prohibits the possession of arms of precision already existing in the Protectorate, except by permit and registration, and makes it necessary for a licensee to account for his firearms before leaving the country.

(5.) *The Liquor Proclamation* prohibits the import of all trade liquor into the Protectorate, as well as its possession and sale.

(6.) *The Slavery Proclamation.*—This law is directed principally against the enslaving of any person, and only affects domestic slavery in so far as it abolishes the legal status, and declares all children born after April 1, 1901, to be free. The penalties incurred by a British subject for any transaction in slaves are extended to all non-natives and freed slaves. Domestic slaves may not be removed for purposes of sale, gift, or transfer.

(7.) *The Land Proclamation*, enacting that title to land can only be acquired through the High Commissioner.

Trade and economics.

Trade has suffered from the unrest caused by the raids of Bida and Kontagora, but the settlement of that matter has

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already produced a marked improvement. New trading stations have been opened during the year by the Niger Company at Wushishi on the Kaduna, and Aboko near Idah. The chief staples are shea butter, palm oil, and nuts, ground nuts, gum arabic, capsicums, rubber, ivory, and hides, while the great article of internal trade is the so-called "potash" (which consists entirely of soda compounds), of which very large quantities are brought down from the Hausa states, and sold in the southern territories. Another article of African production and consumption which forms a staple of internal trade is the kola nut, and, in some districts, salt. The imports for the purposes of trade are chiefly cloth and salt. As the duty on all imports is collected on the coast by the authorities of Southern Nigeria and Lagos, and the nature of both imports and exports is declared there, full statistical information will be found in the trade reports of those Administrations, and it is unnecessary to enter into details here. I will therefore deal only with certain points in connection with the development of trade.

Obstacles to trade caravans.

Kano is said to be the greatest commercial emporium of Africa. There are collected caravans from Tripoli, Morocco, and the Sahara in the north, and from Lake Chad and Wadai in the east, and Salaga in the west. Great quantities of native produce are, I am informed, available, at prices which would yield a large profit, if only access were obtainable. Large caravans, chiefly consisting of very small donkeys, come southwards through Zaria and Bida and Keffi, paying toll at many places, and occupying many months on the road. The chief difficulty experienced by these caravans has been from the belt of pagan tribes which occupy the country all along the Niger. These people, constantly raided for slaves by the Fulani, retaliate by attacking traders. The Emirs of Kontagora and Bida also have greatly hampered trade by detaining the caravans and taking excessive toll. It has been my policy during the past year, greatly retarded by the Ashanti war, to open up these trade routes, (1) by altogether stopping the slave raiding of the Emirs of Bida and Kontagora, (2) by prohibiting the pagans from attacking caravans, and punishing those who persist, (3) by abolishing all tolls by native Emirs on caravans. It is probable that it may now be feasible to impose a reasonable toll in substitution of these onerous imposts, and thereby add to the revenue of the Protectorate. Such a tax would be amply justified (1) in lieu of the tolls abolished, (2) in return for the safety of the roads secured by the Government, and (3) in view of the cost involved in improving the roads and bridging the streams and the consequent facilities given to caravans.

I have already laid it down as the first task to be undertaken, that the caravan roads from the interior to the Niger should be rendered safe for small traders. Much progress in this has, I think, been made during the past year. From the extreme

western (Anglo-French) frontier in Borgu to the Bautshi highlands, the object has, to a large extent, been achieved, and the effect on trade is already visible. Efforts at its more complete realization are, of course, still in progress, but until the staff of political officers is increased, as proposed, no permanent good can be done. Capable officers can do much more by getting in touch with the people than can be effected by a series of punitive expeditions and bloodshed. The land is already sufficiently depopulated by years of slave raiding, and the good of the country demands the preservation of life and the increase of population. Though force must be occasionally applied to bands of recalcitrant robbers, I am convinced that a few such lessons will suffice, and that the district officer, with tact and patience, aided by sufficient civil police, can achieve the pacification of the country effectively, and that parsimony in the appointment of these officers and of their native staff of police, &c., would be a policy of false economy, resulting in unnecessary bloodshed. In my view civil police, under efficient control, backed, of course, by force in the background (as, in fact, it is in every country however civilised), should, as soon as possible, supersede military occupation, setting free the troops for their proper work, viz., the breaking down of organised resistance and the garrisoning of central towns, where their discipline and efficiency can be maintained. This cannot be done if they are frittered away in a score of small detachments. By placing headquarters on the main Kano trade route (connected by a short tramway with the navigable Kaduna) and behind the emirate of Bida (in touch with the pagan tribes and the emirate of Zaria) I hope to achieve the complete pacification of the belt which intervenes between the Niger and the Hausa states.

Necessity for political officers.

Railways.

In order to render this report as complete as possible I will here recapitulate very briefly the views I have expressed regarding railway extension. So vast an area as Nigeria, comprising in all some 380,000 square miles (of which Northern Nigeria contains about 320,000) cannot be commercially developed except by railways. I do not here dwell on the political reasons which urge the construction of a railway in this vulnerable part of the Empire as a portion of the scheme of Imperial Defence. By railway construction alone can we achieve the rapid concentration of troops and supplies which would supersede the necessity for a greatly increased local force (involving an immense and unremunerative expenditure) to guard our frontiers. Railways are also essential for purposes of internal administration, by facilitating communication. So vast a country cannot, it appears to me, be served by a single railway. The Lagos railway has reached Ibadan, 123 miles from the coast, and only about 150 miles of comparatively easy country now separate it from the Niger. It may be advisable to make a branch line from Ibadan to Sapele, where a good

port is available (whereas it is calculated that it will cost nearly a million to remove the bar at Lagos) and the branch line would pass through a rich and populous country. In my view the question as to whether this branch line to Sapele should be made, or whether the port of Lagos should be improved, is a matter apart, to be decided by a comparison of cost and a balance of advantages, and it should not interfere with the forward progress of the line now that it has been completed as far as Ibadan. The line should be carried forward without delay to Illorin, and whether it should be taken thence to Jebba or to Egbaji, must be decided by surveys as soon as possible. The Lagos railway, extended eventually to Kano and Katsena, would develop the western territories, and assist in their defence from possible aggression in that direction. An eastern railway, from the fine port of Old Calabar, would have Lake Chad as its ultimate objective, and would protect the eastern frontiers. Whether or not these views recommend themselves, it is, I think, of great importance that a railway policy should be settled, for much can be done in the way of surveys and road making to prepare the way for a coming railway, and such a definite policy would be of the utmost use to local administrators in determining the lines of development and progress. I have strongly urged the great importance of at once deciding at what point the Lagos railway shall cross the Niger, looking, on the one hand to the magnitude of the task in bridging the river, and on the other hand to the comparative feasibility of alternative routes (from the point at which the line crosses) to the north towards Kano. No time, I think, should be lost in making these surveys, and in obtaining the best expert opinion as to the bridging work, for on that decision will largely depend the policy in the Protectorate. It may also be borne in mind that once the point at which the railway will cross the river is decided, railway material can, if desired, be more cheaply brought to that point by steamers direct from England at high river, than it could be by rail from Lagos, even when the Lagos railway reaches the river. Construction northwards and southwards (to meet the Lagos line) can be simultaneously undertaken from that point, nor indeed is it necessary to delay the forward progress till the bridge (which will be necessary eventually) is constructed. In fact, so far as the development of Northern Nigeria is concerned, the need is for a railway from the Niger banks to Kano, and not for connection with Lagos. The Lagos railway will, beyond doubt, benefit Lagos, but since Northern Nigeria has the waterway of the Niger for the export of its produce, and since water carriage is cheaper than railage, it is not clear what benefit to its trade the Lagos railway will confer. Every yard, however, of a railway from the Niger to Kano would, by superseding the present caravan transport, tend greatly to promote the development of trade.

Trade competition.

Much has been said from time to time regarding the absence of trade competition on the Niger. It is necessary to bear in

mind the distinction between European competition (*a*) in the native markets, and (*b*) in the supply of necessaries to Government employees. As regards the former (*a*), I have only two observations to offer. (1) The argument of those who hold that the policy of amalgamation of European interests in undeveloped countries is preferable to competition in the purchase of native produce deserves to be seriously considered. If fair dealing, enterprise, and energy be assured, an amalgamation of European interests may prevent the undue enhancement of prices, and enable the amalgamated trading corporation to set aside capital for extension and development, which else would be absorbed in the struggle of competition. While the wants of natives in a primitive state remain few, enhancement of prices no doubt decreases supply, for the producers, having acquired all the goods they need, will not exert themselves to tap to the full the resources of the land. For a similar reason it would have an adverse effect upon the supply of labour, and would put up the price of the labour market; and (as I have pointed out), Government being the chief employer of labour (whether for public works, soldiers, or transport) is the principal sufferer, and progress is rendered most costly, and the cost of administration is greatly increased. (2) My second observation in this connection is that, in spite of the clamour that the Niger should be thrown open to trade competition, I am unable, after enquiry, to discover any British firms who are willing to enter the field under the principles of free trade without bias or discrimination. The country is now open to them to reap the supposed benefits for which they have so long agitated, but none have come forward to introduce capital or competition, and, so far as I can ascertain, those traders who desired to enter Northern Nigeria have coalesced with the Niger Company, or are debarred, either by lack of capital or by pre-existing contracts, from becoming their rivals.

(*a*.) Native produce.

Turning to the question of competition by European firms in the supply of necessaries to Government employees, (*b*), no doubt in this field competition is highly desirable. In its absence I have been compelled to undertake the formation of a canteen for the supply of provisions to Europeans, and I had it in contemplation to import the barter goods necessary for the use of native soldiers, in order to reduce prices. Such semi-commercial transactions are not the proper function of Government, and the Protectorate staff is insufficient to meet the extra work entailed. Soon after the transfer of the administration to Her Majesty's Government I raised the subject of the rates which should be charged by the Niger Company to Government soldiers, carriers, and labourers, for the ordinary barter goods (cheap cloth and salt, &c.), with which they purchase their food in the market, and the rates at which similar goods should be sold to the Government of the Protectorate when compelled to use them (in lieu of coinage) as currency in

(*b*.) Wants of Government servants.

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the interior. I demanded that such goods should be supplied to Government, or to soldiers, &c. (on cash payments), at reduced rates. The Company at first refused any reduction, but latterly agreed to certain "wholesale rates." The result was not merely to maintain an unnecessary cost of all establishments to Government, but to enhance the labour rates, since the Company, by paying their labourers in goods instead of coin, and selling those goods at a profit to Government, compelled me to pay a higher rate for labour than they did themselves. My alternative was to import the goods, a course I was unwilling to adopt, since it would have complicated accounting work, and introduced a fresh element of a commercial nature into the already too onerous work of subordinate officers, both military and civil. I have since learned with great satisfaction that the Directors of the Company are willing to come to a satisfactory arrangement with me both on this matter and on the question of freights, which they have already tentatively reduced, from 1st January last. Should I fail, however, to effect a thoroughly satisfactory arrangement on this question, I can see no reason why competition should not be introduced (if necessary assisted by Government) in this department of trade, without violation of the principles of fair trade which it is my object to maintain, so long as the Company will meet the demands of Government in a liberal spirit.

Native traders.

I have spoken of competition between European traders, in the two branches of native produce, and of supply to Government employees. There remains the very important question of competition by small native traders. I am not of opinion that in Northern Nigeria—in Southern Nigeria the case may be different—the small trader from the coast will be of any great use, while he is quite certain to give much trouble in his dealings with the natives, and by his fondness for litigation. Experience has, moreover, I am told, shown that, as a matter of fact, he does not travel in the interior and open up markets, but is content to remain to the full as stationary as an European. The immigrant black trader is, in fact, by no means a desirable person, but every effort should be made to encourage natives of the Protectorate to become small traders and collectors of local produce. I regret that the Niger Company, who, by their enterprise, and the experience gained by years of successful effort, have secured an unrivalled position in the Protectorate, have not seen their way so far to utilise that position to the enormous good of the country and their own ultimate benefit, by encouraging local natives to become small traders, and by making advances against their stock or utilising their agency.

Forestry Department.

Another point in connection with the economic development of the Protectorate is the necessity for the creation of a small Forestry and Botanical Department. It is highly desirable to ascertain where, and in what quantity, timber of commercial value for export or local use exists; to discover the forests which

contain rubber, and to enforce rules which shall preserve them from the destruction which has overtaken those in Lagos by the neglect, till too late, of this precaution, and to plant areas with young trees. It is desirable to establish, as in all other Colonies, a botanical garden for experiment with local products, and as a nursery for imported trees and plants of economic value, which it may be useful to introduce, as also small model farms. It is also desirable to systematise the mode of collection of all economic vegetable products for export sale; of the cutting of timber for steamer fuel; of the felling of trees around cantonments for domestic use; and to collect and disseminate useful information on these subjects.

Cost of leave rules.

There are two serious disabilities under which the British possessions in West Africa lie in respect of revenue and expenditure. The first is the necessity for sending home every European after a year's residence, for a period of six months, on full pay leave. This is a terrible tax on the revenues of the country, necessitating the increase of the staff (civil and military) from a third to a half, breaking the continuity of work, and dislocating the machinery of Government. I trust that the opening up of the Hausa States, with their healthy climate, distant from the malarial swamps of the coast, and the equally malarial valley of the Niger, may, when more rapid communication is established, render possible a considerable modification of this system in Northern Nigeria. It may then be possible to leave it to the discretion of the High Commissioner what period of leave should be granted, and this would depend upon the district in which each officer had been employed. A rigid rule in so large a country even now does not work fairly.

Cost of local labour.

The second disability is the preposterous rates of pay which have been instituted for local labour of all kinds. Confined till lately to the coast belt, and not in touch with the labour markets of the interior, British possessions have been content to pay whatever the limited supply demanded. The system was still further fostered by the large profits which West Coast traders demanded for the sale of goods, and thus, while they recouped themselves for the cost of such little labour as they required, Government became the victim, and progress was paralysed by the cost of labour. Both in the rates of pay of soldiers, and of carriers and unskilled labour, I have made great efforts at reduction. These have been largely successful, and I hope to effect still further reductions. The rates for so-called skilled labour, viz., of clerks, artisans, engineers, and pilots, &c., are also fully 50 per cent. higher than they should be. In all these spheres British Indians of a much more efficient type than the class available here, and doing half as much again in a day's work, can be engaged in India at less than half the rates here paid. It is a matter for consideration whether it would not be worth while making an experiment in the introduction of these classes from India, more especially in the

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interior. The expenditure on carriers and unskilled labour I hope largely to reduce by the introduction of wheeled traffic and motor cars.

Foreign relations.

The Anglo-French frontier to the west of the Niger has been delimited by a Boundary Commission during the past year. The enclave near Badjibo has also been selected, but the lease has not yet been signed. Recently a large French expedition, consisting of five white men with native followers, 23 barges, and 200 tons of provisions, &c., has arrived, and intends to make its way up the rapids to the frontier at Illo, and thence to Timbuktu. Temporary regulations were drawn up by me relating to the use of the enclave, and to the transit of goods through the Protectorate, and were accepted by the French commander. No European has occupied the enclave, but a party of Laptots were left there by Major Toutée.

West African Frontier Force.

The inclusion of the Royal Niger Constabulary brought the native establishment of the West African Frontier Force to full strength for the first time since the force was raised. Unfortunately, just when this large increase had to be assimilated and properly drilled, the establishment of officers and British non-commissioned officers was far below its strength, nor could further vacancies, as they occurred, be filled, owing to the war in South Africa. A company at full strength was away in Southern Nigeria on the Cross River. At the beginning of the year the campaign against the Munshis was in progress, and was successfully concluded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cole. In April, 1900, reinforcements for Ashanti were required, and were rapidly despatched, with all available officers and British non-commissioned officers. The commandant, Colonel Willcocks (now Sir J. Willcocks) was appointed to command the Ashanti force, and left early in May. The total troops despatched numbered in all about 1,200.

During the absence of these troops and of so many officers and non-commissioned officers, it was only with the greatest difficulty that the necessary garrison duties were carried on, and month by month the roster of Europeans became more and more depleted, while there were no troops to deal with the difficulties with Kontagora and Bida, and on the north-west frontier, which I have described. The murder of Mr. Carnegie necessitated an immediate punitive expedition if the ill effects of that sad event were to be prevented from spreading through the country, and with such men as could be got together, Lieutenant-Colonel Cole successfully destroyed Dangara's town by a very well-planned and well-executed march. The troops returned from Ashanti at the end of December, and at the same time it was found possible to send out more officers and non-commissioned officers. The operations against the Emirs (described in another paragraph) were undertaken early in the new year.

Desertion has been rare during the year, and the troops have gained distinction and proved the soundness of their organisation and training during the Ashanti campaign, as well as in the local expeditions, and by the uncomplaining performance of very heavy garrison duties during the absence of the Ashanti troops. A much desired improvement will be effected next year by the abolition of the cumbrous black belts and accoutrements, and the substitution of brown leather, in harmony with the khaki uniform. A new departure has been taken during the year in the abolition of class companies. Hausas and Yorubas are now enlisted in the same companies, instead of being kept (as was necessary at first) in separate companies. This is in every way an advantage, and may, to some extent, lead to the universal use of Hausa as the language of the West African Frontier Force. I consider it an important matter to maintain a balance not merely of races but of Mohammedans and pagans in the corps. Indeed, though I have a great respect for the Mohammedan religior so much so that I have granted a small piece of Government land for the erection of a mosque in Lokoja, I do not consider it politic to enlist too great a number of Mohammedans as soldiers. Already, in my view, we have an excess of Mohammedan levies in Africa, especially in the Nile Sudan. It is a religion which renders Africans liable to wild bursts of religious frenzy, in which even those who are normally indifferent to religion are carried away by the visionary dreams of enthusiasts. Our recent experience has taught us that the pagan Gwaris, Kedaras, and other tribes yield to none in bravery. They all speak Hausa, and I hope to enlist many as soon as we get into touch with them at the new headquarters. It is, in fact, my desire to make the West African Frontier Force, as far as possible, a Hausa-speaking pagan force, and I am convinced that it will thus be a far more reliable source of military strength.

Conduct of troops.

Classes of men enlisted.

Boundaries

The southern frontier of the Protectorate has been settled in conference with the Governor of Lagos from its western limit as far as Aeidi, where it turns nearly due south to Owo. Leaving the Okpara River in the approximate latitude of Ilesha it leaves that town and Bodé to the north, and passes north of Kishi. Thence turning south-east it includes the ruins of Old Oyo and Igbeti in Lagos, passing close to these places and striking thence direct to Budu Egba, which is included in Northern Nigeria. Thence it crosses the Awere stream, seven miles north of Odo Otin, and leaving Illa to the south, passss south of Awton and north of Aiyi, as far as Aeidi, which it skirts, leaving that town in Lagos. The line requires settlement on the ground by officers of the two Governments. The important town of Owo will be in Southern Nigeria, and thence the line will proceed as direct as possible to the Niger, opposite Idah. It has appeared to me that it would be advisable to

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include in Northern Nigeria any large town close to the frontier which might become depôts for the storage and sale of liquor, but the new spirit law of Southern Nigeria prohibits the sale (though not the possession) of spirits in all towns near the south frontier of Northern Nigeria, and the Governor of Lagos has promised to introduce legislation in any important towns under his administration to check the sale, if experience proves them to be depôts for the traffic. Such towns are Ogbomosho, Kishi, and Akure. This practically carries out my original proposal for a buffer zone.

Medical.

I have the greatest pleasure in recording the fact that the past year has witnessed a most satisfactory diminution of mortality among Europeans in Government service. The steady diminution of deaths and serious illness which has been noticeable since the beginning of 1898 (when the West African Frontier Force was raised) is due largely to the introduction of polo and tennis, which provide the active exercise so vitally necessary in a climate like West Africa. It has become a byeword in the country that no one who plays these games is ever invalided. I hope in the coming year to provide similar facilities at the new cantonment, and to add other forms of active recreation. The occupation of this site away from the malarial river valley will, I hope, further greatly improve the health statistics of the Protectorate. The construction of good roads, apart from their administrative and commercial value, will assist in this respect by adding cycling to the list of active sports.

Recreation.

Houses.

Another vital necessity for the preservation of health lies in good housing. The small huts of the West African Frontier Force had been occupied by three officers or five non-commissioned officers each. Thus an officer had a room 12 feet by 12 feet, affording a cubic space of air insufficient for health in the tropics, more especially since it is almost impossible to keep windows open at night, on account of the violent tornados. Early in 1900 each three-roomed officers' hut was converted into a two-roomed, thus giving an officer a room 18 feet by 12 feet, while each non-commissioned officers' hut was accounted accommodation for three men instead of five. Some more houses are now required to replace the old huts at Lokoja. The rooms of the houses to be erected at the new cantonment are of adequate dimensions.

Sanitation.

In the third essential for health, proper sanitation, I regret to say that much, almost everything, has still to be done. The immediate vicinity of Europeans' quarters is clean and comparatively sanitary, but, especially at Lokoja, the cantonment is full of rank grass, six to eight feet high, which becomes a native latrine, while three or four streams running from the hills become, in the dry weather, a series of stagnant pools, and several small hill-side marshes, easily drained, add to the facilities offered for the propagation of mosquitos and malaria. In my estimates I have included a sum for the proper sanitation of cantonments. I propose to replace the rank grass

by "dhub," and I have removed the quarters of civilians at Lokoja from the vicinity of the native town, which, as I have said, I hope to move gradually to a site six or seven miles down stream. All new houses are being built further from the river on higher ground, and with an aspect to catch the prevailing breeze. I am already experimenting in the sinking of wells to replace river water, and the streams will be enclosed and the whole area properly drained. These works are now in progress. The erection of a condenser at Lokoja, which supplies distilled water for drinking, has been a great boon, and no doubt a great preservative against dysenteric and other germs. No case of dysentery has occurred since its erection. The tile roofing I have proposed will, I anticipate, render all houses much cooler, and improve the quality of the water collected.

Native diseases.

Among the flood of literature which has lately been poured out on tropical diseases, the diseases of the natives seem to have been lost sight of. Epidemics of small-pox occur from time to time, and as all imported lymph has proved useless, I hope next year to experiment in the production of calf lymph locally. I am also considering with the Principal Medical Officer means of checking the prevalence of venereal disease.

Policy in the coming year.

In conclusion, I would venture to submit a few observations upon the objects which should guide the policy and the lines of progress and development in the coming year. As regards Sokoto and the north west frontier, the period within which—under the terms of the Convention of June, 1898 (ratified June, 1899)—England and France engaged to appoint Commissioners to delimit the northern frontier of Northern Nigeria will expire in June, 1901. Looking to the official decree, published over the signature of the President of the French Republic, which includes in the Zinder district (French) many towns marked in the map of the Convention, and in the most recent official French map as far within the British frontier, and in view also of the constant unrest among the tribes on that frontier, I think this delimitation should not be delayed, and the final and definite position of the frontier should be settled. As regards the north-east, the settlement of the question regarding Fad-el-Allah, and the situation brought about by the Emir of Yola, will necessitate the administration of Bornu and Yola as "Provinces." The estimates for the year 1901-1902 provide for eight provinces, viz., Borgu, Illorin Kontagora, Bida, Kabba, Lower and Upper Benue, and Gwari (or Zaria). It will be necessary to ask for additional staff during 1902-1903, for five more provinces, viz., Bornu (2), Yola, Bautchi and Bassa. This will enable me to open up the eastern provinces, and the great trade routes from Lake Chad through a district reputed to be, at present, full of robbers and brigands, who have hitherto closed the roads to caravans. I anticipate a great development of trade from this extension. The incorporation of these provinces is the more

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necessary since it is in this direction that anticipations of mineral development are formed. Our obligations towards France and Germany to prevent incursions across our frontier into foreign territory, equally with the necessity for safeguarding the trade which naturally belongs to the British territory from being diverted into other channels, alike demand some action in this direction, and I feel convinced that the pacification of these eastern provinces is a task which will be fully compensated by a rapid increase in trade and mineral development, which will bring in an increased revenue.

The policy which I am endeavouring to carry out as regards the natives of the Protectorate may, perhaps, be usefully summarised here. The Government utilises and works through the native chiefs, and avails itself of the intelligence and powers of governing of the Fulani caste in particular, but insists upon their observance of the fundamental laws of humanity and justice. Residents are appointed whose primary duty it is to promote this policy by the establishment of native courts, in which bribery and extortion and inhuman punishments shall be gradually abolished. Provincial Courts are instituted to deal with the non-natives, and to enforce these laws of the Protectorate, more especially which deal with slave raiding and slave trading, the import of liquor and firearms, and extortion from villagers by terrorism and personation. If an Emir proves unamenable to persuasion or to threats, and will not desist from such actions (as in the case of Kontagora and Bida) he is deposed, and in each case a Fulani or other successor recognised by the people has been installed in his place. The traditional tribute (except that in slaves) paid by villages to their chief is insisted upon, and its incidence and collection are being regularised so as to prevent extortion or an undue burden on the agricultural or trading classes. I recognise the obligation of the chiefs to contribute to the revenue in return for the enhancement of their dues resulting from this system, and, in return, for the protection of the roads from the robbers which used to infest them, and for the improvement of communications, etc. But I have not as yet formulated any definite line of action in this connection, since it is one which needs the utmost tact, and I should prefer to discuss it with the chiefs themselves on my return to the Protectorate before forming any definite conclusions. It is probable, moreover, that in so vast a country one uniform and inflexible method may not be adapted to all districts. If, indeed, we were only able to succeed during the first year or two in abolishing the revenue which has accrued to Emirs by the enslaving of the pagan tribes, and, by substituting a better system of tribute from the subordinate villages, to secure that no discontent was felt at the change, we should, in my opinion, have achieved no mean success. But I hope that before long we shall be able to go still further, and to obtain a tangible return for the expenditure incurred.

Among the wholly uncivilised pagan tribes, who owe no allegiance to a paramount chief, it is often difficult to apply these principles of rule, and the political officers have to undertake a more direct responsibility owing to the difficulty, and often impossibility, of establishing native courts, and to the lawless habits of the people. Among these tribes it is my policy to centralise authority, as far as may be, in a recognised chief, and to introduce the civilising agency of trade, while repressing all intertribal quarrels.

In the first year, some small progress along these lines has been made, and I look for increasing results in the coming year with a somewhat more adequate and more fully organised staff of capable and zealous political officers.

F. D. LUGARD.