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NORTHERN NIGERIA.

REPORT FOR 1904.

(For Report for 1903, *see* No. 437.)

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty
November, 1905.

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(For Report for 1903, *see* No. 437.)

SIR F. LUGARD to COLONIAL OFFICE.

Abinger Common,
Surrey,
October 23rd, 1905.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to submit herewith my Annual Report for 1904, with three appendices. I greatly regret the delay which has occurred in rendering this report, owing to the fact that I left Nigeria at the time it should have been prepared, and since my return to England circumstances have prevented my submitting it as soon as I had hoped.

2. The report is of great length, but I trust that you may consider that the data I have collected are of sufficient interest to be worth publication. Its unusual length is due to the fact that it combines three separate matters:—

(*a.*) The ordinary matter of the Annual Report.

(*b.*) Précis of information, for which I have been asked at the instance of the Intelligence Division, War Office, for some time past, but have not hitherto had time to compile.

(*c.*) Notes on my inspection of provinces covering a distance of over 2,000 miles by land and over 1,600 miles by water, and dealing with the fifteen provinces whose capitals I have visited during this tour.

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

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ANNUAL REPORT for 1904.

1. My report for 1903—during a great part of which year I was absent on leave in England—was chiefly devoted to such statistics as were available, and I proposed to defer the subject of taxation and the prospects of revenue until the present report. I propose, also, in this report to give a brief outline of the history of each province, based on the accounts compiled by the Residents in charge, together with a few notes upon the condition of each in 1904. The inclusion of this résumé, though I have made every effort to condense it as much as possible, has resulted in rendering this report somewhat bulky, but I trust that the matter I have included will be found of sufficient value to justify my desire to place it on record, and to afford to those who are interested a consecutive account of the various kingdoms which are included in the Protectorate, and of the actions and policy of the administration towards them.

I.—GENERAL.

Organisation (Central).

2. The general organisation of the administration, both central and provincial, has made considerable progress during the past year. In respect of the former, the issue of a volume of Government Standing Orders, in which were incorporated all Government Notices of permanent utility since the formation of the administration, and all Rules for Departments, &c., was of great value in saving repetition, facilitating reference, and enabling newly-appointed officers to inform themselves of all existing orders and regulations. Simultaneously with this the codification of the laws was undertaken (completed in 1905). Much remains to be done in order to simplify and systematise the work of the Secretariat, with the object of reducing clerical work and increasing efficiency. The conduct of the Treasury has been practical and efficient.

3. Political and intelligence sections have been created in the High Commissioner's office, which, under the able control of Major Lugard, D.S.O., and of Captain Poole, D.S.O., have very greatly increased efficiency in these branches, and enabled the High Commissioner to cope with work which was becoming too heavy to be dealt with without decentralization. I was thus enabled during this tour of residential service to visit the headquarters of every province except Sokoto, and to personally confer with the Residents and the Native Chiefs of each on all subjects of administrative or political importance. Accompanied by the Acting Principal Medical Officer and the Director of Public Works, I was able to settle the question of the permanent site of each Government Station; opportunity

was taken on this tour formally to install the ruling Emirs who had been appointed under Government sanction, and for the first time an Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity was administered to each.

4. I have briefly described the work done on these visits in my notes on each province. It had been my intention to submit to you a separate report of this extremely interesting tour, with notes on the economic possibilities of each province, and my observations upon its products and special matters of political interest, but in view of the length to which my present report would in any case have extended, and to the fact that the reports of the Forestry Officer who accompanied me have already been separately submitted, I have thought it better to confine myself to a few remarks when speaking of each province, and to abandon any separate report. I may say, in brief, that I think my personal interview with each Emir, and the discussion with each Resident on the spot of the administrative problems of his province, was of great value in promoting a knowledge of the policy of government, while to myself it was an incalculable advantage.

Organisation (Provincial).

5. With regard to the provincial organisation, six out of the seventeen provinces into which the Protectorate is divided, viz., Sokoto and Gando, Kano and Katagum, and East and West Bornu, have now been formed into double provinces, under the charge of three "First Class Residents," selected for their special ability and long experience. I desire gradually to extend this system, as it becomes possible to do so, and thus to relieve the central administration of the direct supervision of 17 separate units, and to devolve upon the officers who have proved themselves most fitted for increased responsibility a larger measure of administrative control. Within each province the same system of devolution—which was not possible when all were new to the work—has been inaugurated, and each Assistant Resident is now placed in charge of a specified district, under the Resident in charge. The admirable qualities of the Fulani as rulers—when once they have realised that former evil practices must cease—enable the administration to be carried on efficiently with a less number of British officers than would otherwise be possible, and I am glad to be able to report that the progress of the Native Chiefs in methods of civilised rule is very marked and satisfactory.

Visit of Kano and Sokoto Embassy.

6. An event of unusual political importance in the early part of the year was the personal visit of the Emir of Kano to Zungeru, and the Embassy of the Waziri from Sokoto. A wholly causeless tension appears to have arisen at Kano. A

rumour circulated among the troops that the Emir of Kano was projecting an attack, while the Kano people asserted that the garrison was itself meditating a similar project. The efforts of the Resident and of the Emir did not avail to allay this mutual distrust, which had probably been fomented by interested parties. The Emir declared his intention of visiting me in person at Zungeru to prove his loyalty. No one unacquainted with the incredible proneness to suspicion of the Fulani can realise how bold a step this was, or how striking both in its loyalty and its wisdom. Leaving the field open to his enemies in his absence, he faced a heavy march of 500 miles, though warned by all his most trusted advisers that he would never come back alive. His reception with honour at Zungeru and his return in safety to Kano was a triumph which silenced at once the suspicions which had been entertained of his loyalty, and the projects of his enemies.

7. The Embassy from Sokoto, whose Sultan less than a year previously had repelled our advances with disdain and opposed us in arms, was hardly less striking. It was a voluntary act of recognition of the British rule that the Head of the Mussalmans should send his Waziri to salute the Governor. He had, I believe, at first the intention of coming himself, and desires to do so in a future year.

French Convention.

8. On April 8th a Convention was signed with France, modifying in her favour the northern frontier of Nigeria. As yet the new boundary has not been actually settled or delimited.

Famine.

9. During 1904 a distressing famine prevailed throughout large districts of the Protectorate, references to which will be found in my notes on each province. Yola and Bauchi were more particularly affected, but Bornu and the western part of Sokoto appear to have enjoyed an abundant harvest. The famine is said to have been due to scarcity of rain and to a sticky blight on the corn. The latter, I am told, has only recently been known in Nigeria, and is generally washed off by the early and heavy rains. It did not occur at high altitudes, where the rainfall was heavy. In Bauchi the famine was aggravated by the neglect of agriculture which, in 1903, had been caused by the unrest due to the exodus of the ex-Sultan of Sokoto and the subsequent fighting around Burmi. Trade suffered in consequence of the famine, but Bornu exported a very large amount of corn to the Gongola districts at enormous profit to the growers, who were paid in sheep, which abounded in the country, and which the people strangely refused to kill and eat themselves. The pagan inhabitants of

the famine-stricken districts also sold their children in large numbers for food. Kontagora, Borgu, Nupe, Zaria, and the northern parts of Muri were also affected, and the distress was increased by the people eating the unripe corn crops and the seed corn, while many are reported to have died from eating poisonous herbs and roots. The famine appears to have extended to German Adamawa, whose Resident applied for corn as the people were dying. The scarcity began in 1903 (and even to a small extent in 1902), and the outlook is not reassuring, as many of the people had no seed corn left and were too weak to till their fields.

Staff.

10. The whole-hearted devotion with which the staff has worked is beyond any praise of mine, and I do not believe that there is a more capable and devoted set of public servants in any of His Majesty's possessions, temperate or tropical. The higher grades of the Civil Service are becoming experienced administrators, to whom large responsibilities can rightly be entrusted. The administrative staff is still insufficient for its numerous duties, and it has been found impossible to obtain an adequate supply of properly qualified native clerks. A scheme for introducing some subordinate officials from India is now under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

11. A matter of almost vital importance is the knowledge of the local language, and in this considerable progress has been made, alike on the civil and the military side. It is now necessary to have passed the language test to qualify for promotion in the Political Department, and for this reason the higher posts are almost invariably filled by selection from among the junior ranks, and not by introducing officers from outside. The great difficulty hitherto has been to find capable examiners, and to secure competent tuition in England for officers when on leave, but this difficulty appears now to be in a fair way of solution, owing to the initiative of the authorities of King's College, London, who propose to appoint lecturers and examiners in Hausa. The Protectorate Government owes much to the disinterested assistance of Dr. Miller, of the C.M.S. Hausa Mission, who has hitherto been our only examiner in Northern Nigeria, and who possesses a profound knowledge of the language, both literary and colloquial. In the past an enormous amount of harm has been done by the interpreter class—quite a considerable number of whom are now serving their time as convicts for extortion, &c. It was owing to Dr. Cargill's knowledge of Hausa that he was able to detect a widespread scheme of extortion and slave dealing in the Muri province, carried on in the name of Government by the Interpreter. Later he discovered that it had been due to malpractices and misrepresentation on the part of

Captain Moloney's interpreter which had led to that officer's sad death, and lately Mr. Webster, who had acquired a fair knowledge of Hausa, was able thereby to avert a needless war and convict the real culprit.

12. The Protectorate sustained a great loss by the death of Captain Abadie, C.M.G., Resident of Zaria, an officer who had a wonderful influence with the natives and was greatly beloved by his colleagues: and by the resignation (on expiry of service) of Colonel Morland, C.B., D.S.O., Commandant of the troops, who had been an officer of the force since it was raised, and to whom its efficiency was largely due; of Commander Paget-Jones, Marine Superintendent, who had organised and brought the Marine Department to a high state of efficiency; and of Chief Justice Gollan, on his promotion.

II.—POLITICAL.

(A.) Taxation.

General Conditions.

13. In my report for 1902 I dealt at some length with the question of taxation, and the principles which, as it appears to me, should regulate its imposition in Northern Nigeria. I submitted the opinion that, while indirect taxation by means of customs on the coast is an ideal way of raising revenue (especially when, as here, exports are limited to raw materials and imports consist wholly of manufactured goods), nevertheless "the principle of direct taxation, though it should be cautiously applied and should at first be very light, should not be wholly set aside in laying down the lines which are to govern the future development of the country"; and I expressed the view that the moment at which those principles should be laid down was at the time of the inauguration of British rule, when the system would be less likely to produce discontent than if introduced later. Northern Nigeria has no seaboard on which to collect custom dues, and, owing to its distance from the sea and consequent transport charges, it offers less attraction to trade (on which alone customs are levied) than the southern Protectorates. These, moreover, offer to the trader inexhaustible supplies of purely silvan products—palm-oil, rubber, &c.—which grow without culture in the equatorial belt. Northern Nigeria has also to maintain a powerful military force, and derives no revenue from "trade spirits," the importation of which is entirely prohibited. Internal fiscal frontiers were abolished when the Niger Company's territories were transferred to the Crown.

14. The contribution to general revenue of the interior country cannot, therefore, ever depend upon taxes on trade without unduly over-weighting it, and, in my view, a sounder system would be one of rebates of duties for interior development, in order to encourage the trader to go further afield and develop the industrial resources of the country. The basis of taxation in Northern Nigeria must therefore depend largely on direct contributions, if the country is to pay its fair share of a general revenue.

15. Such a system has been in operation from remote antiquity, and the first step towards raising a revenue by such means consisted in studying the existing systems, so that Government, when instituting its scheme, might act in harmony with the traditions of the country, and, while providing a revenue, should at the same time assure to the native Chiefs a fair proportion of the proceeds, and introduce only such reforms as should simplify and cheapen the collection, regulate its incidence upon the people more fairly, and reduce as far as possible the opportunities for extortion and oppression.

The study of this problem has been the main task of the year 1904, and formed one of the chief objects of my visit to the capitals of the different provinces. So elaborate is the system, and so diverse in different districts, that space precludes the possibility of my dealing with it in any detail in the compass of a report such as this.

Necessity of Supporting Native Chiefs.

16. Before endeavouring to trace in brief outline the points of interest in this subject, I would desire to lay emphasis on an aspect of the question which I have already emphasised in my report for 1902 (para. 80). The decadence of the Fulani rule, which I described in that report, had at the time that Government assumed charge of the country led to revolt on the part of the subject peoples in many provinces, and the enforcement of taxation was marked by continual wars or raids, while those who continued to pay were driven to sullen discontent by ceaseless extortions. The advent of the British and the overthrow of the Fulani domination were heralded by the peasantry as an excuse for the repudiation of any obligation to pay taxes, even in a province so well organised as Kano —the very centre of Fulani rule. The new Government prohibited internecine war and armed slave-raids, and the Fulani were thus left powerless to enforce taxation. It was urgently necessary to take some action without delay. If the Fulani were to be maintained in their position as rulers, and the upper classes were not to be reduced to beggary and to become outcasts, it devolved upon the Government to assist them to levy

the taxes they could no longer levy themselves, and unless the Government were to become the instrument of misrule, it must in consequence see that those taxes were fair and that the method of collection did not involve oppression and cruelty. Such a task has presented itself in the annals of our Indian Empire, but in West Africa it was a new problem, for never before has the British Government there taken under its control a great Mohammedan Empire, in which an organised system of taxation—though distorted—still existed and was administered chiefly by an alien race. The task of assessment of every native village was a heavy one for the small staff of administrative officers in Nigeria, but it is important to recollect that it was not undertaken merely—or even primarily—for the sake of creating a revenue, but resulted inevitably as a part of the task involved by the assumption of administrative control in the country, and was the necessary result of supporting the system of native rulers in the Protectorate, without whom it would be impossible to administer the country effectively. Since, under the new régime, the native chiefs had lost the income they had derived from slave-raiding and from taxes on traders, it became the more urgent to assure to them a regular income from the tribute of the peasantry.

Proposals of Government.

17. In 1904 a "Land Revenue" Proclamation was enacted, under which the Government claimed the right to a certain proportion of the tribute paid by the agricultural and pastoral population in respect of their land and produce and flocks and herds, and the assessment of this tribute to their chiefs was proceeded with during the year. Since a large proportion of the peasantry are serfs, who have no individual right in the lands they cultivate, the tax could not be made incidental upon the individual (*vide* Report 192, para. 85). The policy adopted was therefore, in brief, to retain the ancient taxes—modified and simplified—and to insist on these being paid as heretofore to the chief, while he (relieved of the expense of maintaining an army or police to enforce payment) handed over to the Government a proportion of the tribute thus obtained through its agency. Meanwhile, as related in the 1902 report, a tax on canoes, and on caravans and hawkers and native brewers, was instituted, since these classes could be taxed as individuals engaged in lucrative pursuits, who benefited in a special degree by the security to life and property introduced by Government. The licences on canoes, hawkers, and brewers were, in their present form, more or less new taxes. That on native traders was a substitution for the onerous dues they had previously paid to the chiefs of every town through which they passed.

18. Among pagan tribes with a communal organisation the tax represents the acknowledgment of suzerainty and the

consequent recognition of the obligation to abstain from outrages and war. It is not a tax on his land or hut, to neither of which has the State any right, but a tax on the general wealth of a community paid by each at the behest of his own chief or village council, according to his degree. The amount levied from a people in a primitive stage of development, unaccustomed to the tradition of taxation, should, in my opinion, be small.

19. With the effective organisation of the tribute to the native chiefs, and the participation by the Government in the proceeds, it will, I think, be feasible to abolish at once the licences on hawkers and brewers, and later on, perhaps, the canoe licences and caravan tolls may be modified or abolished, and an equivalent may be included under the tribute tax proportionate to the taxable capacity and wealth of those who now pay these separate dues.

Effects of Scheme.

20. The institution of this system has the beneficial effect of bringing the British staff into close touch and relations alike with the peasantry, and with the ruling classes. The rulers learn to recognise that their interests are identical with those of the administration, and a close co-operation is established, while the peasantry look to the British officers as their guardians and protectors against irregular demands and oppression. The security afforded for life and property and the certainty that the amount fixed as payment will not be arbitrarily increased are blessings so great that the payment of a reasonable tax falls lightly as their price, while (as I shall point out in discussing the subject of slavery) the direct payment of each village through its own chief to the district headman will gradually have the effect in practice of emancipating the greater part of the rural population from slavery or serfdom and promoting a sense of individual and communal responsibility, to take the place of slavery, as the institution gradually expires. Only those will remain as serfs who owe their allegiance to a chief resident among them, or are employed on the personal estate of a chief at the capital,—and no longer to an absentee landlord.

21. I may add that a moderate taxation would seem to supply an incentive to industry and production, which is needed in a country where pressure of population does not exist owing to the depopulation of large areas caused by former misrule, and where the fertility of the soil and the employment of women in manual labour leave the male population ample leisure, when debarred from the pastime of inter-tribal quarrels.

Ancient System of Taxation.

22. In the Mohammedan States the existing forms of taxation were based on the Koranic model, but had become greatly diversified in different provinces, while independent pagan communities paid no tax, but were raided for slaves. Such pagan communities as were conquered paid very heavy taxes, which were arbitrarily imposed on no recognised basis, while semi-independent tribes paid just as much as their nominal rulers could enforce, and were raided at will. The principal taxes were:—(1) The *Zakka*, or tithe on corn, which was limited to the two staple crops of the country; in theory it was due from Moslems (and not from pagans), and should be devoted to charity and religion, and perhaps to State purposes; in practice it seems in most provinces, except Sokoto, to have wholly lost its special character and to have been indiscriminately levied on all. (2) The *Kurdin Kasa*, or land tax, theoretically the tribute of the conquered pagans; it was arbitrarily levied, and increased at will; in Bornu and elsewhere it tended to become a simple poll-tax. (3) The *Plantation Tax*, levied on all crops other than the two which paid Zakka. (4) The *Jangali*, or cattle tax, originally a tithe, and levied only on cattle and not on flocks; it varied in amount, and in some cases was changed to a levy per head of cattle. (5) The *Sokoto Gaisua*, a varying sum paid by all other emirates to Sokoto and Gando; its origin was probably religious, and consisted of a share of the Zakka or Kurdin Kasa; in practice it was a levy made by the Emir upon all his subordinate chiefs, paid chiefly in horses and slaves. Of this he retained a portion for himself and sent a portion to Sokoto. Though in theory a tax on the wealthy, it was made the excuse for fresh exactions from the peasantry. Many emirates had already ceased to send this contribution, or had cut it down to a mere nominal amount. With the advent of British administration, all took the opportunity to discontinue it. Sokoto was thus deprived of revenue, and, as no taxes were collected in that Moslem province (except the Zakka, which was devoted to religion), there was an additional urgent reason for the administration to take the taxation question in hand and to devise a means of meeting the difficulty. (4) The *Kurdin Sarauta* was an accession duty paid by every chief or holder of office on appointment. Its misuse had led to the sale of offices to the highest bidder, and the dispossession of holders in order to create a vacancy. (5) Every form of handicraft was separately taxed. (6) Vendors in the market, merchants, traders, and brokers were taxed at rates varying in different places, apart from the tolls taken on caravans. (7) Death-duties (Gado) were collected, and intestate estates generally lapsed to the Emir if there was no recognised heir. (8) Fines, court bribes, presents whenever an inferior presented himself before his superior.

arbitrary collections on special occasions and many other irregular levies were added to the exactions made to the chiefs, while forced labour was used for the building of houses, repair of city walls, &c. (9) In adition to these, there were a very large number of minor special taxes, such as those on brewers, on date palms, on honey, on prostitutes and dancing girls, on gamblers, &c., &c. In Bornu the *Haku Binirum* is assessed on every householder, and appears to be a graduated tax on property and wealth. The only other taxes in Bornu appear to have been the equivalents of the Zakka, Jangali, and Gado (death-duties).

Former Mode of Collection, &c.

23. The country was (as I have said in my report for 1902) divided under a kind of feudal system into Fiefs, and in most provinces the estates of a Fief-holder were scattered at distances from each other. The Fief-holder in most cases resided at the capital, and the taxes were collected by a Jakada or Ajele. The former usually went his rounds at the time the tax was due, the latter lived on the country. These tax gatherers were the curse of the country, and practised oppression and extortion. In theory, they had no power; in practice, they terrorised the peasantry. They were also the agents, messengers, and spies of the Emir or Fief-holder, and reported deaths for the collection of Gado.

Reform in Collection.

24. The aim of the administration is to abolish the intermediate Jakada and Ajele and to allow the district headman, who was formerly over-ridden by him, to collect (as of old) from each village headman (who in turn collects the assessed amounts from the individuals of his village) and to bring in the tribute direct to the Emir, who will pay the agreed proportion to Government. The district headman may be one of the old Fief-holders, provided that under a redistribution scheme (which presents no difficulties) his fief or district is homologous and no longer scattered, and that he resides upon it. If not a fief-holder, he would probably be the chief of the most important town in the district, and the man of the greatest local influence and importance. If the fief-holder declines the position of district headman, he becomes merely an office holder under the Emir at the capital, or a private gentleman drawing his income partly from the Emir (who divides his share of the tribute with him) and partly from his private estates or from trade. If he becomes district headman he may hold a titular office at the capital and reside there for a short period at a time.

Effects.

25. By this means native rule is decentralised and responsibility for the maintenance of good order devolves upon the district headman. The multiplication of offices by the exaltation of favourite slaves and relatives, to which I alluded in describing the state of the Fulani emirates in 1902, will now be checked, for the Emir can no longer assign them a district to squeeze dry by extortion, and since he must pay them out of his share of the revenue, it will be to his interest to decrease the number, unless they have fixed duties and responsibilities, rather than to increase them. This is to restore the native sub-chiefs to the position which I believe they formerly held, before misrule and nepotism effected the divorce of power from responsibility. District headmen, as I have said, pay the tribute they collect to the Emir, in order to maintain his dignity and prestige, with the exception of those who are in charge of an independent pagan district, which pays to Government only. The duty of the political staff is to settle the districts for which each headman is responsible, and, with the aid of the Emir and Headman, to assess the tribute of the villages which it contains, to adjust ancient inequalities, and promote uniformity in the incidence of the tax. From time to time, as he has opportunity, a Resident will check and readjust these assessments.

Reform of Taxes.

26. Under this system—which will I trust result in a close co-operation and identification of interests between the Resident and the native rulers—the former agricultural taxes are merged in the general assessment, with the exception of the Sokoto Gaisua, and the Kurdin Sarauta (Accession duty). The former (being the traditional acknowledgment of suzerainty by the Emir and his chiefs) will be paid to Government, but its amount will be largely reduced, a small part may also be set aside and paid to Sokoto in acknowledgment of his position as the religious head of the Moslems. The amount so paid would, however, be deducted from the amount of the tribute due from the Emir to Government. The Accession duty will be nominal in amount and the chief receiving it will pay half to Government as acknowledgment of the authority under which he made the appointment. For the rest, I propose that the taxes paid by those engaged in industries other than agricultural shall be enforced as heretofore, and merged in the general tax in accordance with the wealth and taxable capacity of the individual or community. Caravan tolls at present form a monopoly of Government, but it is probable that they also may to some extent be merged before long in the general scheme. The death duties are not at present interfered with, but all other forms of taxation—fixed labour, fines, and bribes, &c.—would be abolished.

General Result.

27. The general result of this scheme will, I anticipate, be to liberate the peasantry from oppression and limit their contributions to a fixed and known sum, collected by chiefs resident among them. In the event of unauthorised levies, they will have a right of appeal to the Resident. The tribute thus collected will no longer be dissipated among tax gatherers and absentee landlords, but by better organisation and more economical methods will ensure the Emir an adequate revenue to be shared with his head chiefs and office holders. The supervision and enforcement of the tax by Government will do away with the continual warfare and raids of the past. A steady and increasing revenue will be assured to Government, while at the same time closer touch between the administration and the native chiefs and people will be promoted, and native rule, supported and supervised by Government, can be made effective and efficient by a process of decentralisation, and the assignment of specified duties to those who receive any part of the tribute.

Taxation of Capital Cities.

28. The taxation of capital cities will, under the scheme when it becomes effective, be left more in the hands of the paramount chief. The ancient market dues and other taxes (abolished in all rural towns which fall under the general assessment), will be regularised and fixed by the Emir and Resident, and the city will be divided into quarters, each under a responsible head who will collect the dues by means of the Dillalis (brokers), Sirkin Kasua (head of the market), and the heads of each craft or guild. The dues thus collected would be divided into four parts, of which the Government, the Emir, and the Maiungwa (head of a quarter) each take one, the fourth being devoted to the sanitation, &c., of the city. Space forbids my describing in any detail the great variety of city taxes.

Pagan Taxation.

29. I have thus far spoken chiefly of Mohammedan areas. Pagan communities may be divided into two classes: (*a*) Those who have a centralised rule under a single chief and are in a fairly advanced stage of social progress, such as Argungu and Jegga in Sokoto, Gorgoram in West Bornu, Bousa and Kiama in Borgu, and some of the Jukom centres in Muri. These would be treated according to their conditions more or less in the same way as Mohammedan centres are; (*b*) Independent communities in a low stage of civilisation who pay a very light tax direct to Government as an acknowledgment of its suzerainty. The assessment in the latter case must proceed more or less on a capitation basis—say 2*s*. or 3*s*. per head per

annum, paid through the village elders. It is the object of the Government to group these villages together under a central chief, and so to raise them to the social plane of the more civilised communities. The obligation to pay a tribute to the Power whose laws they acknowledge is well understood by these tribes, and as they are, perhaps without exception, most industrious agriculturists, and generally rich in flocks and herds, the burden laid upon them is merely nominal.

Diversity in Provinces.

30. I cannot enter here into the great diversity which exists in different provinces, in the application of ancient forms of taxation, and methods of collection, or into the modification of the system which I have outlined, to meet these differences in each province. Kano and Sokoto are probably the two best ruled of the emirates, and each possesses in its native ruler a thoroughly capable and loyal chief, to whom large discretion can be allowed and whose intelligent co-operation is of invaluable assistance. Sokoto in ancient times depended on its tribute in slaves from the other emirates, and had practically no system of taxation of its own. The other Emirs have declined to continue their ancient Gaisua, and, indeed, with the prohibition to slave raiding, they would find it difficult to continue it. Hence the Sultan has cordially entered into a scheme which will bring him in the income necessary to his position, while, in recognition of his dignity as Head of the Moslems, Government would take only half as much from him as from the other Emirs. Kano is the home of tradition and conservatism, and reforms can there be more gradually introduced with the co-operation of the Emir, who thoroughly appreciates the necessity both of reform and of providing a revenue for Government. Nupe and Illorin, our two oldest provinces, have adopted the reforms in a most thorough-going way, and I am informed that both Emirs and peasantry are very satisfied with the results. Muri comprises some eight nominally Moslem centres (in which, however, the system of taxation was never developed to the extent of the Hausa States) and a great number of pagan tribes, including the remnant of the formerly powerful Jukom Empire. The conditions of Zaria approximate to those of Kano, except that Zaria includes many very populous pagan tribes. Nassarawa, Bauchi, and Yola have Moslem centres, but like Muri include very many independent communities. Kontagora and Kabba are almost depopulated by the raids of former days. Bassa is wholly pagan, and for the most part is still unexplored; while Borgu (also pagan) owns but a small and poor population. Bornu, as I have described elsewhere, is slowly recovering from the anarchy and devastation of years. It has a regular system of taxation dating from remote times, and includes many subordinate pagan tribes.

New Scheme, how received.

31. I turn from this necessarily brief outline of the scheme inaugurated under the Land Revenue Proclamation, 1904, to glance for a moment at the results so far achieved. I think I may sum up the reports of Residents in the brief statement that the scheme has been very successful, but that an increase in the political staff is absolutely necessary to give proper effect to it, and thus to assure to the native chiefs, the payment of such dues (which they cannot now collect for themselves) as will enable them to maintain their position, while assuring a growing revenue to the Government.

Sokoto.

32. The cordial co-operation of the Emir has greatly facilitated the work. Mr. Hillary reports that the taxation is willingly accepted, and the people recognise the great benefit of peace, and that taxes are necessary to maintain the Government which ensures it. The present state of prosperity of this province is dealt with in a later paragraph.

The Emir of Gando considers his new revenue "sufficient for his needs, and an ample substitute for the old Nupe Gaisua," which he never realised. "The work of assessment is proceeding smoothly. Every headman of any importance and every known herd owner has been interviewed. Gando and Argungu are fully assessed, and Sokoto and Zamfara are now being assessed in consultation with the headmen. The tribute and the Jangali are at present kept separate, and the assessment being quite new has been kept low." Major Burdon writes as follows, in March, 1905: "The Emirs and all the official classes assert strongly that the present tax is not too heavy, nor resented in any way by the payers." He adds, that a Mallam, with whom he is on intimate terms, remarked that the tax is nothing in comparison with the benefits we have conferred, but that the herdsmen considered it too high. These independent nomads would be sure to grumble, and Major Burdon points out that they owe much to Government for the opening of new grazing lands. The Emir's son accompanied the Resident in his assessment of the Gando district, and was frequently consulted in order to obtain as accurate information as possible. "The headmen and officials were interviewed in the presence of the Datijo (householders), and their views were asked as to what would be a fair assessment, not too heavy, and which would be willingly accepted by the people." I attach especial importance to this report, not only on account of Major Burdon's long residence and intimate knowledge of the people, but because the scheme was started in his province during his absence on leave, and I requested a full expression of his views on his return, after he had had time to hear fully the opinions of rulers and people.

Kano.

33. I can myself attest the cordial way in which the scheme has been received by the Emir of Kano, and no difficulty whatever has been experienced in its application. As an illustration of the actual working of the system, I cannot do better than quote Dr. Cargill's report of his assessment of Gaiya, which is, I believe, the next largest and most important city to Kano itself in that densely populated province. "I left Kano," he writes, "for Gaiya on 24th, taking the Waziri of Kano (son of the Emir and former Fief-holder) with me, as Gaiya is under him. On arrival I interviewed the Sariki with the Waziri, and informed him that we had come to assess Gaiya with a view to doing away with the Jakada. The Sariki is an intelligent man and rendered me every assistance. I then called together all the Maiungas (twelve in number) who collect the taxes from the people inside Gaiya town. Each Maiunga (head of a quarter) brought with him the farmers belonging to his quarter. I first asked the Maiunga how much he collected from his quarter under each head, viz., Kurdin Kasa, Zakka, &c., and then called up each individual farmer and asked him what he had paid. I also asked him his trade and the number of people in his house. In this way I completed the assessment and census of Gaiya town within two days. I then turned the work over to two of my own clerks and two Mallams brought by the Waziri, and told the Sariki to call on all the Maiungas from the district outside Gaiya, to inform the clerks of the amounts they collected from their respective quarters. In the meantime, accompanied by the Waziri, I visited all the walled and fenced towns under Gaiya (eight in number). This tour occupied three days. On my return I found that the clerks had completed their lists. I then told the Waziri to leave one of his Mallams, assisted by one of Sarikin Gaiya's Mallams, to go round the district and list the names of the farmers under each Maiunga, the amount of their taxes, their occupation, and the number of their households, as they had seen me do in Gaiya town. The clerks and myself, with the Waziri, then returned to Kano. The time actually occupied by myself and staff was seven days at Gaiya and four days travelling. The result is map, census, and assessment of one district completed and one Jakada abolished. I calculate that it will take me up to the end of my present tour (May, 1906) to complete the map and assessment of the whole Kano district. In the same time I hope that the junior Residents may be able to accomplish the same in the other Emirates of this Province . . . . The Waziri took a very intelligent interest in this tour, and after I have assessed one or two of his other districts, I propose to let him try his own hand. He was present at every interview with the local Headmen, and I think by this time must know by heart all

the questions that I usually ask them. I think that some of the more important Hakimai (Fief-holders) may turn out of real use to the Government after some instruction and supervision. As a class they are men of refinement and understanding, and existing abuses can hardly be laid to their charge, as their offices have hitherto been merely nominal, and their functions usurped by the big slaves. The Waziri may, I am sure, be trusted to do things as we wish them done. Of the others I will report as I get to know them one by one. . . . . Gaiya has eight walled towns under it;—in addition, 33 villages pay taxes to it. The annual revenue is, Kurdin Kasa, £544; Dye-pits, £6; Zakka, £104; Jangali, £82; plantations, £49; total, £785. The average annual rent of the farms is 3*s*. 4*d*. Sarikin Gaiya will in future collect all the taxes." Dr. Cargill estimates that in the comparatively small district of Kano proper, the result of the new system would be a revenue of £12,000 per annum to Government, while the Emir would receive a clear £5,000 per annum after payment of the district headmen and the fief-holders. This would be personal to himself after cost of collection, and without any increase in the old taxes.

Bornu.

34. Mr. Hewby reports steady progress in abolishing the absentee landlords, but finds a difficulty in that he can discover no original basis of calculation for assessment. The pagan centres of N'guru, Fika, and Bedde are paying direct to Government, and the nomad cattle-owning Fulani and Shuwa Arabs have been assessed on their herds.

Nupe.

35. Mr. Goldsmith reports that "the change has caused no feeling of hostility on the part of the Fief-holders, while the Emir has given the utmost assistance, and has used his influence to popularise the reform. Every town, farm, and small hamlet (numbering over 2,000) has been assessed individually on the basis of the former taxation; only 150 remaining to be done." He adds that "the abolition of the Ajeles, and the cessation of civil war has already converted the districts which in 1901 Major Burdon described as 'desolated and devastated,' into a fairly prosperous country, and new villages are being built and former inhabitants returning daily." He states that "there is absolutely no friction or hardship in collecting the taxes. The land tax has been most willingly paid and is recognised by all classes as necessary and due for the maintenance of the administration," while there is a notable access of industry on the part of every man, woman, and child in Bida. The taxes were expected by everyone as soon as Kano and Sokoto came under the British rule.

The Emir, he reports, "concurs in the abolition of the Ajeles, and thinks the proportion of the tribute taken by Government fair, and is delighted with the new order of things." He personally gives their receipts to the district headmen. "The people are absolutely contented with the idea that if they bring their tribute to Bida themselves annually, they will not be further molested, and all districts admit the taxation to be fair and not bearing too heavily upon them." As a consequence, rural chiefs, between whom and the Emir only last year a bitter feeling existed, are now coming to Bida and acknowledging the Emir, as they never did before, while the "Tawai" or revolted tribes are now paying without trouble. Every district, he adds, has paid, including some which had not done so for seven or eight years. There are similar reports from Lapai.

Illorin.

36. Dr. Dwyer reports that in the Illorin province "the collection was effected without the slightest friction or discontent, and not in one single instance was any resort to force necessary to carry out the system of taxation." The Emir concurred in the abolition of redundant offices when the present holders die. He reports that the fief-holders, as such, have been abolished and district headmen appointed, and every town has been visited. The idle followers of the fief-holders have become farmers. He adds that the new system "has been the means of settling the whole province and of evolving order out of chaos." He further remarks, in another report, that the tax gives supreme satisfaction to the king and chiefs," who are now assured of a moderate income.

Bauchi.

37. From Bauchi Mr. Temple writes: "Whereas in former times we had the greatest difficulty in getting a knowledge of the tribute paid by the people, both when enquiring from the villagers and from the ruling classes, such information is now readily given and often volunteered."

Nassarawa.

38. The Resident says that, with the exception of the Munshis and other tribes not at present under control, the greater part of the province has been assessed on the old basis. Ajeles have been abolished and the tax is collected by district headmen. There is much less friction than occurred under the old regime, and "the collection has given wonderfully little trouble."

Yola.

39. From Yola I hear that "the Emir welcomes the system, as he says he experiences considerable difficulty in collecting his taxes, and the people welcome it from the point of view that they will know exactly what they will have to pay, and it will do away with any possibility of unfair dealing or individual oppression on the part of the collectors." The other officers of this province, in the absence of the Resident, report that there is no discontent, and the people compare our system favourably with that of the Germans, and that the chiefs and their followers receive the intelligence with great satisfaction, while the people seem delighted at the prospect of Government supervision. That "there is every reason to believe that the tax will be a popular one," and that "the Emir is himself engaged in making a census which will help considerably."

40. I have quoted, perhaps, somewhat fully the reports I have received from the principal provinces, under the most experienced of my officers, and these would seem to justify the anticipation that the reforms have been so far successful and promise well for the future. During this year, on my visit to the headquarters of provinces, I discussed this subject very fully. The impression left on my mind was that which will be conveyed by a perusal of the extracts I have quoted. The native rulers appeared to be well satisfied, and though in some cases they argued in favour of the retention of fief-holders and tax gatherers, they appeared to me to admit that reform was necessary, and to regard my proposals in no hostile spirit. The result as regards the actual revenue realised is of less moment than the assurance of an income to the chiefs, and the cessation of extortion and oppression, but is in itself satisfactory. During 1904-5 the amount realised by this general or tribute tax was £20,861.

Other taxes.

41. I have dealt under the section relating to trade with the subject of caravan tolls. They realised during this year the sum of £34,473. Licences on canoes realised £3,065, about half being collected in the Nupe province, where the Resident estimates that the average is 13*s.* 6*d.* per canoe per annum, or 2·2*s.* per head.

(B.) High Commissioner's Tour.

42. The great pressure of work in organising the various departments of a new administration had, during my first two tours of service, prevented my personally visiting the various provinces of the interior, with the exception of my

rapid trip at the time of the occupation of Sokoto and Kano. In my report for 1902 I gave an account of the reasons which led to that occupation, the state of things we found existing there, and the conditions upon which the new native Emirs were appointed and British rule inaugurated. In the report for the following year I commented briefly on the progress of settlement and the feeling among the chiefs towards the Government, so far as it could be gauged. During my third period of service in 1904 I was for the first time able to visit the headquarters of every province (except Sokoto), and to confer personally with the Resident in Charge and with the Emir and native chiefs.

Explanation of Policy.

43. The object of these tours of inspection was to examine the administrative methods of each Resident, with a view to promoting uniformity in the general and essential lines of policy, and to see that the detailed instructions given to them (contained in a series of memoranda on each subject of importance) were being carried out, with such modifications as local conditions might render necessary, and with a full understanding of the policy of the Government by the officers entrusted with the charge of these great areas—averaging some 18,000 miles and a population of over half a million each. I also examined their books carefully, with a view to reducing clerical work as far as possible. In the second place I hoped, by personal intercourse with the chiefs, to promote a thorough understanding and good feeling between them and Government, and above all to disabuse their minds of the idea that the powers and authority reposed in them were given grudgingly or of necessity, or that there were two separate systems of rule, viz., that of the native chiefs and that of the British Government, which might work harmoniously or might tend to friction. It was my desire that they should appreciate the fact that the system of rule was essentially one, and one only, in which each of us, as subjects of His Majesty, bore our respective parts, and carried out that portion of the work which might be assigned to us. That the British Courts and the native Courts were part of a single judicial system based on identical principles of justice and assisting each other in their task of suppressing crime and redressing wrong, each within the sphere allotted to it, while in the matter of taxation, as I have explained, the Government and the native chiefs shared alike the task of assessment and collection, and equally divided the revenue.

Installation of Emirs.

44. At the same time I held an installation ceremony, or gave the usual installation present in those cases where its presentation had been deferred. This was done in the presence of the troops and a great concourse of the people, with

due formality, and I took the opportunity of administering, at the hand of the Alkali, an oath of allegiance on the Koran.

Settlement of Sites.

45. It was also part of my task to examine thoroughly the question of the site of the British Station at each capital, so that a final decision should be reached before any permanent houses were erected. With this object I was accompanied by the Acting P.M.O. (Dr. Langley, C.M.G.) and the Director of Works (Mr. Eaglesome, C.M.G.). The surrounding country and all possible sites were examined, with the proposals of the Resident, military officer, and local doctor, with a view to salubrity and healthiness, water supply, drainage, proximity to the scene of daily work, and accessibility of fuel and material.

46. The following principles guided our decisions:—The health of officers is a primary consideration; we have not, however, come to Africa for our health, and stations must, with due regard to health, be located where the work and political circumstances demand the presence of the civil officers and of the garrison. I consider it of great importance that civil and military officers should live close together, obviating continual correspondence, which wasts time and leads to friction. The civil officers have work to do in connection with the troops, such as arranging for supplies of food and forage, and dealing with offences by soldiers against the natives. One Medical Officer attends both, the troops have guards to find, alike in the military and the civil lines; both use a common treasure-chest, and their amusements and recreation should be common. The tendency has been for them to live as much as a mile apart. It is necessary for the Station to be within reasonable distance of the native city. The work of the political officer when at headquarters chiefly centres at the Emir's house and the market, and in order to promote close co-operation between the British and the native chiefs it is necessary that close personal touch should be maintained. The Medical Officer must be near his dispensary, and the soldiers need easy access to the market,—for a subsidiary bazaar near barracks tends to become a rendezvous for runaway slaves, prostitutes, and rascals. If a Resident has to traverse a long distance—perhaps two or three times a day—to his work in a hot sun, it involves waste of time and probably induces fever. A station should, therefore, as far as may be possible, be situated from one to one and a half miles from the city, viz., sufficiently far to be clear of its insanitary surroundings, yet near enough to be easily accessible. It should be to windward and on higher ground, and on or near a main trade route leading to the city.

47. Its water supply must be sufficient, not only for present needs, but for all possible future requirements, and must not

be subject to contamination either by up-stream villages, or, in the case of wells, by sub-soil drainage from the city. The selection of cultivated land means expropriation of owners, and a belt of millet 10 or 12 feet high when the crops are standing, which is at once insanitary, produces friction with the natives (whose corn is sure to be pilfered), and affords cover for thieves, or for an enemy in case of war. The presence of shade trees is almost essential in an African station, and proximity of fuel and forage are points for consideration. I need not allude to the ordinary hygienic questions of nature of soil, presence of stagnant pools, or neighbouring marshlands, direction of prevailing winds, and the like.

48. Our efforts in selecting the permanent site for each provincial capital have been to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of each possible location after an exhaustive examination of the whole surrounding country, and to decide in favour of the one which possessed those advantages which are the most essential. Careful plans of the ground have been prepared in each instance by the Director of Public Works, and the location of the future permanent houses, offices, stables, servants' quarters, native hospital and gaol, barracks and police lines marked upon them. Where these buildings were not to be erected at once, temporary houses will be so located that when evacuated they may be used as servants' quarters, &c.

Result of Tour.

49. I feel convinced that these visits achieved an invaluable result, both to the Residents, with whom I had lengthy discussions and whose views and difficulties I was thus enabled to hear fully, and to the native chiefs, with whom I had similar conversations, and who were thus convinced that the policy of the Resident was the same as that of the Head of the Government,—while to myself they were an invaluable education.

(C.) Review of Provinces.

50. Each Resident has submitted to me a report on his province for the past year, together with a résumé of its former history. I wish it were possible to submit these in extenso, but the limitations of a report compel me to make a précis only, and in doing so I have added notes of my own visit.

Bornu.

51. The double province, comprising East and West Bornu (divided approximately by Long. 12°) is under Mr. Hewby, C.M.G. (First Class Resident). Its population is estimated at

1,105,000 (663,000 females, 442,000 males), and its area is approximately 33,000 square miles. The records of the ancient kingdom of Bornu extend back to the beginning of the seventh century. Its ancient capital of Birni was sacked by the Fulani at the time of their propaganda 100 years ago, in spite of the fact that Bornu was Moslem. Their power was, however, almost immediately overthrown by El Amin of Kanem, whose son founded the present capital at Kuka about 1815, and established the "Kanembu" dynasty, which succeeded the old Kanuri kings. At the end of 1893 Kuka fell before Rabeh (who had led his victorious forces from the Nile Sudan), and Bornu came under his sway. He established his capital at Dikwa, on the German frontier, and exercised a despotic rule. He developed a considerable trade with the Hausa States, exchanging slaves, ivory, and natron for Western goods. In 1900 the French defeated and killed Rabeh on the Shari River, and established Sanda (who had fled before Rabeh as an exile to Zinder) as Shehu of Bornu. He declined to pay the full $80,000 fixed by the French as the price of his deliverance, and was therefore deported, and Abubekr Garbai was installed in his place. This chief ransacked the poverty-stricken country to raise the sum demanded of him, while Fadr-el-Allah, son of Rabeh, independently ravaged the country with the remnants of his father's army. He in turn was defeated and killed by the French, who penetrated 150 miles into British territory for the purpose. This led, as I have described in my report for 1902, to the despatch of a British force in the beginning of that year.

52. Abubekr accepted the conditions of British rule, and the exactions of the French ceased. Rabeh's followers are now completely dispersed, and have disappeared, while the Kanembu and Kanuri tribes (from East and West of Chad respectively) have fused into a single race, with a practically common language. From the former the present dynasty has sprung. In the South and West are belts of country inhabited by independent or practically independent pagans, while throughout Bornu are settlements of pastoral and semi-nomadic Shuwa Arabs in the East, and Fulani herdsmen in the West.

53. Captain Rice (Assistant Resident) enumerates six classes in Bornu. The "Abbas," descendants of the Shehu's family, rank next to him, being a "feudal nobility," surrounded by retinues of slaves and free retainers. Next in social degree are the Kokonas, free attendants of the Shehu, who form his Council and Court officials. Third in rank are the Kachellas, who are slaves of the Shehu, often exalted to high rank, and each carrying a flag and ranking as Commandant of a section of the Army. The fourth class would appear to be the Ajias, or district headmen, and the remaining classes are the peasantry and slaves.

54. There is now complete peace in Bornu proper, and all arms of precision have been surrendered, but occasional outrages by the Marghoi pagans in the South have necessitated repressive measures, while in the North the raids of the Tubus from French territory cause constant fear and unrest. These bandits live a life of plunder in the deserts north of Bornu, and descend on the villages of the Wobe River, killing the people and carrying off or mutilating the cattle. They will now be effectually dealt with by the Mounted Infantry detachment at Damjiri. Their extreme mobility—all being mounted—made it impossible to repress them by infantry.

55. From 1835 to 1880, during Omar's rule, Zinder, Machena, Nguru, and Gummel formed part of Bornu. The representatives of the Bornu dynasty had fled to Zinder on the sack of Kuka by Rabeh in 1893, and they held their own against him in this extreme western corner of the kingdom. Zinder thus began in 1894 to claim authority over these small outlying vassal states of Bornu. The first French officers who reached it in 1898 were murdered, but subsequently accepting French rule the Emir has put forward claims to the sovereignty of all Damageram, and has blackmailed Nguru and Machena, all of which prior to Rabeh's raid formed a part of Bornu.

56. The Shehu Abu Bekr was (as I have described in former reports) allowed to rebuild the old capital at Kuka, which since Christmas, 1893, had been entirely in ruins, inhabited by wild beasts. At Christmas, 1902, its population was 60, and at the close of 1904 it is estimated at 23,000. Formerly built in the form of two large rectangular areas, with a space between them, the eastern half is now almost completely rebuilt, and the intervening space is occupied by a market which is daily increasing in importance. Rabeh did not violate the tombs of the ancient kings, which are in this portion of the town and are held in great reverence.

57. The population of North Bornu is reported to have increased by fully 50 per cent. in the last eighteen months, and is still increasing. There has been much immigration from Damageram. Mr. Vischer remarks that he could find no one with a good knowledge of the country, the usual reply being, "I have just returned from Damageram." While the Fulani Emirates are full of great walled towns originally built by the Habe and former dynasties, Bornu contains nothing but straw-built villages, which are constantly varying in size and changing their location. The mud-walled huts, which constitute the habitations of the peasantry elsewhere throughout almost all Northern Nigeria, are not to be met with in Bornu proper. Enquiry has failed to elicit any evidence that the Senussi has any influence or is even known in Bornu. Three large and several small caravans of pilgrims, in all perhaps

3,000 persons, have passed through the province on their way to Mecca. I have exempted them from all dues, though they usually take large herds. One band consisted of 750 persons. It started some six years ago, 130 strong, from Timbuktu. The people of Bornu, says Mr. Hewby, obey the tenets of the Koran more faithfully than the Fulani do, and the Shehu distributes much alms to the poor.

58. The Residents estimate the yield of grain at 15,000 tons, chiefly gero (*penisetum spicatum*). Mazzarua (*Kolcus cernuus*) is also grown near Chad. The crops were good, and possibly 5,000 tons were exported for sale in the famine-stricken districts to the south. Onions, wheat, ground-nuts, and beans are grown, especially in the Wobe Valley, by irrigation. Living is extraordinarily cheap, grain on the Wobe costing only from 10*s*. to 15*s*. a ton. A network of tracks feasible for cart transport has been made throughout the province, which has also benefited by the opening of the Gongola River route (*vide* paragraph 250). Except in the south, on the German frontier, there appears to be no tsetse, and cattle (of which there are great herds) and horses, sheep and goats thrive.

59. The rainfall (May to October) is very intermittent and very partial, and the total is small. During the rains the wind is from the S.W.; for the the rest of the year the dust-laden hamattan blows from the N.E. This dry desert wind, meeting the moisture-laden atmosphere of Chad, produces great cold, and even occasional frosts in December and January. In the hot weather the thermometer rises to 106° in the shade. The climate is, on the whole, dry and not unhealthy. Captain Rice mentions that there is a perceptible tide on the west shore of Chad.

60. The number of cases tried in the Provincial Courts in 1904 was 145, the most common crime being stock-thieving, generally dealt with by the native courts. I observed when inspecting the record book that between May, 1902, when the province was started, and May, 1904, 131 cases had been tried, viz., an average of 66 per annum, whereas in the last six months there had been 79—an average of 158 per annum—shewing that serious crime is now being more effectively dealt with. The average number of prisoners was said to be about 70.

61. There was some tension on the German frontier, resulting from a divergence of opinion regarding the action taken on a protocol signed by the Boundary Commission. This Commission completed its survey from Yola to Chad early in January, and after a stay of some weeks at Kuka, a protocol was signed on February 24th, and the Commissioners returned to Europe. The Anglo-French (northern boundary) Commission also reached Chad on completion of their task about the same time.

Tour.

62. Early in November I crossed the Gongola opposite Nafada and proceeded to Gujba, where a company of troops has been stationed since the first occupation of Bornu. The reasons which had then led to its selection have now practically ceased to operate. I therefore moved the garrison to Nafada, for reasons described under "Bauchi" (section 114), leaving only a small detachment at Gujba as a connecting link with the garrisons of Damjiri in the north, and Maifoni in the east. Gujba is a village set in a waste, on a level plain broken only by sandhills. Water of a saline sort is obtainable from shallow pits sunk in a dry depression, which in the rains draws the surplus water from a neighbouring swamp. The place has no political importance, and is infested with mosquitos. The mud and thatch Government buildings are dilapidated, and the "Fort" consists of a low garden wall. The Assistant Resident in the S.W. of the province must have his station in this neighbourhood, and we therefore selected a much better site, distant from the marsh and on higher ground, which was pointed out by Captain Lawrence, who had been here for two years. It is situated at the junction of the Damjiri and Maifoni roads. Limestone is found near Gujba, and also on the Gongola. This, with the waterway of the Gongola for the transport of roofing and other material, will render it possible to build good and healthy houses at small cost at Nafada and Gujba.

63. A forest of red and green-barked acacia, yielding the species of gum most valuable in the market, extends from the Gongola to Gujba. The vast plain of Bornu is stoneless, except for rare outcrops of ironstone, and consists of the porous fissured black earth, called "cotton soil" in India, alternating with, or more probably overlaid by, sand and broken only by sand dunes. Water is apparently found everywhere at a depth of 54 feet, corresponding to the level of Chad. Immense baobabs (adansonia digitata), fine tamarinds, and a few trees of the ficus class are met with in the south. North of Maifoni (latitude 12°) the baobab ceases (except at Kuka, where there are a great number of young trees), and north of Kuka is a dense belt of hyphaene palm, with fine tamarinds and figs. The place of the baobab is taken by the kigelia, and also a very handsome species of diospyros. The former I have only seen before in the Kalahari desert.

64. Following the broad and well-cleared track we reached Maigumeri (71 miles from Gujba), a village of about 1,000 inhabitants, built on a sand-dune. The local Kachella came out to meet us with his horsemen, and I found that the deliverance from the tyranny and chaos of past years which the British occupation has effected has apparently rendered our rule very popular. The people are industrious and cultivate

great areas, but so harried have they been that it is difficult to get them to complain of or to report any oppression. Maigumeri formed the civil headquarters of East Bornu, the military garrison being 30 miles distant at Maifoni. For the reasons I have already given (paragraph 46), I disapprove of this arrangement, which was adopted in the exigencies of the time some years ago. The water supply here was bad, and the monotonous plain which stretched in every direction was at this season bare and swept by a ceaseless dust storm. I decided to abandon the place as a European station.

65. Maifoni was already the headquarters of the Medical Officer and Freed Slaves Home, and the military fort there was the only structure of this class I had yet seen which was worthy of the name. The station stands on a rising ground, some 25 feet above the plain, at the foot of which there is a small stream, which flows for about two months in the year, and from the bed of which water in abundance can always be found a few feet below the surface. It was the only running water which at the time of my tour we saw in Bornu, except the Wobe River, in the north. Since the Shehu of Bornu rules over the whole kingdom (a larger area than that under the rule of any other chief in Nigeria), and has his capital at Kuka, that city must inevitably be the political centre of Bornu. It is, however, very unhealthy indeed during the rains, and I therefore decided to place the Government capital at Maifoni, while the Resident could live at Kuka during the dry season. Maifoni has the advantage of being healthy, central, and near to the independent tribes in the south (Marghoi and Babar) over whom direct supervision is necessary, and only 45 miles from the German station at Dikwa. It will therefore remain the headquarters of the troops, police, &c., the Resident alone residing at Kuka (80 miles north) when his political duties require his presence there. I hope that before long the two will be connected by telegraph.

66. In North-West Bornu the headquarters had been placed at Geidam, where a few mud huts had been built. It was situated on a sandy plain, swept by dust-storms, and two miles from the river, with a very inadequate water supply. After very careful examination of various sites, I decided to move this to Damjiri, six miles to the east—a far more pleasing site—situated 33 feet above the river, on almost the only spot where the Wobe has a steep bank 23 feet high. This station controls the routes to the north, and is the Customs Station for the salt trade from Manga. Its garrison of Mounted Infantry (the last of the frontier posts to the east) will hold in check the Tubus and other raiders from the north. The grass-built native village of Geidam, which before our advent had a population of about 100 and now numbers 700, will be transferred to this place. Bornu will in future be divided into

Eastern and Western (not Northern and Southern) sub-provinces, since the trade routes run east and west. Maifoni and Kuka will be the British Stations in the east; Damjiri and Gujba in the west.

67. Escorted by the Shehu and some 300 horsemen we reached Kuka on November 27th. I was very favourably impressed by the King, who is a remarkably intelligent man, with a frank and open manner and the bearing of a well-bred gentleman. According to my custom, I fully explained his Letter of Appointment and the conditions of British rule, and I discussed with him in the presence of his principal chiefs the questions of slavery, taxation, &c. He was fully satisfied to accept the prohibition against slave-dealing, while as regards the system of taxation he begged that the ancient capitation tax should remain. He expressed a fear lest the district headmen should become too powerful—shewing in this his grasp of the subject, for it is indeed the vital point. He also desired that these headmen should reside at the capital, where of course they would become mere satellites of his Court, and could not be held responsible for the maintenance of order or the collection of taxes in their districts. The object of the suggestion was, in fact, to neutralise their power and influence. I could not concur in this proposal, but I desired that they should have houses at the capital, where they could reside for short periods at the King's summons.

68. Before leaving I presented the chief with his staff of office and the installation present I had brought with me. Many thousands assembled in the great open space before the King's residence, and a crier repeated my words to them. The Shehu took the Oath of Allegiance, and, himself holding the Koran, said before the assembled crowds that he understood that there was nothing in the oath which would interfere with his religion, and for the rest he accepted all the conditions and the policy I had described to him. He showed us with great pleasure over the innumerable rooms of his newly-built palace, and, removing his sandals, led me to the graves of his ancestors. Next day I selected the site for the Residency at Goanji, a former suburban residence of the Shehus, which is some 30 feet above the plain, and is not flooded in the rains. It contains a few fine shade trees and a good supply of water in wells 54 feet deep, and is beyond question the best site near Kuka, from which it is 2½ miles distant.

69. I marched from Kuka to Yo, where the Wobe River enters Chad. Rising at Anchan, 40 miles north-east of Zaria, and flowing within six miles of Kano (where it is called the "Mallam" or "Shallowa" River), it drains the northern watershed of the central plateau of Northern Nigeria (Zaria-Kano-Bauchi), while the Niger, with its tributaries the Gongola,

Benue and Kaduna, drains the east, south and west. From Kano it flows past Hadeija, and in its later course it marks the confines of the desert and the northern frontiers of Bornu. The tributaries east of Hadeija, which are shown on the map, are non-existent, and hence the river, lessened by evaporation in its course through some 300 miles of desert and drained by innumerable backwaters, which are used for irrigation, diminishes in volume as it flows eastward, and did it not (as it were by accident) encounter the Lake Chad, it would (like the Botletle River, in the north of the Kalahari) lose itself in the desert sands. As it is, the river flood only reaches Chad about the end of August, and remains a flowing river for some three months, and a trickling stream for three more months. For the rest of the year it is but a series of pools, and a dry bed throughout that section where it is proposed that it shall form the frontier between English and French territory. Its many channels and backwaters render it most difficult to determine which is the real river bed, and the people resident on either bank belong of course to one tribe. It therefore forms a bad boundary line, and it is conceivable that difficulties might arise on the question of the division of its waters for irrigation purposes.

Towards Damjiri the country becomes more hilly, broken, and timbered. Fodder, which is absent on the bare plains to the east, is abundant, and the population is much denser, with large areas of cultivation. The place appeared to be quite free of mosquitos and swamp. We marched thence through the district of the Bedde Pagans, this section of whom are ruled over by an intelligent and loyal chief at Gorgoram, to the frontiers of Katagum.

Kano.

70. The double province of Kano, comprising the sub-provinces of Kano and Katagum, is under Dr. Cargill (1st Class Resident). Its population is estimated at 2,192,000, and its area is about 31,000 square miles. The Kano province was added to the administration on February 3rd, 1903, and comprised the Emirates of Kano, Katsena, Daura, and Kazauri. The last is an off-shoot of Kano, but the three former are among the most ancient and historical of the Hausa States. Manuscripts at Kano and Katsena contain lists of kings which carry back their history for 1,000 years, and tradition ascribes the origin of the Habe, who preceded the Fulani, to the union of Bajibda of Baghdad with a prehistoric queen of Daura. The conquest of the Habe by the Fulani, about 100 years ago, made little difference to the country, for the new rulers adopted the existing customs and system of Government. The industries, which have made Kano famous throughout and beyond the

Sudan, have remained unchanged, and the weaving and embroidery of cloths, the tanning of goat-skins, and ornamental leather work, with other minor trades, form to-day its staple industries as they did centuries ago. Its large market is the commercial centre of the Western Sudan, the destination and the starting point of the caravans which traverse the country in all directions.

71. For a radius of 30 miles round the city, the country is closely cultivated and densely populated with some 40 walled towns, and with villages and hamlets hardly half a mile apart. The Kano district proper contains 170 walled towns and about 450 villages. There are many streams, but water is chiefly obtained from wells 15 to 40 feet deep. The drainage is to the Wobe River, which flows into Chad. All the African grain crops are grown, *dawa* and *gero* being the staples, the latter especially in the north. Irrigation is practised along the river banks, and crops of wheat, onions, tobacco, and other valuable products (sugar-cane, cassava, &c.) are raised. Well attended markets are held in the larger towns, and also in various country centres. The population, which consists chiefly of Hausas, with a considerable number of Fulani of mixed blood, and slaves of various pagan tribes, is for the most part agricultural, but the people take part in trade in the dry season. The chief industries are weaving, leather-making, dyeing, and working in iron and pottery. Cattle are abundant, and donkeys form the chief means of transport. Under Fulani rule, head slaves absorbed most of the power, and supplanted the Hakimai (fief-holders). Tax-gatherers oppressed the people and appointments were sold to the highest bidder, and justice was perverted by bribery. Every town and village-hamlet was ruled by an alien out of sympathy with the people, who learnt to look to all rule as oppression, and all taxation as spoliation. They welcomed the advent of the British in the hope that all taxation and slavery would be abolished.

72. Alieu, who was deposed when Kano was occupied, had ruled nine years, and was the fourth Fulani Emir. He had obtained his throne by the sword as the result of civil war, and was never properly appointed by the Sarikin Mussalim. He is now living at Yola. Abbas, the Wombai, brother of Alieu, was installed as Emir on April 3rd, 1903. The peasantry, however, did not desire the return of the Fulani headmen, and in some cases refused them admittance to the towns, and ousted the tax-collectors. Many of the slave class ran away, some becoming robbers, headed by some former Government employé or deserter, armed with a pistol or a white man's coat, others enlisted in the military or police, and blackmailed their former masters or robbed traders and villagers passing near the barracks. It cost much time and effort to get rid of these scoundrels, and to put a stop to such practices. The incursion of the ex-Sultan of Sokoto, who passed

along the Zaria-Kano frontier on his pilgrimage eastwards—an event of much importance, which was described in my last report—caused much unrest and delayed progress till he was killed at Burmi. By the end of 1903 the province had settled down considerably. Caravan tolls were instituted and the ancient taxes enforced, the Emirs of Kano and Katsena paying a quarter of these to Government. Kano proper with Daura and Kazauri became an administrative district, while Katsena formed a second, and towards the close of 1904, Katagum was added as a sub-province.

73. The Emir has proved most loyal and trustworthy, and is a ruler of remarkable ability and intelligence, ever exerting himself to smooth difficulties and to fall in with the policy of Government. I have already related how, in March, 1904, he came himself to Zungeru with 1,000 chiefs and followers to put an end to a state of suspicion and unrest which had arisen. This action cemented a friendship and mutual trust between the High Commissioner and himself which had been formed at his installation. Four principal chiefs have during the year been dismissed for appropriating revenue, and replaced by reliable men, the Emir affording great assistance in their conviction. The Emir is indefatigable in dispensing justice, and himself disposes of from 50 to 100 cases per mensem in his Court. The Alkalis' Court at Kano is not yet wholly free from bribery, but that at Katsena, under a particularly just and fearless judge, is very effective. The famine (due to blight) was felt to some extent in this province, but as gero-corn appears to have suffered little, it was not severe. A good deal of road-cleaning has been effected by the Emir.

74. The friction between soldiers and the peasantry, due to the causes I have described above, has greatly diminished; but two soldiers have been killed by villagers, and two villagers by soldiers at different times on the main roads. Such occurrences never take place when a European is present, and every effort is now made to avoid sending soldiers by themselves. Progress has been made with the survey of the province, and the Boundary Commission completed its labours at the beginning of the year.

75. The Emir of Katsena has persistently given trouble since the British occupation, secretly opposing the administration in every way, and continuing the extortion and oppression of his people for which he had always been noted. Chiefs were dispossessed and their offices sold, forced levies were made by him on the people in the name of the Government, and revenue misappropriated; while attempts to poison our wells and to work evil to the Government officers by means of charms were practically beyond doubt. I therefore decided, after many warnings, to depose him, and his successor was installed on my visit to Kano in December, 1904. This action has excited

universal satisfaction among all classes. The minor chiefs on the other hand, have been very loyal and friendly throughout.

76. There has been some immigration from French territory over the northern boundary of Katsena, due, it is said, to the license allowed by the French to their native chiefs. Tessawa people have formed a large town at Dankama, and Maradi people have settled at Zandam. The Maradi (now in French territory) give a good deal of trouble by their raiding propensities. Two small disturbances have occurred, resulting in the arrest of Tsaidu, the ringleader of a party who refused to pay taxes, and of Tudu, a notorious outlaw. Assessment and collection of tribute has been less heavy work than in any other province, owing to the efficiency of the Emir and native chiefs, and the admirable system already organised and in operation, but the staff has been insufficient for its duties. The fact that Kano is the headquarters of the Mounted Infantry, with a consequently large garrison, throws much additional work on the civil staff, upon whom devolves the task of buying corn for the horses, both there and at Katsena, and of providing transport. The Government transport animals were sent to graze at Katsena during the rains.

77. In consideration of the large revenue collected from Kano, the Government gave £250 for the constructon of a new market, which is to be on the ancient Habe site and entirely made by local labour. It will be circular, with a circumference of 1,886 feet, with five converging avenues, 40 feet broad. It will contain 400 shops, each 36 feet square, with flat mud roofs.

78. There were 192 cases tried in the Provincial Court, of which eight only were civil actions. The principal offences were larceny (50), extortion and personation (40), slavery (22), assault (20). Informal cases numbered about 700.

79. The health of Europeans at Kano has been decidedly bad, due chiefly to the bad site of the Government Station. Leprosy is common in Kano, and early in 1905 an outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis occurred. The Government Station at Katsena has been moved to higher ground, but the housing is unfit to maintain health.

Tour.

80. The selection of a site at Kano was of exceptional importance, since it is already the headquarters of the Mounted Infantry, and contains, therefore, a considerable European and native population, and will at no distant date probably develop into a considerable cantonment, where merchants and native traders, attracted by the commercial importance of the city, will reside. On our arrival, therefore, at the end of December, 1904, we thoroughly examined five alternative sites, and satisfied ourselves that there were no

others. The existing station is three-quarters of a mile from the walls of Kano on a plain 1,500 feet above sea-level. There are many large holes near it, from which the mud to build the houses had been excavated, and which are filled with stagnant water—breeding *anopheles* in the rains. It was originally occupied on account of the accommodation ready to hand and the fine old trees surrounding it—rare in the vicinity of Kano. The buildings—one of which was double-storied—were fine of their kind and formed the suburban residence of the Emirs. The water supply was found to be inadequate in the dry season, and would be still more so for a large township. It is obtained, as in the city of Kano, from wells 10 or 12 feet deep, and is not of a good quality. A few additional mud buildings had been erected, but no great outlay had so far been incurred. To the east, only two miles from the Emir's residence in the city, are a series of springs, the source of a small stream, near the hamlet of Geiza. The site commands the important roads to the north (Katsena and the Desert) and to the east (Hadeija and Bornu). It was to windward of the city (N.E.) and had every appearance of being healthy. It is the only place near Kano involving little or no expropriation of cultivated land. The water is pure and cannot be fouled by contamination up-stream. Wells could probably be sunk in the water-bearing stratum. In the existing circumstances, I decided to form a temporary station at this site, and to thoroughly test its salubrity and the adequacy of its water supply. It has no swamp-land anywhere in its vicinity.

81. It was in the last few days of the year that I had reached Kano, the Emir as before coming out with a great concourse of horsemen to meet us. The first question for decision was that of the Emir of Katsena, of which I have already spoken. He was brought down under guard to Kano, and after fully hearing the case, I decided on his deposition, and sent him to reside at Illorin. His many sons, who held high office, were not dispossessed. I fully explained to the new chief—the proper heir and a most popular man—the conditions of his appointment, as I had done to Sokoto and Kano, &c. He cordially accepted them and asked for a copy in Arabic that he might constantly remember them.

82. On January 2nd a review parade of all the troops and police was held on the polo ground, which forms part of the great plain surrounding Kano. Thousands of Kano horsemen and of spectators on foot formed a great crescent some half a mile long, facing the hollow-square formation of the troops. The Katsena Emir-elect, after performing the elaborate ablutions enjoined by the Koran, took an oath of friendship and allegiance on the Sacred Book administered to him by the Alkali of Kano, and I invested him with the insignia of

Katsena—a sabre in a silver scabbard inscribed with Arabic —whose origin is lost in antiquity, the drum on which 12 strokes are solemnly beaten, and which is not sounded again till a new accession takes place, the silver seal, and the new gown and turban. He was received with great acclamations. I then presented to the Emir of Kano his installation present, deferred till now, consisting of a costly saddle, a sword, an illuminated Koran, and a small prayer-carpet. The troops gave a royal salute and marched past.

83. I had much personal discussion with the Emir of Kano on the subject of the abolition of Jakadas, and the other matters connected with taxation, which I have already reported. He asked that powers of inflicting a death-sentence should be granted to his native court. These powers, which, of course, have always been exercised by the Emirs, I have withheld until the native judiciary should have proved itself sufficiently pure to exercise them. Sokoto and Kano have both done admirable judicial work, and I therefore concurred in the extension of his powers provided that he obtained (in accordance with the Native Courts Proclamation) the concurrence of the Resident before a death-sentence was carried into execution. I pointed out, however, that, since by Koranic law a master who kills his slave is not liable to death, any such case should be remanded to the Provincial Court, since we recognised no such exception, and I did not wish him to pass a sentence unauthorised by the Sheria. To this he readily agreed, adding that it was already his constant custom to transfer any case which he thought the Resident would prefer to try, and that the British Judge in turn sent many cases to his court. I cordially concurred, saying that it was not our policy that there should be two administrations, the British and the Native, working side by side, however harmoniously, but that both should together form an integral part of the single responsible Government of the country, each dealing with its allotted part, and working in intimate co-operation with the other. I withdrew the prohibition to the restoration of the city walls, proposing that in future the customary labour of the peasantry on this work should in alternate years be devoted to this task, and to road making. He was, of course, much gratified by this mark of confidence.

84. Accompanied by the Resident and Major Lugard, Political Assistant, I later drank tea with him in his private house. I took the opportunity to once more protest against the valuable presents he has sent me (horses, cattle, &c.), saying I did not wish my visits to be a burden to him, and telling him that every article, however small, was realised and paid into revenue, and was not personal to myself. He, however, insisted that it was the traditional custom of the land, which he could not possibly omit without insult. I told him of the

strained relations with Hadeija (vide paragraph 93), and saying that it was most distasteful to me to have to apply coercion to Fulani Emirs, I suggested that he should write to Hadeija, and point out the folly of his attitude. He did not appear to be very anxious to do so, but complied with my wish. Hadeija's letter to him in reply is quoted in paragraph 95. The Sarikin Kazauri, too old and infirm to travel, sent a deputation and a Gaisua (salutation present), with a letter "thanking God that the British had come."

85. It is an extremely difficult task to condense into a report of a reasonable length the events of interest in a year's work in a new administration, but, at the risk of being tedious, I have thought it worth while to describe these matters as illustrative of the relations now existing between the British officials and the native chiefs who were so lately our opponents in battle. Throughout my tour I received in every capital city the same spontaneous and grateful recognition of the work of the Resident, and each Emir thanked me for having sent him so good a man and begged me not to remove him.

86. Here, as elsewhere, I went exhaustively through the Resident's books and discussed all subjects of importance with the Resident, especially taxation, the Anglo-French frontier, and the division of the new "double province" into administrative divisions. Customs or toll-stations must be established (each with a political officer) at Kano, Katsena, Messau (or Gogo or Chamono), Hadeija, Gummel, and Katagum. The enormous population and heavy work at Kano necessitates two officers at that place. The civil work has been carried on with the complete co-operation of, and without friction with, the Emir and native chiefs on the one hand and the military on the other, the credit for the latter being largely due to Lieutenant-Colonel Cubitt, D.S.O., Commanding the Mounted Infantry, with whom each Resident has found it a pleasure to work.

Katagum.

87. Up to the close of 1904 the Katagum province was administered separately from Kano, with which it is now incorporated. It consists of several small but ancient Emirates (Katagum, Messau, Gummel, Hadeija, Machena, and part of Damageram), with a fringe of pagans (Bedde) on its eastern frontier towards Bornu, and several pagan tribes in the south towards Bauchi. In ancient times it formed the debateable country between Bornu and the Hausa States, and its northern Emirates were for long periods subservient to the former. Hence it assimilates in its customs most nearly to Bornu. Tradition says that about 100 years ago three Fulani

chiefs conquered the Kerribu pagans, by whom its southern territories were inhabited. One of them, Zaiki, claimed the north, and founded Katagum; the second, Bubu, founded Gombe; and the third, Yakoba, established himself at Bauchi. Messau (which was peopled by the ancient Habes) and Chera were conquered by a Bornu chief with the aid of these Fulani. Gummel appears to have been founded by an immigration from the Manga (salt) district of North Bornu. Hadeija would seem to be an old Habe town, the ruling dynasty of which was overthrown by Fulani who had settled in the city. The Fulani usurper received a flag and a blessing for this act from Othman Dan Fodio at Sokoto, but his successors waged war against Bornu and Sokoto alike, and held their own against Kano, Katagum, Katsena, Bauchi, and all comers. They have thus acquired a great reputation as fighting men, and boast that they have never been conquered. Machena is in origin Bornu.

88. The province was taken under administrative control in October, 1903, when the Anglo-French Boundary Commission traversed its northern frontier, accompanied by its first Resident, Captain Phillips, D.S.O. Two districts of that portion of Damageram which was then assigned to the British were ruled by the slaves of the King of Zinder. These were sent back to Zinder, and the whole country was ordered to pay its tribute to the British, and has since done so.

89. The Resident spent the greater part of the year in touring through the hitherto unvisited districts of his province, explaining the law regarding slavery, assessing taxation, settling boundary disputes, and mapping the country, covering in all 1,586 miles. He was practically single-handed throughout the year, his two juniors being constantly unwell, and as a consequence the caravan tolls, customs, and tribute have been only very partially collected, at great loss to the revenue. The headquarters at Katagum has been the only toll and customs station and the only properly constituted native court, but towards the close of the year the capitals of Gummel, Hadeija, Messau, and Jemaari were brought into touch with the administration, and native courts, &c., are now being established. The number of cases tried in the Provincial Court was 58 (mostly highway robbery with violence), and 51 informal cases were disposed of,—chiefly remanded to the native court.

Tour.

90. We reached Katagum on December 14th, still following the broad track, cleared of tree stumps and even of grass roots, which I had followed throughout Bornu, and which later led me on to Kano and Zaria. At this town—the civil headquarters of the sub-province—there was a company

of infantry as garrison. I found the chief (whose territory extends over the greater part of the province, including the large tribe of Chera pagans on the south (Bauchi) frontier) effusively loyal, as was also Gummel, who, with a large following of horsemen, had come to welcome us. Massau was also present, but had little following. Machena was not represented, but he also is friendly and anxious to be relieved from the incursions and exactions of Zinder.

91. As elsewhere, this being my first visit and introduction to these chiefs, I held a ceremonial durbar, at which I explained the policy of Government in matters of taxation, slavery, religion, and co-operation with native chiefs and native courts, and all matters dealt with in the Letters of Appointment. It has been my desire that, at the first formal interview between the Head of the Government and native Emirs, there should be no minimising of the rights claimed by Government and no disguise of its policy, in the more tempting task of reciprocating the more than Oriental courtesy and polished phrases of these Fulani. The fact that Government has not hesitated to state its policy and assert its rights firmly and emphatically has, I think, undoubtedly had the effect of winning respect and confidence which these suspicious natives would not have accorded to more suave pronouncements.

92. I told these chiefs that, as they had from the first received us with friendship. I did not wish to insist on the Oath of Allegiance which I had administered to Emirs appointed by Government. I later, however, received a message from both of them saying that they wished to take the oath, and they came next day to do so. Taking the Koran in his hand, Katagum said: "I believe it is the will of God that the white man has come to my country, and I will therefore obey him. If I am guilty of any double-dealing, may the Koran punish me." Gummel's self-suggested oath was even more emphatic. Katagum said that, since our arrival, he had received more revenue than before, in spite of the share he paid to Government. I promised that the installation presents (the cost of which would probably be fully covered by the value of the presents they gave to Government) should follow later, and I presented them with their staves of office, which are very highly valued.

93. The attitude of Hadeija, on the other hand, gave cause for misgiving. It is a very wealthy and very industrious town. Its walls rival those of Kano, and its manufactures are, I am told, unequalled even at that city. The horses are by far the finest I have seen in Africa, and the chain armour and horse trappings, the gorgeous robes of silk, satin, and costly fabrics of Europe, which are worn by the principal men, bear evidence to its prosperity. The king has shown

himself very hospitable, but very independent, and the lesser people have offered several insults to Government parties passing through the territory. Hadeija, from its important position both as a source of supplies and a centre of trade, offers a better location than Katagum both for the civil headquarters and the garrison intermediate between Damjiri and Katsena, which will check the raids from Zinder and the Tubus and render the northern roads safe from robbery and violence. To the Resident's letters on this subject the Emir had sent no reply, he had continued to levy caravan tolls in spite of protest, and he alone had not come to meet me. It seemed doubtful what attitude he would adopt. He, however, elected to come and make his submission, and arrived on the morning of my departure with a great throng of horsemen in shirts of mail, with spears and swords. Meanwhile the chiefs of Katagum and Gummel, who had been told to dismiss their 1,000 odd horsemen, fearing, perhaps, some ill-intention on the part of Hadeija (many of whose chiefs and warriors bore a truculent and even insolent demeanour), had of their own accord stayed on, and to my surprise I found them drawn up in a great crescent formation beyond my own escort and the ranks of the garrison, as a threat on Hadeija's flank.

94. The Emir now adopted a tone of extreme humility. I pointed out that if the British renounced the protection of his State, it would be assumed by the French, near whose frontier it lies. I explained the necessity for Government to share in the taxation, and added that former causes of complaint would now be forgotten by the Government, but that it was necessary that I should place a garrison at Hadeija to repress incursions from Zinder and elsewhere and to keep the peace. This I pointed out had even been done at Kano and Sokoto, not for fear of trouble with the Emir, but to suppress disturbances and enforce the authority alike of the native chief and of the Resident, who was his adviser and friend. He introduced his headmen, who were an unprepossessing set of men, their faces —especially those of the party which I was privately informed had been in favour of war—indicating overweening vanity, self-importance, and sensuality. The Emir's salutation present included some of the handsomest horses I have seen in the Sudan.

95. Captain Phillips later went to Hadeija to select a site for the garrison, and the Emir and chiefs, who now appeared convinced of the folly of opposition, adopted a very friendly attitude, and assisted in finding labour and material to build the barracks. Later, as I have already narrated, the Emir of Kano wrote to him at my suggestion, and his reply was as follows:—

"In the name of God. Peace be to Mahomet.

"From the King of Hadeija, Mahomet, son of Ibrahim, to his most faithful friend Abbas, Emir of Kano, who has our good at heart. Salutations, &c., &c. We saw your messenger Hardo, with your messages of warning and advice, regarding the guests (white men) who were coming to us. We regard the message as a token of the deep love you have for us. We gladly followed your advice in obeying their orders and agreeing to all they wanted. The result was good for us. Thus God saved us from the trouble which my enemies anticipated would fall on us, and I am glad to inform you that now between them and us there is peace and friendship and no trouble, and we are building them houses. For what you have done I acknowledge you from this time my best and most tructworthy friend of all that exist in the four sides of the world. I have despatched your messenger, Hardo, and my Yerima will soon follow to give you thanks from me. Peace."

96. Early in January the Mounted Infantry company took up their quarters at Hadeija. The peaceful solution of this matter was a source of much gratification to me, and had been greatly assisted by the fact that trade caravans, deflected to Katagum, had begun to desert his town. This was a tangible proof of the power of the Government which threatened him with ruin, and apparently had more effect on his mind than the subjection of his powerful neighbours of Kano and Bornu. I am, however, aware that there is still a faction in Hadeija hostile to the settlement, and it is possible that they may at some time gain ascendancy in the King's counsels. He proved his friendly intentions by giving up all arms of precision, and submitting a list of towns, with the tribute of each; and on the occasion of the Sala festival in February he invited the attendance of the British officers, and arranged a pageant in their honour, treating them with the utmost cordiality.

97. Though Hadeija has now been made the capital of the sub-province, there will be an Assistant Resident at Katagum, since its Emir controls the greater part of the province (including Messau and Chera); Gummel will form a third division, each being a toll or customs station. Limestone was found by us at Katagum, and this will very greatly decrease the cost of permanent buildings. The existing site at Katagum was decided to be the best for the political officers' residence. The houses in which Europeans are now living are extremely bad and insanitary, and unfit for habitation. There was no native hospital, but the mud-built gaol was a useful building.

Sokoto.

98. The double province of Sokoto includes the sub-province of Gando. It is in charge of Major Burdon, C.M.G. (First Class Resident), and has an approximate area of

35,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 521,000 (females (277,000, males 244,000). It includes the ancient kingdoms of Zamfara on the east, and Argungu or Kebbi on the west. The city of Sokoto has no historic importance, such for instance, as Birnin-Kebbi, which holds a prominent place in the annals of the Sudan for many centuries back. It was founded by Othman Dan Fodio, a Mahometan teacher and missionary, when he left the pagan state of Gobir (which at that time ruled the eastern as Kebbi ruled the western part of the province, including much that is now French territory) to proclaim a Holy War and conquer the confederation of the Hausa or Habe States. Othman won his great victory over Gobir, with whom Asben was allied, in 1804, and drove them north. Kebbi, which had for so many centuries defied alike the powerful Askias of the Songhay Empire and the Moors who overthrew it, was also conquered, but soon re-asserted its independence, which it has ever since maintained. Sokoto was thus the birthplace of the modern Fulani dynasty, and the centre of the Moslem faith. Its Emir still bears the title of "Sarikin Mussalim," or Head of the Moslems, and his influence (as I stated in my report for 1902, on the authority of Captain Moll, the French Boundary Commissioner) extends to Timbuktu and into the desert as far as Agades. Sokoto was thus the home of the Fulani chiefs who conquered Hausa land, and in the decadence of the dynasty it preserved a larger measure of purity of religion and justice than the other Emirates. It came under British control on March 22nd, 1903, under circumstances which I fully described in a previous report.

99. During 1904 the Emir and his council have given every possible assistance, and have worked most loyally with the Administration. The Emir of Gando was not at first so satisfactory, but has much improved. Minor chiefs have been most helpful. The province has been peaceful, the only occasions for the exercise of force being the arrest of the deported ex-Chief of Giwai, which was effected without disturbance, and the deposition by the Emir of the Chief of Tambawel. Farmers and herdsmen have re-occupied deserted towns, and inhabitants of the cities are reported to be flocking back to the land and re-building villages which were destroyed 50 years ago. Swamps have been re-claimed for rice cultivation, and there will soon, says the Resident, be no area left unfarmed. This is especially due to the cessation of the hundred years' war with Argungu. The Emirate of Gando is equally prosperous. "The present peace and prosperity of the province," writes the Resident, "and its promise for the future affords a most striking proof of the great benefits which have resulted from our occupation of the country." The Asbenawa, who were driven from the borders of Adar by the French, have re-occupied their ancient lands, and are disappointed to find

that under the new Convention they will not now be in British territory. Much had been done in 1903 to settle the frontier which this alteration of boundaries has unfortunately cancelled, leaving the border strip in a state of anarchy. The Emir of Sokoto felt deeply the loss of the territory ceded to France, which had been assured to him by the Government when he accepted British protection, but he accepted the decision loyally, though it would probably have been in his power to create much local opposition to the French.

100. The efficiency of the native courts has enabled the Resident to relegate to them a large number of cases. Four courts have been organised, viz., at Sokoto, Gando, Jegga, and Argungu. Their lists of cases are at yet incomplete, and only the more important are reported. Sokoto averages 20 such, and the others five per mensem. "There is every reason," says the Resident, "to believe that justice is administered, and it has not been necessary to order the re-trial or transfer of any case." There have been about 90 convictions in the Provincial Court; there is no difficulty in effecting arrests, and witnesses are now more willing to come forward. A great deal of very valuable survey work, resulting in large additions of accurate information to the map, has been done by Major Burdon. The police are very efficient, and the popularity of the corps results in the enlistment of a superior class of recruit. There is a good prison, with an efficient régime. The health of the staff has been fair, and cases of sickness are caused, says the Resident, chiefly by bad housing. Two officers suffered from small-pox. Prison labour has been used to drain and improve the sanitation of the station, and the rules for the preservation and planting of trees have already begun to show good results. A native dispensary has not yet been started, and vaccination has not been successful. A fair road has been made from Sokoto to the Kano frontier by the native chiefs, as well as other minor roads; and the Kebbi River, which had become blocked, was dug out and cleared, so that a canoe from the Niger reached Sokoto in December, 1903. I hope to utilise this means of transport. Three customs stations were opened during the year, and cash currency is rapidly becoming popular, since tolls have been accepted in coin only.

101. Horse-breeding and cattle-raising form the chief source of wealth, and they have benefited greatly by the advent of peace, which has made large areas of grazing available. It is estimated that there are some 100,000 head of cattle and 40,000 sheep in the province. Ostrich-farming, much mismanaged, is carried on in the north. Except in areas where lack of water at present precludes cultivation, there is extensive agriculture, including rice and cotton. Special crops are grown in the river valleys by irrigation. Weaving, dyeing, and tanning are the principal native industries.

Zaria.

102. This province has an area of 22,000 square miles, and an estimated population of 230,000 (females 133,000, males 97,000), and is in charge of Captain Orr, R.A. The Fulani dynasty was founded here by Musa, who defeated the Habe king and drove him to Abuja in the south, where he established the remnants of the old dynasty. The Emir of Zaria was always appointed, and (at the instance of a deputation) frequently deposed, by the Sarikin Mussalim. His Emirate was probably the largest of the Fulani kingdoms, and included many populous pagan tribes, notably the Gwari, in the south. Early in 1900 the expeditions sent to explore the Kaduna, Gurara, and Okwa rivers, which rise in the central plateau and run south to the Niger, united at Ghiarku, near Zaria, and a garrison was placed at Wushishi, which marks the limit of navigation of the Kaduna. In 1901 I selected the site of the Protectorate headquarters at Zungeru, near Wushishi, in the south of the province, and later in the year a garrison was placed at Zaria in response to an appeal from the Emir for protection against the raids of Kontagora. In March, 1902, the province was taken under control and remained under the charge of Captain G. F. Abadie, C.M.G., until his death, in 1904, robbed the Protectorate of one of its best officers. Throughout 1902 the Emir Kwaso intrigued with Kano, which was hostile to the British, and in consequence of his oppression, misrule, and treachery was deposed. The Galadima carried on the Government for some time, until in April, 1903, after the conclusion of the campaign against Kano, I appointed the present Emir, Dan Sidi, grandson of Musa the founder. Prior to these events the death of Captain Moloney, Resident of Nassarawa, at the hands of the representative of the Emir of Zaria at Keffi, led to the district south of the northerly bend of the Kaduna being detached from the Zaria Emirate. The Gwaris were content to accept British rule on the promise that they should not be placed under the Fulani.

103. The province suffered from the prevailing famine, which was accentuated by the large demand for corn for the horses and men of the Mounted Infantry, whose headquarters were then here. Zaria is not a great grain-producing province, and its chief crop appears to be cotton, which is exported to Kano. The harvest at the end of the year was, however, fair, and it is to be hoped that this experience of hunger will stimulate the people to cultivate larger areas. Notwithstanding the famine, the tribute was paid in full, and no military expeditions or display of force has been necessary in any district of this large province throughout the year. This tranquility and the large increase of trade show that the people are settling down under British rule. The pagan districts to the south and south-west, which occupy, perhaps, the largest

portion of the province, require more direct supervision by Government than that under Fulani rule, in which the native administration is now efficient and needs only a general supervision. These tribes are generally mutually hostile, and given to raiding caravans and to acts of robbery and violence. A new station, with a garrison, was established during the year at Kachia to check these tendencies, which had been too manifest there. The result has been very satisfactory, the district has been mapped and assessed, and much valuable information collected. There is some difficulty in realising payments in kind, which, except ginned cotton, are usually difficult to transport. Captain Orr says that the pagans, who have been accustomed to pay tribute in slaves (usually their own children), have no repugnance to that form of payment. The spread of coinage, superseding the cowrie (which is as heavy as produce), will do away with this difficulty, and is promoted by the demand for supplies of all kinds at Zungeru, and the high prices paid for them in cash.

104. There were 97 cases tried in the Provincial Court, 21 being cases of highway robbery, extortion and personation, and 37 of larceny. Petty cases between natives have been dealt with by the native courts. The average number of prisoners was about 37, many being in transit from other provinces to the Convict Gaol at Zungeru. The police force is making progress, but is still far from reliable. The construction of the Zungeru-Zaria road, which lies wholly in this province and traverses the Gwari country, and the extension of the telegraph towards Bauchi, involved heavy calls on the labour of the province, which were added to by the erection of temporary houses and stables for the headquarters of the new Mounted Infantry Corps, which, however, early in 1905 was transferred to Kano. In all these matters the Emir gave willing and invaluable assistance. The revenue of the province has increased greatly, chiefly from caravan tolls. The new tribute system is reported by Captain Orr to have worked satisfactorily, and the task of assessment of each town has already been accomplished in a rough form.

Tour.

105. I reached Zaria early in 1905. My conversation with the Emir covered much the same ground as those with Kano and other Emirs, but I took opportunity to refer to the assistance he had given in public works, and emphasised my desire that no forced labour should be employed, and that full payment should be made to each labourer. As at Kano, I concurred that the reforms in the collection of taxes should be gradually introduced, and that the district of the Madaiki (his own son) should be selected for the first experiment. The

installation present, deferred till now, when the Emir after nearly two years of probation had proved his fitness for the post, was presented with all formality before the assembled crowds and a parade of troops, and subsequently, as usual, I visited the Emir and drank tea in the recesses of his private apartments, where he showed us his latest-born babies, one of whom he has named after the Resident. Major Burdon awaited me here on his way to Sokoto from leave, and joined in our discussions. His presence was most valuable, since his province was the only one I was unable to visit. These full and informal conversations on the spot with each Resident have been, as I have said, of great value to me, and I trust also to them, and have usefully supplemented our conversations at Government House, and the full reports I receive which enable me to keep in touch with the work of every officer. The province is now divided into three administrative districts—Zaria, Kachia, and Wushishi—and trade appears to be increasing (*vide* paragraph 214).

106. The question of the site of the station here is, like Kano, one of exceptional importance, since Zaria occupies a very central position in the Protectorate, whence roads diverge to north, south, east, and west. Its altitude (2,150 feet) is greater than that of any other station, and its climate is consequently the most healthy in Nigeria, and during part of the year may even be called bracing and delightful. Situated, as it eventually will be, on the main line of railway to the sea, it is possible that it may become a large political and commercial centre for Europeans—superseding, perhaps, both Zungeru and Kano. Its great disadvantage is that tsetse fly has been proved to exist here. The original station, still occupied by the Civil Staff, was found to have a bad and insufficient water supply, and I therefore authorised the occupation of a site on the Dandua stream when the new mounted infantry was raised. This place is some 35 feet lower than, and 5 miles from the old site.

Bauchi.

107. Bauchi has an area of 23,200 square miles and an estimated population of 920,000 (females 680,000, males 240,000), and is in charge of Mr. Temple. I have already (*vide* Katagum) described the origin of the Fulani dynasty in Bauchi. Its capital, Yakoba (now called Bauchi), was founded by its conqueror of that name, and the Emirate extended across the great barrier of the Murchison Hills to Lafia in the south. These outlying districts had, however, ceased to have any touch with the centre, and were finally detached from it in February, 1902, when the misrule of the Emir, and the massacre of Guaram—a large and prosperous city—led to British intervention, and the province was brought under control and assumed its present proportions. The Emir was deposed and

banished to Illorin, where he lived in comfort till he died in 1904. His heir was elected successor, and has proved loyal.

108. Bauchi (as its name implies) was "the land of slaves," and its numerous pagan tribes were ceaselessly raided, or individuals bought or stolen to supply the slave-marts of Hausaland. Adamawa (now German) was a still more fruitful source of supply, and as the route thence led through Bauchi, the city became a great centre of the slave trade, and owed such prosperity as it possessed to this fact. At the time when the inferior negroid races were driven south by the great civilised empires of Songhay and its predecessors and successors, the rugged country which forms a great part of this province gave to the cannibals and fetish worshippers who fled before the armies of the north, an asylum no less secure than that afforded by the forest belt of the Equatorial Zone. There they exist to this day, safe from attack by the Fulani, and retaliating on their enemies by murdering and eating the traders who attempt to cross their territory on their way to the Benue and the markets of Adamawa beyond. They are, generally speaking, wonderfully good and industrious agriculturists, and rich in flocks and herds, but lawless and independent. Even when a chief is nominally acknowledged as the head of a clan, his authority is almost nil. The Administration has been in no hurry to coerce these primitive peoples. The necessity of suppressing outrages and murders on the main trade route from Bauchi to Muri, opposition to the development of the tin deposits in the south-west of the province, or hostile demonstrations against political officers in their endeavours to get into peaceful touch with the tribes (as in the case of the Kentana in the south, and the semi-Moslem Duguri) have from time to time led to difficulties, but many of the tribes still remain outside the pale of the Administration. It will be a work of time to teach them that the products of their industry will find a safe market, and that their persons will be secure in the larger towns of the plains.

109. Burmi, the scene of the severe fighting in 1903, and the home of the small but fanatical sect called Tejani, is in the eastern part of this province. Thence had emerged the religious warrior Jibrella, who, as a Mahdi or as a Reformer, had collected a large following, and had annexed to his rule ever-increasing slices of the neighbouring emirates of Gombe and Bauchi. After his overthrow and capture by Colonel Morland in February, 1902, the remnants of his army had found a new mahdi, who, utilising for his own purposes the vast concourse which had followed in a peaceful exodus the ex-Sultan of Sokoto, was in turn defeated and killed at Burmi. The Emirate of Gombe, in which these events had occurred, is largely populated by Fulani, and though its Emir was friendly it appears that the population of its large walled towns had acquiesced but sullenly in the British rule. They had seen

the British power established in Bornu to the east and in Bauchi to the west of them, while Jibrella's invincible fanatics had been swept away, but it needed yet the lesson at Burmi to convince them of the strength of the Government.

110. The temporary withdrawal from the province in the beginning of 1903, in order that its garrison might take part in the Kano expedition, followed by these events at Burmi, had caused much unrest in the province and retarded its progress, while much suffering was inflicted on the peasantry whose country had been the theatre of war. This suffering was greatly augmented by the failure of the rains, and the blight which gave rise to famine, more especially in the eastern districts towards the Gongola river. In Bauchi itself, more than 100 deaths from starvation occurred, and only the south-west district, where dawa is not grown, escaped. Great numbers migrated to Bornu and elsewhere, and the emaciated remnant were too weak to till their fields.

111. An unfortunate dispute between Mamuda, the intelligent chief of the Ningi tribe, and his rival the head of the town of Ari, led to the death of the latter and as Mamuda refused to meet the Resident and explain his share in this occurrence, it became necessary to arrest him by force. A small expedition sent to effect this met with practically no resistance, but Mamuda fled and gave himself up to me personally, meeting me on my way between Katagum and Kano. He was found to have a large number of firearms contrary to the law of the Protectorate.

112. During the year the unfriendly attitude of the Jos tribe towards the prospectors engaged in examining the tin deposits, and the urgent representations of the Niger Company that they could not successfully develop the enterprise on which a very large sum had already been expended unless the direct route to the Benue at Loko (*viâ* Keffi) were opened up, induced me to direct that the troops who were proceeding in the ordinary course of reliefs, should adopt that route for their march. The country beyond Darroro had not been traversed before. Passing through Assab (Kibyen) the expedition proceeded to Gannawari, where in spite of the strenuous efforts of the political officer attached to the force to maintain friendly relations, opposition was offered by the natives. Vom, the next centre, proved friendly, but the tribe beyond—the Ngell—would listen to no overtures and had to be overcome. Friendly relations were then established with the neighbouring large pagan centre of Bukuru. The Jos and other tribes near the tin district, whose hostility had been prompted by orders from Ngell, ceased to be troublesome. The Resident, however, again met with opposition from the Sura tribe at Pyen when making a détour to the south of this new route, but friendly relations were soon established after the initial trial of strength.

These pagans differ from all others with whom we have come in contact, in that they are mounted almost to a man on small sturdy ponies, on which they make most determined charges. The country, which averages some 4,000 feet in altitude, is the highest in the Protectorate, extremely fertile and with a plentiful water supply. The climate is very bracing, and it is possible that this Assab plateau may afford a future sanitorium. The Sura country exhibits a series of extinct volcanoes with well-defined cones indicating activity at no very remote geological era.

113. The inclusion of Sokoto and Kano under the Administration together with the collapse of the irreconcilables who made their final stand at Burmi has produced in this province as elsewhere throughout the Protectorate a marked change for the better in the attitude of both the rulers and the peasantry towards the Government. The progress of the telegraph (now only 35 miles from Bauchi) will very greatly facilitate administration and progress, while the opening up of the Gongola River will cheapen the import of material and stores, and the export of natural products. Fifty-eight cases have been tried in the Provincial Court, and the Native Court returns show 52 civil and 3 criminal cases. There is an average of about 12 prisoners.

Tour.

114. We reached Nafada in October by the Gongola route, and I decided to transfer the garrison from Gujba to this place, (*a*) in order to control the Burmi district which needs a garrison; and (*b*) to guard the store depôt for goods brought up the Gongola at high-water, and generally to superintend, and assist in the river transport at that season. It will be the location of a telegraph office, intermediate between Bauchi and Maifoni. The former river depôt at Gulde, a little lower down stream, I found to be surrounded by marsh, unhealthy and inaccessible. Nafada was well reported on by the Acting Principal Medical Officer, being situated on a high bank well above the river, and there are abundant food supplies in the vicinity. Thence to Gombe the road—a somewhat heavy track in loose sand, but feasible for carts—follows the river, which provides water, while the numerous villages in its fertile valley afford ample supplies. It is therefore preferable to the slightly more direct line between Ashaka and Gombe, which forms an arc to the curve of the river, and is waterless except for wells.

115. Gombe is a Fulani Emirate independent of Bauchi, and hardly less important, though its chief town is not nearly so large a city. It is rich in cattle, and extends over the district included in the bend of the river, on the banks of which luxuriant crops are grown. A political officer is stationed here, and we selected a site for his house, 1,200 yards from the town

walls and about 700 yards from the river, where a rising ground and good trees offered advantages, and where material and stores can be landed. The present site being close to the city walls is insanitary. From Gombe to Bauchi, across the Gongola drift at Kalimbala, the road is already quite suitable for animal transport, and can easily be made fit for carts. The gradient is easy, rising from about 1,100 feet at the river-crossing, to 1,800 feet on the Bauchi plateau.

116. We met the Emir 7 miles from the city, where with a large following he had camped in readiness to escort us to the capital. The greater part of the plain on which the city and the British station are situated is a treeless swamp, and the water (obtained from wells) is of indifferent quality. The civil and military officers lived far apart, and communication in the rains when the lying-water increased was difficult. Shadeless, infested with swarms of mosquitos, and too near the city and the swamp to be either sanitary or healthy, we thought this station the worst we had seen in the Protectorate. After traversing the whole environs, we selected a place further westward on the main Zaria road, which is the most important avenue of trade and communication. There is good water (in wells) and some shade-trees here, fuel is close by, and the ground is higher and free from swamp. The site is about 1½ miles from the city, and there is little cultivation around it. The abandonment of the present station will give back to the chiefs a very large area of farm land from which they had been expropriated.

117. After the usual exposition to the Emir and his chiefs of the Letter of Appointment, &c., all of which he stated that he fully understood and agreed to, the Emir took the oath of allegiance administered by the Alkali in the presence of a great concourse of people. There had been some mistrust or dislike on the part of a section of the Fulani, and the Emir at first demurred to a public oath, though willing enough to take it in private, but I insisted that a ruler who feared to proclaim his loyalty was not such an one as I could maintain in power. Our full and frank discussions, my reassurance as to the freedom of religion, and our participation in the mimic charges of the horsemen, seemed, however, to have a marked effect, and before we left, the previously sullen and silent demeanour of this section appeared to have yielded to cordiality and confidence. This result here, as elsewhere, was, I think, largely due to the fact that, in accordance with native ideas, the visit of the High Commissioner had given rise to fears of some new departure, and a misgiving that it portended some drastic innovation. The liberality of the British Government in its treatment of the Fulani chiefs had, perhaps, caused them to fear some ulterior project. The discovery that I had come only to confirm all that had been

told them by their Resident, dispelled suspicion, and set them at rest. The Emir, who presented an offering of corn, cattle, &c., of considerable value, was duly installed with the formal ceremony (postponed till now), and I promised that the usual present should follow.

118. Much had been achieved in this province by the efforts of Mr. Temple, but the events I have described, and his long absence (due to ill-health) in England had retarded the progress which now I hope will be rapid. The discovery of limestone on the Gongola, which can probably at high water be delivered by canoes within 25 miles of Bauchi, will render it possible to build brick houses cheaply. I released unconditionally a number of political prisoners whom it had been necessary to detain after the disturbances at Burmi, and, as usual, fully examined the provincial Administration and records.

Yola.

119. The Yola province has an area of 16,000 square miles, and an estimated population of 290,500. Its Resident is Mr. Barclay. Yola, which was founded by Adama at the time of the Fulani conquests, was the capital of the State of Adamawa, the greater portion of which is now German. The Niger Company had a trading station here, but Zuberu the Emir (son of Adama), a fanatical Moslem who hated Europeans, had forced them to evacuate it and to trade from a hulk only. The Company appealed to Government, and since all attempts to establish friendly relations had proved unavailing, an expedition was despatched in August, 1901. The Emir's personal following, reinforced by deserters from Rabeh's army, who were armed with rifles, and rendered confident by their possession of two cannon given to them by the French adventurer Mizon, offered an obstinate resistance, but were defeated. Bobu Amadu, the last surviving son of Adama, was made Emir on the usual conditions, and Zuberu fled to German territory. Here he fought the Germans, who drove him out, and since he still refused to listen to any terms, he was again defeated by our troops, and finally murdered by the Lalla pagans.

120. The hostility of the Bassema and Mumuye riverain tribes, who closed the high road from Lau, and murdered traders, has necessitated several minor expeditions. In January, 1902, the Yundams, a section of the latter tribe, were punished for continued outrages, and a year later it was again found necessary to coerce this tribe. They have since abstained from aggression on the Yola-Lau road, which is the most important trade route in the province. An expedition against the Bassemas to put a stop to similar practices was undertaken in April, 1902. These operations had rendered the main routes

safe, and by April, 1903, the province had settled down considerably. The death of Zuberu, and the news of the fall of Kano and Sokoto had a quieting effect, which enabled the Government to introduce the first beginnings of taxation. The Resident reports that "the Fulani are daily becoming more contented and reconciled to our rule," but they dislike the prohibition of the slave trade in which (with Bauchi) they were formerly the greatest participators. The Emir has proved loyal and friendly, but he is unfortunately not very popular with the people. "The task of establishing relations with the numerous pagan tribes, who occupy the greater part of this province, has proceeded gradually, but even now a very large area can hardly be regarded as in any sense under control." There is a company of infantry at Yola, with a detachment at Womdeo, which has had a good effect in tranquillising the tribes in the vicinity.

121. In April, 1903, the joint Anglo-German Boundary Commission reached Yola, and the determination of the frontier near that town gave to the British a belt of country which had hitherto been occupied by Germany. The famine was very severely felt in this province, and occasioned great loss of life. Government was unable to assist the starving people, and the outlook is bad; but as the crops of the Fulani have been good this year, I trust that any distress may be relieved at small cost. During 1904, an expedition was sent up the banks of the Gongola River to ascertain whether the tribes were hostile, as anticipated by Lieutenant Moran, who had ascended the river in a small launch in September, 1903. The party were instructed to avoid hostilities, and they succeeded in their task practically without opposition, being met by a column from Bauchi which had explored the northern section. In August an unprovoked attack on a Government convoy by the Kilba tribe on the Bornu road (due to the temporary withdrawal of the troops from Womdeo which had been supposed to be in German territory) necessitated reprisals. This route had never been safe for parties without escort, and traders had to make a détour into German territory. A fine inflicted on the Vere pagans, close to Yola, for raids and the murder of seven persons had at the same time to be enforced by troops. They have since sent friendly messages. Mr. Gowers visited the Bassemas and replaced their turbulent chief. The country was settled practically without hostilities, and has since been quite peaceful, and the routes open to traders. Each of these expeditions has been accompanied (as is now always the rule) by a political officer, and every effort has been made to minimise loss of life, and to obtain a lasting settlement.

122. A total of 349 slaves have been liberated since the province was inaugurated, of which 154 were set free in 1904.

Most of these were from German territory. The number of cases tried in the Provincial Court was 124 (25 slavery, 16 extortion), nearly double the previous year. This is due to the better suppression of crime since the institution of the Civil Police, and also to "the increasing willingness of the people to bring cases to the British Courts." The Resident reports that criminality is rare except among the runaway slave class, and that crimes of violence are decreasing, the average number of prisoners is about 12. The six Native Courts are reported to be working well. Their returns show 268 cases dealt with in the year, 52 per cent. of which were theft. They are popular, and there is no complaint of injustice in their decisions or of corruption. Mr. Barclay states that the Alkalis now recognise the responsibility of the individual, and no longer hold a master responsible for the acts of his slave, or the head of a family for those of its members. Friendly relations have been maintained with the Germans, and Captain Langheld, the new Resident of Garua, promised to investigate the complaints of traders as to unfair treatment and cruelty. The health of Europeans has been fairly good.

Tour.

123. I visited Yola early in October. The Civil Station, with its two newly-erected wooden bungalows, is some 3 miles from the landing place where the Niger Company have leased a piece of ground at the limit of the safe navigation of the river. It is situated on the top of a plateau, some 200 feet above the river. Nearly three-quarters of a mile distant, overlooking the dreary swamp which lies between the foot of the plateau and the city, are the military lines. The water of this swamp is bad, and is said to produce guinea-worm. The Civil Station obtains its supply from the Benue, and it has to be carried up a steep path half a mile in length, to which the military have to add an extra three-quarters of a mile. As permanent houses had already been erected early in the year, I did not examine any alternative site. The plateau is probably the healthiest situation, but the distance alike from the landing place and the water, and the inaccessibility of the native city are serious drawbacks. The regrettable friction between civil and military officers at Yola has doubtless been due in large part to the absurd system of living apart, and corresponding by letter. Henceforth, the military officers will share the bungalows with the Civil Staff, and we laid out a plan to include all buildings and military and police barracks. The so-called "fort" and the native huts occupied by the military officers are of no value.

124. Alieu, ex-Emir of Kano, and Kwaso of Zaria, are living in Yola in charge of the Emir. From both Kano and Nassarawa I had heard that the former had been intriguing by

letter, and I therefore told him that, though Government desired that these deposed kings should live in all possible comfort as native gentlemen, I should at once send him to a non-Mahomedan country (possibly Burutu) if I discovered any further intrigue. This threat seemed to have a very salutary effect.

125. After the usual explanation of the Letter of Appointment to the Emir and his chiefs (to all of which they fully agreed), and the discussion of the slavery question and other matters, I held the installation Durbar and presented the Emir with his staff of office, promising that the customary present should follow later. As at Bauchi, so here, I found that Bobo Amadu, though himself most loyal and friendly, was afraid to take the oath in public. I insisted, however, on his doing so, and it was administered by the aged Alkali, one of the best of his type. The address which I made on this occasion was later reported by the Resident to have had an excellent and quieting effect.

126. As related in my report for 1903, I had in that year sent an exploring expedition up the Gongola River, which had proved its navigability for steam launches up to Nafada, and even round the bend to the west as far as Gombe at highest water. This had been followed by overland parties to get in touch with the people and establish fuel-stations. The Gongola valley is rich in produce, and the Niger Company had expressed their desire to open a trading station on the river. An immense amount of telegraph material for the Bauchi-Bornu extension and other stores had been accumulated at the mouth of the river, and if the transport by water could be effected, it would result in a great saving, and an extension of trade, with the development of a new and rich district. Unfortunately, through some error as regards the time of the rise of the river, the result had so far been a failure, and I determined to ascend it myself, so that we might fully understand the conditions of its navigation. This we did without difficulty, accompanied by the Agent of the Company to select a trading station, and by one of the political officers of the province, who was deputed to establish a civil outpost at Gazi to open up trade, assist in the water transport, arrange fuel-stations, and maintain touch with the people. He had also to enquire into a case of murder, enslaving, and extortion by a native official in this district (since convicted). The tribes proved most friendly, and the river at this season was in full flood with a strong current; except for one or two shallows, there was ample water for a steamer of 2½ feet draught. Under Mr. Barclay's supervision, the more urgent stores were safely despatched, including wire and insulators, so that the line can be temporarily constructed on wooden poles, till the iron poles come up next year. Yola will be divided into three administra-

tive divisions, the N.W. with its station at Gazi, the N.E. and the district around and south of Yola.

127. I met at Yola Captain Langheld, who had been my neighbour when I held Uganda in 1891. His destination had been Dikwa in the north, but finding that Herr Thierry had been killed, he decided to take his place at Garua. He had many matters to discuss, and the result of our conversation was, I think, to establish very good relations, which was the more satisfactory, as there had been some friction with the Germans in the north. He assured me that it was his desire to check the use of the Maria Theresa dollar, and that he would import none; he raised questions as to the possibility of the extension of our telegraph to the German frontier, and as to obtaining medical assistance from our staff, and I understood that he desired to promote trade to our mutual benefit.

Muri.

128. This province has an area of 25,800 square miles, and an estimated population of 825,000 (females 455,000, males 370,000) and is under charge of Mr. Popham Lobb. It includes the ancient Jukon empire together with various small Fulani States and a great number of pagan tribes, some of which, especially the large and hostile Munchis, have not yet been brought under administrative control. There is no central native power, as in the more advanced Fulani States. In the absence of any historical notes from the Resident, and of my own records in Nigeria, I am unable to give any résumé of its history and peoples.

129. During the administration of the Niger Company a station was located at Ibi on the Benue, and Mr. Hewby, who was in charge, made some efforts, so far as he had time for such work, to attend to matters other than commerce. Native tracks were cleared, and the province was traversed in every direction, so that of Muri alone it can be said that some information regarding the interior had been acquired.

130. The pagan tribes in the north of the province are lawless cannibals, who, by constant outrages and murders of traders (culminating in the murder of a Government agent sent to expostulate with them), have long rendered the main trade route to Bauchi unsafe. The three main trade routes, viz., from the salt district at Awe, from the kola-growing centres of Kentu and Bafum in the Kameruns, and from Gashaka, viâ Amar (cattle), converge at Wase. Various expeditions had been sent to protect these routes, but at the end of 1903 the Fulani settlement at Wase was practically cut off from Yelua and six traders had been robbed and murdered. In March, 1904, I therefore sent a powerful expedition (*see* paragraph 288) to restore our communications with Bauchi. The

mountainous country which these tribes inhabit was traversed, and they made their submission to the political officer and paid the fines, amounting to £460, which were imposed upon them. I trust that the capture of their fastnesses, which they had supposed to be impregnable, the heavy fine inflicted, the deposition of the chiefs responsible, the destruction of two brigand bands who terrorised the country and defied the authority of the chiefs, and, above all, the careful explanation of the reason of the expedition and the prompt rendition of all captives, will have a permanent effect, both in proving to the people that Government orders to cease from robbery and murder cannot be disregarded with impunity, and that Government action is not prompted by the same motives as Fulani raids. The chiefs of Borot and Lantang were deposed, while the Gazums and Gyuns, who had been the worst offenders and had twice attacked a political officer when surveying, themselves asked for the removal of their chief, Vondup, as being the cause of their misfortunes. Friendly relations were opened with the tribes, and during the last seven months there has not been a single outrage, while the Yergum women now frequent the market of Wase, which had up to now been regarded by them as a centre of Fulani oppression, where pagans would be certain to be seized as slaves.

131. Though strong measures are necessary for the suppression of continued crime, my sympathies are largely with these ignorant pagans, whose attacks on traders are often prompted by a natural retaliation for the enslavement of their relatives. But the result of such operations is to bring the chiefs and elders face to face with British officers, and they learn for the first time that a new power, actuated by different motives, has arisen, and that while its orders must be obeyed, redress can now be obtained against slave-traders and persons practising extortion and robbery.

132. The Munshis, who occupy about 4,000 square miles south of the Benue, maintain their independent and hostile attitude, and their district is closed to Europeans and traders.

133. The province has been divided into three administrative divisions, East, Central and West, with centres at Lau, Amar, and Ibi respectively. One hundred and fifteen cases were tried in the Provincial Court (225 persons). Forty-five (105 persons) were for slave-dealing, chiefly gangs caught in the act of exporting slaves. Nine cases (28 persons) were tried for "personation and extortion." The average number of prisoners is from 20 to 30. The police have suffered from frequent changes of officers, due to sickness, and the Resident complains that they are insufficient for their duties in so large a province, and consequent evasion of tolls and escape of slave-trading canoes occurs. There are 14 Native Courts, 11 of them established in 1904, and three more will shortly be

opened. This large number is due to the many separate political communities in the province. They are, for the most part, working well, and show a return of 202 cases—assault 30, debt 46, divorce 65, theft 35.

134. The estimate of the population is, of course, largely guesswork at present. There are no large cities, the most populous numbering about 5,000. There is a large influx of settlers from the north, due partly to the famine, partly to dislike of Fulani rule, partly to local dissensions, in which the immigrants had been worsted, and partly to the fertility of the Benue Valley, while several hundred are pilgrims en route from Liptaku (S.E. of Timbuktu), who in the course of a year or so will move on. A separate class of immigrants are pagans who have been enslaved during recent years, and have escaped, principally from Bauchi.

135. Much has been done during 1904 in the assessment of towns, some 200 being completed, but the inadequacy and sickness of the staff and the interruptions caused by the expeditions in the north of the province which I have described, and by the change of the provincial headquarters have interfered with the work. The political staff of this province has, moreover, much work of a departmental nature, such as the provision of land and canoe transport for officers proceeding to Bauchi, Yola, and Bornu, fuel supply, &c. The telegraph has been carried through Muri this year, and necessitated the supply of labour parties. One of the most important duties in this province is the suppression of the trade in slaves, who are conveyed in canoes along the Benue. Mr. Lobb, by an effective system of police patrols, has freed 260 during the year. The famine caused much suffering and loss of life in this province, and great numbers of children were sold to procure a handful of food.

136. The health of Europeans, official and unofficial, was bad; six officers were unfit for duty for an aggregate of 186 days out of 300, which is equivalent to the loss of one officer's services for six out of ten months. The actual valley of the Benue is unhealthy, and infested with mosquitoes and tsetse, but Wase, in the north, has a capital climate. I hope that the move to Amar and the provision of good houses will have a good result.

Tour.

137. We reached Muri early in October. The station at Ibi has proved very unhealthy, being within a few yards of the native town, with most unsanitary surroundings, and situated on a very confined ridge surrounded on all sides by swamps. It is, moveover, in a corner of the province, so that time and money are wasted in travel. The buildings, con-

sisting of two houses, were taken over from the Royal Niger Company, and are now so full of bats and vermin as to be unfit for habitation. In 1903 the station was temporarily moved to Gassol, on the Tarabba, but this place, though more central, was one of no political importance, and, owing to its distance from the Benue, which is the artery of all commerce and political communication, it was out of touch with the work of the province. We now found an excellent site at Amar, which is central and commands the main trade route from the Kamerums to the Hausa States, while the deep water channel passes close under the bank affording an excellent wharf. The traffic on the Benue (which is nearly a mile broad) can thus be controlled, especially at low water, with a view to the prevention of the transport of slaves and spirits, the visé of German goods in transit, the collection of tolls, and the supply of transport for troops, passengers, and stores proceeding up river. The station is situated on an extended ridge fully 60 ft. above the river, commanding a view for 50 miles to the south, and appears to be the only high ground on the Middle Benue. The situation lends itself readily to sanitation and drainage, and is only two days' distant from Wase, to which the Resident can go occasionally for change. At the close of the year permanent buildings, so much needed in the climate of the Benue Valley, were in course of erection, and the headquarters were transferred from Ibi.

138. Subsidiary stations will be maintained at Lau and Ibi, and the officers in charge of these can during the unhealthy months live at the large cities of Jalingu and Wukari respectively, where they will have work to do. A new wooden bungalow will be erected at Ibi, and instructions regarding sanitation and drainage were given. The Niger Company have depôts at these two stations, and also on the Donga River. I took the opportunity of having the sites at Lau and Donga properly surveyed and freehold titles granted in the terms of the agreement made on the transfer to Government, for I had been unable in 1900 to find time to visit these distant stations. The salt industry and the establishment of new missions (paragraphs 234 and 298) were fully discussed among other subjects. Mr. Lobb, by extremely hard work, had achieved much progress and collected a great amount of very valuable information.

Nassarawa

139. Has an area of 18,000 square miles, and an estimated population of 1½ million (females 950,000, males 550,000). The report is submitted by Mr. Webster (Third Class), who has been in the province for many years, since its new Resident, Major Blakeney, has only recently assumed charge. He states that up to about the year 1750 the province appears to have been peopled by many small tribes curiously intermixed and grouped in

pairs, the predominant partner in each being artisans, the other agricultural, a system which partially survives to the present day. About 1750 the Kwotto, or Igbira, came from the south, and founded the rival kingdoms of Kwottan-Karifi and Panda. The latter city is spoken of by Lander as second only in importance to Timbuktu and Kuka (Bornu). The next invasion was from the north, when, as we have seen, the original inhabitants of Zaria, driven out by the Fulani, settled at Abuja. They defeated the armies of Kano and Zaria, and extended their territory till defeated by the Serikin Kwotto of Nassarawa. They maintained their tradition of raiding and brigandage until Government was forced, in September, 1902, to send a strong expedition against them. This only kept them quiet for a time, and in April, 1904, I was again compelled to put a stop to their lawlessness, and Abuja was occupied by a garrison. In the north-east the Madas occupied the hilly country, and in the south-east the Munshis held the forests and fertile lands of the Benue Valley. A colony of Bornu people established themselves in the plain between these two tribes, with the consent of the suzerain Bauchi, and founded the important town of Lafia Berebere. The present Government, for the reasons described in paragraph 142, detached the district south of the Murchison hills from the Bauchi Emirate, whose control over them was less than nominal, and included it in the province of Nassarawa.

140. About 1840 certain cow herds "ran away from Zaria and reached Panda, and even Umaisha on the Benue, and founded Keffi, which soon became so powerful that Zaria was compelled to recognise it as a sub-Emirate, from which a small tribute was exacted. On the death of the first king, Keffi revolted, and his successor established himself at Nassarawa and began a career of conquest. Panda was subdued, Abuja, Keffi, and the separate Fulani settlement at Darroro were confined to small areas, and the kingdom extended to the Benue and even to the south of it. These conquests were continued by his son Mohamadu, the present Emir, a shrewd and capable man, who at once recognised the strength of the British and threw in his lot with Government. He has always show himself a loyal and enlightened chief.

141. At the end of 1899, just prior to the transfer of government to the Crown, telegraph construction had been undertaken along the Benue, and in January, 1900, it had reached the country occupied by the small section of the Munshis who live on the north bank. The construction party was attacked and I was compelled to subdue this section of the tribe. The deadly poison of their arrows and the dense vegetation rendered this a difficult task. Meanwhile Keffi had been occupied, and I decided to carry the line northwards to that centre, and then through Lafia to the Benue, near Awe, thus avoiding the truculent Munshis altogether.

142. The first political officers, Major Burdon and Dr. Cargill, had been occupied with the Munshis and riverside towns, and it was not till the beginning of 1902 that Captain Moloney was made Resident, with his capital at Keffi. Here he endeavoured to get into touch with the four principal chiefs of the province, and the first expedition against Abuja was found necessary. In my report for that year (1902) I described how Moloney's efforts were thwarted by the Magaji of Keffi, as the representative of the Emir of Zaria was called, and how he patiently endeavoured to overcome that chief's anti-European bias instead of arresting him, until, through the treachery of his interpreter, he fell a victim by the hand of the man he had sought to save. The crime called aloud for punishment, not only because of these circumstances, but because Moloney was unarmed and dependent on crutches, as the result of a former wound, when he was thus butchered. The Magaji fled to Kano, where his cordial reception was one of the immediate causes of the advance on that town by the British troops. Driven thence he fought against us at Sokoto, and the relentless arm of justice overtook him at last at Burmi, where he is said to have been killed. In consequence of this affair the long strip of Zaria territory south of the northern bend of the Kaduna was detached from that Emirate.

143. This sad incident threw the province into confusion, and Moloney's successor, Mr. Granville, was occupied in restoring confidence and settling difficulties at Lafia and Darroro. Early in 1904, Abuja, as I have said, was permanently occupied without any fighting. Again the treachery of an interpreter, who was terrorising the people in order to extort bribes, nearly precipitated a revolt, but the settlement now appears to be proceeding satisfactorily. This has rendered it possible to get into touch with the tribes to the north and south of Abuja, which have been visited and partly assessed without opposition or trouble. In the north-east the occupation of Kachia (*vide* paragraph 103) has facilitated the opening of the old trade to Kano, and for the first time, perhaps for centuries, these districts are ceasing to be centres of brigandage and lawlessness.

144. I have already, in writing of Bauchi, described the operations undertaken to open up the route from Keffi, viâ Darroro, to the tin mines. Traders have since visited this district, which was formerly closed, and the Niger Company have sent supplies by this route, while the raids by these hill tribes upon those under our protection in the plains have been checked. It will, however, probably be necessary for some time to send escorts with parties, until the tribes realise that robbery and aggression can no longer be practised with impunity. The Madas to the south of this route still continue to raid and murder their peaceable neighbours, while the Mun-

shis in the south, in spite of former coercion, remain for the most part intractable, though continuous efforts have been made to get into peaceful touch with both. The latter, greatly impressed by the fall of Kano, sent a deputation in 1903, and the Resident addressed 1,500 of them, and in 1904 frontier markets were established, but without any great success. In the central and more civilised (Mahomedan) part Mr. Webster reports that the Keffi district "is more prosperous than it has been for years," while that of Nassawara "has risen from a nest of raiders to be one of the principal agricultural centres of the province, and the condition of affairs is all that could be wished for." Much of the province has been assessed. The western part is wealthy and prosperous, but the outlying dependencies of Nassarawa are still inclined to give trouble. In the east Lafia is "a picture of prosperity and the tribute is paid willingly," while a settlement has been effected between Darroro and his truculent vassal, Jegindi.

145. The population of the province has greatly increased, chiefly by immigrants from the Hausa states and the return to their old homes of Bassas from the south. Villages, says the Resident, are growing out of recognition with large markets. There is much rubber in this province, and the industry has of late developed rapidly. Iron smelting is a principal industry, and salt is obtained in the Kiana district. Seventy-eight cases have been tried in the Provincial Court, chiefly offences of extortion and personation. Informal cases are reported to number about 2,000. Confidence in the Native Courts is increasing, and they are dealing with a larger number of cases. They are reported as doing excellent work.

Tour.

146. I visited the province in April, 1905. Owing to the loyalty, ability, and extended influence of the "Sarikin Kwotto" of Nassarawa I had considered the advisability of transferring the Government capital to his town, but I found that this was not feasible, since Keffi is the great trade centre lying at the junction of the main routes from north, south, east and west. Mr. Webster was of opinion that if the station was moved, the city of Keffi would be deserted.

147. I found the Government station to be situated within the walls of the city close to the inhabited part. The water supply is the same as that of the townspeople, and the temporary houses of the officers were overlooked by a high granite knoll, which obstructed the breeze and radiated heat, rendering the place notoriously hot. The military officers, as usual, lived some distance off. After much examination of the country we found a splendid spring bubbling from the ground to the east of the town and a quarter of a mile from the inhabited part. The site is in every way preferable to the

present one, and is to windward of the city, close to two main routes from the north. It should make an excellent and healthy station. The attitude of the many native chiefs, who with their following had come in from all the centres of the province to meet me, appeared most satisfactory, with the exception, perhaps, of Abuja, to whom I spoke somewhat emphatically regarding his conduct in the past. The warning seemed to have considerable effect. Nassarawa in especial was more than cordial, and deserves well of Government for the attitude he, though formerly a notorious slave-raider, has assumed regarding slavery (paragraph 196). I discussed, as usual, with the Resident the administrative questions of his province, and examined its records.

Nupe.

148. Has an area of only 6,400 square miles and an estimated population of 150,865 (females 78,530, males 72,335). The Resident in charge is Mr. Goldsmith, whose valuable notes on the history of Nupe, the result of much research, I greatly regret that space forbids my transcribing in full. Tradition says that Edigi, a follower of the King of Idah (on the boundary between Northern and Southern Nigeria), himself probably a Nupe exile, founded a colony at Nupeko, on the Kaduna, which was later transferred to Bara, higher up the river. Becoming very powerful, he declared himself Etsu, (or King) of the Nupes. Following him, 16 kings ruled for a period of 300 years, viz., to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Civil war then arose, and Majia, one of the claimants for the throne, sent to the rising power of the Fulani at Gando for a flag. He routed his enemies, to whom the Fulani Mallams of Illorin had allied themselves. Later he welcomed a Mahomedan missionary named Dendo, of the family of Othman dan Fodio, from Gando, but eventually quarrelled with him; Dendo fled to Illorin, where, allying himself to the Fulani Mallams and the faction of Edrisa, the rival claimant of the Nupe throne, he fought an indecisive battle. Majia retreated across the Niger, followed by Dendo and his allies, and was defeated at Mokwa. Dendo now founded a new capital at Rabba, on the Niger near Jebba.

149. Seven years later Edrisa sought to drive out the Fulani, but was defeated by Dendo, who had allied himself with Majia. Majia for this service was recognised again as Etsu Nupe, while the Fulani retained their hold on Rabba. Their chief was Zaiki, whose son Masaba, quarrelling with his people, allied himself to both representatives of the old Nupe dynasty (Majia and Edrisa) and attacked the Fulani. Defeated at first, he subsequently won several victories, aided by Sado, the son of Majia (who had himself settled at Zuguma),

and ousted the Fulani Ajele (tax-collectors). Gando, as suzerain, had interfered from time to time to compose these quarrels, and now deposed Zaiki and made Masaba king. He represented the Fulani rule, while Majia and Edrisa disputed the succession of the old Nupe dynasty. After a long civil war in which, with the treachery for which the Nupes are notorious, allies constantly changed sides, till the chronicle becomes most confusing, Una, a mutinous general of Masaba's, joining the Nupe party, defeated his chief and proclaimed himself king. After a long series of battles he was defeated by Magiji (gandson of Dendo), and the rivals Masaba and Magiji agreed to serve under Zaiki, who was brought from his exile in Gando.

150. Zaiki died in 1859, and his son Masaba once more became king and founded Bida. He had a reign of continual war, both external on the south of the Niger and as far east as Umaisha on the Benue, and internal in a desperate struggle with the old Nupe dynasty. The country was laid waste by Magiji, formerly Masaba's rival and now his most capable general. Masaba quarrelled with the other Fulani chiefs at Lapai and Agaie, and it required a personal visit from Taffa, Sarikin Gando, to prevent a war between the Fulani themselves. Masaba died in 1873, and was succeeded by Magiji, father of the present Emir, who signalled his accession by conquering the Igbiras of the Kabba province. He again fought the old Nupe dynasty, and, with the aid of the Royal Niger Company, inflicted severe defeat and loss on the Kedia, or canoe population. Magiji died in 1884, and was succeeded by Maliki, son of old Zaiki, who again laid waste the Kabba province, and the Bassa country to the east as far as the Benue, in a series of campaigns. Maliki died in 1895, and was succeeded by Abu Bekr, son of Masaba. This chief came to blows with the Niger Company, whose troops captured Bida in 1897. Abu Bekr was deposed, and Mahomadu, son of Magiji, was installed in his place. The small Emirates of Lapai and Agaie date from about 1825, when they obtained their "flags" from Gando, but they had existed for some time prior to this formal recognition.

151. The Company after taking Bida had left no troops, and contented themselves with proclaiming the abolition of the legal status of slavery and detaching the districts south of the Niger from Nupe rule. As a consequence Abu Bekr, the deposed king, returned and resumed his place, while thousands of slaves and farm labourers deserted and established themselves on the south of the river. Driven to desperation by the threat of famine, due to the exodus of the labouring classes, a rising took place in Lapai and Agaie in 1898, at the time of the crisis with France in Borgu, but was suppressed by the newly-raised West African Frontier Force. At the time when Government assumed the

administration in 1900, chaos reigned in the province, and the withdrawal of troops for the Ashanti war gave Abu Bekr the opportunity to ally himself with Ibrahim of Kontagora, and adopt an openly hostile attitude towards Government. The Kaduna navigation was closed, and the combined armies ravaged the country. Early in 1901, immediately after Kontagora's capital had been taken (paragraph 174) the troops marched on Bida, as I have described in a former report. Abu Bekr fled without fighting to Kano, and only gave himself up after Burmi in 1903. He now lives quietly in Lokoja. Mahomadu was reinstated as Emir, and the province was placed under administrative control with Major Burdon as its first Resident. Under his (and his successor's) sympathetic guidance the province has made rapid progress.

152. During the year under review many changes have been made which have arrested the exodus of the peasantry and increased their prosperity and contentment; above all, the abolition of the fiefholders and ajele (tax-collectors), with their extortionate demands, and the institution of a fixed and fair tribute, half of which is paid to Government. The province is divided into three administrative divisions: (*a*) Bida and west of Kaduna, (*b*) Lapai, and (*c*) Agaie. The hitherto chronic feud between the various chiefs has been replaced by cordial relations, while the Emir's and the principal chiefs' sons attend the mission school at Bida to learn to write and read the English character.

153. The staple crop (Dawa) has been largely a failure this year, but other crops have done well, and there is a healthy tendency, due to the peace and security now prevailing, for the inhabitants of the towns to return to the land as agriculturists. Thirty-two bags of cotton seed were distributed in the province, and the returns promise well. 2,230 canoes were registered, involving a heavy task upon the staff, the distance covered in this work being 1,020 miles. Forty-seven cases were heard before the Provincial Court, and 54 petty cases were dealt with informally. The support given to the Native Courts has increased the respect accorded to them by the peasantry. They have worked well, and 211 cases are reported as dealt with by them (145 debt, 25 divorce, 18 assaults). These Courts have liberated five slaves, and given them certificates of freedom. None have been liberated by the British Court during this year in this province.

Tour.

154. In the middle of April, 1904, I made my inspection visit to Bida, and we received quite an ovation from the Emir and his chiefs—Lapai and Agaie being also present. The vociferous salutations of the crowds appeared also to be most cordial, and the city was decorated with flags and banners.

The Government Station is situated on a rising ground on the great undulating plain which extends around Bida. It is a convenient distance from the city and obtains its water from a very strong spring which bubbles out of the ground some 600 yards off. A well has also been sunk and good water obtained. By the end of the year two permanent wooden bungalows, and a store, guard-room, and four outhouses, all of stone, had been completed, and a masonry telegraph office and Resident's office were in course of construction. The site appears, and has I think proved, healthy, and the accommodation is now good. There are now no troops in the Nupe province. It is divided into nine native districts, five to the west and four to the east of the Kaduna. I found the administrative records a model of intelligent industry and neatness. The police appeared to be smart and efficient. In March, 1905, I again paid a flying visit to Bida, and gave the Emir his installation present. He took the oath of allegiance. I have not in this report attempted to descibe the ancient administrative institutions of the country, other than taxation. An admirable account of the Native Councils and forms of rule in Nupe may be found in the paper read by Major Burdon before the Royal Geographical Society in December, 1904.

Illorin.

155. The province, like Nupe, has only an area of 6,300 square miles, with an estimated population of 255,000 (females 140,250, males 114,750), under charge of Dr. Dwyer. Before the advent of the Fulani the province was chiefly under the domination of the Igbona tribe, whose capital was at Ajassa, near Offa. The city of Illorin was, however, under the Alafin of Oyo, head of the Yoruba tribe. His deputy, Afonja, about the year 1817, determined to make himself independent, and, calling in the aid of a Moslem missionary named Alimi (who had been sent by Othman dan Fodio) he defeated the Alafin. His Fulani allies, however, turned upon him, and he was killed, and Alimi became the first Fulani king. His son and successor declared war on the Igbonas and Yorubas alike, and destroyed the Alafin's capital, driving him south to found the new town of Oyo. He extended his conquests even as far south as Abeokuta. The Yorubas then invoked the aid of the Baribas of Borgu, who almost captured the town of Illorin, but were eventually defeated. A succession of Emirs waged war against the Yorubas, and did their utmost to spread the domination of Islam. The Oloffa of Offa attempted to rebel, with the aid of the Ibadans (Lagos), about 1874, but was defeated and deposed.

156. In 1893 the then Emir Momo decided to put an end to the chronic war with Ibadan, and requested the Governor of Lagos to arbitrate, and a peace was concluded. Momo was, however, too weak to control his Baloguns (war-chiefs), and

Alanamu and Adama seized all real power and terrorised the whole country, selling the people as slaves and torturing and impaling persons daily in the city. Finally they raised a rebellion against the Emir, and placed a puppet of their own —Suliman, the present Emir—on the throne. In 1897, after the fall of Bida, the Niger Company's troops marched on Illorin and defeated the Emir and Baloguns, but restored them to their places after the Emir had signed a treaty which made him the vassal of the Company. In 1898 the telegraph was brought through the town from Lagos.

157. When Government assumed control in 1900 the city was dominated by the factions of the Baloguns, while the districts were in a chaos. The Emir lived in terror, not daring to give any order, and dependent for his income, which the Resident states was under £50 per annum, on the Baloguns. Alanamu was the real ruler, and was bitterly hostile to Government. Robbery and murder were of daily occurrence in the city, and no road was safe. People were seized at will, and made to pay heavy sums for ransom. No caravan was permitted to pass to Lagos, and no traders from Lagos were allowed to enter Illorin, while the Ajeles stationed in every district extorted money for their masters and themselves, and outraged women at their pleasure. The larger towns in the province had, after the Company's expedition, thrown off their allegiance to the now discredited Emir, and they in their turn robbed, plundered, and carried off the peasantry as slaves. Such is the picture of the condition of affairs give by Dr. Dwyer.

158. The policy of the new Government was to support the authority of the Emir, and to re-invest him with power, to clear out the Ajeles, and to compel the towns throughout the province to return to their allegiance, and to pay their ancient tribute to the Emir. The despatch of troops to Ashanti and the hostile attitude of Kontagora and Nupe during the first year of administration gave Alanamu opportunities for discrediting the power of the British, and he is stated to have agreed to the proposals of the hostile Emirs to attack Jebba and drive out the white man. The Emir, however, now asserted himself and opposed the project. The return of the troops, followed by the subjugation of Kontagora and Nupe, changed the whole situation. The Resident was able to tour the province and give effect to the policy of Government. The new system brought in a revenue of £900 per annum to the Emir, who, recognising that he had the support of a strong Government, took courage to vindicate his authority over the Baloguns. Alanamu was deposed from all his offices and banished by the verdict of a mass meeting, and I confirmed the decision. He went to live in Lagos territory. During the Kano-Sokoto campaign an appeal was made to Illorin to rise

against the Government, but the Emir would not listen to the suggestion.

159. There are two minor Emirates, Shonga and Lafiagi, in this province, and a number of semi-independent towns, of which the chief are Awton, Ajassa, Offa, and Patiji (the present location of the ancient Nupe kings). In 1903 the collection of revenue on behalf of Government, and of caravan tolls, was instituted as in other provinces. The Resident gives it as his conviction that the Mahomedan religion has made more converts since peace and order were introduced than it had effected in the previous century, for the people have now more time to listen to the preaching of the Mallams and less reason to hate the professors of that creed.

160. Some little friction has occurred as regards the Lagos-Illorin boundary. There is an incentive to border towns to declare themselves to be under Lagos, since they are then exempt from the payment of customary tribute, and may import gin, which is prohibited in Northern Nigeria. Nevertheless the former chief of the important town of Offa gave up his position as a Lagos chief, and asked permission to return and rebuild the town of his fathers. This request gave great satisfaction at Illorin, and was a proof of confidence in the Resident. The Ore of Awton in this year, misled by intriguers from the south, adopted a hostile attitude, and had gone so far as to fine neighbouring towns for paying their tribute to Illorin. This man, "whose name had been synonymous with bloodshed and murder for many years," was arrested by a strong force. His influence as the head of the terrible Ogboni secret society was enormous, and it had been supposed that Government would be unable to contend against his witchcraft. He was publicly tried at Illorin, and I approved his deposition. His successor is not a member of the secret society, and has proved himself capable and loyal.

161. At the annual Mahomedan festival (Sala) a large number of pagan chiefs revived the old custom (which had been discontinued in the previous anarchy) of coming to salute the Emir. This marks an important stage in the task of abolishing friction between these minor kinglets and the central native authority, which I am glad to say was carried a stage further by my own visit. (Paragraph 165.) The era of peace and freedom from raids is here as elsewhere evidenced by the crumbling away of the walls of fortified towns; the labour devoted by custom to their repair is now applied under the orders of Government to the creation and repair of roads, to sanitation, and to extended agriculture.

162. The province is divided into three divisions, Illorin (central), Offa (southern), and Patiji (northern). The tracks which form the principal trade routes have been cleared and

improved—139 miles in all. A main road runs from the Lagos frontier *viâ* Illorin to Sharé, where it branches to Shonga and Patiji on the Niger. Rest houses are erected at intervals. The smuggling of gin is prevented by patrols on the frontier. The population of Illorin city is estimated at 35,000, which (the Resident estimates) is increased to 100,000 by a floating population in the trading season.

163. There were 66 cases tried in the Provincial Court and 500 informal cases. The average number of prisoners is 6 or 7. The institution of civil police has enabled the Resident to convict many of the personators who practice extortion in the name of Government. The crime of arson is a common one, due in part to the worship of thunder and lightning by the Shonga people, since the priests of this creed made large profits out of houses said to be struck by lightning. Arson is also a form of reprisals traditional among the Yorubas. An outbreak of this crime was energetically dealt with and led to the flight of the leading members of the house-burning confederation. The terrible secret society of the Ogboni, which inspires such dread throughout the whole community that no complaints are ever made by its victims, and no evidence can be obtained, has been studied for years by Dr. Dwyer, who has collected an astonishing amount of valuable information about it. Two murders (with shocking mutilation) were traced to its agency, but cases of human sacrifice are now rare. The society is said to be widely extended throughout Lagos and to reach far to the north. The Native Courts of Illorin had in old days been established on high models, but had become greatly debased. They are now reported to be doing well, and are daily gaining the confidence of the people. Six have been established. The Illorin Court reported 127 cases during the year, a notable one being the trial of three of the Emir's own cousins for house-breaking and robbery by night. The other Courts have heard only debt and divorce cases, preferring as yet to send criminal cases to the British Courts.

164. Illorin is a province rich in agricultural and silvan products. Among the former, in addition to the usual crops, are tobacco, cotton, rice, peppers, ground-nuts, and kolas; the latter include great quantities of shea as well as palm-oil and rubber. The people are good agriculturists. The Resident reports enthusiastically on the prospects of cotton, which is largely grown. The industries of the townspeople are many, and their products are especially good. The health of the staff has been very good.

Tour.

165. I visited in Illorin in June, proceeding by way of Jebba, the former military headquarters now abandoned. The Niger ports of the province are now at Shonga and Patiji.

As we approached Illorin we found the road for a mile and half beyond the station lined with very great crowds, including 48 principal and over 400 minor chiefs, many of whom had not obeyed the Emir's summons for many generations. Called in now to meet the High Commissioner they were unable to refuse, and the result had been many reconciliations of ancient feuds. It was estimated that there were 10,000 persons present to welcome us, and the cordiality and enthusiasm were very striking. At the official durbar next day, I urged the better sanitation of the town with a view to decreasing infant mortality; and expressing my pleasure at the peace and loyalty now everywhere manifest, I pointed out that our soldiers and police were maintained not as a threat but to enforce the law. I spoke of taxation and revenue, and of my desire to render the Native Courts effective, and I alluded in particular to the crime of personation and extortion which could only be suppressed by the aid of the chiefs. The Emir asked that their legal right to their domestic slaves should be recognised, adding that they all knew that slave-dealing was illegal. I replied that they had seen our policy for several years, and I had no intention of making any change in it.

166. The peaceful state of the province and the creation of the Civil Police enabled me to give orders for the withdrawal of the troops in garrison here. It says much for the appreciation of British rule that this order was at first viewed with consternation, and almost created a panic among the peasantry, who feared a return of former misrule if our troops were withdrawn. After examining the country thoroughly, we decided that its present location was the best for the Government Station. The huts occupied by the Europeans were unfit for habitation, and arrangements were made for the immediate despatch of permanent bungalows, and a plan as usual was made for the laying out of the station on sanitary principles. A day or two prior to my arrival the ex-Emir of Bauchi, who had been sent to live at Illorin, died, and the Emir took occasion to emphasise in a public speech the folly of misrule and disobedience to Government orders. The only exile now at Illorin is the ex-Lapini of Bida, who lives with his mother's relations there.

Kabba.

167. The province has an area of 7,800 square miles, with an estimated population of 68,000 only (39,000 females, 29,000 males), in charge of Captain Larymore, C.M.G. At or near the present site of Lokoja a tract of country was in 1841 ceded to the British Government by the Attah of Idah for the purpose of establishing a colony of English farmers. Such a scheme was of course a failure. In 1854, Dr. Baikie arrived under the auspices of McGregor Laird, and in 1857 he became the first British Consul. In 1860, with Lieutenant Glover, R.N., he founded the town of Lokoja with a few ransomed

slaves, and died in 1864. He was succeeded by five Consuls, till the year 1868 when the Consulate was abolished and the place became the centre of rival trading companies, till these were eventually absorbed in the Royal Niger Company. In 1895, the Company made an attempt to open a station at the village of Kabba in the centre of the province, and in 1897, as I have related, the Nupe army was defeated by the Company's troops and the whole of the province detached from Nupe's rule. Thousands of slaves—many of them no doubt originally raided from the province—deserted their Nupe masters and established settlements, at first round Lokoja, and later further south.

168. The early difficulties of the present administration as regards paucity of Civil Staff, and the absence of the troops in Ashanti, did not admit of much effective control beyond Lokoja. A patrol was at once instituted along the southern frontier to prevent the import of spirits, but it had to be withdrawn when the troops left. Later the delimitation of the southern frontier with Southern Nigeria brought the Government again into contact with the southern tribes, and the hostility of the Igbiras necessitated a small expedition being sent into the country in 1903. Though previous Residents had toured through the province in various directions, little attempt had been made to get into thorough touch with the people till the present year, for the judicial and other work at Lokoja had been too heavy and the staff too small to admit of it. The effective organisation of the Supreme Court, and, above all, the appointment of a cantonment magistrate, relieved the Resident of much of his work at Lokoja, and during 1904 progress has been made in the assessment of villages, and the definition of the jurisdiction of chiefs.

169. The Kabba province is peopled by various pagan tribes (Igbira, Kukuruka, &c.) and has no central authority, and no important town except the cosmopolitan city of Lokoja, which owes its origin to European initiative. When it formed part of the Nupe Emirate, the armies of Bida, in order, as they say, to suppress revolts, yearly laid waste its fertile districts and killed or carried into slavery its population. The result to-day is that the province, which consists of healthy and hilly uplands and fertile valleys, is for the most part an uninhabited waste, and its total population, including Lokoja, is returned at a smaller figure than that of a single city such as Illorin, Bida, Zaria, or Kano—the industries are merely such as supply the wants of a primitive people. Besides the usual crops, indigo, tobacco, and "a good quantity of cotton" are grown. The Resident estimates the yield of Dawa corn at 48 cwts. per acre, and states that the Igbiras are very industrious and the prospects of cotton are good in their country. The

silvan products are valuable and include palm oil, kolas, shea, and rubber. The province has been divided into four administrative divisions. 225 cases were tried in the Provincial Courts (47 civil, 178 criminal) and 268 cases are reported from the three Native Courts.

170. The population of Lokoja consists of Hausas, Nupes, Yorubas, and especially of Kakandas, who are chiefly canoemen and fishermen. Mythical tradition, says Captain Larymore, ascribes the following origin to this tribe. Three brothers set out from the neighbourhood of Yola, and sailing down the Benue, some 400 years ago, founded the great pagan State whose capital was Idah. Two of them later left Idah and founded the Kakanda tribe around and above Lokoja on the Niger. A careful census of the city was taken in 1902, and the total population was found to be 7,833 (females, 4,250, males, 3,583). In the present year a "town council" was established, consisting of the chiefs of the various wards of the town (generally representing different tribes) with the Head Chief as president, and nine other members, with the Alkali and Limam. A tax of 3*s*. per house was instituted which realises about £500 per annum, being very little for so wealthy a city as Lokoja. It is partly devoted to revenue and partly to sanitation and other municipal objects. The efforts of the Resident to improve the sanitation of the city have met with considerable success, and broader streets have been made and incinerators started for the disposal of refuse.

Tour.

171. I visited Lokoja in September, 1904, and again in March, 1905, when I went to Kabba with the Deputy Principal Medical Officer and the Director of Public Works. I had under consideration the question of transferring the provincial headquarters from Lokoja to this place as being more central, while experience seemed to show that at Lokoja a Resident became immersed in local details to the detriment of the rest of his province. I found Kabba to be an admirable site, about 1,300 feet above the sea, healthy and central, and controlling the main routes in the province, but the result of my personal inspection was to convince me that Lokoja was the proper headquarters, while Kabba will be occupied by a junior officer. Lokoja is by far the most important town and centre of trade in the province; and being on the Niger, the Resident can rapidly reach the other important centres, especially Egga, and can visit the extreme north-west and south-east portions in a few hours. He will be in touch with the trans-Niger district of Koton-Karifi, which is included in his province. Kabba, on the other hand, is a mere rural village, and there are but few inhabitants in the surrounding district. But little survey work of any value had been done prior to this year, but

Mr. Cator has now done some valuable maps. The construction of a good road between Lokoja and Kabba by the Public Works Department has facilitated communications. We made the usual plan for the station at Kabba; the present buildings are not rain-proof or fit for habitation.

Kontagora.

172. The province has an area of 14,500 square miles, and its population is estimated by the Assistant Resident at 79,000 (females, 44,650, males, 34,350). An alternative estimate by Major Sharpe, C.M.G., the Resident in charge, puts the population at only 40,625. Before the Fulani domination, the ancient pagan kingdom of Yauri occupied the western, and the Kamukas the eastern part of this province. In the north were the Dakakari, and Nupes and Bassas held the south. The islands and the riverain towns of the Niger were inhabited by separate clans, while many small tribes were wedged in between the principal ones.

173. A Fulani named Maigidda from Gando assisted the Yauris to make war on their neighbours, while Imoro (grandson of Othman dan Fodio) with the aid of Masaba, Emir of Nupe, conquered the eastern tribes and founded the city of "Kwanta-gora" in about 1864. With this warrior the Yauris made friends without fighting. The Dakakari in the north alone repulsed him and have continued to form an impassable barrier between the Fulani centres of Sokoto and Kontagora. It was about this time, as I have related (paragraph 149), that the Nupes under Majia, worsted by the Fulani, occupied Zuguma in the south of this province. The fame of Imoro's conquests caused the Sarikin Sokoto to confer on him the title of "Sarikin Sudan," which is still retained by his son Ibrahim, the present Emir, who succeeded him in 1879. Like his father, Ibrahim spent many years in traversing the country from north to south and east to west with a conquering army. Even the Dakakari yielded him a temporary submission, and his conquests extended far into the Zaria province (including the Gwari) and into Borgu. For 20 years his restless love of war kept him ever on the move till the province was desolated and almost entirely depopulated.

174. In 1900 he threatened the Government headquarters at Jebba while the troops were away, and in January, 1901, on their return, I sent an expedition which captured the city of Kontagora. The Emir with the remnants of his army and a great mass of slaves fled northwards, where he became a thorn in the side of Zaria, until, in consequence of an appeal from that Emir, his army was finally broken up and Ibrahim himself captured by a British force early in 1902. Meanwhile the

old Yauri dynasty had been re-established, but they were unable to assert authority and begged to be allowed to return to Yellua. On the capture of Ibrahim, his following, estimated at 20,000, returned to their homes while the Fulani chiefs fled to Sokoto. Ibrahim was sent for trial to Lokoja on a charge of murdering the Mallam at Wushishi, and for a short time was deported to Yola. The province was at first held in military occupation till Major Sharpe assumed charge of it in April, 1902. The Yauri dynasty had proved useless, and no Fulani would take Ibrahim's place while he lived. Judging, therefore, that his adversities would have taught him a salutary lesson, I reinstated him early in 1903 after the fall of Sokoto and Kano, as I have described in my report for 1902. This gave the most lively satisfaction at Sokoto, and throughout the Fulani Emirates, where Ibrahim was held in great repute as Othman's great-grandson.

175. The Government officials and the garrison had hitherto lived inside the town, but in October, 1903, anxious to put an end to so bad an arrangement, I concurred in the transfer of the Government station to a site very strongly advocated by the Resident, about 4½ miles from the city. With the evacuation by the troops, and the return of the Emir, the town began to fill and the houses were rebuilt. The province is divided into six independent chiefships, and their boundaries were settled by the Resident. In March (1904) an expedition was organised against the Dakakari, who blocked the road from Kontagora (and Zungeru) to Sokoto, and who by their frequent outrages on traders had closed the trade routes from the north. Their country was traversed in every direction, their arms were confiscated in large numbers, and the district was organised under an able chief, and an Assistant Resident.

176. By the end of July the telegraph had reached Kontagora, and early in October it was at Yellua on the Niger. Broad tracks were cleared along the principal caravan routes, and a new route to Jimakun on the Kubo river (a tributary of the Kaduna) was opened up, which enables stores and material to be conveyed by water from the Niger to within two days of the provincial capital. The greater part of the province has been assessed, and the Resident reports considerable success in the effort to get into touch with the various tribes, which are very mixed, so that remnants of peoples of different origin occupy villages indiscriminately scattered through the province. 48 criminal and 10 civil cases have been heard in the Provincial Court, with probably over 200 informal cases. Native Courts have been established in every district but have not been very successful. There are few qualified Alkalis, and the people show a great preference for the British Court.

Tour.

177. I visited Kontagora in February, 1904. The new site (occupied the previous October) had proved unsatisfactory, and was too far from the town where the Resident's daily work is. I found the political officers, the medical, and the military each living in separate encampments, half a mile or more apart, with intervening "bush," and the two latter surrounded by swampy land. A wonderfully strong spring of clear water rises out of the ground close by the Residency, and forms a considerable stream, which, however, is choked with vegetation, and is said by the natives to be the haunt of tsetse fly. No steps, however, appeared to have been taken by the medical officer to demonstrate this, or to ascertain the reason why horses and donkeys died, though the station had been occupied about half a year, and there was comparatively little work to do. The water has aperient properties. We unanimously fixed on a site to the north-east of the town on the Kontagora stream, where there was abundant water and good shade, though the "lie of the ground" is not specially well adapted for building. The station is up-stream and to windward of the town, about a mile from it, and commands the route to north (Sokoto) and to the east (Zungeru). The staff moved to this site in April, and in August the erection of a permanent house was begun. I presented the Emir with his staff of office, and he took the oath of allegiance. He had no special matters to raise, but begged for Government support to enforce his orders.

Borgu.

178. With an area of 12,000 square miles, the population of this province is estimated by Mr. Kemble (Junior Resident) at 25,300 only (females, 13,000, males, 12,300). The greater part of Borgu never came under Fulani rule, though there was a settlement in the north at Kaoji. The Baribas (as the people are called), though conquered in ancient times by the Askias of Songhay and others, are to-day found independent alike of the Fulani and the Yorubas, and they have defied the armies of Behanzin of Dahomey in the south, and of Mossi in the west. Practically nothing was known of the interior of the country prior to 1894, for the few travellers who had attempted to penetrate to its capital at Nikki had never returned. The Niger Company had, however, a treaty with Boussa, whose capital was on the Niger rapids, and who was to some extent the equal of Nikki and independent of him. The Baribas raided far into Yoruba land, and the reputation of their skill in witchcraft, their deadly poisoned arrows, and their treachery, had caused them to be held in almost superstitious dread by their neighbours. In 1893-94 the French overran Mossi and threatened Borgu, and it became a matter

of importance to conclude a treaty with Nikki. I undertook the task on behalf of the Royal Niger Company, and succeeded in anticipating the powerful French force which, under Descœurs, had already started from Dahomey with the same object. The treaty was, however, disregarded by the French, who overran all Borgu, including Boussa and Kiama, with whom we had treaties, which were undisputed. The result was a period of great tension, and at the end of 1897 I was sent out to raise the West Africa Frontier Force, and to take command of the British forces of Lagos and Nigeria.

179. In June, 1898, a convention was concluded under which Borgu was partitioned between the two Powers; the British portion was not incorporated in the Royal Niger Company's territory but was administered as a military province. Garrisons were maintained in its chief towns, pending the final delimitation of the frontier in 1900. There had been some severe fighting between the French and the Baribas, and the latter had suffered very heavily. From being the most lawless and truculent of tribes, they now became the most law-abiding, and there is singularly little crime in the province. The earliest king of Nikki of whom there is record, says Mr. Kemble, is Siro-lafia, who reigned about 1800.

180. In South Borgu the people are agricultural, but are not industrious, and show no desire to acquire wealth, or to trade. In the north the settlements of Fulani from Gando rear cattle, while the Baribas are agricultural. The whole of the south is now under Kiama, the north under Boussa. Woro-Yoru, the heir to the kingship at Nikki, had refused to acknowledge the French and settled in British Borgu, but he proved a feeble and useless person and he has now gone back to Nikki. As Borgu quieted down and friendly relations were established with the French, all garrisons were gradually withdrawn, with the exception of a small detachment at Illo, the frontier station on the Niger, the last garrison (at Fort Goldie near the French enclave) being replaced by civil police at the end of 1904. The assessment ofthe villages is now being carried out, and Mr. Kemble reports that the taxes have been collected without any trouble.

181. The industries are confined to the simple wants of the people, and there is little trade. Shea trees are abundant, but with the exception of a small quantity sold to the Niger Company the fruit is allowed to rot on the ground. There are unlimited areas of exceptionally fine land suitable for cotton, with a waterway (the Niger) close at hand, but the population is small, and mile after mile of well-timbered and fertile land is without a village. As its population increases owing to the cessation of war, and by immigration, Borgu should offer great possibilities of development. Forty-three cases were tried in the Provincial Court. Native Courts, being

new to the country, have not yet become effective, but they transmit cases to the British Courts. The police have not been very successful. There is little slave-dealing; 20 slaves were released during the year.

Tour.

182. I visited Borgu in July. The French enclave at Fort Goldie consists of a flimsy palisade of sticks. It was in charge of two or three natives, who occupied huts with mud walls, while the "warehouses" consisted of mere mat-walls. Entrance is commonly effected by any other way than the door, so that the keys (of which Government retain duplicates) are a farce. Kiama, the capital of South Borgu, is a mere village of about 300 persons, and presents a poverty-stricken appearance, typical of Borgu as a whole. The people are cordial and well-disposed. The Government station is inside the village, and consists of the old "fort" and houses built by the French, all but one in a very dilapidated state. There are no wells, and no stream, water being secured from a stagnant pool and water-holes, which are shared by the villagers and are probably impregnated with the drainage of the insanitary village. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the staff here has suffered from constant sickness, as the French, I believe, did before. Dr. Tichborne, Senior Medical Officer (who accompanied me on this tour to Illorin and Borgu), found an excellent site on the bank of a small stream three-quarters of a mile from the village.

183. I considered, however, that Kiama is ill-situated for the headquarters, which in a province nearly 200 miles long by only 65 broad, should be more nearly in the centre. Kiama is only 30 miles from the south frontier, out of touch with the north and with the Niger navigation (being 50 miles from Fort Goldie), and is now of no political importance. It will be the station of an Assistant Resident, and the capital will be removed to Boussa, which is central, so that the Resident can control the customs stations in the north, where the important kola caravans cross the province, and, being on the Niger, will be in touch with the enclave at Fort Goldie and the station of exit (for French flotillas) at Illo. The King of Boussa is, moreover, the most important chief in the province. I was unable to visit Boussa, but the Resident will select an experimental site and test its healthiness. There is excellent local timber at Kiama, with abundant fuel for brick-burning.

184. Mr. Kemble's roads were perhaps the best we have seen (other than those of the Public Works Department), and the addition of a few culverts or ramps will render the road from the Niger to Kiama fit for carts, by which the shea and other produce can be conveyed to the river for export. The chief has himself taken

a keen interest in these roads, personally supervising their construction. There are a few elephants in the forest belt of 50 miles, which stretches between the Niger and the interior of the province; the forest contains also silvan products of value, and good timber. The soil appears to be a rich black loam, singularly free from the white ant pest and troublesome tree-suckers. There is probably sub-soil water everywhere. The Teshi and Moshi rivers are perennial, and I know of no locality in Nigeria which offers better prospects for experimental rubber or cotton culture. Labour could be brought from Yoruba-land close by, and I have already started such a colony at the junction of the two rivers. I found that the system of taxation introduced was not in accordance with instructions, nor had there been adequate supervision of the collection. Little survey work had been done, and the records were not in good order. The ill-health of the staff would largely account for these defects.

Bassa.

185. Has an area of 7,000 square miles. It is at present in charge of Mr. Ley-Greaves (Third Class), who estimates its dense population at 1½ millions, but I have assumed it at a million at most. Early in the sixteenth century the Igbira (Okpoto or Ibo) kingdom would seem (as we have already seen) to have been one of the most powerful pagan States of Nigeria, with its capital at Idah. Its influence probably extended northwards to the Benue or beyond it, and southwards throughout a great portion of what is now Southern Nigeria, while Nupe derived its ancient dynasty from Idah. In modern times the Attahs of Idah were a thorn in the side of the Niger Company, who sent many expeditions against them and finally broke their power. When the present Government was instituted the Attah exercised some traditional sway over the Okpotos in the south of the province—the Bassas having conquered the northern and western portions and the Munshis the eastern—but his influence was wholly for evil. Idah has, I believe, always been, and to some extent still is, a centre of the slave trade, and the market of Ejuli, a little to the east, is notorious for the smuggling of gin and for slave-dealing. Beyond the radius which comprised the farms of Idah the Government of Southern Nigeria, with many other truculent tribes to manage elsewhere, was unable to exert any authority, and at the present time the territory eastwards within 20 miles of the Niger is, I believe, unexplored. In these circumstances the boundary with Southern Nigeria has never been settled, except in the immediate vicinity of Idah, where a radius of 15 miles from that town was fixed with the approval of the Secretary of State.

186. British influence had up to the end of 1903 been confined to the western half of the province, with the capital at Dekina, but in December of that year (as narrated in my last

report) the Resident, Captain O'Riordan, proceeded on his own initiative into the Okpoto country to instal a chief, and was attacked by the tribe, who resented the appointment. The Resident and Mr. Amyatt-Burney, police officer, lost their lives and their following was annihilated. The expedition which was sent to retrieve this disaster recovered the bodies of the officers; and some 56 of the soldiers, police, and carriers, out of the 93 who had formed the ill-fated party, were liberated or escaped (*vide* paragraph 286). The expedition traversed the country in every direction, and in the heavy fighting many of the Okpotos were killed, and Negadu, the chief responsible for the trouble, was captured and tried in the Supreme Court. Heavy fines were inflicted upon the hostile villages, and when as much of these had been paid as it seemed possible for the villagers to collect, I remitted the remainder, which only tended to keep alive ill-will and hostility.

187. The result of these operations was to extend the frontier of the district under control to the borders of the Munshi country (about 8° E. long.), and a garrison was left at Agwatcha. The Okpotos have not, however, settled down, and their attitude still gives cause for uneasiness, though investigation enabled the Government to ascertain the primary cause of their discontent and to appoint the chief they desired, which gave great satisfaction. The new chief was, I hear, visited by all the people of the hostile towns south of Ankpa, and he made them swear friendship to the Government. The district was in April, 1905, reported to be more peaceful than it had been for three years past. The province is probably richer in natural products than any other in the Protectorate, and the Niger Company have depôts on the Niger and Benue, while Messrs. Holt have also established a depôt. Moslem influence has not penetrated to this country, with the exception of small colonies of traders from the north, for the Fulani were unable to penetrate its forests. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants have mission establishments at Dekina and Gbebe. The people are said to export cattle and to import horses for food. Twenty-seven cases have been tried in the British, and 24 are reported from the Native Courts.

Tour.

188. In April, 1905, I went to Dekina from the port of Mozum. The station is on a hill, in very hilly country, and is 1,100 yards from the perennial mountain stream which forms the water supply. It controls the routes between the important stations of Mozum, Gbebe, Itobi, and Ejuli, and though not sufficiently central when the whole province is brought under control, it serves well at present. We selected a site for permanent buildings, since the place will always be occupied by a member of the staff in charge of the western district. Well-cleared tracks to the river depôts have been made. I instructed the Resident to make no attempt at all for the present

to collect tribute in the eastern portion, and to avoid all cause of friction. The tribute is willingly paid in the western district.

(D.) SLAVERY.

189. The following table shows the number of slaves liberated and their disposal in 1904:—

To Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru.	To Freed Slaves Home, Bornu.	Adults free to follow their own inclinations.	Returned to their Relatives.	Died.	Married.	To Guardians.	Enlisted.	Apprenticed to Trades.	Total.
217	25	128	132	2	12	40	1	7	564

Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru.

190. The statistics of the Freed Slaves Home at Zungeru are as follows:—

—	Women.		Big Girls, 12–15.	Children under 12.	Total.
	Over 20.	15 to 20.			
Present on January 1st, 1904	18	12	25	129	184
Received during 1904 ...	19	12	9	177	217
Total	37	24	34	306	401
*Left the Home	33	21	20	149	223
Remaining on Dec. 31st, 1904	4	3	14	157	178

* The 223 who "left the Home" are made up as follows:—Married, 2; apprenticed, 9 (8 to Church Missionary Society); to guardians, 92; died, 92; left the home of their own desire, 27; error, 1 = 223. Of the 217 shown as received during the year, 155 came from Muri (*vide* paras. 135 and 194).

191. The famine which prompted the people to sell their children caused a great increase in the slave trade. The emaciated condition of the children when rescued accounts for the very high death rate, and also for the comparatively high food bill, since they are specially dieted under medical orders. They often arrive in a hopeless and dying condition, but the Medical Officer reported to me that the Acting Lady Superintendent

(Miss Mitchell) had, by close personal attention, saved many lives which seemed hopeless even under better conditions.

192. The Visiting Committee of Senior Officers selects the Guardians, subject to final approval by the High Commissioner, and the Wards are from time to time inspected—if residing in cantonments by the Cantonment Magistrate; if outside, by Residents—and unless their condition is quite satisfactory they are sent back to the Home. A kitchen and laundry and a bakery have been added. The sale of bread and the laundry work, together with sale of carpentry work and of eggs, and the wages of boys employed to pull punkahs, are now beginning to produce a small income, which I hope will rapidly increase. The children are also paid small wages for their work out of these receipts. The Home has been enclosed by an unclimbable fence; and an isolation camp, 300 yards distant, for the reception of new arrivals and treatment of infectious diseases has been added. Daily classes are held for the instruction of the children. The boys are also taught carpentering. and are drilled by the native assistant. The entire clothing is made by the inmates, while the garden provides work for some of the children, and its produce diminishes the food bill. Under the superintendence of the Cantonment Magistrate (Captain Rowe) the Home has made great progress during the year.

Freed Slaves Home, Bornu.

193. In February, 1904, a second Home was opened in Bornu, where the large number of children liberated from slave caravans coming from Adamawa (German) might be accommodated without undergoing the hardships of a journey of over 1,000 miles to Zungeru, which proved fatal to many of these emaciated creatures, while the change of climate and diet induced ophthalmia, skin diseases, and dysentery. Dr. Parsons, Medical Officer in Bornu, took charge of the Home, and has devoted himself to the work with enthusiasm and success. He has endeavoured to develop character in the inmates, and to inculcate a feeling of independence and a healthy rivalry in industry, so that they may become useful members of the community and liberated in a true sense. The children are taught mat-making, grass-work, pottery, leather and smithy work. Boys who show aptitude are locally apprenticed, but remain on the books of the Home and are regularly inspected. The women and girls make the clothes and nurse the sick and weakly children. The boys are daily drilled by a soldier, and are learning English. In order to make the Home as nearly self-supporting as possible a farm has been started, with 100 acres of land under crops and a few head of cattle and goats for milk, and some poultry. Food is plentiful and good. The buildings at present consist of mud huts. There is daily medical treatment, the prevalent diseases being

guinea-worm and ophthalmia. The Home started with 142 (112 below 11 years old, 19 girls from 12 to 20, and 11 adult women). During the year 25 more have been received; total, 167. There have been 42 deaths, and five women have left of their own accord, leaving 120 at the end of the year. I was much pleased to note at my inspection the general cleanliness and the happy appearance of the inmates. During Dr. Parsons' absence Dr. Blair, who shows no less interest in the work, has taken charge of the Home. The cost of the two Freed Slaves Homes was as follows:—Staff, £600; food, £632; clothing, £84; sundries, £150; total, £1,466. Earnings paid to revenue, £45.

194. The general position of the slave question in the Protectorate may be said to be satisfactory. The constant slave-raids which have depopulated the country and almost exterminated the people of the Kabba and Kontagora provinces have, of course, ceased throughout the length and breadth of Nigeria. The slave trade from German Adamawa and the Benue regions towards Lagos and Southern Nigeria still exists, and has been very active of late owing to the famine, but is being energetically stamped out, as many as 200 having been detected and liberated by Mr. Lobb in 2½ months. The children rescued were extremely emaciated, and had been sold for sums varying from 1*s.* 9*d.* in corn to 10*s.* in salt. Some were repatriated, but those whose homes could not be found, or who would probably be sold again, were sent to the Home. Out of 200 only 10 per cent. were adults, the average age being eight years; 30 or 40 died of the starvation they had suffered, in spite of every possible care. This slave trade is chiefly carried on by Nupe and Kakanda canoe-men. Seven hundred slaves have been freed in this (Muri) province during the past five years. Mr. Lobb reports that natives state that slaves are still sold openly in the markets of the Kameruns, in spite of the presence of Europeans, while large raiding bands from Gashaka (German) devastate the country, one district being raided three times in the year and completely depopulated.

195. The pagan tribes, who formerly feared to bring their produce to the markets lest they should be seized as slaves, now know that they have redress from Government, and already the complaints of the Yergums have led to conviction of kidnappers at Yellua. The result will be to stimulate trade, and to exert a civilising effect on the tribes. From Bornu the Resident writes: "The big slave traffic which was flourishing two years ago is now almost stamped out. The passage through Bornu of caravans of raw slaves from German and French territory is no longer to be found. A few very small parties occasionally still filter through with a good deal of risk, and by bush routes. The chief remaining route at present is from German territory, along the western shores of Chad to

Kabi, in French Manga. These traders are very difficult to catch." Seven hundred and fifty-four slaves have been freed in Bornu since the province was occupied, of which 85 per cent. are in transit from French Bagirmi through German territory, 10 per cent. are Kanuris enslaved by Rabeh, and 1 per cent. ordinary Court cases. What trade still exists comes chiefly from Adamawa. In the Yola province 154 were liberated (total 349 in three years), some being set free by the expeditions against the pagan tribes. Famine caused the sale of children, who else were dying of starvation. Mr. Barclay reports that few of the slaves of the Fulani assert their freedom, for they are now better treated by their masters, who fear lest they should do so.

196. Elsewhere in the Fulani States the policy of Government in this matter is, I think, becoming better understood, and the chiefs appear to acquiesce in it. In my last report I said that the Emir of Sokoto had of his own initiative promulgated the prohibition regarding slave-dealing. From Kano it is reported that "complaints or assertion of freedom by slaves are extremely rare—a discontented slave simply runs away and the remainder are content." There are (says Dr. Cargill) but few cases of slave-dealing, which is becoming too risky to be profitable, and will soon cease entirely. Domestic slaves are well treated, well housed, and well fed, and the laws are now so well known that masters dare not ill-treat their slaves lest they should complain to the British Court. They are allowed to work for one day in the week on their own land, the produce of which is their own, and to trade, and may redeem themselves if they wish to. Many who ran away at the time of the annexation of Kano have returned. "The slavery question," he adds, "has caused scarcely any difficulty in this province." I observed in the list of cases (tried by himself) which the Emir sends in, that in four instances he had inflicted three months' imprisonment for buying a slave. This, I think, marks a striking forward movement. The Resident of Nassarawa states that he has now little difficulty in this question, and that the Chiefs of Nassarawa and Lafia are voluntarily freeing many of their slaves and substituting paid labour, but many runaway slaves from the north are settling in the province. From Illorin I hear that the slave trade is practically extinct, and the domestic and farm slaves are happy. The buyers of slaves are said to come from Abeokuta. A few years ago there was a great slave mart in Illorin. From Kontagora and other provinces I also hear satisfactory accounts. Even allowing for some optimism on the part of Residents, there is ground for legitimate satisfaction in contrasting this state of things with what obtained in 1900, when, as I reported, Nigeria was probably one of the worst, if not the worst, of places in Africa for slave-raiding and slave-trading in its most barbarous and cruel forms.

(E.) Native Courts.

197. I have especial pleasure in reporting some progress in the constitution and working of the Native Courts, of which 80 had been duly established under the Proclamation at the end of 1904. Most of these submit returns of their principal cases to the Residents, and these are examined by the High Commissioner with the object of making suggestions and promoting uniformity of sentences. In my "review of provinces" I have already spoken of the Native Courts of each, and quoted the number of cases dealt with. The Courts deal almost entirely with civil causes and petty criminal cases, since the abolition of the punishment of mutilation, and the Government requirements of decency and humanity in imprisonment have deprived the native tribunals of their most effective punishments for serious crime. It appeared, moreover, to be advisable that the powers of each Court should be limited until it had proved that former abuses had ceased. The admirable conduct of the Courts at Sokoto and Kano enabled me, at the end of 1904, to restore to them the power of judging cases involving the death penalty, though with the restriction that no sentence of death may be carried into execution without the prior concurrence of the Resident (*see* paragraph 83). Increased confidence in the impartiality of the Native Courts appears to be shown by the people, and I have heard no complaints of unjust judgments or of bribery, &c. The Emir of Kano sends in a return of from 60 to 80 cases per mensem.

198. I hope that I may be able to establish a school of law for the training of Mallams at Sokoto. The appointment of a native judge to review the sentences of all Native Courts would probably be of great value, and would, I think, give much satisfaction alike to the Native Emirs and to the Alkalis, as proving the intention of Government to uphold the dignity of the Courts and not to interfere with the law of the Koran. The Courts in Bornu have not proved very successful, and in pagan countries but little progress has yet been made.

(F.) Population.

199. The assessment of towns for tribute, and the closer touch now established between the administration and the people, has enabled me to submit some rough idea of the population. The returns are, however, largely guesswork at present, but will form a basis for future revision. Except in

the cases of Bornu, Bassa, Nassarawa, and Kano, I am inclined to think that the numbers are somewhat under-estimated:—

Per square mile.	Proportion Males to Females.	Province.	Male.	Female.	Total.
14·9	1 to 1·1	Sokoto and Gando	244,000	277,000	521,000
70·7	1 „ 1·1*	Kano and Katagum†	*1,043,810*	*1,148,190*	2,192,000
33·5	1 „ 1·5	East and West Bornu	442,000	663,000	1,105,000
39·65	1 „ 2·83	Bauchi	240,000	680,000	920,000
10·45	1 „ 1·37	Zaria	97,000	133,000	230,000
5·45	1 „ 1·3	Kontagora‡	34,350	44,650	79,000
2·11	1 „ 1·05	Borgu	12,300	13,000	25,300
142·85	1 „ 1·23	Bassa§	*448,880*	*551,120*	1,000,000
83·33	1 „ 1·73	Nassarawa	550,000	950,000	1,500,000
31·97	1 „ 1·23	Muri	370,000	455,000	825,000
18·12	1 „ 1·23	Yola‖	*130,270*	*160,230*	290,500
23·57	1 „ 1·08	Nupe	72,350	78,550	150,900
8·72	1 „ 1·34	Kabba	29,000	39,000	68,000
40·47	1 „ 1·22	Illorin	114,750	140,250	255,000
¶35·1		Total	*3,828,710*	*5,332,990*	9,161,700

* Assumed to be same as Sokoto.

† Kano 2,000,000, Katagum 192,000. Male and female not shown, same proportion adopted as Sokoto.

‡ Major Sharpe's estimate is 40,600 only.

§ The Resident's estimate is 1½ millions. Male and female not shown. Muri proportion.

‖ Proportion of male and female not shown. Muri proportion assumed.

¶ Area indeterminate till boundary fixed. Assumed at 258,000 square miles.

200. This return, rough as it is, furnishes some indication both of the relative density of the population and of the proportion between the sexes. Both bear striking witness to the devastation caused by war and slave raids, Probably the most accurate figures are those of Nupe, which has been most fully assessed, and next to Nupe, Illorin, and Sokoto. If these were taken by themselves as a basis of calculation for the whole Protectorate, the total would be 5,000,000 only, as against the total of 9,000,000 shown above. I am, however, inclined to think that the poplation is about what the return shows it at, viz., 9,000,000. The estimates have in almost every case been made by the Resident in Charge, who is the best judge. Barth in 1854 estimated the population at from 30 to 50 millions.

III. TRADE.

Tolls.

201. The institution of caravan tolls has enabled the administration to collect a quantity of detailed information regarding the nature and quantity of the articles carried by traders and their value at each toll-station throughout the Protectorate. I have in a former report explained the origin of the Government "Caravan tolls," which were in substitution for the exorbitant levies formerly exacted from traders at every town they passed through by native chiefs. Prior to this year the tolls were only collected on "down" caravans carrying articles of native manufacture and native produce for sale. It was, however, reported that traders could not understand why "up" caravans were exempted, and that the discrimination operated unfairly towards native manufactures and towards different classes of traders. It was therefore decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to include all classes of goods of whatever origin, though at a lesser rate for those which have paid an import duty on the coast.

202. I have watched the operation of this system very carefully, receiving monthly reports from all Residents and making constant enquiries as to the effect on trade and the views of the native traders regarding it. From every province I have received reassuring reports to the effect that the traders paid their dues most willingly, and welcomed the tolls as a great relief from the exactions of the past and the enforced delays. The duties imposed on the Lagos frontier by the former administration were also abolished. I shall quote these reports presently in dealing with the trade of the provinces principally concerned with trade.

203. I cannot myself profess to regard these tolls as an ideal form of taxation, and I hope that before long it will be found feasible to largely modify, if not to abolish, them by merging them in the general tribute tax. I should, as I have said, myself prefer to see not only no duties on goods in transit, but even a system of rebates increasing proportionately to the distance from the coast for goods delivered at interior depôts, with a view to developing the inland territories. It is impossible to estimate exactly the amount of customs accruing on goods for import into Northern Nigeria and on goods with which the produce of Northern Nigeria is purchased in the southern territories, since only that comparatively small portion which is imported by British firms can be ascertained. The remainder is imported by native traders who also export produce for barter with duty-paid goods beyond the frontier, especially in Lagos.

204. Meanwhile in order to supplement the grant-in-aid by some local revenue, direct taxation has been instituted in Northern Nigeria both in the form I have described in the second section of this report, and in the form of caravan tolls, and certain licences. The system of caravan tolls, levied by Government only, emancipated the local trade from previous extortions; it was a useful tax in the early transitional period and during the past year it realised about £34,500, nearly one-third of the local revenue. On the other hand, it absorbs a great part of the time of the civil staff, and in spite of the most careful supervision errors of assessment of values and occasional fraud by native agents occur, while the security of the roads now enables traders to travel singly by unfrequented roads, and so to avoid the toll-stations instead of as formerly being compelled to unite in large bodies for mutual protection, and to travel by certain routes only. The security afforded by Government is thus daily adding to the difficulty of collection. Nevertheless, the revenue from tolls is greater each year, and all Residents concur in reporting that trade is increasing rapidly. They have the actual statistics of trade passing through their hands on which to base their reports. The justification of the tolls is that they are sanctioned by tradition and custom; that the traders form a large and the most wealthy part of the community, and until the organisation of the general or "tribute" tax is somewhat more advanced than it is to-day throughout the Protectorate it is not feasible to abolish the existing system which on the whole works well. It must be borne in mind that this organisation of taxation is little more than a year old at present.

205. It has been the aim of Government only to levy tolls upon merchandise in transit over considerable distances, as a return for the security and improvement of communications. Produce locally collected for sale to neighbouring merchants is exempt. It is under consideration—in spite of the reasons I have given for the taxing of "up" caravans—whether the tolls on goods which have paid duty at a British port should not be still further reduced. It must, however, be remembered, on the one hand, that the internal trade (viz., in articles neither imported nor for export) is not taxed except by these tolls, and on the other hand, that their imposition on this trade operates in favour of duty-paid imports. Native cloth is manufactured in great quantities and competes favourably with Manchester cottons; locally won salt competes with British salt; locally grown kolas with imported kolas. The leather work and dyes of Kano and other large cities supply local wants to the exclusion of imported goods; while the natron from the north-east permeates the whole Protectorate, penetrating to Lagos itself, and fosters the native manufactures which are largely, though not entirely, bartered in exchange for it. Reduced to its crudest expression, the desire of the

importing merchant would no doubt be to see native industries —other than the production of raw material for export— crushed, in order that they may be superseded by imported manufactures, and native goods in transit (other than those for export) taxed as highly as possible, while his own were exempt. It is for the administration to determine what proportion of the burden each should fairly bear. The caravan tolls were not, however, instituted with any such object in view, but merely as a just payment by those who use the roads for their security and improvement, and in substitution of the pre-existing oppressive dues.

206. The effective organisation of the general tribute tax, together with a system of excise or octroi on native salt and natron, may enable me later on to equalise the incidence of taxation on purely native goods with that on imported goods, and it may then be found possible to abolish these caravan tolls. Discussing this subject so long ago as 1902, when the tolls were instituted, I wrote: "The Resident, Illorin, reports that Kano goods have fallen to one-quarter of their former price. The benefit goes to the Lagos trader and middlemen, not only in that the goods they buy are one-quarter of their former price, but that they can now come to Illorin to meet the caravans which formerly they were not allowed to do. The Kano trader, on the other hand, owing to the advantages he now enjoys, is content to sell at one-quarter price, and can still realise a good profit. These facts seem to point to the conclusion that there is no class in the country who have gained greater advantages from British rule or who can better afford to pay."

207. It may be useful to glance briefly at the trade of the principal centres in the Protectorate, and in doing so to see how the tolls have affected trade. The total value of merchandise quoted as passing through any place is, of course, limited to goods in transit for long distances, and exclusive of native produce for sale in the district.

Northern Route.

208. I have described in my report for 1902 (page 61) the trade conducted across the desert by the Tripoli Arabs resident in Kano. It was not feasible to divert this trade to the south until this route could offer superior facilities, but now that a main trunk road from Kano to Zungeru and the Niger is approaching completion, I pointed out its advantages when I was at Kano in December. As a result of the Residents' efforts one of the principal representatives of the Tripoli Arabs brought a small caravan of 18 oxen by this route, reaching Zungeru on February 21st, 1905. He expressed great surprise at the condition of the road he had traversed, for he

had disbelieved in its possibility. I gave him letters to Lagos where he was well treated, and Sir A. Jones gave him a passage to England and Tripoli. He told me he would be the first of many to travel by the new road, when he had reported its security and advantages at Tripoli. Until, however, depôts of supplies have been established along it and some of the rivers bridged it cannot be considered ready for use (*vide* paragraph 247 and 261). Dr. Cargill reports that the journey from Tripoli to Ghat takes 40 days and costs from £2 to £3 per camel load. Here there is a delay of some weeks to procure fresh camels. Thence it is six or seven weeks' journey to Kano at a cost of £4 to £6. The French levy $2 for each load of skins and $4 per load of ivory or feathers at Zinder. Roughly, therefore, it may be said that goods take nearly five months and cost about £40 a ton by the desert route. The Arab alluded to said that by the new southern route he could easily convey goods from Kano to Ibadan in 40 days, viz., a total of eight weeks to England; whereas his brother's caravan, which had just reached Tripoli, took seven months on the journey and encountered great risks. A correspondent, writing to Sir A. Jones from Tripoli, says that the news of Nasuf's journey has created a considerable sensation there.

Kano.

209. Kano is the destination of caravans from north, south, east, and west. Goods here exchange hands, and are distributed to the countries which require them. The trade of Kano itself—apart from its importance as a distributing centre—consists chiefly of manufactured goods, which from time immemorial have found a market throughout the Sudan and Nigeria. Woven cloths, embroidered native gowns, slippers, horse-gear, and other leather work are some of its chief exports. These are not required in the markets of Europe, and the tanned goat skins, which form the Morocco leather of commerce, of which some 300,000 per annum are stated to be exported to the north, are almost the sole "manufactured" article for which there is a demand. Steps are being taken to develop this industry, but it will probably be found more profitable to export the skins untanned, in which case they can be bought more cheaply and in greater quantities in the villages and towns throughout the length and breadth of the country, and their export in this state will strike a blow at the great tanning industry of Kano instead of increasing its output. I foresee with great regret the decline of Kano as a commercial centre when European goods supersede her manufactures, and the exports of other provinces are diverted by more direct routes to the factories of British merchants, instead of passing through the hands of her middlemen and brokers. The cotton of Zaria will then cease to come to the

looms of Kano, or the skins and hides to her tanneries, but she will for many years no doubt continue to supply the Sudan by her industries, more especially in leather-work.

210. The imports of local origin are chiefly (1) salt from the north and east (Asben and Manga); (2) natron from Damageram and the east; (3) cattle and horses from Sokoto and Bornu; (4) Kolas from Ganja and Lagos; (5) "antimony" from the Benue. Imports of European origin are (1) from Tripoli, English cloth, majenta-coloured thread in great quantities, beads, sugar, scent, mirrors, needles, spices, pepper, burnooses, horse-trappings, and a large quantity of writing paper; (2) from the south, English cloth, salt, German dyes, and Austrian beads. Exports to Europe are leather, ivory, and feathers (the two latter from Bornu, feathers also from Sokoto). The bulk goes to Tripoli. Skins cost 6*d.* in Kano and realise two francs in Tripoli. The Resident gives the following weights and values of such principal imports as paid tolls:—

From N. & E.	Weight	Value.	From S. & W.	Weight.	Value.
	Tons.	£	£	Tons.	£
Tripoli goods ...	165	7,684	English goods ...	30½	5,636
Asben salt ...	285	7,629	Kolas	92	10,325
Manga salt ...	382	5,012	Native cloth ...	2½	364
Natron	272	1,295	Spices, pepper, antimony, &c.	5	508
	Lbs.				
Feathers	2,213	996			
Total ...	—	22,616	Total ...	130	16,833

Live Stock.	No.	Value.
		£
Camels	183	563
Horses	74	265
Donkeys	404	517
Cattle	2,347	7,019
Sheep and goats	1,823	491
Total Live Stock	—	8,855
Grand Total	—	48,304

This somewhat disappointing total does not of course include the large imports of Zaria cotton and other local produce, and is exclusive of all the merchandise which evaded tolls. The difficulty in this province is that if the toll is collected at Kano traders can equally well dispose of their goods in the

large markets outside the city. If the toll-station is consequently placed further away the traders can only pay in kind (as cash at present practically only circulates at Kano), and stations would be required on each converging route. The tolls bring in £3,500 per annum, and should probably produce at least half as much again. There are only two toll-stations, viz., at Kano and Katsena. The Resident reports that the traders express satisfaction with the system, as they have no longer to pay tolls at each place they camp. The Tripoli Arabs, however, complain that they are heavy, and their reduction would add to the attraction of the southern route, and prevent Zinder from becoming a base for a trade to the north.

Illorin.

211. The city of Illorin is probably the greatest trade centre in the country next to Kano, whose goods (ivory, dyed leather, natron, gowns, and cloth) it has received from time immemorial and distributed to Dahomey, Benin, and the Lagos hinterland. Prior to the last few years traders from the south (with the exception of a few selected merchants from Lagos, Jebu, and Abeokuta) were prohibited from entering the city. Illorin middlemen transacted all business between the traders from the north (who likewise were not allowed to go south) and those from the south, charging 2*s.* in the £. Since the establishment of the present Government, however, great crowds of petty traders from Lagos have flocked into the town, and their dealings with the caravans are unrestricted. During the past year 4,486 licences have been issued to petty traders in Illorin.

212. The following quantities and values are given of the trade in 1904:—

—	Tons.	Value.	—	No.	Value.
		£			£
Kolas	479⅓	17,849	Horses	218	691
Spices, &c.	13	319	Cattle	2,322	5,532
Natron cloth ...	8⅓	836	Sheep and goats ...	5,263	3,037
Natron	491	15,262			
Skins	2⅔	195	Total	7,803	9,260
Miscellaneous ...	21⅔	598	Forward ...	—	35,059
Total	1,016	35,059	Grand Total ...	—	44,319

213. In addition to this, the Resident estimates that at least 3,000 loads of Lagos cotton goods were imported, at an average value of £5. Some traders, he says, make as many as eight trips in the season, but assuming an average of four, the value of British cottons imported would be £60,000, or a

total trade of £104,319. This is of course exclusive of the large trade done by the Niger Company (who import by way of the Niger) at their three stations of Shonga and Jebba and Egga. The Resident reports that the tolls are collected without any discontent, and the traders express great satisfaction with the system. He stated, in 1903, that there was no attempt to evade payment, and that he had been assured that they would gladly pay five times the amount to enjoy the present security. He adds that there is no grumbling and no single complaint. Large quantities of cotton are grown in this province, also tobacco, rice, and ground-nuts. There are very great quantities of shea, also rubber and palm-oil.

Zaria.

214. There are few European goods in the market—only a small quantity of cloth and salt. The returns show that trade is increasing, though caravans now use bye-roads. This, though a loss to the toll-collection (and hence to the trade returns submitted) does much good to the country. "The inhabitants" (says Captain Orr) "of the once dangerous pagan districts now buy cloth, kolas, and salt from the traders in exchange for rubber, mats, palm-oil, and corn," instead of seizing these articles as they formerly did. The Resident remarks that surplus produce (including cotton) will only be grown for sale and export if traders open stores in the province "where cloth, agricultural and culinary implements, Birmingham goods, soap, oil, sugar, and European provisions can be sold. There is an eager demand among all classes for all these things." I have elsewhere observed that the necessary condition to attract non-native traders is a cheap means of transport—notably a light surface rail or tram. Meanwhile, with limited funds, we are endeavouring to make a good cart-road and to introduce draught transport. Captain Orr reports that the traders say that the tolls are not high, and are not a check to trade. Natron, to the amount of 665 tons, irrespective of other trade, passed through the toll-station in one month, carried by 8,514 animals and 587 carriers. In another month as many as 8,000 sheep (for export) were counted.

Bornu.

215. A steady increase in trade is reported by Mr. Hewby. The chief export is the slabs of natron from the islands of Chad (brought by canoes). The abolition of former excessive tolls in Hausaland and the security of the roads is stated to have caused a great fall in prices, and hence the trade is not so profitable as formerly. The imports (from west to east) are chiefly Hausa cloth and kolas, the exports (east to west) are natron, cattle and salt. The cattle come chiefly from German and French territory in the south and east. The salt is from

the Manga district in the north, and chiefly goes to Hausaland, but also to German Adamawa and the Benue. There is a small import of Bilma salt from the northern desert. Tubu caravans import salt, dates, sugar, beads and paper, in exchange for feathers and skins. Kuka is rapidly becoming the chief market of Bornu. There are two or three Tripoli Arabs resident there, but they send their exports (ivory, skins and feathers) viâ Kano, and there is now no direct trade from Kuka across the desert. These Arabs, when questioned, had no complaints regarding tolls, and as long ago as May, 1903, Mr. Hewby reported that a "large number of traders, Hausa, Kanuri and Tripoli," with whom he had discussed the subject, seemed glad to have a definite toll instead of the former imposts. The province abounds in valuable acacia gum (about £30 per ton), and there is some gum-kino. Regarding cotton, it is reported from South Bornu that every village grows it, but though the people are industrious the crops are insufficient even for local demands, owing to the infertility of the seed and the inferior methods of cultivation. With improvement in these matters there should be a surplus for export by the Gongola waterway. In the north we were struck by the enormous size and the great yield of the cotton-bushes. There is here apparently a wonderfully suitable soil with immense available areas. The produce could probably be sent to Kano by the Wobe river, when a railway is made to that place. (Paragraphs 231 and 250.)

Muri.

216. The Benue river, flowing east and west, of course forms the main artery of trade through this province—land routes run north and south. Speaking of these, the Resident points out that the great belt of pagan tribes, who inhabit the southern slopes of the Bauchi plateau, cut off the markets of the Benue Valley and Kameruns from the commerce of the Hausa States. Only two routes (viâ Wase and viâ Gatari) passed through this belt, and until the present year (1904) both were insecure, and traders were constantly pillaged and murdered. The expeditions described elsewhere have afforded security on these routes, and "the resulting impetus to trade has been very marked." In the south of the province a similar belt of hostile pagans closes access to the Kameruns, except by two routes (Takum and Beli). An old trader stated that in former days caravans from Kano numbered up to 2,000 persons, and that the exactions on the road amounted to about half their goods. Similar exactions were made on the return journey. These exactions, as well as the raids of the pagans, had now, he said, ceased. The returns of the caravan tolls have enormously increased during the year, and Mr. Lobb states that it was a prosperous one.

217. The value of the trade passing through the toll stations is estimated at £30,000 to £40,000. There is reported to be a great deal of cotton grown in the Munshi country, which has not yet been penetrated. Two or three tons were bought, nominally at ½*d.* per lb., but at such a price the people find it more profitable to weave it and sell the cloth. A better class of English cloth than that now imported is required, which will supersede the native, and so bring the raw cotton on to the market. The industries of spinning thread, weaving, and dyeing afford (says Mr. Lobb) occupation to many thousands, who may possibly become additional producers of raw cotton, if native-made cloth is superseded by British. Large quantities of cattle are imported from Adamawa, and also some ivory and rubber, and are purchased with native cloth and gowns. Cloth increases very rapidly in value, as it penetrates into the interior. There is a considerable output of salt in the Awe district (paragraph 234) won by evaporation from saline springs, which are only worked in the dry weather for 12 to 15 weeks and produce probably 400 tons. The salt is sold in the north and east and also in the south, but English salt competes with it on the Benue. There are other smaller salt workings. About 60 tons of kolas (43 registered) entered from German territory, at a value on the frontier of £1,200.

Sokoto.

218. The Resident reports that the institution of new toll stations has not raised prices, or diminished the volume of trade. The Emir, when asked his opinion, said that formerly the traders were liable to lose both their merchandise and freedom—possibly life itself—and now pay only a small tax which they hardly feel. The traders accept the toll willingly, and all agree that there is no hardship, and that it is a cheap price for the safety of the roads. There is no difficulty in the collection. There is a considerable trade to Salaga, in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, cattle being exchanged for kolas. Apart from the question of transport, cotton cannot be exported until European cloth supplants the native. Dyed native cloths are exported to the north. There is plenty of shea in the west and gum in the east of the province, but neither are utilised. The export of dyed skins is increasing.

Nassarawa.

219. Native produce in this province includes rubber, palm-kernels, and benniseed. Salt and cloth (English and native) are imported. The Resident reports that cotton is grown everywhere, but the system of payment in goods, which only realise half their supposed value in the market, stifles the industry. Weaving and dyeing are increasing, "owing to the

great dissatisfaction with imported cloths." The stations opened by the Niger Company at Loko and Yawmini have given a great impetus to production, the former of rubber, the latter of hemniseed. Trade has suffered owing to the famine, since traders could not afford to despatch their caravans. The Resident comments on the diffusion of trade by many routes, instead of its being confined to the main arteries as of old, and, like the Resident of Zaria, he notes the benefit to the country by the introduction of trade into pagan centres, with its civilising effect, though Government tolls suffer. Total registered, £21,000.

Yola.

220. The Resident reports that the caravan trade is in an unsatisfactory state, partly due to the ill-treatment of traders in the German sphere, which has almost destroyed the staple trade in cattle, and partly to the famine, which was so severely felt in this province.

Kabba.

221. The trade chiefly consists in kolas, English cotton goods and native cloth, natron and live stock. It is estimated at £33,000. Native products are palm-oil, kolas, shea, rubber, and cotton. The prospects of the latter are said to be good in the Igbira country. Captain Larymore remarks that the increase in the receipts from tolls shows the fallacy of the view that they are ruining the trade. Enquiries made from an intelligent trader elicited the opinion that the present advantages are highly appreciated in contrast to former days.

Other Provinces.

222. I have no reports worth quoting from other provinces. In Nupe the total registered trade was £55,601, as against £49,850 in 1902 and £48,484 in 1903. Mr. Goldsmith reports that the traders are perfectly contented and keener than ever, and that the tax does not bear heavily upon them. In Bauchi the registered trade was £16,243, in Borgu £33,221 (chiefly kolas and cattle), in Kontagora £11,554, where the trade is reported as increasing daily and the market has been twice enlarged.

European Trade.

223. I regret that the returns received from the two European firms in the Protectorate are so incomplete as to preclude the possibility of any useful table of imports and exports. The total imports (direct or transferred from Southern Nigeria)

are given at £144,713, and exports at £152,822. The cash trade amounted to £66,294, as against £63,297 in 1903. The increase in trade is due chiefly to the rapid development of the export of rubber, which has risen from £12,000 in 1900 to £22,000 in 1902 and £94,000 in the present year. I fear, however, that the methods employed are likely to bring about a destruction of the vines. (*See* Appendix I., paragraph 8.) The shea export, which in 1900 was £25,326 and in 1901 was £32,651, dropped in 1902 to less than half the latter amount, and is this year returned at £5,295 only. Ivory continues to show a steady decrease from £11,815 in 1900 to £9,000 and £8,580 in the two following years and £3,000 in 1904.

224. I have already pointed out that the figures furnished by European firms are exclusive of the large trade done by natives from the coast, who for the most part purchase the goods they import from merchants in the southern Protectorates—especially Lagos. There appears to be no doubt that this native trade is increasing greatly. The Resident of Illorin writes in May, 1904: "Every day shows more clearly what a gigantic benefit the traders of the hinterland of Lagos are reaping by the Government having taken over Northern Nigeria. A few years ago you might search the whole of the left bank of the Niger for a Yoruba trader, and not find one; now I venture to say that in every market town of Northern Nigeria you will find them. This must be the case from the number that pass through the Illorin province." I have quoted the large number of petty trading licences issued in that province, while the Resident of Nupe reports a constantly increasing number in Bida. If the trade done by these people be added to that in the hands of European firms (£297,535), it will be seen that the trade of the Protectorate is no longer quite insignificant. Several Residents express the opinion that these native traders have supplanted European merchants, and that an impetus has been given to local manufactures, because the merchants do not cater for the wants of the people, and because the class of cottons (which are flimsy and stiffened by starch and size) are inferior and not desired by the natives. The collapse of the trading station at Bida (formerly a profitable depôt) is attributed to these causes.

225. Government offers facilities to traders to import their goods by Government vessels, at cheap rates, and this service can be extended as demand arises. I understand that the Niger Company are also about to open a similar general service. It is much to be regretted that British merchants do not avail themselves of these opportunities. In order to encourage the establishment of new trading stations in the interior (instead of confining them to the Niger and Benue banks) leases of land on nominal terms have been granted to the Niger Company during the year on the Gurara and Gongola rivers.

226. The import duty on salt arriving in Northern Nigeria, which European importers at first protested against, has proved in no way injurious to their trade. The Agent-General of the Niger Company informs me that it has in point of fact led to an increased import, for the Company now supplies the natives direct instead of the native middlemen purchasing in Southern Nigeria and conveying it up the river in canoes, as formerly.

227. It may be observed that the assumption of administration by Government has afforded a new and extensive opening to traders in the supply of provisions and necessaries to the European and coloured staff, as well as to soldiers, police, and other Government employés. The great increase in the cash trade is evidence of this. The system of rebates on goods supplied to Government servants, which was promised in 1902, has been withdrawn. Practically nothing whatever is done by the trading community to make roads, or to improve waterways, or to facilitate their trade in any similar fashion, as is done in South Africa and other countries. Trading firms look to Government to undertake all such works, and are even slow to import carts or to use animal transport when roads are constructed or to utilise the waterways opened up by the administration. The sterile criticism of Government efforts, which takes the place of personal initiative, contrasts unfavourably with the energy and resource shewn by German traders in Togoland and Kameruns, where they have undertaken scientific exploring expeditions and are reported to have cleared roads and caravan routes.

German Views.

228. It may be of interest to note while writing on trade that in a book recently published by Herr Meyer (*Die Eisenbahnen in Tropischen Afrika*), which Captain Orr (who brought the passage to my notice) describes as an exhaustive treatise on Railways in Tropical Africa, the author, whose opinion carries, I believe, great weight in Germany, advocates the adoption of high tariffs against the English waterway of the Benue, and adds: "Once our authority is established with Garua as a centre, it rests with the Government to decide whether it will or can cut off the country commercially and politically from the English Benue-Niger route." For this purposes he advocates an Adamawa railway.

IV.—ECONOMIC.

229. The year 1904 witnessed the first serious attempt to develop the economic resources of the Protectorate. Prior to this year a great number of samples, both vegetable and mineral, had been sent to the Imperial Institute, and a report on some of them by Professor Dunstan was separately issued (Colonial Reports, Miscellaneous, 26, of 1904), while a "Botanical and Forestry" Officer was appointed in 1903 to submit a general report on the economic possibilities of the Protectorate. In 1904 the Secretary of State sanctioned the appointment of a mineral survey, consisting of two expert geologists, who should explore the mineral resources of the country during the six months of the dry weather, and return to England for the other six months to analyse and examine at the Imperial Institute the samples they had brought back with them. (Paragraph 233.)

230. Mr. Elliott, the forestry officer, visited Illorin, and travelled thence along the Southern frontier (where he reported much rubber and other silvan products), reaching Lokoja after traversing the Kabba province. Thence he visited and explored the Gurara river and the rich Koton-Karifi district, proceeding to Keffi through a rubber-producing country and returning to the Benue at Loko. He also made a tour through Bassa, where he reported the wholesale destruction of the rubber vines by the digging up of their roots for the so-called "root-rubber." Acting on this expert testimony, I at once prepared a Forestry Proclamation with the principal object of arresting this destruction and of preserving the valuable timber trees of the country. It has been a year under discussion, and may, I hope, shortly be enacted. Joining me at Loko, Mr. Elliott accompanied me on my tour through the provinces of Muri and Yola, utilising the time during which I was engaged at the headquarters of each province for the exploration of the economic resources of the neighbourhood. Thence we proceeded up the Gongola to Nafada, and thence through Gombe to Bauchi. From here Mr. Elliott made a separate trip to Gende to explore the higher reaches of the Gongola and report on its navigability and that of its tributary, the Baro, for the export of produce. Returning to Nafada we traversed Bornu, viâ Gujba and Maifoni, to Kuka, and proceeded along the shores of Chad to Yo, at the mouth of the Wobe. Following this river to Damjiri we reached Gorgoram, and entered Katagum, which we crossed and arrived at Kano, and thence returned to Zungeru, viâ Zaria.

231. Mr. Elliott has also examined the district around Zungeru and other localities, and in his leisure time during the

heaviest rains has devoted his attention to forming a botanical garden at Zungeru, where experiments have been made in growing cotton and some other useful plants, and large numbers of seedlings of various rubber trees, eucalypti, and economic plants are being raised. The valuable reports which he has submitted are, I understand, being separately published, and therefore need no detailed comment here, while his samples and specimens are being examined at the Imperial Institute and Kew. Generally speaking, I think that the conclusions to be drawn are that there are very valuable areas containing rubber, which are either untapped or are being destroyed by injudicious methods; that many other commercial products exist and demand development; and that the prospects of a great cotton industry are good, the soil admirably adopted to it, and its cultivation well understood by the people. On the vast and little-cultivated lacustrine plain on the shores of Chad, there were cotton bushes of such enormous size that Mr. Elliott pronounced their measurements as almost exceeding credibility. As I have said, it is possible that this cotton may be carried by canoes to the point where the Wobe crosses the Zaria road, whence it might be brought to the Kaduna by carts returning empty. The acacia forests of Bornu yield the gum most valued in European markets, and it may be found possible to develop this product in the same way. In Appendix 1 I give a short general report by Mr. Elliott. The advice of the Botanical Officer has also been of value in regard to the blight which caused the famine, the ravages of an insect which attacked the growing corn, and the boll-worm which destroyed the cotton crop in some districts. His instructions as to how these pests should be dealt with have been circulated to the provinces.

Cotton.

232. In accordance with their promise, the British Cotton Growing Association sent out an expert in the beginning of the year, but, owing to his services being still more urgently required elsewhere by the Association, a telegram ordering his recall was received simultaneously with his arrival. He reported in enthusiastic terms on the districts he had traversed (Nupe, &c.), and informed me that he considered Northern Nigeria to hold out better prospects for cotton than any other West African colony. A second expert arrived early in 1905. Samples of cotton from each province were sent to the Association, and Mr. Hutton wrote regarding them: "I can, however, go so far as to say that the cotton appears to be of an excellent quality, good long staple, and just the class we require in this country, and which we are most short of, and there is no doubt that if we could develop trade in this class of cotton there would be a great future before Northern Nigeria."

Minerals.

233. The Mineral Survey party arrived at the end of October, and examined the country around Lokoja. Thence they proceeded to Orufu, in Muri, where silver had once been worked by the Niger Company, and also examined the salt deposits in this province. Thence they proceeded to Yellua and Wase, traversing the Gurkawa and Montoll hills, and finally reached Bauchi. They returned to England in May, 1905. Professor Dunstan's report upon the examination and valuation of their specimens has not yet been presented. So far it appears that limestone of excellent quality, suitable for mortar, which will replace the costly import of Portland cement for all masonry work, occurs in many districts bordering the Benue. It remains to locate it at some point on the river's bank where it can be easily shipped to all parts of the Protectorate. I may add that during my tour we verified the existence of limestone outcrops on the Gongola and at Mutwe, near Gujba. There were also indications at Gujba itself, and we discovered deposits near Katagum, and, most important of all, at a point on the Zungeru-Zaria road, not far from Zaria and on the Wateri river, near Kano. I regard this discovery of limestone as of the utmost importance, and second only to a discovery of coal, in its value for the internal development of the Protectorate. The construction of bridges, culverts, and buildings of all kinds will, by its means, be greatly cheapened, and it is possible that its excavation, burning, and transport to the place where it may be required may become a native industry similar to that in natron, which is now so widely extended.

234. The salt from the brine springs at Awe and elsewhere has been analysed at the Imperial Institute, and it appears probable that a nearly pure salt could be prepared without difficulty. The present output is estimated at 277 tons per annum, obtained during the dry season only. The development of these springs will form the subject of investigation during the current year. Among the minerals obtained by the Survey may be mentioned magnetic iron ore of excellent quality, galena containing some silver, and tin-bearing sands, all of which are being investigated with a view to determining their commercial value. The examination of the sands of certain rivers has revealed the fact that small quantities of monazite occur. This is a valuable mineral containing thorium, which is now in considerable demand at high prices. These deposits will also be thoroughly investigated. No new prospecting licences have been granted during the year, but the Niger Company have proceeded with the thorough investigation of the tin deposits in the area for which they hold an exclusive prospecting licence. It is understood that their skilled experts report highly upon the probable results of

this enterprise, and that the Company will shortly ask for mining licences over specified areas.

235. During the year the whole Protectorate was thrown open to general prospecting with the exception of such few special districts as may be still considered unsafe for parties without armed escorts.

Other Industries.

236. The export of "Kano leather" appears to offer prospects of a valuable development. I am informed that these skins are in very great demand in England, both in the book-binding and the upholstering trades. It is probable that it will be more profitable to purchase these skins untanned, and to export them in this state. I am informed that while skins cost from 3*d*. to 6*d*. at Kano, as much as 7*s*. 6*d*. is offered for a good skin in this country, but the admixture of spotted, imperfectly prepared, or unequally strained skins reduces the value of a considerable proportion in each consignment. The development of this trade is likely to be taken up by a Company formed for the purpose.

Ostrich Farming.

237. Captain Harbord, Assistant Resident in the Sokoto province, who has had much experience in South Africa and California, has submitted a valuable report on this subject. After much enquiry and personal inspection, he pronounces the district north of Sokoto to be "an ideal ostrich-breeding country; it has all the qualifications necessary, sandy soil, dry atmosphere, and no frost." The conservative character of the people, he says, prevents them from accepting any advice on the mode of plucking, and of housing birds, and their invariable reply was that their fathers had done thus and they saw no reason to change. By confining the birds in small huts with mud walls against which the plumes are rubbed until they are worthless, and by entirely denuding the birds of all feathers, and various other foolish methods, the breeders succeed only in producing worthless feathers. I hope to start a small model ostrich farm in this district, and later, perhaps, also in North Bornu, in order to show the natives by actual results the value of better methods, and so, I hope, greatly increase the value of this industry.

V.—REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND CUSTOMS.

238. The actual revenue collected each year, apart from customs dues accruing on the coast, which are collected by Southern Nigeria and Lagos, is as follows.

1899–1900 (one quarter).	1900–01	1901-02.	1902–03.	1903–04.	Estimate 1904–05.	Estimate 1905–06.
£ 38	£ 2,180	£ 4,424	£ 16,316	£ 53,727	£ 54,445*	£ 85,400

* Already received £89,604. Probable total £93,589.

From this statement it is apparent that the revenue is increasing in a satisfactory manner, but an increase in the administrative staff, which undertakes its collection, is necessary if the increase is to be maintained, and the new "tribute tax" fully and properly collected.

239. In this report I have to deal with the revenue of 1903-4. The estimate was £39,475, the amount realised was £53,727, showing an increase over the estimate of £14,252. The amount anticipated from post and telegraphs fell short by £1,065, rents of Government property by £500, and customs by £537, but these deficiencies were made good, and the large surplus realised by the revenue collected by the Political Staff. The detailed figures of revenue and expenditure will be found in Appendix 2.

240. I have heard the criticism expressed that the Government of Northern Nigeria "has gone too fast," and that it might have been well to have deferred the extension of administrative control over the Hausa States and Bornu. I have in former reports shown that there were political reasons which made it impossible to delay that extension, and that the delimitation of the northern frontier, to which we stood pledged to France, could not have been undertaken unless those provinces had been occupied. But I may observe that the addition of the new provinces has also been a financial gain, and not an additional cost to the administration, since the revenue they provide is greater than the cost of the staff employed in them, and that this gain is increasing yearly as the taxation becomes more effective. Some additional outlay on the administrative staff would bring in a more than equivalent increase of revenue. Their efforts to carry out the scheme of taxation have been most successful (as I have shown when writing of taxation), both in the absence of friction with, or discontent on the part of the native chiefs and people, and in the actual increase of revenue, which was in 1904 almost double the amount realised from these source in 1903.

Customs.

241. Customs stations have been instituted during the year on the frontiers towards French and German territory, and each Resident is a Customs officer. Imports from Southern Nigeria and Lagos have free entry into the Protectorate, with the exception of salt which pays a duty of 1*s.* per cwt. (regarding this duty, *see* paragraph 226). The customs accruing on all goods entering from these Protectorates are collected at the coast ports of entry, and are included in the revenue of those Governments. The Tripoli Arabs have availed themselves extensively of the parcel post, and customs dues amounting to about £600 have been collected on articles thus imported. The revenue from customs, which had been *nil* in the previous years, amounted to £6,463 in 1903-4.

VI.—COINAGE.

242. The establishment of a coin currency has made progress during the year, and the institution of direct taxation will extend it rapidly. The importation from the Royal Mint, in contrast with previous years, is as follows:—

—	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	Remarks.
	£	£	£	£	
Gold	3,000	—	1,000*	1,000	*From Lagos.
Silver...	90,000	145,000	184,000	198,000	
Bronze	350	—	—	300	
Total... ...	93,350	145,000	185,000	199,300	

Specie was also accepted at face value from local firms to the following amounts:—1901, £2,110; 1902, £11,426; 1903, £18,206; 1904, £13,929. The Niger Company has now agreed to purchase produce with cash if demanded by the natives, and this will greatly promote the circulation of coinage.

243. During the year the importation of cowies was, at my instance, and with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, prohibited by the Governments of Southern Nigeria and Lagos. There will remain sufficient cowries in the country to form a subsidiary medium of exchange for very many years to come, but the cessation of the import of new supplies will make it possible to equalise the rate of exchange in respect of silver, which at present creates constant difficulty, and causes discontent among the soldiers and other native employés, who think that they are defrauded of their pay if a British shilling will only realise 1,000 cowries at Sokoto or Bauchi, when they have been accustomed to obtain 3,000 and

upwards for it at Lokoja. It is, of course, impossible to explain to them the difference in purchasing value of the cowrie at each place. As cowries are transported to the north, the number obtainable for a shilling there will increase, and that in the south will decrease, while their value throughout the Protectorate will be appreciated with the cessation of importation. I hope, therefore, to be able by establishing reserves in the charge of Residents to give the cowrie a fixed value of 100 to 1*d.* (later, perhaps, even less) until it is superseded by the white metal subsidiary coinage which I have long advocated. This appreciation of the cowrie will also tend to promote the circulation of metal coinage. The demand for cash in Sokoto has already lowered the rate from 1,200 = 1*s.*, to 2,000 and upwards.

244. The Maria Theresa dollar is still current in Bornu at 4*s.*, but its importation has now been stopped in Southern Nigeria and Lagos, and I trust that it will soon be replaced by British currency. Coins are still chiefly limited as a medium of exchange between the European and the native, and the bulk of what is in circulation is paid back in taxes. When a coin currency becomes a medium of exchange between natives themselves, a very much larger demand will arise.

VII.—TRANSPORT.

245. In my report for 1902 I dwelt at some length on the extreme urgency of the transport question, in view of the great and unnecessary cost involved by the use of carriers; the ever increasing difficulty of obtaining sufficient of them for our needs, now that security of property has tempted them to become agriculturists and traders; and finally, the great evil that they inflict on the people by their inveterate habit of looting and thieving. I gave it as my view that the best way of meeting the difficulty, so far as the main route between Zungeru and Kano is concerned, would be by the construction of a very light surface rail or tramway, and by the provision of cart roads, and the introduction of wheeled transport. During 1904 some progress has been made.

Railway.

246. The Railway Surveyors sent out by the Secretary of State completed their work, and their report will be submitted during 1905. I trust that it may lead to the construction of the light and very cheap line from Baro on the Niger to Kano, which I have long advocated. The section already constructed between Zungeru and the Kaduna at Barijuko (22 miles) is invaluable. It has been much improved. 1,240 trucks of material and stores were hauled, and 15,524

passengers. All Government material, as well as provisions for Europeans sold by the Niger Company, were carried free.

Roads.

247. Meanwhile the construction of a cart road between Zungeru and Zaria has been in progress during the year. At the end of December its initial stage was completed, and I was able myself in January, 1905, to bring down the first batch of carts from Zaria. During the current year I hope that the more important streams will be bridged, and the lesser waterways "ramped," and that gradually, in so far as our very limited means permit, it will be converted into a really good road. The chief credit for the measure of success which has up to now been achieved at extremely small cost is due to Mr. O'Neill. Throughout the whole Protectorate the principal native caravan routes have been cleared, and tree stumps and rocks removed. I hope in a future year to have the main arteries surveyed by a competent road surveyor and straightened, avoiding difficult gradients, and, thereafter, under the operation of the Roads Proclamation, gradually to improve them each year by local labour until every provincial headquarters is connected with those in its vicinity by a network of roads, which, though rough and unmetalled, may be feasible for wheeled and for pack transport.

248. In Bornu, the dead-level character of the country fits it already for cart transport, but there is no ballast for improving the roads, which also require to be raised above the water which lies on the surface during the rains. The important road from Bauchi *viâ* Nafada to Bornu offers no serious difficulty, and will be close enough to the Gongola to work in co-operation with the river transport. There is a fall of 300 feet from Bauchi to the river, with an easy gradient throughout. In Bornu the oxen are of a very fine breed, and are used extensively for pack transport. They carry up to 200 lbs., and walk 2¾ miles per hour. In the southern provinces, on the Niger and Benue, I am less hopeful of succeeding at once with animal transport, for oxen do not thrive, and tsetse abounds, while animals are apt to die from eating poisonous herbage. It however remains to be proved how far local oxen, immune to the fly and habituated to the climate, may be successfully used. Most of the roads, especially in Bornu, only await the supply of carts to be utilised for draught transport. From the Gongola *viâ* Gujba and Maifoni to Kuka is a distance of 200 miles; thence *viâ* Damjiri to the Katagum frontier is about 260. There is also a road between Gujba and Damjiri, and from Maifoni towards Yola. This immense length of roadway can now be used for carts from November to June. In a distance of 233 miles, from the Gongola to Kuka, we only crossed two streams with defined channels.

A road has been constructed by the Public Works Department between Lokoja and Kabba, but its gradients are in places excessively steep. A fair road connects Illorin with the Niger, and Kiama and Keffi have similar rough roads which are already suitable for pack transport, and even for strong ox-waggons.

249. The "Transport Department" was created during the year to replace the former "Store and Issue Department," and it will, I hope, prove to be the nucleus of an effective organisation. A few carts were purchased, and a number of oxen trained to draught-work. Already signs of an increase, both in efficiency and economy, were apparent. A traction engine, for use on the new Zara road, was also purchased, and is of great value for road construction, but defects which have been brought to light by actual experience have so far precluded its use as a means of transporting freight to Zaria, nor is the road as yet quite sufficiently completed to admit of its use. The defects will, it is hoped, be capable of remedy in the next engine purchased. The pack animals were sent to graze in the healthy district of Katsena during the rains, but did not do well, owing to lack of proper skilled supervision. Donkeys are too small and slow, and die too easily to be a serviceable means of transport. Camels arrive at Kano from the north with salt and Tripoli goods in December and January, and require two months' rest. They return in May or June. The owners are at present averse to going south of Kano. Traders who own oxen are also unwilling to engage in transport contracts. They do not like to go south of Zaria, and prefer their own trade with the Manga salt district.

River Transport.

250. The opening of the Gongola (*see* paragraph 126), which provides access to Bornu and Bauchi by water, is the chief matter of interest in connection with water transport. Probably, for a very brief period, canoes and light-draught vessels may reach Gende, a total distance of some 1,200 miles from the sea. This is probably the greatest stretch of river navigation from a seaport, uninterrupted by rapids, in Africa. This route will greatly relieve the strain on the carriers of Ibi, and will effect much saving. The transport of 50 tons of telegraph material by this route is estimated to have cost £350, as against "over £1,000" by carriers. The stream is strong and the course tortuous. Poling canoes take about 12 days to reach Nafada. In the first half of the journey, the river is from half to three-quarters of a mile broad, and has one or two shallow "crossings"; in the latter part the hills close in, and the river is only a few hundred yards broad, with a deep swift current. The people are friendly, and there are large walled towns in the upper reaches. When wooding-stations

have been formed, this will throw open an additional 140 miles of waterway. I have already said that it may be found possible to navigate, for a short period, the Wobe River which flows from Kano *viâ* Hadeija and Damjiri to Chad. If this is practicable, material and stores brought up by the Zaria-Zungeru road can be sent to the headquarters of Katagum and Western Bornu, and the produce of those regions (gum, cotton, &c.) may perhaps be exported at rates which will render their development feasible.

VIII.—MARINE.

251. No addition was made to the Government flotilla in 1904. It consists of two passenger and cargo stern-wheel vessels, four launches, five steam canoes, eleven poling canoes, four lighters, and the High Commissioner's boat. During the whole year all vessels have been fully employed, and a weekly service for passengers and mails has been maintained regularly between Burutu and Zungeru.

252. A new and very cheap scale of charges for passengers and cargo of traders and others was promulgated early in the year (*see* Report, 1903, paragraph 30), and has led to a large increase on behalf of native traders, but no applications for cargo freight have been received from European merchants. During the high-water season, when the chief pressure occurs, three trips were made by vessels chartered to convey Government stores. During a heavy tornado, a launch, lighter, and steam-canoe were sunk at their moorings, but were re-floated without injury. All the vessels have been kept in good repair, and regularly inspected by the Medical Department. The launch "Zaria," which was already very old when taken over from the Royal Niger Company, was completely re-fitted.

253. The workshops have been kept very busy with marine, Public Works Department, and other Government, work, and have also earned some revenue by work undertaken for Messrs. Holt and the Niger Company. Several new machines have been fitted up and improvements made. These shops are now very complete and capable of undertaking any ordinary work, a large number of apprentices are being trained in them. A salvage pump has been constructed out of the "Heron's" centrifugal pump and engine, and has proved of great value. Great improvements have been made in the Marine Yard and river front. The wharf at Lokoja is complete and also that at Burutu, and both have greatly facilitated the handling of cargo, and have saved much damage to stores, and minimised time and labour. Mr. Wallace, Deputy High Commissioner, was deputed thoroughly to examine the Department in February, 1905, and reported that the cleanliness and the care taken of the Government vessels was very striking.

254. The rocky and dangerous parts of the Niger are now well buoyed. There was no French flotilla this year, their stores for the Upper Niger being conveyed *viâ* Senegal and Kayes, but 3,300 cases left at the enclave in the previous year were conveyed thence by the Niger to French territory in January, 1904. The Department suffered a great loss by the resignation, due to ill-health, of Commander Paget-Jones, R.N.R., who had organised the Department on its inception in 1900, and brought it to its present state of efficiency.

IX.—PUBLIC WORKS.

255. The estimates for the financial year 1904-05 provided a sum of £58,542 for public works, which was distributed as follows:—

Estimates.	Amount.
	£
Roads, bridges, and transport	22,990
Buildings, &c., Lokoja and Zungeru ...	17,402
Repairs to huts at out-stations	1,750
Houses and gaols at out-stations	12,455
Mounted Infantry stables	2,830
Stores £150, felling timber £50	200
Fencing at Burutu	915
Total	58,542

At Zungeru.

256. Four more quarters were erected for the staff, and a large number of necessary outhouses were completed for the existing bungalows, which had temporarily been without them. This enabled me to get rid of the grass huts, which have hitherto constituted a great danger from fire and are very insanitary. An office and store was provided for the hospital, and a new native hospital of brick replaced the old one, which is now used as a contagious diseases ward. Ten clerks' quarters were built. There is still a considerable deficiency in accommodation of this class. A small bakery and kitchen were added to the Freed Slaves Home, and the whole enclosed by fencing. A large dam and two smaller ones were constructed in the Dago stream, which have ensured a constant and adequate supply of good water, and this, by a series of sluices, is kept running the whole year round. The fourth Public Office was completed, and the fifth (and last) was begun but

could not be finished within the year, owing to delay in the arrival of material. Both these are double-storied, and so afford comfortable nd healthy quarters on the upper storey. The last interior building of the Gaol was completed, and the cell floors are now being cemented. The railway station was provided with a platform and roofed. An orderly room and arms-house was built for the West African Frontier Force, together with two iron reserve storehouses, and two more completed the necessary requirements of the Public Works Department. An Intelligence Office and Storeroom were added to Government House, and the fencing of compounds was practically completed. One wooden bungalow was destroyed by fire.

At Lokoja.

257. The whole of the roofs and woodwork of buildings were re-painted, and outhouses and rain-water tanks with mosquito-proof fittings were supplied to all houses. A new bungalow was erected, and a former officers' house was converted into a Mess for British Non-commissioned Officers. They will require outhouses. The fine new hospital (with outbuildings and twelve tanks) was completed, and a new Medical Officer's house was built out of the material of the old hospital. A dispensary has also been made. The masonry arms-houses and military offices and reserve store, the police office and detention room, with many minor works (including two small bridges, a prison hospital ward and female ward and store, completion of wharf levelling and enclosing of marine and workshop yard, &c.) have been completed. The masonry church, erected at a cost of £450 only, is a picturesque building, which was not quite completed at the end of the year. One more clerks' house was built, and an isolation camp enclosed.

258. Speaking generally, the staff at both cantonments (Zungeru and Lokoja) is now fairly well housed, but there is at present no accommodation for the wives of junior officers. Very great improvements in sanitation, drainage, and water supply, have been effected. Metalled roads now traverse the cantonments in all directions, and much waste land has been reclaimed and turned into clean and sanitary public grounds. Much still remains to be done in the latter direction, but by the study of the strictest economy, and by the indefatigable work of the cantonment magistrates, these two considerable townships now present an infinitely cleaner and more sanitary appearance than formerly, and are daily improving.

Out-Stations.

259. Since the new road to Zaria was not yet sufficiently constructed to permit of the transport of material except at great cost, the buildings intended for Zaria and Kano have been

erected at stations close to waterways, where materials could be cheaply delivered and where the climate more urgently demanded the replacement of the unhealthy native huts by bungalows raised above the damp and reeking ground. At Bi'a (Nupe) a second bungalow was erected, with a gaol, store and outhouses of masonry. Similar offices for the Resident and telegraph are nearly completed. At Kontagora one two-storey brick dwelling house, with outbuildings, a store, and gaol, &c., are in course of erection. At Illorin one wooden house is complete and a second nearing completion, as well as a masonry store and gaol. At Amar (Muri) a wooden house is complete and a second begun. At Yola materials for outhouses for the two bungalows erected last year are being collected, and at Kiama (Borgu) bricks have been burned in readiness.

260. The general scheme is that at each out-station two houses shall be built as funds permit, and a third added wherever there is a military detachment, a masonry gaol and outhouses being simultaneously erected, since their cost is small when a foreman and his staff are already on the spot. At stations within a feasible distance of a navigable river the houses will usually be wooden bungalows (raised off the ground), these being the cheapest and most quickly erected, and a masonry store and Resident's office are provided separately. At stations far from a waterway, where land transport has to be employed, brick or stone houses are proposed. These will be double-storied, with two rooms above and two below, the ground floor being used for offices, stores, &c. At stations where there is a military garrison an arms-house and native hospital are also necessary. These, with the gaol and store, are built in quadrangle form to save guards. On one side of the quadrangle the military lines are located, and on the other the police, each fully 400 yards from the Europeans, in order to minimise infection from malarial mosquitos. The arrangement at each station must, however, of course depend on the nature of the ground and the water supply, &c. The type of house hitherto erected has been a three-roomed bungalow, which in the case of junior officers is shared by two. In future I propose to erect two-roomed houses only. They will be shared by two juniors until funds permit of giving each European a house to himself, when he can, if married (and quartered in a cantonment), bring out his wife. The provincial gaols will be of masonry, and an additional room is provided for a military "guard-room" if there is a garrison, and a second as a police detention room. Where the number of prisoners averages over 20, there will also be a small prison store; when over 60, the gaol will be inside a walled enclosure. The type is 10 ft. in breadth, and varies in length according to the requirements of the station. Since all minor buildings (stores, native hospital, &c.) are of this type, confusion of material is avoided.

Roads, &c.

261. The alignment of the principal routes, with gradients suitable for carts, will be gradually undertaken, and "drifts" cut at the streams. During the year our efforts were chiefly concentrated upon the main trunk road from Zungeru to Kano. The Director of Public Works reports as follows:—"The clearing by the Koriga route was completed on December 31. The road traverses hilly country, and rises 1,700 ft. Material for the trestle bridges has not arrived, but is expected in April, 1905. Owing to Mr. Weir's report on the Gusoro route, work on the Kaduna bridge was suspended until this route could be reported upon by the Public Works Department" (viz., in order to determine whether the Koriga route, which crosses the Kaduna at Zungeru, was more suitable for a road than the Gusoro route, which keeps to the east of the river and crosses it near Zaria). "However suitable" (continues the Director) "for a railway with 2 per cent. gradients, it was found to cross two large rivers besides the Kaduna. The northern and southern sections of the Koriga route had been already cleared, so the High Commissioner decided to proceed with the road on this alignment at once, and with the bridge when the water had fallen sufficiently to admit of it. The bridge over the Dago—four spans of 40 ft.—and the two miles of railway (to connect the bridge with rail-head and convey the material to the site) are nearly complete, and arrangements for erecting a staging of the first 100 ft. span over the Kaduna gorge are in progress. The work of easing gradients at drifts, cutting side drains, and metalling the more swampy portions of the Zaria road is going on." In addition to this road, 40 miles (out of 52) of the road from Lokoja to Kabba have been cleared and streams ramped. For two miles the road has been cambered and side drains dug.

Telegraphs.

262. The following additional telegraph lines have been constructed:—

—	Miles.
(*a*) Sokoto line. From junction at Toygina (on Zungeru-Kano line) on permanent iron poles to Gomba (50 miles of material is also at Yellua for further extension).	174
(*b*) Zaria to Kano (temporary wooden poles)	95
(*c*) Zaria towards Bauchi. 80 miles temporary. (Poles erected for further 100 miles, but not yet wired.)	80
(*d*) The Benue line which had reached Azara was continued to within 45 miles of Yola on iron poles (permanent).	215
	564

Of the total 564 miles, 175 are temporary and 389 permanent. The extensions from Zaria to Kano and Bauchi are temporary, pending the completion of the cart road, by which the transport of the iron poles will be very greatly cheapened. Even the transport of wire, brackets, and insulators over 250 miles of difficult country has been a heavy task. In addition to this construction a large quantity of material has been purchased and shipped up the Niger, and a considerable amount of it has been conveyed up the Benue and Gongola, and distribution begun towards Bauchi for the extension thence towards Bornu. The Benue line involved the crossing of several big rivers (500 yards of cable being used in one instance), and the two old cables across the Niger have been renewed.

X.—CANTONMENTS.

263. The necessity for the appointment of cantonment magistrates at Zungeru and Lokoja has been fully demonstrated by the improvement in both cantonments and the great amount of work devolving upon these officers, which, indeed, is greater than they can cope with. Their work consists in the supervision of the sanitation and drainage, the laying out of new roads and the repair of existing ones, and the clearing of waste areas. They have to enforce the cantonment regulations, to collect the municipal rate for latrine service, to superintend the native bazaar, to collect fees from licensees resident in cantonments, to issue permits for residence to natives, to superintend the supply of provisions and the prices current. They hold small cause courts, which relieve the Supreme Court of petty cases, and to them all new arrivals refer for advice and instruction. The officer at Lokoja has many duties in connection with the native city and the arrival and departure of steamers, and the leasing of plots of land to small traders, &c. The magistrate at Zungeru has the Freed Slaves Home under his general care, and he conducts the religious services on Sundays. These are but some of the multifarious duties devolving upon the Cantonment Magistrate.

Zungeru.

264. The audited accounts of the Zungeru Cantonment Fund shew a credit balance of £214. There are 6¼ miles of roads, of which 1¼ have been made this year. They are gradually being metalled and laid with gravel, and about 2,000 trees have been planted along them. The books and the general

system of the Freed Slaves Home have been re-organised. The temporary native bazaar, which sprang up on the occupation of Zungeru, has rapidly extended. It is the scene of great conflagrations almost weekly in the dry weather, and has become filled with many undesirable characters. During the coming year I hope that the stricter issue of permits of residence, and the substitution of houses with mud walls and sheet-iron roofs for the existing inflammable and insanitary grass huts and enclosures, will remedy these evils. These subjects engaged the special attention of the Cantonment Magistrate towards the end of the year, and wide streets and a good market-place have already been laid out. 399 cases were [illegible] the Cantonment Court; 319 in the last six months, [illegible] the office was created. I hope during the coming year to organise a system by which supplies will be cheapened, and the cost of living, which is now very high, will be decreased. It remains to be seen whether this can be done.

Lokoja.

265. Excellent work has been done in reclaiming and draining various swampy areas, and in clearing and leasing to approved natives and non-natives plots of ground as building sites. By this means much waste and insanitary land has been kept clean, and the rents which accrue will augment the Cantonment Fund and permit of further improvements. The new buildings, which have been described in the last section (Public Works), have enormously improved the station by superseding the tumbledown and insanitary grass huts, while the new road to the hospital and the laying out of the central space as public gardens have added to the cleanliness and civilised appearance of the place.

Recreation.

266. Each Cantonment possesses a polo-ground, which is also used as a gymkana or race-course. Weekly meetings are now an institution during the rains, at which prizes for horse and foot races, tugs-of-war, &c., are offered for European and for coloured competitors, and have a useful effect in promoting good feeling and general amusement. Two tennis courts have been provided during the year in each cantonment, and cricket and rifle clubs instituted. These opportunities for healthy exercise and recreation not only add to the amenities of life, in a country which greatly needs them, but also to the health of Europeans, while the ground devoted to these purposes is kept clean and in good order, instead of being a burden on Cantonment funds. The various sports clubs have been maintained by private subscriptions.

XI.—MEDICAL AND METEOROLOGICAL.

267. The cost of the Medical Service for 1903-04 was £22,069 (being £2,481 under the estimate), irrespective of the amount realised by fees and sale of "comforts," which were credited to revenue. The staff was increased in the financial year 1904-05 by three doctors and three native assistants, and decreased by one European subordinate. Full statistics regarding health are given in the Medical Report (Appendix 3), which contains comparative tables of deaths, invalidings, and cases treated for previous years. The number of deaths among Europeans (official and non-official) compares as follows with previous years:—

Year.	Number of Europeans.	Number of Deaths.	Rate per 1,000.
1902	290	9	31
1903	309	18	58·25
1904	322	13	40·37

The contrast between the death- and invaliding-rate of officials and non-officials is very marked. Deaths of officials, 29·62; non-officials, 96·15. Invalidings:—Officials, 185·1; non-officials, 326·9. This is due, no doubt, as the Principal Medical Officer says, to the longer period of service of the non-officials and to the greater care in selection of officials, but also to the better housing and sanitary measures adopted by Government.

The scheme which I forecast in my Annual Report for 1902 of establishing dispensaries for the treatment, and especially the vaccination, of natives in large cities has (as will be seen from Dr. Thompstone's interesting report) been put into operation to some extent, but I regret that but little success has as yet been achieved. The people appear indifferent and the dispensaries are not popular, while I am told that the Mohammedans in some districts tell the natives that vaccination is against the will of God and is a mark of slavery. (*See* Appendix 3, page 145.)

268. The Health Officer is responsible for the general sanitation of cantonments, and the conservancy system which has been carefully organised by the Cantonment Magistrates has produced excellent results. Latrines and dust-bins are emptied daily (or nightly) by the staff, and the police are responsible for the arrest of persons committing nuisances, who are dealt

with by the Cantonment Courts. A small tax is levied, which partly covers the cost of this service. The improvements in the cantonments, which I have already described, should result in a diminution of sickness.

Meteorological.

269. Observing stations have now been opened at every provincial headquarters, and supplied with a few simple instruments. I hope, therefore, in future years to be able to publish accurate statistics for all parts of the Protectorate. The rainfall of 1903 and 1904 is as follows:—

—	1903.	1904.
Lokoja	60·30	41·72
Zungeru	32·88	51·1
Average ...	46·59	46·41

Yola, 33·77.

The rainfall was again very deficient in 1904, and in consequence the Niger was lower in the early part of 1905 than (it is said) has been known in the memory of anyone. (*See* pages 144 and 145.)

XII.—STAFF.

270. The number of European officers in the service of Government is as follows:—

—	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.
Civil	104	155	163	231	248
Military	200	163	157	186	207
Total...	304	318	320	417	455
Maximum present in Africa	202	212	214	278	303

These figures include all subordinate ranks (foremen in workshops, masters of vessels, non-commissioned officers, &c.). The increase on the civil side was due to the completion of the establishment of the Civil Police and Revenue Officers, and on the Military to the new Mounted Infantry Battalion. The actual average number of officials as shown by the medical statistics was 270, instead of 303.

XIII.—LEGISLATION.

271. The following laws were enacted during the year 1904:—

1. Protection of Natives (Amendment). Incorporated in the Criminal Code.
2. Police (Amendment).
3. Wireless Telegraphy. Providing for control by the High Commissioner.
4. Land Revenue. Imposing a tax on revenue derived from land and produce, and regulating the manner in which land shall be assessed thereto, &c.
5. Prisons (Amendment).
6. Reprint of Statutes. Providing for the preparation of a revised book of the Laws of the Protectorate.
7. Flogging Regulation. Repealed by No. 22.
8. Firearms and Ammunition (Amendment).
9. Prisons (Further Amendment).
10. Authentication and Interpretation (Amendment).
11. Native Courts (Amendment).
12. Roads (Amendment). Empowering the High Commissioner to declare the land within 50 yards of any road made under the Proclamation to be Crown land.
13. Liquor Prohibition (Amendment).
14. Native Liquor (Amendment).
15. Canoe Registration (Amendment). Constituting an eighth class of canoes, and empowering any non-native of the Marine Department to detain an unlicensed canoe and its owner under certain circumstances.
16. Protection of Trees (Amendment).
17. Sheriffs. Repealing the Proclamation of 1903, and dealing with the appointment and duties of Sheriffs and Deputy Sheriffs.

18. Post Office (Amendment). Making carriers of postal matter liable to pay compensation for loss by carelessness, negligence, &c., in addition to any authorised penalty, and also rendering any person who unlawfully opens a postal bag liable to penalty.

19. Master and Servant (Amendment). Regulating applications for permits to engage under foreign or extra local contracts, &c.

20. Customs Tariff. Repealing the proclamations of 1902 and 1903, and laying down new regulations regarding customs on imports.

21. Trader's Licence. Instituting licences for stationholders and shopkeepers.

22. Flogging Regulation. Repealing No. 7 as being included in No. 23.

23. Criminal Code. Establishing a code of criminal law for the Protectorate and regulating several Proclamations, as indicated in the Second Schedule.

24. Caravan and Hawkers (Amendment). Instituting tolls on "up" caravans, &c.

25. Minerals (Amendment). Excluding building stone and the winning of salt, soda, potash, or iron by natives from the operation of the principal Proclamation.

26. Provincial Courts (Amendment).

27. Slavery. Repealing the Proclamation of 1901, continuing the Abolition of the Legal Status, and making illegal all transactions in slaves.

28. Cantonments, repealing the Proclamation of 1900 and all regulations made thereunder, and providing for the establishment and government of cantonments, &c.

29. Mineral (Further Amendment). Providing for the payment of duties on profits made in mining, &c.

30. Notification and Registration of Deaths (Amendment).

31. Railway. Providing for the punishment of certain offences, and giving power to the High Commissioner to make regulations.

32. West Africa Frontier Force (Northern Nigeria Regiment) (Amendment). Altering the law relative to the powers of a commanding officer, &c.

272. The large number of amending proclamations was necessitated by the "Reprint of Statutes" Proclamation. They contained, for the most part, unimportant verbal improvements, and minor alterations of no great moment.

273. Two Orders of the King in Council were promulgated, dated October 24th and November 14th, 1904, and entitled "The British Protectorates Neutrality" and "The British Protectorates Neutrality (Amendment)" Orders. The Niger Navigation and Niger Transit Orders in Council came into operation on January 5th, 1904.

274. An Executive Proclamation, prohibiting the importation of French coins of different values, was made under the provisions of His Majesty's Order in Council of November 19th, 1902.

275. Byelaws and regulations of the Zungeru Light Railway, and regulations under the Post Office Proclamation having reference to the issue and payment of money orders at the Post Offices of Zungeru, Lokoja, and Zaria and adopting the Regulations of the Postal Union, were made. Also regulations under the "Wild Animals Preservation," the "Telegraphs," the "Firearms and Ammunition," and the "Customs" Proclamations.

XIV.—POLICE.

276. During the year the new police establishment was practically brought up to its proper strength, and was distributed between the 17 provinces and the cantonments of Zungeru and Lokoja. The Commissioner of Police, Major Bain, reports as follows:—"The duties of the force consist mainly in escorting prisoners, guarding gaols and convicts, investigating and detecting crime, serving summonses and executing warrants, patrolling, prosecuting offenders, aiding and protecting revenue and customs officials, guarding specie, and escorting Residents and other officials.

277. "The number of offenders (2,449) brought to justice during the year is considerably more than double that of the previous year; but this is mainly due, not to any increase of crime, but to the considerably increased efficiency of the police in its detection, and in the enforcement of the law, as well as to the growing tendency among the natives to report cases to the police and to seek their protection and aid.

278. "The most prevalent crimes are slave-dealing, robbery with violence, stealing in the various forms known to the law, and extortion, generally accompanied by intimidation or by impersonation of police, soldiers or government officials. Three hundred and eighteen persons were brought before the Courts and tried for slave dealing or other offences against the laws for the suppression of slavery, as against 171 during the previous year; 120 for highway or other robbery, as against

83; and 274 for extortion or other offences against the Protection of Natives Proclamation, as against 133 during the previous year. Of the 2,449 persons tried for criminal offences during the year 363 were found "not guilty" and discharged, and four were discharged on entering into recognizances to keep the peace."

279. The following is a classified list of all criminal cases tried:—

List of Criminal Cases Tried.

Crime.	No. of Persons tried.
Murder	61
Manslaughter	12
Attempted murder	7
Accessory before the fact, to murder...	1
Robbery with violence	54
Robbery	66
Attempted robbery	1
Rape	19
Riot or affray	4
Arson	7
Attempted arson	1
Accessory after the fact, to arson	2
Assault occasioning grievous bodily harm	5
Assault occasioning actual bodily harm	6
Indecent assault	1
Impersonation and extortion	95
Intimidation and extortion	26
Extortion...	110
Impersonation	43
Slavery (offences against Slavery Proclamation)	318
Burglary	15
Housebreaking	4
Stealing from person	2
Larceny from a dwelling-house	12
Cattle, horse, or sheep stealing	40
Larceny	348
Attempted larceny	2
Accessory after fact, to larceny	3
Obtaining money or goods by false pretences	13
Attempting to obtain goods by false pretences	2
Knowingly receiving or possessing stolen property... ...	32
Embezzlement	14
Forgery, offences against the laws *re*	4
Perjury	8
Bribery, offences against the laws *re*	7
Conspiracy	11
Escaping from lawful custody...	16
Attempting to escape from lawful custody	3
Aiding, or accessory to, escape of a prisoner...	5
Wilfully permitting escape	4
Negligently permitting escape...	23
Prison breach	5

List of Criminal Cases Tried—cont.

Crime.	No of Persons tried.
Abduction	4
Attempted abduction	1
Criminal libel	1
Rescuing a prisoner	2
Attempting to rescue a prisoner	2
Assaulting or obstructing police while in execution of duty	28
Assault	211
Loitering, with intent to commit felony	7
Malicious injury to property	2
Railway offences	1
Firearms Proclamation, offences against	11
Uniform Proclamation, offences against	28
Preservation of Wild Animals, &c., offences against ...	6
Police, offences against	12
Post Office, offences against	4
Telegraph, offences against	3
Protection of Trees, offences against...	14
Prisons, offences against	9
Non-natives Registration, offences against	2
Marine, offences against	1
Liquor Laws, offences against	135
Revenue and Customs Laws, offences against	212
Drunk and disorderly	5
Drunkenness in a public place...	1
Cantonment Regulations, offences against	233
Contempt of Court	7
Miscellaneous offences	96

280. In Sokoto and in Kano, more especially, the Residents report that the police are efficient, the corps is popular, and there are many applicants for every vacancy, and no complaints from the natives regarding them. The prisons at both these places are good and sanitary. Convicts are fully employed in sanitation and road-making.

XV.—PRISONS.

281. The Sheriff (Major Bain) reports as follows:—"The establishment of tribunals in, and policing of, the new provinces brought under control in 1903 have largely increased the work of the Prisons Department. The number of new prisoners dealt with during the year was considerably more than double the number in the previous year, and more than quadruple that of 1902. As the population of the area now effectively administered is, however, far more than quadruple that of the latter year, the increase in the number of cases dealt

with does not represent that any increase in crime has taken place, but rather the reverse. The health of the prisoners has been good, except in the case of pagan prisoners sent to the convict prisons from Muri and other places. On the recommendation of the Medical Officers a more varied diet, to meet the case of this class of prisoner, has been approved, entailing a considerable increase in the cost of food per prisoner.

282. "Progress has been made towards the provision of more secure and suitable provincial gaols and the amelioration of prison life therein. The convict prison at Lokoja has been enlarged, and improvement made in the buildings and accommodation of the one at Zungeru. The prisoners are mainly employed in carrying bricks, stones, or sand for new public buildings or bridges, or in road-making and clearing cantonments. A few are employed as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, &c., and instruction is given, as far as possible, in these and other useful trades in suitable cases."

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

—	1903.	1904.
Death	47	39
Penal servitude or imprisonment exceeding 2 years	84	98
Imprisonment exceeding 6 months, but not exceeding 2 years.	129	278
Imprisonment not exceeding 6 months (including cases of detention after conviction in default of finding sureties, &c.).	328	760
Persons executed	11	13
" imprisoned and also fined	116	30
" imprisoned (including cases of commuted or quashed death sentences, &c.).	461	1,132
" fined	400	907

—	1902.	1903.	1904.
Convictions by Supreme Court	44	79	88
" Provincial Courts	362	652	1,662
" Cantonment Courts	91	257	332
Total number of persons convicted ...	497	938	2,082

XVI.—NORTHERN NIGERIA REGIMENT (W.A.F.F.)

284. The Commandant (Colonel Lowry-Cole) reports that although some 1,280 men left the ranks during the year, the force is nearly up to strength, and the new Mounted Infantry Battalion is now complete in men though temporarily short of horses. A good supply of recruits has been obtained, and "we have been able to enlist a distinctly better standard of man." There has been some increase in serious punishments (other than flogging) in the Mounted Infantry, due to the large number of recruits and the scarcity of food at Zaria, where the bulk of the corps was quartered. There has also been some increase in the awards of corporal punishment in the Second Battalion and in both batteries, due in the former case to awards at Bauchi, where a state of famine existed, but the total "serious punishments" in this Battalion were less than last year. The returns shew an increase in desertions, which is ascribed to the famine and to the large number of recruits, very many of whom find the discipline irksome, and go away, leaving their arms and clothing behind. The serious punishments amounted to 319 for trained soldiers, and 1,555 for recruits. There were 54 deaths, 1,008 discharges, and 221 desertions. Eight men were tried by General Court Martial, 12 by Regimental Court Martial, and 37 by the civil power.

285. Colonel Lowry-Cole, D.S.O., joined the force as Commandant early in October in succession to Colonel Morland, C.B., D.S.O., resigned. Lieutenant-Colonel Festing, C.M.G., D.S.O., had commanded for the previous six months. He considers that the efficacy of the force has been well maintained, an opinion shared by Colonel Cole, so far as he has had opportunity of judging. The musketry is "very fair," and there is a considerable improvement on the preceding year. The majority of trained soldiers have qualified as marksmen. The re-armament of the troops with the new rifle has been completed, with the exception of the Mounted Infantry, whose carbines are reported to be quite worn out and useless. The obsolete carbines have been passed to the civil police. A number of signallers have been trained during the year; in the Mounted Infantry, a certain number of men have been trained in veterinary work and shoeing. Fatigue duties are reported to be heavy; military duties not excessive. There has been an average of 23 detachments during the year, and a considerable number of small escorts. Several of these detachments have now been taken over by the civil police, who have also relieved the soldiers of much escort duty.

286. The most important military expedition during the year was that despatched on January 2nd against the Okpoto tribe (Bassa province) to avenge the deaths of Captain O'Riordan and Mr. Amyatt-Burney, the sad circumstances of which

I related in my last report. The force, consisting of eleven British and 262 native rank and file, with two guns and two Maxims, was commanded by Major Merrick, R.A. The operations lasted for about three months, and the country was traversed in every direction. Fines were inflicted on the hostile villages, and a considerable number of rifles and other arms were confiscated. Many of the missing police were rescued, and all the arms and ammunition taken by the enemy were recovered. Our casualties were 48, and the behaviour of the troops was reported as excellent.

287. The next most important affair was the expedition against Semolika, to avenge an unprovoked attack which had been made upon Lieutenant Browne when in command of a preventive patrol on the southern frontier of Kabba, in which eight soldiers had been killed and many wounded, and some rifles and ammunition taken by the enemy. These people had long terrorised the district, and are reported to be in the habit of decapitating traders, whose goods they seized, using the skulls as drinking vessels. They are said to practise human sacrifice and to have constantly carried off the women and children of their neighbours, fearing no reprisals owing to the impregnable nature of the inaccessible rock fortress where they lived. This expedition was also commanded by Major Merrick, and consisted of nine British and 213 native rank and file, with two guns and a Maxim, and was accompanied by the Resident. The country was extremely difficult, and the town almost inaccessible. After two days' fighting the place was carried. A fine was imposed, and the arms and ammunition recovered. The operations lasted three weeks, and our casualties were Lieutenants Galloway and Burnett and ten rank and file wounded.

288. Minor operations and patrols were also undertaken: (1) In February, against the Dakakari tribe in the north of the Koutagora province, under Captain Dyer, D.S.O., and Lieutenant Stevenson-Hamilton, with the Resident; the lawless and defiant attitude of this tribe had closed the direct route to Sokoto, and they had murdered several traders (paragraph 175). They were subdued, and large numbers of bows and arrows were confiscated as a punishment after their country had been traversed from end to end. (2) In March, against the Gurkawa, Yergums, and Montols in the north of the Muri province; these tribes, after committing many murders of traders, killed and ate a Government messenger (or some one in mistake for him) who had been sent to warn them to desist; the expedition was under Captain Shortt, and was accompanied by Mr. Vischer (Assistant Resident), who saved the life of a native soldier by sucking the poison from his arrow wound. The operations lasted a month (paragraph 130). (3) In July, under Mr. Sewell (with Assistant Resident Dupigny), the troops

proceeded to punish the Kilba and Vere tribes in the Yola province for similar outrages and an unprovoked attack by the former on a Government escort (paragraph 121). (4) A reconnaissance from Yola and from Bauchi patrolled the Gongola river from the south and the north, under Captain Baker and Lieutenant Oldman, and was practically unopposed (paragraph 121). (5) An expedition against the Ningi tribe in Bauchi, under Captain Gallagher, who had previously marched from Keffi to open the direct route to the tin mines, and was opposed by the pagan tribes on the road. Both expeditions were entirely successful (paragraphs 111 and 112).

289. All these expeditions were most ably conducted, and the officers in command were instructed to achieve their objects with a minimum of loss of life or costly delays. All were accompanied by a political officer of the province in which they took place, who was careful to explain to the people the reason of the expedition and to impress upon them that a recurrence of lawlessness and the perpetration of murders and outrages would bring a further chastisement. The fines imposed included, by my instructions, the surrender of a number of weapons—a mode of punishment which is usually very effective. I trust that these careful explanations will result in checking the causes which render the application of force necessary, but in so large and previously lawless a country arrests and fines for outrages must of course frequently lead to the necessity for armed force. The total casualties (including slight wounds) were three officers, 73 rank and file, and 14 carriers.

290. Animal transport has been successfully used by the troops in Bornu and elsewhere, but its organisation was not as yet in a sufficiently forward state to allow of its general use. Native supplies have been scarce, owing to the famine. I have directed that a 3½ months' supply of corn shall be laid in at all military posts for use when scarcity prevails. This, I hope, may reduce both cost, hardship, and crime.

291. With regard to the horses of the Mounted Infantry, the class obtainable is satisfactory, and great progress has been made in stable management. "Yaws" is reported to be slightly on the increase, and the presence of a species of tsetse fly, which conveys the trypanosoma bacillus, has been demonstrated at Zaria by the researches of Veterinary Captain Carr. I have in consequence decided to move the headquarters to Kano, since the fly does not apparently exist north of the Mallam river. Moreover, Kano is a better district for grain and forage, which at present has to be largely transported thence to Zaria at considerable increase of cost. Since the object of the Mounted Infantry is to garrison and patrol the frontier,

the headquarters when at Kano will be nearer to its detachments. These are now placed (1) at Sokoto, patrolling 100 miles to the western frontier and 70 miles to the east; (2) at Katsena, 90 miles to west, meeting the Sokoto patrol, and 80 miles to east; (3) at Hadeija, 100 miles to west, meeting the Katsena patrol, 70 miles to east; (4) at Damjiri, 50 miles to west and 120 miles to east, viz., up to Chad.

292. Each garrison, consisting of one company, is thus responsible for 170 miles of frontier, and three companies with the sick lines form the depôt at Kano.

293. Regulations for the force (drawn up by the Inspector General) and local Standing Orders were published during the year to supersede the old "Frontier Force Orders," and are a most useful step in organization. The returns of Residents shew the total number of ex-soldiers borne on the provincial registers as 290, and the question of creating a Reserve or Native Militia is under consideration.

294. The force sustained a heavy loss by the resignation of its commandant, Colonel Morland, C.B., D.S.O., who had completed his period of Colonial service. He had been an officer of the force since it was raised in 1898, and to him is largely due its present state of efficiency.

XVII.—MISSIONS.

Church Missionary Society.

295. I am indebted to the Heads of the different missions for the following notes:—The Church Missionary Society have stations in the Kabba, Nupe, and Bassa provinces, one in each of the two former and three in the latter. Their staff consists of three Europeans and seven native helpers. At each of the five stations a school is maintained, and in some cases a night school also. The average number of scholars is 120. Parts of the Bible and of reading books have been translated and printed in the Nupe, Yoruba, and Igbira languages. English services are held in Lokoja city on Sundays, and at Kpata (Bassa) the people have themselves built a church. There is an attendance of about 200 at the native service in Lokoja. No industries are taught here, but promising pupils are sent to Onitcha, in Southern Nigeria, and many mission-trained artisans are employed by Government. A small model farm has been started in Bida (Nupe), where a Jamaican teaches modern principles of cultivation. Most of the leading men, including the Emir, have sent sons to the Mission School in Bida. At my suggestion the missionaries in Bida opened

a class in September for the instruction of the educated class of Mahomedans (Mallams) in reading and writing Hausa and Nupe in the Roman character. The curriculum is at present entirely secular, and only a charge of 1*s*. per month is made for materials. There is accommodation for 20 pupils, and at present there are seven. Some progress has been made, both in the teaching of English and of the substitution of the Roman character for vernacular manuscript. I look on this experiment with very great interest, and I am personally anxious to introduce the Roman instead of the Arabic character for the writing of Hausa, as being more adapted to express its sounds and readable by every political officer.

Hausa Mission.

296. This is a Church Missionary Society institution separate from the other, and under Dr. Miller, with two doctors and three clergymen. The objects of the Mission are evangelization, education of children, and medical treatment of sick. It is located at Ghirku, near Zaria, and has prosecuted its work throughout all the surrounding villages, meeting with no opposition from Moslems or pagans, but finding them grossly ignorant and entirely lacking in any desire for knowledge or progress. Dr. Miller does not speak highly of the Hausa character, which he describes as grossly immoral, vicious, and marked by extreme laziness and conceit. Careful tuition has been given to boys taken as wards from the Freed Slaves Home. Six or seven hundred medical cases were treated, and 60 to 65 operations performed.

African Industrial Mission.

297. Is a Canadian Mission, which has established itself at Pateji, in the Illorin province, and at Bida and Wushishi. Various vegetables have been successfully raised, as well as cotton, but the latter suffered much from the boll-worm, and only about a third of what should have been a fine crop was gathered. I am informed that the lack of definite plans and continual change of scheme and locality has much retarded progress. In November, at my suggestion, an attempt was made to start a poultry farm at Wushishi for the supply of the Zungeru market. It is also intended to plant cotton and wheat at this station. At the beginning of the year there were six men and two ladies with the Mission, and at the close of the year there were six.

Sudan United Mission.

298. This Mission arrived in September, 1904, with the object of civilising and evangelising the pagan tribes. They took up

their ground in the neighbourhood of Wase (North Muri), under the leadership of Dr. Karl Kumm, with three other missionaries, one of whom, a medical man, was immediately invalided for appendicitis. The work had only just begun at the end of 1904, but some ground has been cleared and houses were being built. Natives were being instructed in the use of tools, brick-making, &c., and in English. It is proposed to teach the use of agricultural implements, and to farm a large area of land. Improved agricultural methods will, it is hoped, render famines less frequent, and thus save life and decrease the custom of selling children for food.

White Fathers.

299. This Roman Catholic Mission is established in Bassa (Dekina), where they have undertaken the care and education of a number of freed slaves, and appeared when I visited them to be doing excellent work in industrial education. I have no statistics of the Mission.

World's Evangelisation Company (Ohio, U.S.A.).

300. Desires to found a Mission in Northern Nigeria, but nothing definite had been done prior to the close of 1904.

EDUCATION.

301. With the exception of a small grant to the Mission School at Bida, the Government has been unable, through lack of funds, to promote education by the establishment of schools, &c. The children in the Freed Slaves Home are educated, as I have already described, and many apprentices are being trained in the Workshops, Public Works Department, Telegraphs, &c. A school conducted under Government auspices is greatly needed, where the sons of chiefs could be taught English, and fitted in various practical ways for the responsible positions they may later occupy, and where they might learn to understand the habits of thought of Europeans and to grow more in touch with them. There is also a great need for an establishment where educated Mallams might be taught English, and the reading and writing of Hausa in the Roman character, without prejudice to their religion, so as to fit them for employment as interpreters and political agents, &c.

XVIII.—POSTAL.

302. The fortnightly service to the headquarters of each province still leaves much to be desired, in respect of time taken in delivery and in accuracy of sorting, losses, &c. I hope in the coming year to be able to establish a system between important centres of carrying mails by mounted messengers, supplied (under contract) by native chiefs, which would greatly expedite the service. The difficulty lies in the enormous weight of newspapers addressed to up-country stations. There is a weekly delivery between Zungeru (*viâ* Bida and Lokoja) and Burutu (English mails).

303. The revenue and expenditure of the Department (post and telegraphs) are as follows:—

—	1900–01.	1901–02.	1902–03.	1903–04.	1904–05 (Probable).
	£	£	£	£	£
Expenditure ...	5,530	5,726	6,201	7,155	7,420
Revenue .	641	1,283	2,051	935	1,670

The increase in expenditure was due to the opening in 1903-04 of new stations at Sokoto, Kano, &c., while the decrease in revenue was owing to the decrease in sales to stamp collectors, who had purchased the new issues of previous years in large quantities. The increase in the current year (1904-1905) is from ordinary business and will, I hope, be fully maintained.

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

—	Internal.	United Kingdom.		Other places.		Totals.	
		To	From	To	From	1904.	1903.
Letters and postcards.	50,500	31,300	42,400	13,000	15,700	152,900	139,022
Newspapers	8,000	400	52,000	100	2,000	62,500	52,209
Parcels ...	—	467	5,255	366	564	6,652	4,504
Telegrams, Official (approximate)						26,500	35,784
" Private						7,500	7,312

305. Money orders were instituted between the West Coast Colonies and the Protectorate on July 13th, and with the United Kingdom on August 1st.

Place.	Amount issued to	Amount cashed from	—
	£	£	
United Kingdom ...	3,960	44	Net commission to Revenue, £40.
West African Colonies	1,755	80	
Totals ...	5,715	124	

306. The following are the post offices in the Protectorate:—

1. Zungeru.	7. Bida.	13. Keffi.	19. Dekina.	25. Damjiri.
2. Lokoja.	8. Kontagora.	14. Ibi.	20. Illo.	26. Gando.
3. Egga.	9. Yelua.	15. Yola.	21. Sokoto.	27. Kuka.
4. Pateji.	10. Kano.	16. Bauchi.	22. Katsena.	28. Lau.
5. Jebba.	11. Zaria.	17. Gujba.	23. Katagum.	29. Barijuko.
6. Illorin.	12. Loko.	18. Maifoni.	24. Boussa.	30. Amar.

Nos. 1 and 2 are also money order and telegraph offices. Nos. 3 to 14 are also telegraph offices, No. 29 is only a telegraph office.

F. D. LUGARD.

October 23rd, 1905.

APPENDIX I.

REPORT ON THE FORESTRY AND AGRICULTURE OF NORTHERN NIGERIA.

* * * * * *

1. Reports have already been submitted on the different portions of the Protectorate visited, and the following is a general summary of such reports:—

FORESTS.

2. The forests are mostly found in the provinces situated south of the Benue and Niger, viz., Illorin, Kabba and Bassa; in the Nassarawa province, which is north of the Benue; and on the banks of some of the large rivers, such as the Niger, Benue, and the Gurara.

3. In Illorin and Kabba a line drawn from the village of Igbosun through the town of Kabba, and then on to Lokoja, would be roughly the northern boundary of a stretch of forest which runs south to the Lagos and Southern Nigerian boundaries. There is much valuable timber in the country included within this area. The forests should be systematically explored, as there are many valuable products which might be brought to light, and also a great deal found of interest from a botanical point of view. During my visit to these parts I was only able to make a cursory survey of them, and it was at a time of the year when botanical specimens were difficult to obtain. As nearly the whole of this stretch of forest is situated at considerable distances from easy means of transport, I am afraid its timber resources cannot at present be developed, but an extension of the Lagos railway would do much to open up that portion bounded by Lagos. Mahogany is common and other valuable timber exists.

4. In the forests in the south-east corner of Illorin, and throughout Kabba, kola-nuts are largely planted. Between Awton and Kabba they are planted in the woods that surround all the villages, and along all the forest paths. The species grown is that common in Lagos; it is known locally as the "Atara," and ranks in the markets of the Protectorate as a good kola. Throughout the Kukuruku country a common species is grown. It divides into three or five cotyledons, and is the commonest in the markets. It is called the "Afata." At Akare, which is situated south of Kabba, there are a large number of the Laboji kolas planted, brought from the Laboji district in the Bida province. These will be referred to later.

5. The Illorin forests contain but little rubber, as far as I was able to discover, but in Kabba, especially in the Kukuruku and Egbira countries, it is found in considerable quantities, Funtumia elastica and several Landolphias being common. A systematic exploration of the forests here would, I am convinced, be the means of discovering several species of Landolphia we have not yet found. The undergrowth of these forests is composed mostly of plants of the natural orders Zingiberaceæ and Marantaceæ, while a wild pineapple is very common and yields a very decent fruit. Ferns are plentiful, but the number of distinct species seems small. One is much struck in passing through the villages, situated among the forests here, to notice the little use the natives make of the timber.

6. Crossing the Niger into the Bassa province, forests of a somewhat different type are found. The trees are generally of smaller dimensions, with thick masses of Landolphia vines scrambling over them. In this province there are occasional stretches covered with what might be called rubber forests, and little but Landolphias are seen, and even in the more open woods along river banks, &c., the vines are found in great rope-like masses. I have already drawn attention to the rapid destruction of the rubber vines in this province, owing to the methods in vogue for collecting root-rubber.

7. In a paper, read lately in Liverpool by the Conservator of Forests of Southern Nigeria, he makes the following statement: "The old regulations applying to the extraction of root-rubber, under the supposition that such rubber was collected from the roots of the Funtumia, and species of Landolphia not possessing rhizomes, now that it is known that it is only extracted from species possessing rhizomes, require alteration."

8. This may be the state of affairs in Southern Nigeria, but in Northern Nigeria the rubber collectors dig up the roots of all the Landolphias indiscriminately, and also, I believe, the roots of Funtumia. The latter fact I can only state from hearsay, my informants being the collectors themselves; but that they dig up the roots of the Landolphias I can state from having seen them at it, carefully digging up every bit of root they could find; and large areas are quite denuded, parts that a couple of years ago are known to have been full of rubber. To such an extent is this root-rubber collecting carried on, that the industry is threatened with extinction within the next two or three years. If root-rubber were only collected from the species of Landolphias possessing rhizomes, no serious damage would be done, but as the collectors cannot (or will not) discriminate, it is better to put a stop altogether to the collection of root-rubber, at all events until the forests have been brought under control.

9. There is an enormous amount of rubber in the country south of the Benue, and in the Nassarawa province. The forests in the Nassarawa province are similar to those in Bassa, but are mostly confined to narrow belts on the banks of rivers and streams, and round the towns. On the banks of the lower Benue, and on the Gurara river, there are fine stretches of forest, containing a good deal of valuable timber. Mahogany and ebony predominate, and as they are situated on the banks of navigable rivers they could be utilised. Timber-cutting, however, in these parts should only be allowed under the supervision of the Forestry Department, as there are many immature trees that should not be cut; and again, there are a number of mature trees, the cutting of which would benefit the surrounding trees.

10. It must be remembered that the forests in Northern Nigeria do not cover such enormous stretches of country as they do in the Niger delta, and every effort should be made to preserve them. It is in these southern provinces that I consider most useful work can be done at once by the Forestry Department, and the formation of reserves of both timber and rubber should be taken in hand. The Illorin and Kabba forests are too far from means of transport to be of much use at present for their timber, but they could be formed into splendid rubber reserves, and should be planted up with Landolphias. Funtumia, Castilloa, and Hevea (Para rubber) should also be largely planted, especially in Bassa. As a practical planter, I was much struck by the possibilities of this province for rubber cultivation on proper lines, and I believe there is room here for private enterprise.

11. Portions of this country south of the Benue are also suitable for cocoa, and if care is exercised in the selection of the land, both as regards soil and shelter, there is no reason why cocoa should not become an article of export.

12. Before leaving the forests, I would call attention to the so-called kola forests, situated at Laboji in the Bida province. This district is to the west of the Kaduna, between the Kaduna and the Niger at Jebba. This stretch of country is somewhat hilly, and formed of flat-like ridges with fine sheltered valleys intervening. At the bottom of these valleys there is generally a sluggish stream, and it is along these at Laboji, Fashiji, Bete, and other places in the neighbourhood that the kola forests are found. The kolas here—the true Cola acuminata—grow to an enormous size. At Laboji the trees are fully a century old, and, although they bear well, the fruit is somewhat small. The younger trees—those at Fashiji particularly—are very fine.

13. A considerable amount of attention is given to the cultivation of these kolas, and they are somewhat jealously

guarded. An effort seems to have been made to confine their cultivation to this district, and—excepting at Akare, south of Kabba—I know of no other place outside the Laboji district where they are found. This kola is highly prized throughout the whole of Northern Africa, and its cultivation should be largely extended, both in the Laboji district and in other parts of the Protectorate.

14. The more important forest-produce of the Protectorate, in addition to rubber, is as follows:—Palm-oil (*Elais guineensis*), mostly from the river provinces; shea-butter (*Butyrospermum Parkii*),—the tree is common throughout the country, some parts containing little else; wood-oil, or so-called Balsam of Copaiba (*Copaifera sp.*), also common throughout the country; gums, from several species of acacia,—common in Bornu; strophanthus, collected in the river provinces; dye-woods (there are several of these, including the Sassy-wood (*Erythrophlaeum sp.*), which is common in Bassa). The different timber trees, such as mahogany (*Khaya senegalensis*), ebony (*Diospyros sp.*), Oroko (*Chlorophora excelsa*). Rubber is obtained from *Landolphia florida*, *Landolphia owariensis*, and other species; from *Ficus Vogelii*, and from *Funtumia elastica*.

AGRICULTURE.

15. Northern Nigeria is purely an agricultural country,* and it is on the development of its agricultural resources that the future of the country depends. The inhabitants are, as a rule, good agriculturists, some of them—notably the Bassa-Komo, Okpoto, and other pagan tribes—particularly so.

16. The products cultivated are generally the same throughout the Protectorate. They are as follows:—Guinea corn,† maize, millet (*Gero*), maiwa (*Holcus cernuus?*), rice, ochroes (*Abelmoschus esculentus*), sorrel (*Hibiscus sabdarifa*), beans of several sorts, ground-nuts, yams, sweet potatoes, taniers, cassava, onions, tomatoes, gourds of many kinds, and peppers, cotton, tobacco, indigo, benni-seed. Among fruits:—Bananas, plantain, pāpaw, limes, and a few oranges. In addition to these, wheat is largely grown in Northern Bornu, on the banks of the Wobe River.

17. Methods of agriculture differ but little throughout the country, but among the pagan tribes in Bassa and Nassarawa, the fields are much more highly cultivated than in most other parts. The people inhabiting Northern Bornu, especially those on the banks of the Wobe River, where irrigation has to be resorted to, are also splendid agriculturists. In the provinces

* I consider this too sweeping a statement. For its mineral and other economic resources *vide* sections on "Trade" and "Economic."—F.D.L.

† *Vis.*, "Dawa" or "durra" (*sorghum vulgare*).—F.D.L.

of Bida and Illorin, large areas are under cultivation. So-called "farms" are numerous, and many parts, particularly those near the river, are thickly populated.

18. Bida is most advantageously situated as to means of transport. The Niger flows along its southern border, and other navigable rivers, the Kaduna and the Bako, flow through it; its agricultural development, therefore, presents no difficulties. It is in the immediate extension of the cultivation of cotton that this province offers the best field.

19. This product is already largely grown, and the cotton expert, who went through this part, was much struck by its suitability for cotton, and also by the quality of the cotton already produced. Cotton is a product that is grown in large quantities all over the Protectorate, the Zaria province alone producing between 30,000 and 40,000 bales, all of which is used up locally. Every town and village has its field of cotton, and the people thoroughly understand its cultivation. The capabilities of the country for the production of cotton are enormous, and it is the development of these capabilities that deserves the attention of the Government.

20. Experiments are being tried in all the Colonies, and large sums of money are being spent to discover whether they are adapted for cotton-growing, the idea being to supply the home market with cotton grown within the Empire, and thus make us independent of America for our raw cotton. The opening up of Northern Nigeria by providing means of transport, and bringing it within reach of the home market, would, I am firmly of opinion, go a long way towards the practical realisation of this idea.

21. The lands bordering the large rivers are very rich indeed, and practically inexhaustible, a fresh deposit of rich alluvial soil being left every year by the rivers when in flood. On the banks left exposed as they fall, large crops of guinea corn and tobacco are grown, two crops of the former being obtained during the year. Rice is also grown in considerable quantities on the swampy banks of the Niger, Kaduna, and Benue, and the cultivation of this product should be largely extended. Fruit is generally scarce, the papaw being the only one that is at all common. The orange, lime, mango, pineapple, and other tropical fruits should be grown in much larger quantities than at present.

22. The cultivation of wheat is at present confined to a narrow strip on the banks of the Wobe, but the area under cultivation could be largely increased by utilising the river for purposes of irrigation. Irrigation has to be resorted to to produce the little that is already grown, but an extension of the system on proper lines would do wonders for this part of the country, which extends almost from Kano to Lake Chad.

23. In conclusion, I would repeat that the Protectorate is capable of great agricultural development, and that I consider cotton to be the product that should be largely grown as an article of export. Given the means of transport from the great cotton-growing centres like Zaria, the amount of Northern Nigeria cotton that could be placed on the home market would be enormous.

W. R. ELLIOTT,

Forestry Officer.

Forestry Department,

Northern Nigeria,

30th January, 1905.

APPENDIX II.

(See paragraph 239.)

ABSTRACT of REVENUE for the years 1899–1900 to 1904–5.

—	1899–1900. (One Quarter) Actual.	1900–1. Actual.	1901–2. Actual.	1902–3. Actual.	1903–4. Actual.	1904–5. Estimate.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Local Revenue :—						
Licenses, Excise, fines, &c.	13 17 10	332 5 5	631 0 8	7,826 4 2	39,249 16 4	37,070 0 0
Fees of Court, specific services, &c. ...	24 12 0	415 19 3	1,393 14 10	2,579 18 10	4,087 8 5	4,475 0 0
Post Office and Telegraphs	—	641 3 0	1,283 11 1	2,051 5 10	934 12 5	1,500 0 0
Interest	—	28 14 9	29 11 9	35 12 3	—	—
Rents of Government property... ...	—	—	1 0 0	255 2 0	495 16 8	1,000 0 0
Customs	—	—	—	—	6,463 2 4	8,900 0 0
Miscellaneous	—	761 11 8	1,085 1 10	3,567 8 10	2,496 1 8	1,500 0 0
Total	38 9 10	2,179 14 1	4,424 0 2	16,315 11 11	53,726 17 10	54,445 0 0
Parliamentary grant	*56,530 0 0	*88,800 0 0	280,000 0 0	290,000 0 0	405,000 0 0†	405,500 0 0†
Contribution from Southern Nigeria ...	—	44,750 0 0	34,000 0 0	34,000 0 0	50,000 0 0	50,000 0 0
Contribution from Lagos	—	—	—	—	—	10,000 0 0
Deferred pay and reward fund, W.A.F.F.	—	—	—	16,693 13 6	—	—
Total Receipts ... ... £	56 568 9 10	135,729 14 1	318,424 0 2	357,009 5 5	508,726 17 10	519,945 0 0

* Not inclusive of grant for the West African Frontier Force. † Including additional grant of £25,000 for telegraph construction.

Abstract of Expenditure for the Years 1899–1900 to 1904–5.

* Heads of Expenditure.	1899–1900. Civil Expenditure only (One Quarter). Actual.	1900–1. Civil Expenditure only. Actual.	1901–2. Actual.	1902–3. Actual.	1903–4. Actual.	1904–5. Estimate.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1. High Commissioner's Office ...	758 11 8	3,858 3 2	3,848 18 0	4,297 12 8	5,264 4 2	6,213 0 0
2. Secretariat	310 9 8	1,901 8 0	2,145 3 7	2,145 7 3	2,375 7 9	3,213 0 0
3. Political (and Slave Home) ...	491 13 11	7,470 11 6	11,413 14 4	24,263 14 2	33,852 15 4	44,586 10 0
4. Stipends to Chiefs	15 0 0	125 5 0	—	—	—	—
5. Judicial and Cantonment Magistrates	438 3 11	1,719 17 9	1,786 0 7	2,562 0 10	3,413 16 5	4,288 0 0
6. Treasury	545 14 2	2,986 16 1	3,733 12 8	5,745 7 7	6,318 19 8	7,380 10 0
7. Postal and Telegraphs	426 2 5	5,530 2 8	5,726 2 3	6,201 5 3	7,154 17 2	8,651 0 0
8. Medical	1,255 15 6	6,744 17 8	16,360 2 7	20,327 18 1	22,068 19 5	26,769 0 0
9. Printing	71 0 10	361 4 11	956 1 11	1,105 4 1	1,214 13 7	1,420 0 0
10. Audit	—	506 12 8	832 7 4	859 3 6	1,224 5 11	1,234 0 0
11. Police	—	—	—	—	20,063 4 10	29,393 10 0
12. Prisons	—	—	—	—	2,578 6 7	3,742 10 0
13. Police and Prisons	159 3 0	1,522 18 3	3,596 12 11	5,422 13 6	—	—
14. Storekeepers and Transport ...	374 16 0	2,501 0 9	4,197 5 8	4,278 8 1	—	—
15. Transport	—	—	—	—	4,108 16 4	4,476 0 0
16. West African Frontier Force ...	—	—	132,583 1 8	139,132 2 9	191,445 9 2	173,935 0 0
17. West African Frontier Force, 3rd Battalion.	—	—	—	3,283 18 10	—	—
18. Marine and Workshops	1,774 6 9	15,756 19 1	29,103 2 8	23,897 5 0	26,197 7 0	29,435 0 0
19. Customs	—	—	—	—	1,002 12 11	1,513 0 0
20. Botanical and Forestry	—	—	—	—	592 2 0	3,107 0 0*
21. Revenue	—	—	—	—	3,862 12 9	11,945 0 0

* Includes Mineral Survey Party.

Expenditure—cont.

Heads of Expenditure.	1899–1900. Civil Expenditure only (One Quarter). Actual.	1900–1. Civil Expenditure only. Actual.	1901–2. Actual.	1902–3. Actual.	1903–4. Actual.	1904–5. Estimate.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
22. Miscellaneous	1,190 12 4	5,439 12 2	27,840 10 11	40,885 11 3	52,436 12 1	42,865 0 0
23. Miscellaneous. Passages of Europeans 2nd Battalion.	—	—	—	720 0 0	—	—
24. Public Works Department (and Recurrent).	28 6 10	6,153 2 11	10,014 16 10	12,647 5 1	—	—
25. Public Works Department	—	—	—	—	10,388 8 7	12,553 0 0
26. Public Works Recurrent	—	—	—	—	4,834 17 10	5,020 0 0
27. Public Works Extraordinary ...	30,196 5 4	22,686 15 4	42,998 5 2	78,665 15 10	79,986 2 7	58,542 0 0
28. New Steamers	7 8 2	11,191 12 1	*—	—	—	—
29. Railway Survey	—	—	1,383 6 11	—	—	—
30. Bonuta Works	—	—	—	6,406 11 5	1,224 18 3	—
31. Telegraph Construction, Zaria Extension, Lagos-Jebba Re-construction unprovided for	—	—	—	6,543 16 6	—	—
32. Telegraph Construction (Additional)	—	—	—	—	17,376 14 6	25,000 0 0
Total	38,045 10 6	96,457 0 0	298,519 6 0	389,391 1 8	498,986 4 10	505,282 0 0
West African Frontier Force Expenditure, March, 1901, not brought to account in 1900–1.	—	—	54,567 4 6	—	—	—

* Included under Marine.

APPENDIX III.

NORTHERN NIGERIA MEDICAL REPORT FOR 1904.

Estimated population for the year 1904.

As in former years statistics of European population only are given, it being impossible to estimate with any approach to accuracy the number of natives in the Protectorate.*

The average number of Europeans resident in Northern Nigeria during the year was 322, including both officials and non-officials—312 being males and 10 females.

Deaths and death-rate of Europeans.

There were 13 deaths in all during the year, 8 amongst officials, and 5 among non-officials. Of these deaths 1 was due to accident, leaving 12 attributable to climatic causes.

The total death-rate for the year, calculated on the average resident population, and including deaths from all causes, was 40·37 per thousand, or excluding the one accidental death, 37·26. There is a very noticeable difference in the relative mortality of officials and non-officials, there having been 5 deaths amongst 52 non-officials, as against 8 deaths (including one from accident) amongst 270 officials, giving a non-official death-rate of 96·15 per thousand, and an official one of 29·62. This difference is brought about almost entirely by the more careful selection of candidates for employment in Government service, and by their shorter tour of residence —many of the men sent out by the trading firms being obviously physically unfit for tropical service.

Last year the average resident population was 309, and the number of deaths 18—the death-rate being 58·25 per thousand. There has been an increase of European population over last year of 13, and a decrease in the death-rate from all causes of 17·88 per thousand.

Prevalence of sickness in the different seasons of the year, and general character as to the mildness or severity of the diseases prevailing.

As in former years, the rainy season was the most unhealthy for Europeans, July being the worst month, and the month with the heaviest rainfall. The smallest number of admissions

* See pp. 5a.

was recorded in February. The general character of the diseases prevailing showed no change except in the case of hæmoglobinuric fever, which has become more prevalent but has assumed a milder type. There were 31 admissions with 5 deaths from this disease during the year—a case mortality of 16·1 per cent., as against 16 cases with 6 deaths in 1903. An increase in the number of cases with a very marked reduction in the death-rate—the case mortality last year having been 37·5 per cent. One case of enteric fever occurred in Bornu—the first recorded in Northern Nigeria.

There was practically no difference in the relative mortality in the different seasons, the deaths being pretty evenly distributed throughout the year. There were no deaths during the months of January, March, September, and December.

Meteorological conditions of the seasons and their probable effect with regard to health.

Zungeru.—The rainfall during the year was 51·1 inches, or 18·22 inches more than in 1903, the wettest month being July with 15·07 inches. Rain fell during eight months of the year, from March to October, inclusive—the heaviest fall recorded being 2·64 inches in the 24 hours, on August 24th. The maximum shade temperature was 103° F. in March and April, the minimum, 56° F., which was recorded in November, December, and January. The highest mean temperature was 86° in April, and the lowest 77° in July, August, and December, the mean temperature for the year being 79°. The mean relative humidity for the year was 63·6, the highest mean being 82° for July, and the lowest 38° for December—calculated from readings taken at 9 a.m. The lowest actual relative humidity recorded was 15, from hygrometer readings taken at 4 p.m. on the 27th of December.

Lokoja.—The total rainfall was 41·72 inches for the year, or 18·13 inches less than last year—the heaviest rainfall having been in July, 8·34 inches. The maximum shade temperature was 102° on March the 11th, and the minimum 57° on December 23rd. The highest mean temperature was 86° in March, and the lowest 79° in July, August, September, and December. The mean temperature for the year was 80° F.

Yola.—Total rainfall 33·77—the greatest recorded being 10·99 inches in August—the heaviest fall occurring on June 21st, 2·10 inches.

The mean temperature for the year was 80°, the maximum being 107° F., which was recorded on March 16th, and the minimum, 60°, on January 13th.

Complete statistics are not available from any other stations, as their meteorological instruments did not arrive until after the commencement of the year.

The general direction of the wind throughout the Protectorate was from the south-west from June to November, and from the north-east during the remaining months of the year; the Harmattan lasting with slight intermissions from December to the end of May; the first tornadoes occurring in March and the rainy season ending in October.

With regard to the probable effect of the meteorological conditions on the health of the community, it may be stated, generally, that Europeans have the best health in the dry season, and natives in the rains. Europeans, by taking proper precautions, avoid in great part the diseases that affect the native in the dry season when water is scarce and polluted, and the native being less affected by the great cause of the excessive mortality amongst Europeans—malaria—a disease more especially of the wet season.

Particular diseases that have recurred during the year.

By far the greatest amount of sickness during the year has been due, as in the past, to malaria; the total admissions from this disease (excluding blackwater fever for the sake of convenience) having been 515, with 3 deaths, compared with 386 admissions with 2 deaths last year. 31 cases of hæmoglobinuric fever occurred with 5 deaths, and 18 of dysentery with no deaths. Dysentery is becoming much less prevalent —the total admissions for the year being less than half those in 1903.* There were two cases of small-pox among Europeans, with no deaths.

General sanitary condition of the Protectorate.

The general sanitary condition of the European stations is good. The principle of forming separate locations for natives and Europeans has been carried out in all cases as far as possible, and sites have been chosen for permanent buildings at the headquarters of the various provinces. The question of improving the water supply is being solved in great measure by the supply of small condensers.

The large native towns are still in their original condition as regards sanitation, and it will be probably many years before anything can be done to improve them. They are kept clean as far as outward appearances go, but the old system of digging wells and privies side by side obtains everywhere, and probably accounts for most of the intestinal diseases met with amongst natives.

* Probably due to the extended use of distilled water by the introduction of condensers, and to better hygiene and sanitation.—F.D.L.

Sanitary state of the principal stations with reference to water supply, drainage, &c.

Zungeru.—The headquarters of the Protectorate has an average resident population of 69·5 Europeans—66 officials and 3·5 non-officials. The cantonment is kept clean and is well supplied with surface drains running down to the Dago river, which effectually carry off all rain-water. Early in the year a series of dams was constructed across the river with the object of holding up the water and providing for a continuous flow throughout the dry season. The system has proved most successful, and a condenser has been erected which provides the European residents with a plentiful and pure supply of drinking water the whole year round. In addition to this, iron tanks have been fitted to most of the bungalows to store rain-water during the wet season.

Disposal of refuse.—The dry-earth system is in use for excreta—as is the case in all Government stations—the contents of the pails being emptied into shallow trenches and buried. All combustible refuse is burnt daily, and the rest buried at some distance from the cantonment.

The general health of the official population has been good; that of the employés of the Niger Company extremely bad—this difference is due, as pointed out earlier in this report, principally to the want of care exercised in the selection of suitable men, and the long tour of service required of them.

Lokoja had an average resident population during the year of 65·9 Europeans—51·7 officials and 14·2 non-officials. The sanitary condition of the European quarter is good, and the lines occupied by the native soldiers are well-kept and clean. The cantonment is well supplied with surface drains running down to the Niger, and refuse is disposed of as at all other stations.

Drinking-water is supplied by a condenser from the river; the supply is ample and the quality excellent. The new hospital for Europeans, referred to in my last report, has been completed, and has been in use since May. It is cool, well-ventilated, and large enough to meet all requirements for some years to come.

Zaria.—The average resident European population during the year was 23. The site now occupied by the civil residents is most unsatisfactory, the water supply is insufficient and bad, and the ground unsuitable. A new site at Dandua, 5 miles away, has been occupied by the military during the year, and has proved to be an excellent one. It is proposed to move the entire European population out there early in 1905, and abandon the old situation at Zaria.*

* See paragraph 106.

The health throughout the year has been good, there having been no deaths. The water supply at Dandua is obtained from a running stream and is of good quality, and ample in amount.

Kano.—The average resident European population during the year was 18·4; the general health was fair.

The sanitary condition of the site at present occupied is as good as the nature of the ground will allow. Drainage is unsatisfactory during the wet season owing to the flatness of the surrounding country—no proper fall being obtainable, and the soil becoming waterlogged in heavy rains. The water supply is obtained from shallow wells, and is insufficient for the needs of a large population during the dry season. The question of moving to a more suitable locality is under consideration, and several alternative sites have been proposed; no particular place has, however, yet been decided on, the local conditions varying so much at different seasons of the year, that it was considered inadvisable to make a final choice until more extended observations have been made.*

Vaccinations performed during the year, and condition of the population in respect of protection from small-pox.

1,304 successful vaccinations have been performed during the year, all stations being now supplied with a small weekly or fortnightly consignment of lymph. Great difficulty is experienced in obtaining it in an active condition at those stations which are farthest away in the interior, the long journey on carriers' heads in the hot weather rendering it in many cases inert on its arrival. The returns received from the different stations show a regularly decreasing scale of successful vaccinations, according to the distance from Lokoja; Lokoja itself heading the list, with Katagum and Bornu at the bottom.

There have been two more cases of small-pox among the white population during the year, again demonstrating the fact that the disease can be acquired from natives, and refuting the popular theory held by many Europeans to the contrary. The natives throughout the Protectorate, with the exception of those successfully vaccinated during the last two years, and those who have already suffered from the disease, are entirely unprotected from small-pox, and all that can be done at present is to vaccinate all Government employés and those natives living in the immediate vicinity of the various stations, anything like general vaccination, though most desirable, being quite impracticable.

General health during the year.

The general health of the European community has been fair; the death-rate has been considerably lower, but the

* *See* paragraph 80.

sickness and invaliding rates higher than last year. More cases of illness have come under treatment, but of a milder type. There have been 50 officials and 17 non-officials invalided during the year, a total invaliding-rate of 20·8 per cent., as compared with 13·9 per cent. last year.

The health of the natives has been good through the year, no serious epidemics have occurred, and the death-rate, so far as can be gathered, has been normal. The total number of natives treated at the Government hospitals and dispensaries was 13,504, an increase over the previous year of 9,521. This very large increase is, however, partly accounted for by a change which has been made in the method of keeping the records of cases—no account having been kept in the past of many of the patients. Dispensaries are being established in the native towns nearest the different provincial headquarters, but they will necessarily be only on a very limited scale at first, the expense of equipping 15 or 20 stations with the necessary instruments, drugs, and appliances, being very great.*

During the year 883 patients have been treated as paupers throughout the Protectorate.

With the object of providing for the isolation of infectious diseases, such as small-pox, &c., in Zungeru and Lokoja, permanent enclosures have now been built in each of these stations, one acre in extent, surrounded by unclimbable iron fencing, and provided with lock-up gates. It is intended when the necessity arises to build temporary grass huts within them, which can be put up quickly when wanted and burnt when no longer required.

Venereal diseases have been very prevalent amongst natives, syphilis being widely distributed throughout the northern and eastern parts of the Protectorate. Nine cases of beri-beri, eight of them at Lokoja, have been admitted during the year, with two deaths. This disease is not endemic so far as can be ascertained, and all cases met with have occurred in the parts of the Protectorate nearest the sea, and in direct communication with the coast.

I attach the following returns:—

Statistics of European population.
Meteorological returns for Zungeru and Lokoja.
Nosological return for Northern Nigeria.

S. W. THOMPSTONE,
Principal Medical Officer.

April 9th, 1905.

* There is scope alike in this direction and in the education of inmates of the two Freed Slaves' Homes for the exercise of private philanthropy by those interested in the welfare of Africans, since a Government largely dependent on a grant-in-aid cannot do as much in these matters as is desirable.—F.D.L.

Statistics of European Population.

All Europeans.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Average actually in the Protectorate.	165	165	290	309	322
Number of deaths	18	9	9	18	13
Number of invalids ..	21	30	20	48	67

Analysis of 1904 Statistics.

Europeans.	Totals.	Deaths.	Death-rate per 1,000.	Invalids.	Invaliding Rate per 1,000.
Average actually in the Protectorate.	322	13	40·37	67	208·0
Officials...	270	8	29·62	50	185·1
Non-officials	52	5	96·15	17	326·9

Zungeru Meteorological Return for 1904.

—	Temperature.				Rainfall.		Winds.		Remarks.
	Shade Maximum.	Shade Minimum.	Range.	Mean.	Amount in inches.	Degree of Humidity.	General direction.	Average force.	
January ..	102	56	46	80	—	58	N.E.	—	
February ...	101	60	41	80	—	55	N.E.	—	
March	103	61	42	84	·54	47	S.W.	—	
April	103	67	36	86	2·20	55	S.W.	—	
May	97	68	29	81	6·14	71	S.W.	—	
June	92	68	24	79	7·01	77	S.W.	—	
July	89	68	21	77	15·07	82	S.W.	—	
August ...	90	68	22	77	10·15	81	S.W.	—	
September ...	90	67	23	73	6·58	77	S.E.	—	
October ...	94	67	27	79	8·41	76	S.W.	—	
November ...	96	56	42	78	—	52	N.E.	—	
December ...	99	56	43	77	—	38	N.E.	—	
Total ...	—	—	—	—	51·1	—	—	—	

LOKOJA METEOROLOGICAL RETURN for 1904.

—	Temperature.				Rainfall.		Winds.		Remarks.
	Shade Maximum.	Shade Minimum.	Range.	Mean.	Amount in inches.	Degree of Humidity.	General direction.	Average force.	
January ...	97	59	38	80	—	—	—	—	
February ...	96	61	35	81	—	—	—	—	
March	102	65	37	86	1·79	—	—	—	
April	97	66	31	88	3·22	—	—	—	
May	94	59	35	80	7·70	65	S.W.	—	
June	93	67	26	81	7·81	77	S.W.	—	
July	91	68	23	79	8·34	77	S.W.	—	
August ...	88	70	18	79	2·97	76	S.W.	—	
September ...	90	68	22	79	7·14	78	S.W.	—	
October ...	92	68	24	80	2·75	76	S.W.	—	
November ...	96	68	38	81	—	78	S.W.	—	
December ...	96	57	39	79	—	78	S.W.	—	
Total ...	—	—	—	—	41·72	—	—	—	

Return of Diseases and Deaths in Northern Nigeria in 1904.

Diseases.	Europeans.					Natives.					Remarks.
	Remaining at end of 1903.	Yearly Total.		Total cases treated.	Remaining at end of 1904.	Remaining at end of 1903.	Yearly Total.		Total cases treated.	Remaining at end of 1904.	
		Admissions.	Deaths.				Admissions.	Deaths.			
Small-pox	1	2	—	3	1	3	26	7	29	—	
Chicken-pox	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	—	
Measles	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	8	—	
Enteric Fever	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Dysentery	1	18	—	19	1	5	606	94	611	—	
Beri-beri	—	—	—	—	—	2	9	2	11	—	
Malarial Fever	8	515	3	523	3	6	925	8	931	12	
Hæmoglobinuric Fever	—	31	5	31	3	—	1	—	1	—	
Unclassified Fevers	—	10	—	10	1	—	23	—	23	1	
Tubercle	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4	—	
Leprosy	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	—	21	1	
Yaws	—	—	—	—	—	5	18	—	23	—	
Syphilis	—	—	—	—	—	9	210	—	219	10	
Gonorrhœa	—	2	—	2	—	40	796	—	836	27	
Parasitic Diseases	—	2	—	2	—	4	967	—	971	15	
Effects of Poisons	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	—	
Rheumatism	—	17	—	17	—	5	687	5	692	12	
Anæmia	1	28	—	29	—	—	48	10	48	—	
Debility	—	3	—	3	—	1	25	5	26	1	

Return of Diseases and Deaths—cont.

Diseases.	Europeans.					Natives.					Remarks.
	Remaining at end of 1903.	Yearly Total. Admissions.	Yearly Total. Deaths.	Total cases treated.	Remaining at end of 1904.	Remaining at end of 1903.	Yearly Total. Admissions.	Yearly Total. Deaths.	Total cases treated.	Remaining at end of 1904.	
Undefined	—	4	—	4	—	2	306	28	308	5	
No appreciable disease	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4	—	
Diseases of the Nervous System	—	14	—	14	—	—	291	5	291	3	
" " Eye	—	8	—	8	1	10	612	—	622	17	
" " Ear	—	7	—	7	—	—	62	—	62	1	
" " Circulatory System	—	5	—	5	—	—	41	7	41	2	
" " Respiratory System	—	15	—	15	—	5	716	33	721	26	
" " Digestive System	1	101	*2	102	—	7	2,134	45	2,141	18	
" " Lymphatic System	—	10	—	10	—	5	192	6	197	4	
" " Genito-urinary System	—	18	—	18	1	4	286	15	290	13	
" " Organs of Locomotion	—	3	—	3	—	2	88	—	90	—	
" " Connective Tissue	—	12	—	12	—	5	842	1	847	35	
" " Skin	—	21	—	21	—	14	944	1	958	26	
Injuries	—	28	—	28	3	14	2,360	18	2,374	53	
Minor surgical operations	—	—	—	—	—	—	94	—	94	1	
Accident (Drowning)	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Uncertified	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Totals	12	875	13	887	14	148	13,356	293	13,505	294	

* Hepatic Abscess.

COLONIAL REPORTS.

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

ANNUAL.

No.	Colony.	Year.
446	St. Vincent	1903–1904
447	Bermuda	1904
448	St. Helena	"
449	Falkland Islands...	"
450	Weihaiwei	"
451	Hong Kong	"
452	Gambia	"
453	Gibraltar	"
454	Turks and Caicos Islands	"
455	British Honduras	"
456	Seychelles...	"
457	Northern Territories of the Gold Coast ...	"
458	Straits Settlements	"
459	Southern Nigeria...	"
460	Sierra Leone	"
461	British Solomon Islands	1903–1905
462	Malta	1904–1905
463	Grenada	1904
464	St. Vincent	"
465	Gold Coast	"
466	Barbados	1904–1905
467	Uganda	"
468	Somaliland	"
469	Trinidad and Tobago	"
470	Lagos	1904
471	Bahamas	"
472	British Central Africa	1904–1905
473	Mauritius	1904
474	Fiji	"
475	British East Africa Protectorate	1904–1905

MISCELLANEOUS.

No.	Colony.	Subject.
23	Dominica	Roads and Land Settlement.
24	Grenada	Land Settlement in Carriacou.
25	Hong Kong	Bubonic Plague, 1903
26	Northern Nigeria	Mineral and Vegetable Products.
27	Miscellaneous Colonies ...	Medical Reports.
28	Gold Coast and Sierra Leone	Rubber.
29	Ceylon	Geological Survey.
30	Pitcairn Island	Report by Mr. R. T. Simon.