

WILEY



Northern Nigeria

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Source: *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Aug., 1912), pp. 149-163

Published by: geographicalj

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1778461>

Accessed: 20-06-2016 21:09 UTC

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NORTHERN NIGERIA.*

By CHARLES LINDSAY TEMPLE, C.M.G.

PERHAPS it is unnecessary to remind you that it has been decided to unite the two Protectorates of Northern and Southern Nigeria and the Colony of Lagos into one great Dependence of the Crown under one Governor. In the circumstances it has been considered useful to take stock of our knowledge of these great provinces; of those geographical conditions which lie at the basis of enterprise in all directions; of the teeming millions of natives of many races, of all grades of civilization, which inhabit them; and of the present and possible future of the development of those resources upon which the economic prosperity of the natives mainly depends. At the last meeting of the Society Mr. Kitson dealt very fully with Southern Nigeria.† I shall, therefore, confine my remarks to-night to Northern Nigeria, where I have had the honour of serving over ten years. I shall endeavour to explain the methods of administration which have been adopted with a view to ensuring the advancement of the native populations.

Historical Notes.—The modern history of Nigeria, as far as the European is concerned, may be taken to have commenced with the establishment in the seventeenth century of one or two trading stations at the mouth of the Niger and adjacent rivers. It was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that organized exploration of the Niger region was undertaken. Some of the names to be remembered in connection with the exploration of these territories are Mungo Park (1797–1805), Lander, Clapperton, Barth and Allen (1820–1830), and MacGregor Laird, the pioneer of Lokoja who established himself at that place (1852). Until the Berlin Conference of 1885 recognized this region as being within the British sphere of influence, it had been the scene of a struggle for supremacy between French, German, and English trading firms. The Royal Niger Company were granted a Charter in 1886, and the following ten years were spent in building up an administrative and trading organization. Treaties were made with the principal Filane Emirs, notably that with Sokoto in the early nineties. In 1894, Sir Frederick Lugard was sent by the Niger Company to anticipate the French in making a treaty with the chiefs of Borgu. This object was accomplished just in time. In 1897, the Filane made an attempt to drive the white man from the country, and this led to an expedition against Bida, organized by Sir George Goldie, which was, for the time at any rate, completely successful. The result of these military operations enabled the company to take active measures for the extension of trade. Towards the end of 1897, consequent on French action and the “Boussa crisis,” the British Government began to take

* Royal Geographical Society, May 6, 1912. Map, p. 240.

† Mr. Kitson's paper will be published in an early number of the *Journal*.

serious notice of the country, and Sir F. D. Lugard was entrusted with the organization of a local military force, now known as the West African Frontier Force. After many years of magnificent pioneer work, different in degree, perhaps, but not in kind from that of the East India Co., the Charter of the Royal Niger Co. was revoked, and the Government assumed the administration of the Niger Company's territories on January 1, 1900. The amount paid to this company from Imperial funds was approximately one million pounds. The company reserved the right of receiving one-half of any revenue obtained from mining companies by the Government over an area of about one-half of the territory for the space of ninety-nine years. Sir Frederick Lugard was appointed High Commissioner. The headquarters of the Protectorate were established at Zungeru in 1902. Zungeru was chosen because it was the most northerly place accessible by water transport, being at the limit of navigation of the then unexplored Kaduna river. It was also in touch with the Mohammedan Emirates, being on the extreme northern edge of the territory controlled at that time. The place is situated on the Kaduna, in a direct line between railhead, then at Ogbomosho, and Kano, and away from the unhealthy Niger valley. After ten years' experience it has been found to be as healthy as any station in the protectorate, excepting those on the Bauchi plateau. It was connected with a port on the Kaduna, where the river is navigable for steamers in the wet season by a light railway in 1900.

Bornu was occupied by an expeditionary force in 1902; Mr. Hewby was the first resident. Sokoto was occupied in 1903; Major Burdon was the first resident. Kano was occupied in the same year, and Dr. Cargill was the first resident. Yola was occupied in 1901.

Little opposition, on the whole, was met with on the part of the natives to the expedition. There was, however, stiff fighting in 1900, when a column, under Colonel Lowry Cole, attempted to traverse the Munshi country north of the Benue. In 1901 Captain (now General) Morland was wounded at the occupation of Yola. In 1903, though little resistance was offered at Sokoto and Kano, the Kano army resolutely attacked a small force, under Lieut. Wright and Wells, at Kwotorkoshi. For his splendid defence Lieut. Wright was decorated with the Victoria Cross. A number of refugees from Sokoto, and discontents from various parts of the Protectorate, including the ex-Sultan of Sokoto, made a determined attempt to oppose our troops at Burmi. The Sultan of Sokoto, a large number of Filane notables, including Abubakr, ex-Emir of Bida, the man who had opposed Sir George Goldie in 1897, and the officer commanding the column, Major Marsh, lost their lives in this engagement. In 1904 severe fighting occurred in Bassa, where an expedition had been sent, under Major Merrick, to punish the natives for the murder of two officers, by name Burney and O'Riordan. In 1905 there was severe fighting at Chibbuk, in Bornu. In 1906 a Mohammedan outbreak of a serious nature took place at Satiru, near Sokoto; three officers, Messrs. Hillary, Scott, and Blackwood,

lost their lives. The natives were finally defeated and dispersed by a column operating under Major Goodwin. The Sultan of Sokoto, who is still reigning, for his loyalty and steadfastness at this time of serious stress, was made an Honorary Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. The services rendered by his cousin, the present Marafa of Godabawa, on this occasion are deserving of special mention, as also those of the present Sarkin Tambawel. There have been, in addition, numerous small expeditions on many of which good work has been done, but I have not time to enumerate these now. Sir Frederick Lugard left Nigeria for Hong Kong in 1906, and was succeeded by Sir Percy Girouard in 1907. He in turn was succeeded by Sir Hesketh Bell in 1909. Sir William Wallace administered the Government in the intervals which occurred between these appointments.

Areas and Distances.—The territory of Northern Nigeria now comprises an area of about 255,000 square miles, and that of Southern Nigeria about 100,000 square miles, making a total of 355,000. From Lake Chad to the extreme western edge of the Protectorate, *i.e.* the frontier of Dahomey, is a distance of about 700 miles, from Lagos to the northern border of Sokoto is about the same distance. A circle described round Kano, with a radius of 500 miles, cuts approximately Lagos and Old Calabar.

Description of Area.—The area may be divided into three distinct zones: the southern forest belt, the hill regions in the neighbourhood of Bauchi, Zaria, and the Benue, and the northern plains. Probably 80,000 square miles are covered with forest; 14,000 square miles have an elevation of from 2000 to 6000 feet, while the northern plains, with an average altitude of about 1000 feet, extend over 150,000 square miles. The remaining 90,000 square miles lie at an altitude between the plains and hills. The point on the railway where the transition from the forest zone to the plain occurs, between Lagos and Zungeru, is well marked, and is situated a few miles south of Anyau at an altitude of about 1400 feet.

Scenery.—The scenery of Northern Nigeria may be divided into the following categories. To the north, from the neighbourhood of Lake Chad to Sokoto, there occur endless wind-swept sandy plains covered with scanty and thorny bushes, chiefly acacias. A shade tree is a rarity which one may not meet with in a three days' journey. Nevertheless, the soil produces, during the rainy season, large crops of millet, with little tilling, and no manure. To the south there is a belt of rich argillaceous loam, and here we find the population thickest. From whatever point the traveller approaches Kano he will travel for three days through country every inch of which is highly cultivated, often between lanes of cactus 15 feet in height, for the fields are hedged as in this country. South of this again occur great ranges of granite hills, often weathered into most fantastic shapes. Some of these rise to a height of 6500 feet. Between these are

found fertile valleys and elevated plateaux, where the traveller can hardly bring himself to believe that he is in a tropical country. Further south he descends into the plains of the Benue and Niger, where forests begin to appear and the air is moist and damp. The character of the strata is changed, and in place of granite peaks and turtle backs, flat-topped hills composed of sedimentary rock-sandstones and grit are found. Finally, he reaches the dense and dripping jungles of the Delta.

Fossiliferous Cretaceous limestones have been found in the bend of the Gongola at Sokoto and in Muri province. Lime burnt locally is extensively used for Government buildings.

Altitudes.—Starting from the north the following are the altitudes of the principal towns and hills—

Lake Chad	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	800 feet
Sokoto	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	754 "
Kano	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1810 "
Bauchi town	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2200 "
Bauchi plateau	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4000 "
Shere and Maigemu peaks on Bauchi plateau	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6500 "
Zaria	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2200 "
Zungeru	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	550 "
Lokoja	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	300 "
Auyau	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1400 "
Ibadan	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	820 "

Rivers.—The principal watersheds which govern the dispersion of water in the rivers and streams of the Protectorate are situated at a distance of 1300 miles from each other: one is near Falaba in the hinterland of Sierra Leone, where rises the Niger; the other is on the Bauchi plateau. On the latter rise, within a few miles of each other, streams which flow *via* Gombe and the Gongola to the Benue, *via* Katagum and the Komadugu, to Lake Chad, and *via* the Kaduna and Zungeru to the Niger. The Cross river which flows through the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria rises in the Kameruns.

Though the northern plains are sometimes liable to drought, yet on the whole, the territory is well watered. The rainfall, nowhere less than 16 inches p.a., is as much as 120 inches p.a. in the delta. The volume of water passing down the Niger at Baro is probably about one and a half million cubic feet per second.

Soil.—The land is, on the whole, fertile, even in the northern portion where the soil might strike the casual observer as being too sandy and light to bear heavy crops, and to require extensive periods of rest, we find in the neighbourhood of Sokoto and Kano large populations of about half a million inhabitants living at an average of 300 per square mile, and obtaining all the food required to keep them in robust health from the soil. South of Lokoja and the Benue the staple foods are roots, chiefly the yam, and to the north cereals, chiefly Guinea corn and gero, both species of millet.

In places, especially in the neighbourhood of Kano, intensive cultivation and irrigation are frequently employed, onions, peppers, cassava, sweet potatoes, and other crops being cultivated to a large extent.

The average production of cereals, *i.e.* Guinea corn and gero, may be placed at about three-quarters of a ton per acre; that of cotton from 100 lbs. to 400 lbs. per acre. The latter quantity has been found to occur in the neighbourhood of Soba, to the east of Zaria. To give some idea of the potential wealth of these territories, I may mention that in the forest zone, which is probably 80,000 square miles in extent, the palm occurs at an average rate of about four per acre. As each palm produces kernels and oil of about the value of 5s. *p.a.*, the total export from two hundred million palms might be about £25,000,000 per annum were the forests completely exploited.

Population.—The population of Northern Nigeria is about 10 millions, that is to say, 40 per square mile. That of Southern Nigeria is about 9 millions, with a density of 90 per square mile. The average density of population in both territories is, therefore, about 60 per square mile. The average density of population in British India is about 221 per square mile. The Emirate of Kano has an area of about 10,000 square miles, with a population of about 2 million. This Emirate approximates to the Indian Native State of Baroda, which has an area of 8000 square miles with a population of 2 millions.

The population of Nigeria may be divided into three distinct sections. First, starting from the north, that inhabiting the plains to the north of Zaria to the west of the Niger as far south as Ilorin, and in the neighbourhood of Yola. Here the influence of Semitic races, the Filane and the Arab, together with that of Islam, has raised the natives to a comparatively high state of civilization. The second group, consisting of those native races which came into contact with the invaders from the north, but successfully resisted them. These inhabit the middle region in the neighbourhood of Bauchi, Zaria, and the Benue, having found shelter and safety in the hills. They are known locally by the general term of "pagans;" some of these inhabiting the Bauchi plateau—for instance, the Sura are mounted. The third group inhabit the forests of the delta south of the Benue and south of Ibadan.

I have not time to give any detailed description of the innumerable races and tribes to be found in these territories, but I would note that in an area of about 25,000 square miles round Bauchi no less than sixty-four languages and dialects are spoken. I would, however, add a few remarks concerning certain sections which have exerted a considerable influence upon the history of the country during the past centuries. The people of Kano, for instance, have been subjected during the past five hundred years by the following alien native tribes. The first conquerors came from the east, from Surami, the headquarters of the Kebbawa, in the fifteenth century; they were led by a man named Kante, a rebel subject of Askia,

“the great” Sultan of Songhay. That tribe is now better known in connection with the name of Argungu, its present headquarters. Next came the Kwororafa, who probably emanated from the town now known as Marua, in German territory; these were succeeded by Kanuri invaders from Bornu. The dominion of the latter was put an end to by the general uprising of the Filane and Mohammedans, under Osman dan Fodio, at Sokoto, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. I would lay stress on these facts, as the idea generally current that the Filane broke in like wolves on the peaceful existence of the pagan sheep is wrong. The entire territory had probably been a veritable cockpit since time immemorial, until Kano and Sokoto were occupied in 1903 by an expeditionary force dispatched by Sir Frederick Lugard.

I should like to say a few words regarding three important sections of the native population—I mean the Filane, the Hausa, and the Yoruba. The Filane race is of Semitic origin. The language now spoken by the Filane has, however, no connection with Arabic, and the race has probably adopted a strange language. The original home of the Filane is unknown, but it is probably to be found in Persia, Egypt, or Arabia. The flow of emigration probably followed the northern shores of Africa, and thus came south to Futa Jallon, in the hinterland of Sierra Leone. From here an exodus to the east across Central Africa occurred, and in the middle of the sixteenth century there were probably about as many Filane in Nigeria as there are to-day living as subjects of the various pagan chiefs, such as the Sarkin Gobir, Bawa, and the Sarkin Kano, Rumfa. They were divided into two sections—the first the settled Filane, or Filanen Gidda as they are known locally; the second the nomad Filani, known locally as the Borroroje. The settled Filane had already mixed their blood with the Jolofs before emigrating, and they are daily becoming more and more mixed with the Hausas and Yorubas and other tribes amongst which they dwell. They are an intelligent and enterprising race, of fine physique, and form the ruling class to-day. The Borroroje, or “cattle Filane,” has to a great extent kept his blood pure. They are small, wiry, hardy herdsmen, but have little enterprise or intelligence. They are not progressive, and their one desire is to be left alone. The majority are not Moslems.

The Filane revolt and subsequent Jihad was caused by the oppression of the pupils of a learned and pious Moslem Filane notable, by name Osman Dan Fodio. The revolt drew into its scope practically the whole of the Moslem population, Filane and others. It was a national movement on the part of the middle and poorer classes generally led by Filane. The pomp and panoply of war were on the side of the great pagan chiefs, whose armies were clad in mail and cotton armour and were to a great extent mounted. These armies were defeated by bowmen on foot clad in robes only. Persons interested in this question should read the Filane war-song quoted in Major Burdon’s grammar of that language, where it is said

to the Goberawa pagan chiefs, "Those who disputed with the hare for his lay have conquered your horsemen." Though some may not agree with me, I would emphasize the importance of this lesson. African conquests by native tribes have been effected by infantry. The African does not regard the mounted soldier with such respect as he regards the footman. The Filane Empire became established in about the year 1810, with headquarters at Sokoto. It comprised, at the time of its greatest prosperity, in about the year 1820, some 120,000 square miles with a population of about 5 millions.

Divided into great fiefdoms under Emirs, such as Kano, Gando, Zaria, Bauchi, and Ilorin, it was, on the whole, well ruled for a space of fifty to sixty years. At the time of the British occupation, however, owing chiefly to the unstable character of the then ruling Emir of Sokoto, known by the nickname of Danyen Kasko—unbaked potsherd—the empire was divided against itself. Oppression and tyranny over the subject tribes, especially those in the belt between the unconquered hill tribes and the inhabitants of the plain, were rife, and little resistance was opposed to the British forces. On the contrary, in many places they were actually welcomed.

I would now turn to the race commonly known as "Hausa." The term "Hausa," I am quite convinced, should be used only with reference to the language known by that name. For many tribes, with markedly different characteristics, speak this language. For instance, the natives of Argungu, the Kebbawa, now speak the Hausa, and have never spoken any other language. The same may be said of the native of Katsena, known as the Katsenawa. Yet these are very distinct tribes. A native describing himself as a Hausa will always, when pressed or questioned, define himself also by name of a tribe. Hausa is, therefore, to-day, the name of a language, and not of a tribe. The Hausa language is spoken by practically all the tribes which came under the sway of the Filane; sometimes in addition to the tribal languages, sometimes the tribal languages have disappeared. It is necessarily spoken by all traders. It has a large vocabulary and simple grammar, and a pronunciation which can easily be recognized. It is probably the easiest African language to learn, as it is the most complete and adaptable. For these reasons, its use amongst the natives throughout the Niger territories, and, I would add, the Gold Coast, is rapidly extending. It is the *lingua franca* over two-thirds of those territories, and fifty years hence will probably have extended over the whole of them, and even beyond them.

Regarding the Yorubas. This is, after the Filane, the most striking of the races on the Niger. Formerly a great kingdom under the Alafin of Auyau, it was disintegrated partly by attacks from the north on the part of the Filane invaders, and partly by the gradual advance from the south on the part of the British forces, so that it is now to a great extent decentralized, Ibadan and Abeokuta being independent of Auyau. In

its normal condition, it is probable that the tribal organization of this section would differ little from that of the northern Emirates, such as Kano.

I will now attempt to explain very briefly the machinery of government set up by the natives themselves as it was found when the occupation was effected, and such modifications in that machinery as it has been found necessary to introduce in the interest of order and good government.

The power of the Filane hierarchy exerted from the historic, and to Muslim eyes almost sacred, town of Sokoto, was delegated by the Emir Em-Muminin, that is to say, the Commander of the Faithful, commonly known in the Hausa as Sarkin Musulmi, to the great captains who had been successful in the Jihad. These became Feudal lords and rulers over large areas and populations, and paid a portion of the taxes and tribute which they collected to the Sarkin Musulmi.

The most powerful of these was the Emir of Kano, whose territory exceeded 10,000 square miles with a population of about 2,000,000. In some cases the fiefs were of small extent, some not exceeding 200 square miles with a population of 50,000. The principal Emirates were Gwando, Kano, Bida, Illorin, Zaria, Katsena, Bauchi, and Yola. These feudal barons held their fiefs by appointment from Sokoto. In practice the succession was very generally hereditary, but that principle was not recognized in practice, and the Sarkin Musulmi retained to himself very arbitrary powers of patronage.

The Emirs subinfeudated their fiefs to a number of their more important followers, sometimes relations, sometimes successful generals, sometimes favourite slaves. These held a position similar to that of the Lord of the Manor in England in the fifteenth century. The peasantry were divided into two classes. One of farmers born free, and one of farmers who had been slaves and had been granted a certain measure of freedom known as Rinji. The first corresponded to the class known as "freemen of the Manor" and the second to that known as "serfs of the Manor." The free farmers held the lands on condition of serving as soldiers in time of war, or of paying a monetary equivalent. The serfs were expected to fight and also to do a certain amount of labour without remuneration on the Emirs' farms, the walls of the towns, and other works of public utility. On occasions of offensive or defensive war the Sarkin Musulmi counted on a general rally of Emirs from all his tributary dependents, and almost every year a great gathering of the clans took place at Sokoto. As I have stated previously, towards the end of the nineteenth century the controlling influence of Sokoto, at one time very wide reaching and efficient, had waned. Kano was in a condition approaching revolt. Bauchi was disloyal and, generally speaking, there was a tendency for the Filane empire to fall to pieces.

It was not thought for several reasons to be advisable after the occupation to rebuild the influence of Sokoto, it would have been necessary to support it

with an armed force, and each of the great feudal lords or Emirs, who had been in former times responsible to Sokoto direct, was rendered responsible to the Government. In short, the Government took towards Sokoto itself and the other Emirs the position which had formerly been occupied by the Sarkin Musulmi. Tradition and customs were thus to a great extent maintained, and the position was easily realizable and acceptable to the Muslim ruling classes.

The organization of each Emirate was then taken in hand. It was not found generally necessary to alter the machinery radically. Certain abuses, however, had crept in. They were due to a tendency of over-centralization. The sub fief holder, whom I have compared above to the Lord of the Manor, and whom I will now term the District Headman, had developed a tendency to remain at the capital of the Emirate in place of residing amongst the people for whose prosperity and contentment he was responsible. To exert his authority he was in the habit of employing messengers, generally favourite slaves, known as Jakadas. These messengers rapidly became extortionate, and to a great extent undermined the authority of the village heads and councils. It is fair to state that this abuse was less noticeable in Sokoto than in other Emirates. Another fertile cause of misgovernment was the fact that the areas granted in fief to the various holders were not in most cases contiguous, so that we found a Galadima, for instance, residing at Sokoto with perhaps two hundred towns and villages scattered all over the Emirate subject to his authority. To remedy this state of affairs a redistribution of towns and villages and lands was made amongst the district heads by which all districts were rendered homologous, coadunate, and self-contained. The district heads were compelled to take up their residences in their districts. The final units, that is to say, the villages—or in places where the population is found in scattered farm houses, the parish, were placed in charge of responsible village head or councils. Any order emanating from an Emir is now conveyed by his messenger to the district head only, and is by him transmitted to the village authorities, and it is the latter who convey the order to the individual, and who are responsible for its execution.

The great principle which underlies, I think, all sound administration, and which ensures that the obligation of the individual citizen towards the State should be actually enforced only by an authority which is in daily contact with the people themselves, and is therefore subject to the influence of local public opinion, is put into effect by the system which I have described. At the same time there is sufficient centralization at the headquarters of each Emirate to enable the orders of the Emir, given on the advice of his European advisers, the Residents, to be rapidly conveyed to the population. In Kano or Sokoto, the most highly organized Emirates, the Emir's order will reach every responsible member of communities approaching two million in number in about ten days. Such orders refer to every subject relating to the administration, such as the collection and payment

of taxes, and the arrest of criminals. The policing of the Emirate is done entirely by police in the employ of the Emirs, known as Dogarai.

The members of the native administration were in former times paid in a somewhat haphazard manner, in fact, they often paid themselves. To remedy this the entire moiety of the rents and taxes which is granted by Government for the upkeep of the native administration is brought to account in the Emir's Treasuries, known as the Beit-el-Mal. By this, regular monthly payments are made, on a scale fixed by the Emirs and approved by the Governor, to all members of the native administration connected with headquarters, from the Emir himself down to the town scavenger, and including the judiciary. For instance, the Emir of Kano draws £400 per month, his Waziri £100 per month, the Alkali, or native judge, £50 per month. The dogarai are paid at the rate of £1 per month.

In the districts the native judges are paid at the rate of about £300 per annum. This sum is to them a large one, and is sufficient to raise them above the temptation of accepting bribes. The district headmen are not yet paid fixed salaries, but are entitled to draw a percentage of the total rents and taxes collected in their districts, generally 25 per cent. The village heads are paid in the same manner, generally at the rate of 15 per cent. of the taxes collected by them. A district head receives from about £150 to £1000 per annum, and a village head from £2 to £15 per annum. The good effect of ensuring to a native official a regular source of income has been incalculable, and the principal Emirs, such as those of Sokoto, Bornu, and Kano, though at first somewhat shy of accepting a civil list, have now become quite enthusiastic supporters of this system. They recognize that every native who formerly held a position of responsibility, in time of peace or war, is still entrusted with work congenial to him, and which gives him an interest in life, and, therefore, keeps him interested, though he is a member of a subject race. On the other hand, the peasantry now appreciate the payment of rents and taxes on a scale which varies little from year to year, which are calculated on a basis understandable to the individual, and regarding the amount of which they have, through their village heads, a considerable voice in deciding. It may now be said at least 75 per cent. of the total population of the Muslem states is directly interested in maintaining the existing state of affairs.

I will now attempt to describe briefly the manner in which the funds necessary for the maintenance of the administration are secured. The principal source of revenue in Northern Nigeria is termed Land Revenue. This is raised by collecting a contribution from each individual annually, that is to say, by direct taxation.

The mode of collection is slightly different in each emirate, for it is based in every case on the system which we found in force. Certain general principles governing the mode of collection are, however, observed throughout the Protectorate.

The amount to be paid is decided partly by the extent of the resources

of the individual. For example, an owner pays 1s. 6d. per annum for each head of horned cattle as Jangali, 10 per cent. of grain crops are collected and paid as Zakka. Partly also by the privileges granted to the individual by the state, for instance, the size of the farm which he is permitted to occupy.

There is much to be said in favour of securing a revenue for the State by means of direct taxation, for there are two main points of contact between a Government and those governed, one is the business of the Law Courts, the other the assessment and collection of those contributions which it is obligatory on the individual to pay towards the common fund necessary for the preservation of the State.

The business of the Law Courts brings the Administration into contact with more or less discontented persons only. In practice it has been found in Northern Nigeria that granted the native judges are free from bribery and corruption they can administer justice more efficiently than European officials, even when the latter are conversant with the language of the litigants. It has fortunately been found possible to entrust this work to an increasing extent to a native judiciary which is now fairly well paid. The assessment and collection of direct taxation, on the contrary, brings every individual householder into close contact with the administration, and compels a close study of native affairs to be undertaken by all officials, native and European alike. It has therefore an educational effect on the officials, native and European, and on the population. This is specially the case where the contribution is *pro rata* to the circumstances of the individual. Poll taxes, hut taxes, and all form of contribution which are not based on circumstances, but are of universal application to rich and poor alike, have a lesser educative influence. In cases where they are substituted for *pro rata* taxes they have the effect of divorcing the official from the individual. For the mere counting of heads in a village is a mechanical operation, and requires little thought on the part of the village head, and moreover he can do this without assistance from his council. When, however, he is compelled to assess each individual according to his circumstances, he is in a far more difficult position. The individual may well argue the point, and in that case the village head is drawn to seek the support of his Council. This in effect, to a great measure, ensures fair assessments.

Excepting in certain pagan districts, where the village organization is yet in a very rudimentary condition, and where a capitation tax only can be collected, *pro rata* property taxes are in force all through the Protectorate. The contribution to be paid by the village unit is fixed by a European assessing officer; each proportion of this to be paid by the individual native is decided by the village authority. The revenue, when collected, is accounted for through the district headman to the Government, represented by the Resident in each province. A proportion, 50 per cent. in the Muslim Emirates, and from 60 per cent. to 50 per cent. in the pagan

district, is paid into the Government treasury, and the remainder into the native treasuries.

The foregoing remarks regarding the administration apply to the Filane States and Bornu, and in a great measure to the pagan communities. In the latter the same general principles apply, but the mode of application differs in so much as the existing organization found in these communities differs from that found in the states more advanced in civilization. But the difference is, I think, one of degree and not of kind. I am aware that some of my colleagues in Nigeria will dissent from this view. It is held by some that the pagan communities are so patriarchal in their form of government that no analogy can be drawn. My experience leads me to think that, without exception, the African native lives as he walks, in single file. It is necessary for his mental contentment that he should look up to a superior to himself, whom he can trust to support him in time of adversity, and that there should be others his inferiors, "who kow tow" to him, and whom he can patronize. I am inclined to think, therefore, that a system by which contributions from the lowest to the highest, *i.e.* direct taxation of a kind will be found, after diligent investigation, to exist in every native community. As, however, in the Muslim States we found a tendency towards more centralization, so in the pagan communities we find the central control and organization weak and rudimentary, and the object to be aimed at is to strengthen it. But in so doing, the main fundamental principle that the affairs of the individual relating to the State shall be regulated by persons living in close contact with him, and therefore subject to his collective public opinion, holds good. On these lines we are organizing the pagan tribes, such as the wild mounted pagans on the Bauchi plateau, and the industrious, enterprising, but somewhat recalcitrant Munshi on the Benue. I trust not without some measure of success. There have been no operations which, in the opinion of the Commandant, justified the use of the term minor military operations even, for more than two years past. The land revenue has increased from £16,000 per annum in 1904 to over £400,000 in 1911, and will probably exceed £460,000 in 1912. These two facts, taken in conjunction, are not without, I think, significance, and augur well for the future peace and prosperity of the Protectorate.

The policy adopted with regard to the education of the natives in the Government schools has been framed with the object of strengthening the bond between the native rulers and their people. What is best in native tradition and customs is fostered, and no attempt is made to force upon the pupils alien ideas, except in so far as these may be necessary to them in order to fit them for success in the altered circumstances surrounding them. It is satisfactory to be able to record that the emirs and chiefs, though at first they showed some reluctance in committing their sons and relatives to our care, have now, without exception, given the scheme the most loyal support.

The Emir of Kano has from the first taken the greatest interest in the school which has been established at Nassarawa, in the neighbourhood of his capital, where there are now about 250 pupils. These are for the most part, boys, who, in the ordinary course of events, will be entrusted, when they grow up, with administrative duties of great responsibility.

Economic. General Remarks.—The economic development of Nigeria, regarded as a whole, has been very great of late years. The returns published by the Government of Southern Nigeria show an increase in exports from £3,000,000 sterling in 1906 to £5,000,000 in 1910; and in imports from £3,000,000 in 1906 to £5,000,000 in 1910. The revenue, 7 per cent., 90 per cent. of which is collected in the form of customs duties, has increased from £1,000,000 to £2,000,000 in the last five years. It is not possible to say to what extent Northern Nigeria has contributed to these increases. The work in the Protectorate connected with administration has been so varied and onerous, and the funds available so scanty, that it has not been possible to furnish the staff necessary to obtain and record trade statistics. The figures published may be set aside as unreliable.

That the general prosperity of the people is increasing year by year is, however, evident. Large sections of the population are now clothed which years ago were stark naked. In the more prosperous parts, such as the neighbourhood of Kano, Zaria, Sokoto, and Bida, the general standard of living is high, and the use of imported cloth extending very rapidly. The latter is always a sign that the people have money to spare. For the imported cloth is not nearly so durable as that made locally. The receipts on the Baro-Kano railway, which has been open for hardly a year, already exceed an average of £6000 per month. The statistics of population are not yet very reliable, but there is an increase of children between the ages of one and seven years, which is very noticeable in the towns; also large areas uncultivated are now found to contain pioneer settlers. The cost of food is low throughout Northern Nigeria excepting at Zungeru and Lokoja. At Kano, a man, his wife, and two children can feed themselves well on 1½*d.* per diem.

Railways. Baro-Kano.—The railway constructed from Baro, a port on the Niger, situated about 467 miles from the sea, to Kano *via* Zaria was completed in June, 1911. The gauge is 3 feet 6 inches, the total mileage is 356 miles from Baro to Kano. The cost of construction was £3400 per mile, quite a record of cheap and at the same time efficient and rapid railway construction. The cost of maintenance is about £100,000 per annum. The receipts from public traffic, exclusive of rates paid for the transport of Government material, during the past six months exceeded £35,000.

Bauchi Light Railway.—It is, I think, evident that the money expended on this line was well invested. From Zaria a branch-line, with a gauge of 2 feet 6 inches, has been constructed, at a cost of £2000 per mile for approximately 100 miles in a south-westerly direction towards the Bauchi plateau.

Lagos Railway.—The Lagos railway has been extended *via* Ilorin, Jebba, No. II.—AUGUST, 1912.]

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and Zungeru until it joins the Baro-Kano railway at Minna, some 40 miles east of Zungeru. Minna is situated at a distance of 250 miles from Lagos. The total receipts on this line during the year 1911 reached an amount of no less than £350,000.

We have here an indication of certain further railway developments which have been suggested. Up to the present, however, no scheme has been finally decided upon. Past experience has shown, however, that money expended in railways in these regions has invariably been well invested, and it is probable that a mileage of railways ten times as great as that already constructed would amply repay the cost of working and maintenance as well as interest on the capital expended.

Minerals.—The mining industry on the Bauchi plateau and in its neighbourhood has drawn to itself a considerable amount of attention lately.

Tin was first discovered by a group of emigrants from Bornu at a place called Liruein Kano about ninety years ago. The settlers were driven by raiding parties to abandon this locality, and they established themselves at Liruci Dalma. Here in 1902 they were found to have about ten furnaces for smelting purposes, and those were producing about fifty tons of metallic tin per annum. The cassiterite was obtained by calabashing, *i.e.* washing, in manner similar to that employed by the traditional gold prospector, from the bed of the Delimi river and the streams flowing into it in the neighbourhood of Tilde. Prospecting has now shown conclusively that cassiterite is distributed in larger or smaller quantities through alluvial gravels extending over an area of about 60 miles east and west, and 120 miles north and south. That is to say, over about 7200 square miles. The country rock is for the most part granite. The alluvials are of comparatively recent date and have no very great depth. It may easily happen, therefore, that in the parent lodes from which tin ore found in the alluvial has emanated will be discovered in the granite. The export of tin during the year ending December 31, 1911, was 1500 tons approximately valued at about £225,000. The total share capital of the various companies now interested exceeds three million pounds.

Galena and quartz reefs carrying free silver have been found in the neighbourhood of Orofu on the Benue.

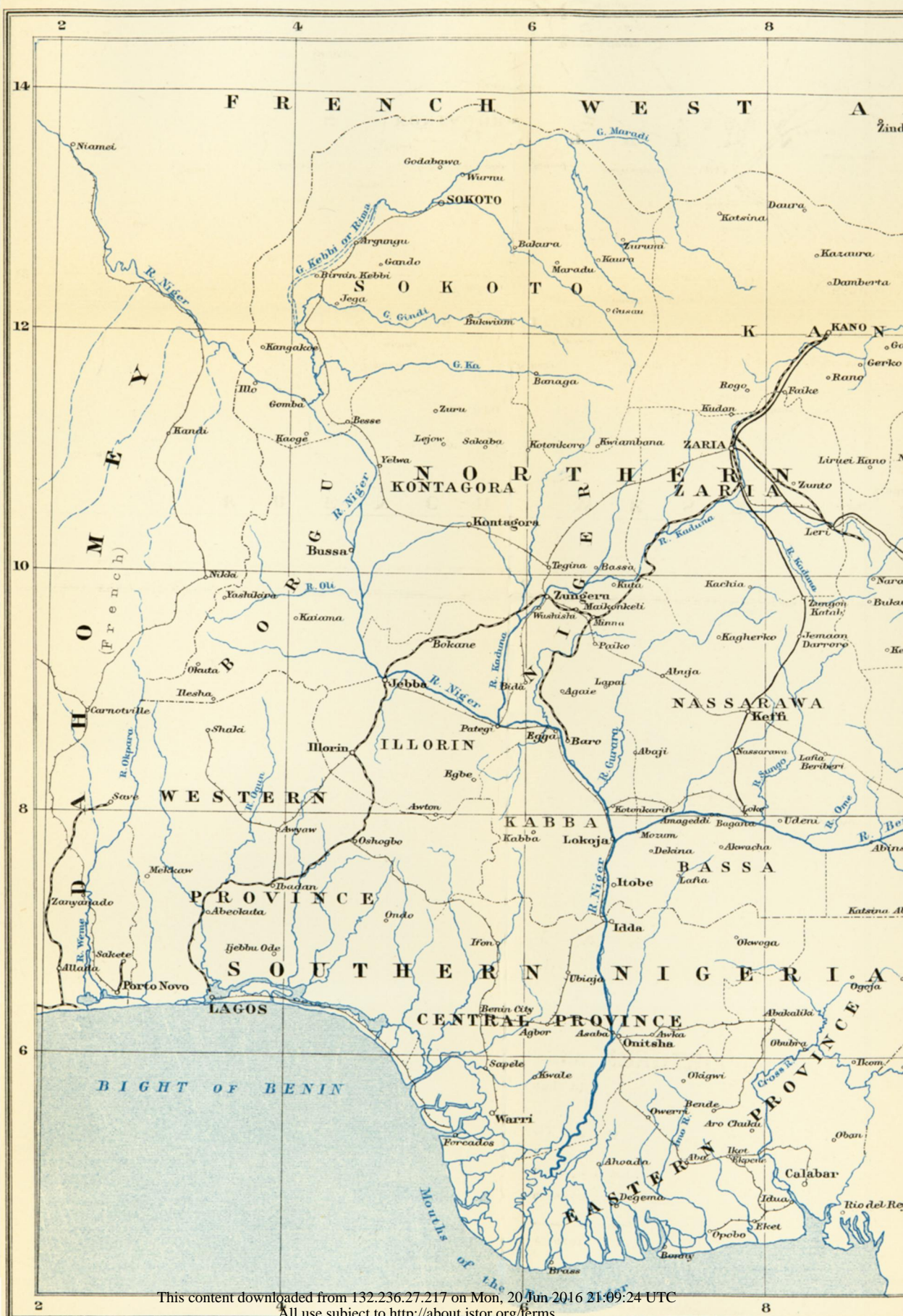
Salt pans are worked by natives in the neighbourhood of Awe and Lafia Beriberi. Iron is extensively smelted all over the protectorate.

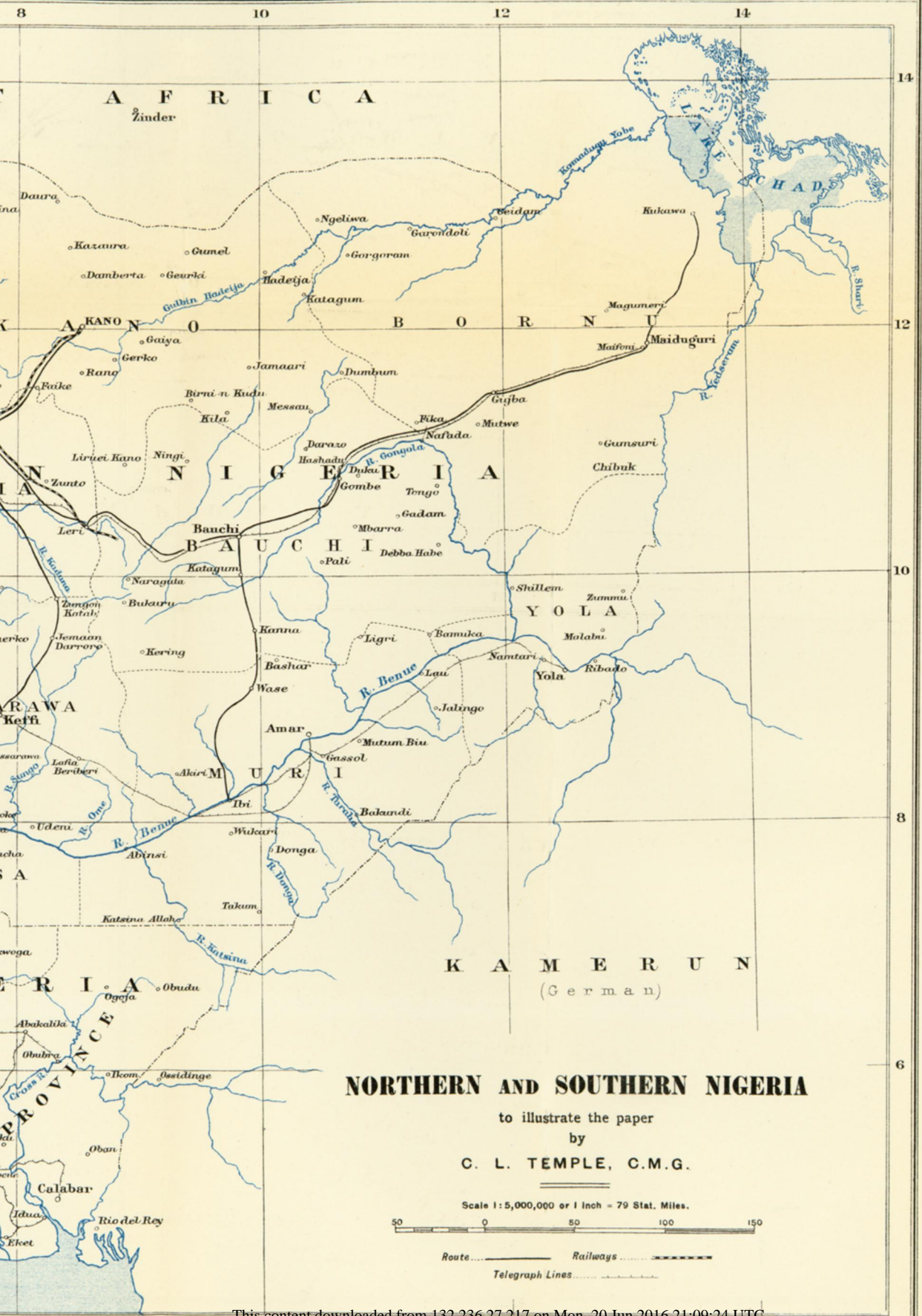
Coal has been found in large quantities at Udi, in Southern Nigeria, which is situated about 50 miles to the east of the Niger; also lignite at a spot about 15 miles from the river to the west of Asaba. With regard to cotton, the export has not yet sensibly increased. There is, however, one point to be kept in mind in this connection. About six million people have been clothing themselves, and clothing themselves very well from time immemorial, with cloth manufactured locally from cotton grown locally. A great export trade in Kano blue cloth exists. This cloth is to be found in large quantities in all the coast towns from Tripoli to

Dakar, and from Dakar to Lagos. There is, therefore, a great deal of cotton being cultivated and produced, but at present the price obtainable in the local markets exceeds 1*d.* per pound, the highest price offered by the British Cotton Growing Association, and therefore it is not available for export. The time will come, however, when the production will exceed local requirements, and cotton will be seen on the local market for less than 1*d.* per pound. The reason is as follows: the native is getting more and more accustomed to the use of silver currency; there is a growing demand for silver coin. He will, therefore, cultivate those crops for which he can the more easily obtain currency. There is no other crop for which he can obtain currency to the same extent as for cotton. Let buying centres be established, therefore, throughout the territory, ready to purchase cotton for cash at 1*d.* per pound. Once the native realizes that there is an unlimited number of shillings to be obtained in exchange for cotton, rather than any other produce the cotton will appear.

The extensive distribution of wages amongst the natives employed on railway construction has established the habit of spending money amongst a large section of natives in its neighbourhood. Railway construction having now ceased, those natives, in order to obtain money, have taken to collecting Shea nuts, for sale on a large scale, and the export of this produce has increased greatly. The moral to be drawn from this is that well-considered expenditure on public works of a useful description repays itself in three directions. There is, first, the benefit conferred upon the community by the increased facilities of transport and manufacture, a benefit for which the trade of the country can afford to pay. Next, the distribution of currency amongst the people. Lastly, the technical education of the native mind, the awakening of native ambition, and the consequent stimulation of their efforts towards the attainment of a higher state of economic prosperity than that they have hitherto enjoyed. I will close this paper with a few statistics which may be of interest. The figures are approximate only.

Dependency.	Northern Nigeria.	Southern Nigeria.	British India.	Egyptian Sudan.	Uganda.
Population	10,000,000	9,000,000	224,000,000	2,500,000	3,500,000
Area (square miles) ...	255,000	100,000	1,100,000	1,000,000	120,000
Population per square mile	40	90	224	2.5	30
Cost of administration per 1000 of pop.	£74	£200	£315	£612	£68
Cost of administration per square mile	£3	£20	£70	£1 10s.	£2
Land revenue per square mile	£1 10s.	Negligible	£21	?	?
Land revenue per 1000 of population	£40	„	£92	?	?
Area (sq. miles) per administrative officer	2000	800	?	?	3000
Population per administrative officer	75,000	75,000	?	?	85,000



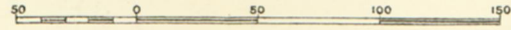


NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN NIGERIA

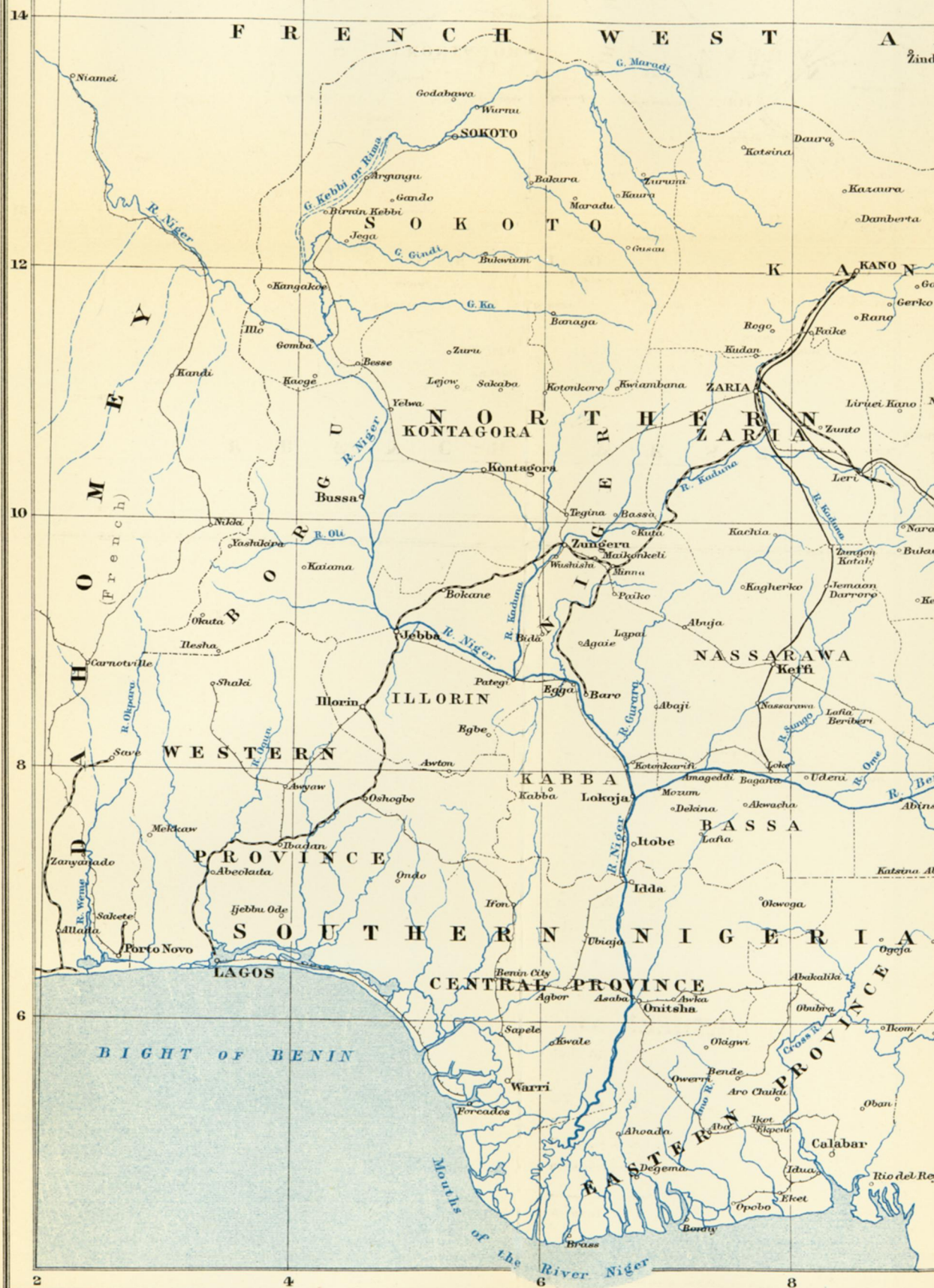
to illustrate the paper
by

C. L. TEMPLE, C.M.G.

Scale 1:5,000,000 or 1 inch = 79 Stat. Miles.



Route.....
 Railways.....
 Telegraph Lines.....



Note. This sketch map has been taken from the War Office map of "Northern and Southern Nigeria" (G.S.G.S. No. 2437) 1910 with small additions to date.

Published by the Royal Geographical Society.

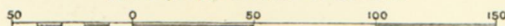


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