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Kolonialwirtschaft. — Neue Abteilungen. — Veränderungen in den Vorständen der Abteilungen. — a. — Die Entwicklung des Kiautschou-Gebietes. (Mit Karte.) Von Hauptmann Haerdt. — b. — (Mit 3 Abbildungen.) Von Dr. M. Gärke. — Mitteilungen der Auskunftsstelle. — c. — G. Kammengießer. — Aus dem Bereich der Missionen. Von Pastor E. Hofer. — d. — (Mit 1 Abbildung.) Von A. D. Sellin. — Zeitungsverkehr mit den deutschen Kolonien. Von Emil A. Auslande. — Verkehrsmittel: Postdampfschiffverbindungen nach den deutschen Schutzgebieten.

Veränderungen in den Vorständen der Abteilungen.

Flensburg. II. Vorsitzender ist jetzt Hauptmann von Flottwell. — Rottbus. Zeitiger Vorstand: Vorsitzender: Oberstabsarzt Dr. Grüning, Bahnhofstraße; Schatzmeister: Kaufmann Viktor Piersch; Bibliothekar: Prakt. Arzt Dr. Schulz. — Mülhausen i. Gl. Der Vorsitzende, Oberst und Brig.-Komm. Nethe, ist jetzt Generalmajor. — Neumünster. Zeitiger Vorstand: I. Vorsitzender: Stabsarzt a. D. Dr. Müller, Großflecken 26; II. Vorsitzender: Reg.-Rat Büchting; I. Schriftführer: Gymn.-Lehrer Loos, Behnhofsstr. 48; II. Schriftführer: Fabrikant Herm. Sager; Schatzmeister: Fabrikant Friedr. Hansen; Beisitzer: Kaufmann Blund, Major Gued. — Riesa. Zeitiger Vorstand: I. Vorsitzender: Rechtsanwalt und Notar Dr. jur. Rende; II. Vorsitzender: Oberstleutnant z. D. Hübner; I. Schriftführer: Oberlehrer Diegel; II. Schriftführer: Hauptmann Voller; Schatzmeister: Kaufmann G. Braune. — Thorn. Als Beisitzer ist zugewählt: Hauptmann von Heydebreck.

Zweiter Teil.

(Unter Verantwortung des Schriftleiters.)

Das Vorgehen der Briten in Nigeria.

Ueber die für unser Kameruner Schutzgebiet wichtigen Unternehmungen der Briten in Bornu, am Venus und am Großfluß liegen einige weitere Mitteilungen vor.

Fadelallah, der Sohn des im Kampfe gegen die Franzosen gefallenen Eroberers Nabbeh, hatte die Briten um Schutz gebeten. Er behauptet, nunmehr der rechtmäßige Herrscher von Bornu zu sein, das sein Vater erobert hatte. Seinen Sitz hat er in Vergama, über 150 km nordöstlich vom Gongola, einem Nebenfluß des Venus, 25 Tagemärsche von dem britischen Posten Ibi aufgeschlagen. Major M. Clintock brach mit 50 Mann der westafrikanischen Grenztruppe und 150 Trägern dorthin auf; eingeborene Händler, die sich unter seinen Schutz stellten, zogen mit. Die Reise dauerte drei Wochen und während zehn Tagen ging es durch unbekanntes Land. 50 km von Fadelallahs Lager kamen 100 Reiter der britischen Truppe entgegen, um ihr das Geleit zu geben. Fadelallahs Lager dehnt sich in weitem Umkreise um die alten Mauern von Vergama aus. Es besteht aus Tausenden von

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Hütten mit Spitzdächern. Der Herrscher empfing die Briten am Eingang der Stadt zu Pferde in weißer Kleidung. 2000 Mann ausgebildeter Truppen, die Gewehre führten, waren in einer Doppellinie aufgestellt; sie waren in neun Kompanien eingeteilt, deren jede eine Fahne führte, neben der je ein Hornist und ein Trommler aufgestellt waren. Die Truppen feuerten Salut, worauf die britischen Offiziere die Parade über sie abnahmen. Fadelallah begrüßte seine Gäste sehr herzlich und geleitete sie in ein eigens für sie hergerichteter Lager, worauf er ihnen Geschenke zukommen ließ. Am folgenden Tage stattete er ihnen einen Besuch ab, wobei er seinem Wunsch Ausdruck gab, in Bornu unter britischer Leitung und gemäß den englischen Gesetzen herrschen zu dürfen.

Fadelallah wird als ein aufgeweckter Mann von etwa 26 Jahren und ausgesprochenem Regertypus geschildert. Seine Kleidung entspricht so ziemlich derjenigen der Dervische; er trägt zwei Nevoloes im Gürtel. Sein Bruder und nächster Nachfolger Mama Keybbe wird als ein ebenfalls gescheiter und sehr volkstümlicher junger Mann geschildert. Von den Führern haben viele unter dem verstorbenen Rabbeh jahrelang gedient. Alle waren mit Fadelallah einig, daß sie das Kriegsleben aufgeben und unter britischer Oberherrschaft friedlich ansässig werden wollten. Major W. Clintock blieb 16 Tage. Eine große Parade wurde zu Ehren der Briten abgehalten, die dabei erfuhren, daß jede Kompanie zwei Führer hat, deren einer den Befehl übernimmt, falls der andere im Kampfe fällt. Auch Fadelallahs Schwester Fowa, ein Mädchen von 19 Jahren, führt eine Kompanie an. Sie hat schon manche Kämpfe mitgemacht und im vorigen Jahre eine größere Streitmacht im Kampfe gegen den Feindstaat Kilba geführt. Sie trägt ein Gewehr und einen Speer. Der Abschied war recht freundlich. Fadelallah selbst gab seinen Gästen auf einer längeren Strecke das Geleit und hat um einen baldigen abermaligen Besuch der Briten. Der Oberkommissar für Nordnigeria, Sir Frederick Lugard, der nach einem Heimatsurlaub wieder in aller nächster Zeit die Oberleitung in dem Schutzgebiet übernehmen wird, muß nun die endgültige Entscheidung treffen, die ohne Zweifel dahin lauten wird, daß ein britischer Resident in Vergama eingesetzt werden wird. Einstweilen ist es Fadelallah nicht leicht, seine starke Streitmacht zu unterhalten, da Bornu erschöpft ist und Raubzüge in britisches Gebiet vermieden werden müssen. Major W. Clintock hat einen seiner Dolmetscher bei Fadelallah zurückgelassen, der seinerseits einen seiner Truppenführer mit nach Dschibba, dem britischen Hauptquartier, gesandt hat.

Was die Unternehmungen am Venus betrifft, so liegen jetzt ausführliche Meldungen über die Einnahme von Yola vor (s. a. S. 474 f.). Der dortige Emir Subeir hatte die britischen Händler abgewehrt und Sklavenjagden unternommen. Einen Brief, wodurch der Oberkommissar ihn ersuchte, dieses Treiben einzustellen, sandte er nicht. Daraufhin wurde der Feldzug beschlossen.

Am 12. Oktober wurde der Feldzug beschlossen. 12 Offiziere, 7 weiße Unteroffiziere, 2 Ärzte, 360 eingeborene Soldaten und führte zwei Geschütze von 7,5 cm und vier Maximengeschütze mit. Man wußte, daß der Emir zwei Geschütze nebst Munition besaß, die ihm seiner Zeit der französische Leutnant z. S. Rizon hinterlassen hatte, aber zum Teil deswegen mit den Behörden der Nigergesellschaft in Konflikt kam, die ihn den sogenannten Handelsdampfer „Sergent-Malamine“ abnahmen.

Am 2. September d. J. erschien die Truppe vor Yola. Einen ersten Schuß, den sie abgab, beantwortete die Artillerie des Emirs sofort mit zwei Schüssen. Darauf ging es zum Angriff. Die Stadt, deren Bevölkerung auf 30000 Einwohner angegeben wird, ist nicht befestigt, mit Ausnahme der Paläste des Emirs und seiner Großen, die von dicken Mauern umgeben sind. Erst beim Palast des Emirs und der gegenüberliegenden Moschee, deren Mauern mit Gewehr- und Bogenschützen besetzt waren, stieß die Truppe auf Widerstand, wobei ihr Führer, Oberleutnant Morland, durch einen Pfeil verwundet wurde. Major W. Clintock eroberte die beiden Geschütze des Feindes, bevor sie in Thätigkeit traten; es sind messingene Keunpfänder mit der Kaiserkrone und dem N und den Jahreszahlen 1860 und 1864. Rascheinander wurden dann die Moschee und der Palast erobert. Der Emir war kurz

vor der Einnahme des Palastes zu Pferde durch dessen einziges Thor gestochen. Seine Leibwache bestand zum Teil aus 300 Waan, die Fadelallah abtrünnig geworden waren; diese Leibwache war es, die bis zuletzt Widerstand leistete. Die Belagerten hatten etwa 150 Tote und Verwundete, die Briten 42.

Am 8. September wurde Bobo Amadu als Emir feierlich eingesetzt. Dabei wurde die britische Flagge gehißt und feierlich salutiert. Tausende von Eingeborenen wohnten der Feierlichkeit bei. Am folgenden Tage zogen die Briten ab, unter Zurücklassung einer starken Besatzung, die sich auf einer Anhöhe etwa 3 km von der Stadt einrichteten, von wo sie letztere beherrschen kann. Einer der Expedition begleitenden Beamten, Hauptmann Ruxton, blieb als vorläufiger Resident zurück.

Es entsteht nun für uns die Frage: werden die Briten ihren Schützlingen Fadelallah und Bobo Amadu gestatten, irgend welchen weiteren Einfluß nach Osten hin, auf Kameruner Gebiet auszuüben? Das internationale Recht erfordert, daß sie ihnen dies streng untersagen. Die Morning Post hat auch bereits in ihren ersten Erörterungen über die Einnahme Yolas eine reinliche Scheidung empfohlen, und wir müssen annehmen, daß dies auch den Absichten der britischen Regierung entspricht. Ob während der kürzlichen Anwesenheit Sir Frederick Lugards in England Verhandlungen darüber mit der deutschen Diplomatie gepflogen worden sind, wäre interessant zu erfahren. Fadelallahs Vater Rabbeh wütete hauptsächlich auf Kameruner Gebiet. Wird der Sohn seine Ansprüche auf letzteres aufgeben? Wenn Major W. Clintock korrekt gehandelt hat, hat er ihm wenigstens eine vorläufige Verpflichtung in diesem Sinne abgenommen. Wir müssen uns bald darüber klar werden, falls es sich bestätigt, daß unsere Regierung jetzt über die Vorgänge nördlich vom Venus durch eigene Mitteilungen unterrichtet ist, wie kürzlich verlautete. Schwieriger vielleicht als mit Fadelallah wird sich für uns die Abrechnung mit dem alten und dem neuen Emir von Adamaua gestalten. Herr Kannengießer (vergl. auch die neueren Ausführungen desselben Autors in dieser Nummer auf S. 474 f.) hat in der Kolonialzeitung bereits darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß der flüchtige Subeir sich wahrscheinlich auf Kameruner Gebiet herantreibt, wo er bei tributpflichtigen kleinen Herrschern nördlich und südlich vom Venus Aufnahme finden kann. Es muß vermieden werden, daß die Tributzahlung an den neuen Emir fortgesetzt wird, dem jetzt ein britischer Resident zur Seite steht. Können wir daher, daß Oberleutnant Dominik sehr bald glücklich in Garua ankommt und dort seinen „Beobachtungsposten“ errichten kann. Ist dies erreicht, so kann er mit dem britischen Residenten in Yola in Verbindung treten und nach internationalem Recht die Postverbindung über den Venus und den Niger nach der Küste benutzen.

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La Vérité sur le Congo (Brüssel)

No. 26 vom 15. Nov. 1905

Neue Aufstände in Südnigeria. — Wie wir schon vor sechs Monaten anzeigten, ist mit dem Beginn der trockenen Jahreszeit, wie in den vorigen Jahren, auch wieder das System der Militärexpeditionen in der unglücklichen englischen Kolonie von Südnigeria aufgenommen worden.

In der Tat veröffentlicht am 18. Oktober die *Times* folgende Depesche: « Die Reuter-Agentur erfährt, dass ein gestern von Lagos angekommenes Telegramm meldet, es hätten Kämpfe im Kwalelande (Südnigeria) stattgefunden, und der Bezirkskommissar, J. Davidson, sowie die Leutnants P. S. Vassall und C. A. L. Irvine seien verwundet worden. Verstärkungen sind von Lagos abgesandt worden, man besitzt noch keine Einzelheiten, aber man weiss, dass im Bezirk Kwale Unruhen herrschen... In Folge dieser Unruhe ist eine Truppenkolonne hingesandt worden, und es ist wahrscheinlich den Eingeborenen bereits ein Kampf geliefert. »

Das Kwaleland, westlich vom Unterniger und südlich von Asaba, ist schon vergangenes Jahr von einer Truppenkolonne besucht worden, weil, wie der amtliche Bericht über diese Expedition sagt, seine Bewohner während der letzten fünf Jahre fortwährend Krieg unter einander geführt hatten, und dadurch den englischen Handel geschädigt hatten. Während dieser Expedition wurde der bedeutende Ort Atua gestürmt, geplündert und gänzlich zerstört. Zunächst wurden die Häuser angezündet und dann wurden sämtlich eingeborenen Gefangenen gezwungen alles was von ihren ausgebrannten Häusern noch stand zu zerstören und ihre Getreidefelder zu vernichten. Zahlreiche Eingeborenen, Männer, Frauen und Kinder wurden durch die schwarzen Soldaten getötet oder starben vor Hunger im Walde, wohin sie sich geflüchtet hatten; aber der amtliche Bericht schliesst mit dieser

tröstlichen Feststellung, dass der Handel wieder voll aufgeblüht war, als die Truppen den Bezirk verliessen (1).

Was dieser Handel ist, haben wir des näheren in den Nummern der *Vérité sur le Congo* vom Monat März und ff. sowie in der Broschüre *la Nigérie du Sud et les humanitaires anglais* dargestellt. Der eingeborene Häuptling ist verpflichtet, der Kolonialregierung den gesamten Kautschuk zu überlassen, welcher in den Wäldern existiert, gleichviel ob diese Wälder herrenlos sind oder ob sie ihm persönlich angehören. Er ist gezwungen, bei seinem Stamme den Schnaps frei einführen zu lassen, mit welchem die englischen Factoreibesitzer das ganze Land vergiften und dessen Einkaufspreis in Europa deutlich genug die Qualität verrät: Frank 1.75 die Kiste zu 12 Flaschen, Kapseln, Etiquetten und Verpackung inbegriffen. Endlich ist er gezwungen, zum Zweck der Erleichterung dieses Handels durch seine Leute ein Strassennetz herstellen zu lassen und zwar mittels unbezahlter Fronarbeit (2).

Anscheinend haben die Bewohner von Kwale das nicht nach ihrem Geschmack gefunden. Daher der Aufstand. Der Ausgang ist nicht zweifelhaft, er wird im Blute erstickt werden. Das hat der Gouverneur Egerton kürzlich in einem Interview erklärt: das Werk der Friedensherstellung muss noch drei bis vier Jahre dauern.

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(1) *London Gazette*, 1905, S. 5833.

(2) *Government Gazette*, 28 Februar 1903.

La Vérité sur le Congo (Brüssel)

No. 27 vom 15. Okt. 1905

Neue Kämpfe in Nigeria. — Soeben treffen Meldungen über einen ernstlichen Kampf ein, der am Ethiope-River in Südnigeria mit dem Stamm der Kwala stattgefunden hätte. Eine britische Truppe von etwa sechzig Mann, darunter drei Weisse, fuhr im Dampfer stromaufwärts, um einen Häuptling der Kwale zu verhaften, der des Mordes an Kaufleuten aus Sobo beschuldigt war. Nachdem sie den Dampfer verlassen hatten, mussten die Soldaten mehrere Meilen weit marschieren. Plötzlich wurden sie von einer Schar von 2,000 Männern, die mit alten Flinten bewaffnet waren, angegriffen. Die englische Truppe erwiderte das Feuer der Eingeborenen und hielt ihren Vormarsch auf. Indessen war ein Maximgeschütz beschädigt worden und musste hinter die Front geschafft werden. Doch gaben die Soldaten Salve auf Salve ab, wobei sie sich langsam nach dem Flusse zurückzogen, wo der Dampfer lag. Die drei Weissen, darunter zwei Offiziere, wurden verwundet. Kapitän Irvine, einer derselben, der seitdem nach England heimgekehrt ist, wurde von einem Stück eines eisernen Topfes getroffen, das ihm bis in die Lungen drang. Ein schwarzer Soldat wurde getötet, dreizehn andere verwundet. Die Truppe kehrte nach Sapele zurück und verlangte Verstärkung von Lagos und Calabar. Die *Egga* von der Elder Dampster Co. brachte eine Truppe aus Lagos, und der Regierungsdampfer *Ivy* brachte eingeborene Soldaten aus Calabar. So wurden

insgesamt 450 Offiziere und Soldaten unter den Befehl des Obersten Montanaro gestellt. Diese Truppe fuhr zu Schiff wieder den Ethiope River hinauf. Der Telegraph meldet uns den vollen Erfolg dieser Expedition und die Heimkehr der Truppen nach Lagos.

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geben. Zugewogen wäre es von Vorteil, wenn außerhalb dieser jährlichen Verhandlung koloniale Fragen vor die Kammern gebracht würden. „Durch Erörterungen, die aus jedem Anlaß stattfinden könnten, würde die regelmäßige Tätigkeit der Verwaltung gehemmt und die billige Aufsicht der Kammern in eine dem Geiste des organischen Gesetzes widersprechende Einmischung umgewandelt werden.“ Die Ausübung des parlamentarischen Rechtes, außerhalb dieser jährlichen Verhandlung Fragen zu stellen, wird daher im übrigen von der Zustimmung des Kolonialministers abhängig gemacht, „der sie nur verweigern wird, wenn die Interpellation unzweckmäßig oder den Interessen der Kolonie widersprechend erscheint“. Hierzu ist zu bemerken, daß es bei dieser Fassung lediglich auf die parlamentarische Praxis ankäme, ob fortlaufend oder gar nicht interpelliert werden würde.

Im Einklang mit der finanziellen Selbständigkeit der Kolonie wird ein Kolonialministerium errichtet, das von den übrigen Ministerien unabhängig sein wird, und dessen Kosten dem Budget der Kolonie aufzuerlegt werden. Der Minister wird den Kammern verantwortlich sein, Sitz im Ministerrat und denselben Rang wie seine Kollegen haben. Neben ihm wird ein Kolonialrat eingesetzt, der aus vier Mitgliedern besteht, deren zwei in der Zivilverwaltung, der Justiz oder dem Heeresdienst oder als Leiter eines geschäftlichen Unternehmens in der Kolonie tätig gewesen sein müssen. Die Leitung der auswärtigen Angelegenheiten der überseeischen Besitzungen wird dem belgischen Minister des Auswärtigen übertragen. Die Genehmigung von Verträgen für die Kolonien mit auswärtigen Mächten steht den Kammern in demselben Maße zu wie die der internationalen Verträge Belgiens.

Die Urteile belgischer Gerichte in Zivil- und Handelsachen sind in der Kolonie vollstreckbar und umgekehrt. Wegen Straßvergehen, begangen von Belgiern in der Kolonie, findet eine Auslieferung nach der letzteren nicht statt, sondern der Flüchtling wird in Belgien nach belgischem Rechte abgeurteilt. Belgische Beamte und Offiziere, die in der Kolonie dienen, behalten ihr Beförderungswort im Mutterlande. Die Kolonialverwaltung darf sich des bisherigen Wappensiegels und der bisherigen Flagge (blau mit goldenem Stern in der Mitte) bedienen, weil eine Änderung in diesen Neuherlichkeiten Verwirrung bei den Eingeborenen hervorrufen müßte. Alle dem neuen Gesetze nicht widersprechenden früheren Verordnungen und Erlasse bleiben in Kraft. Der Kolonialrat, der übrigens rein beratende Befugnisse hat, muß befragt werden, wenn das Kolonialgesetz geändert werden soll. *.*

England.

Aus Nigeria.

Seit der Übernahme des früheren Gebietes der Nigergesellschaft durch die britische Krone ist die Verwaltung der beiden Schutzgebiete Süd- und Nordnigeria eifrig bestrebt, die ihr zugefallenen Landschaften zu erschließen. Einzelne Feldzüge, die zu diesem Zweck unternommen wurden, oder noch geplant sind, bieten wegen der Nachbarschaft Nigerias und Kameruns für uns ein besonderes Interesse. Es sei daher im folgenden eine Darstellung der sämtlichen militärischen Unternehmungen der letzten Zeit gegeben. Südnigeria hat eine Schutztruppe von 1080 Mann; die West African Frontier Force in Nordnigeria besteht aus 2500 Mann, wovon noch 500 Mann im Aschantilande abgeteilt stehen. Die sämtlichen Streikräfte der britischen Kolonien Westafrikas werden demnächst zu einer einheitlichen West African Frontier Force vereinigt und einem Inspekteur (General) unterstellt.

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griff von der Rückseite zu befürchten war, kehrte die Truppe nach Ibi zurück. Darauf wurde ein größerer Feldzug nach Yola beschloffen, zumal der Emir sich dem britischen Handel feindlich gezeigt hatte. Dieser Feldzug führte am 2. September d. J. zur Erstürmung der Hauptstadt Adamouas. Diesmal gab es härtere Kämpfe; denn die Briten hatten 41 Verwundete, darunter ihren Führer Oberst Morland und einen andern Offizier. Der Emir hatte die Flucht ergriffen.

Ueber diese letzte Kriegsthat und ihre Bedeutung für unser Kameruner Schutzgebiet, wo n. a. die Sultane von Tibati in Süd- und Mandarra in Nordamaua dem Emir von Yola tributpflichtig sind, ist an dieser Stelle bereits in Nr. 38 auf S. 369 f. Näheres mitgeteilt worden.

In Süd-nigeria war nordöstlich von Benin im November 1899 eine kleine Truppe unter Major Heneker angegriffen worden. Die Eingebornen wurden zwar gleich gestraft, ihr Dorf wurde verbrannt, allein es galt noch, das dicht bevölkerte Gebiet, Ischan genannt, der britischen Verwaltung zu unterstellen. Eine militärische Expedition konnte indes wegen des Aschanti-Krieges nicht sofort stattfinden und ging erst am 1. März d. J. unter Major Heneker von Old Calabar über die altbekannte Stadt Benin ab, der Resident von Benin begleitete sie. Die Truppe stieß bei Atsibau, etwa 150 km jenseits Benin, auf Widerstand, drang aber durch und schlug an einem Hauptort der Gegend ein Lager auf. Die Eingebornen griffen letzteres an; in mehr-tägigen Kämpfen verloren die Briten 10 eingeborne Soldaten, behaupteten aber ihre Stellung. Die Expedition wurde nicht vor Juni d. J. zurück erwartet. Weitere Angaben über diese Unternehmung, insbesondere über die Truppenstärke, fehlen noch.

Ein größerer Feldzug der süd-nigerischen Truppe gegen den Stamm der Aro am Großfluß, an dessen oberem Lauf auf Kameruner Gebiet die neue Station Nsaka liegt, soll von Major Rentanaro mit 2000 Mann unternommen werden, ist aber seit mehreren Monaten verschoben worden, weil die Truppen Nord-nigerias, die mitwirken sollen, noch nicht frei sind. Der Plan geht dahin, die Aro durch eine von Old Calabar ausgehende und eine von Norden kommende Abteilung in die Mitte zu nehmen. Die Aro sind sehr kriegerische Fetischdiener. Sie haben gedroht, jeden Weißen, der sich ihrem Gebiet nähern wollte, niederzumachen.

Im Westen Nord-nigerias waren seit geraumer Zeit die Emire von Kontagora und Bidba, die mächtigsten Herrscher nach dem von Sokoto, gefährlich geworden. In einem weiten Gebiet sollen sie seit Mitte v. J. nicht weniger als 8000 Menschen getötet oder als Sklaven geraubt haben. Es war zu befürchten, daß die beiden Emire sich gegen die Briten verbinden würden, allein ein Feldzug wurde erst möglich, als die W. A. Frontier Force von der Goldküste zurückkehrte. Diesen Feldzug unternahm im Januar d. J. Oberst Remball mit 400 Mann und drei Geschützen. Vor Kontagora kam es zu einem großen Gefecht. 6000 Fußkrieger, Reiter und Fußtruppen stellten sich den Briten entgegen, die in geschlossener Kolonne vorgingen und erst auf 75 m das Salvenfeuer eröffneten, dem der mit (vergifteten) Pfeilen schießende Feind nicht standhalten konnte. Am andern Tage wurde Kontagora genommen. Der Emir war entflohen und wurde vergeblich verfolgt. Kontagora wird als eine Stadt von 25 000 Einwohnern geschildert. Oberst Remball gab mehreren tausend Sklaven die Freiheit wieder und wandte sich nun gegen Bidba, unterwegs stieß der Kommissar des Schutzgebietes, General Sir Frederic Lugard, mit einem Bataillon zu ihm. General Lugard forderte den Emir von Bidba auf, zu erscheinen, dieser gab der Aufforderung jedoch keine Folge; nur der Makum, der von den Briten 1895 anerkannte Thronfolger, erschien und wurde als Emir anerkannt und eingesetzt. Der bisherige Emir war nach Saria oder Kano entflohen. Am 17. Februar war dieser Feldzug zu Ende. Britische Residenten wurden in beiden Städten zurückgelassen.

In derselben Gegend, weiter nördlich, trieb noch der Emir Naha Sklavenraub; seine Züge nahmen im Westen auch französisches Gebiet in Mitleidenschaft. Hauptmann Keyes zog mit 110 Mann von Ilo aus gegen ihn und nahm seine Stadt, aus der Naha bereits mit 100 Reitern entflohen war. Auf der Verfolgung gelangte Keyes bis Kalgo, dessen Häuptling ebenfalls entflohen war, befreite eine Anzahl Sklaven und kehrte nach Ilo zurück. Später wurde in Nahas Stadt ein neuer Herrscher eingesetzt. Dann wandte Keyes sich gegen Djegga, um mit dem Emir von Gando freundschaftliche Beziehungen anzubahnen. Djegga wird als eine sehr belebte Stadt von 5000 bis 6000 Einwohnern geschildert.

Die auf beiden Ufern des Benuss wohnenden Munschi hörten seit geraumer Zeit den Flußverkehr. Im Dezember 1899 war eine Telegraphenabteilung des Majors M'Clintock von ihnen angegriffen worden. Darauf fand im vorigen Jahre eine Expedition gegen sie statt. Die Truppen wurden vielfach mit vergifteten Pfeilen beschossen und steckten eine Anzahl Dörfer in Brand. Am Ende gelang es dem Major M'Clintock mit einer größeren Streitmacht, die Munschi vom nördlichen Ufer zu unterwerfen, wobei die Dickschästen der mächtigen Häuptlinge Abaka und Abagka in Brand gesetzt wurden. Ein Zug gegen die südlichen Munschi steht noch bevor.

In allen bisher erwähnten Kämpfen hatten die Briten keine nennenswerten Verluste.

Im Anschluß an die Unternehmungen gegen die Munschi wandte sich zuerst Leutnant MacGregor mit 100 Mann nach Yola. Unterwegs erfuhr er, vier deutsche Händler seien in der Stadt gewesen, und die Deutschen versuchten (von Kamerun aus) den dortigen Handel an sich zu ziehen (?). Ein Teil der Truppe, der in nördlichem Bogen auf dem Landwege vorgegangen war, stieß auf Widerstand; die Leute des Emirs nahmen die Kanus weg, und da ein An-

The Times (London)

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Beachtenswert!

**NORTHERN NIGERIA AND
ITS PROBLEMS.**

**I.—NIGERIA'S CLAIM UPON
PUBLIC ATTENTION.**

We publish below the first of a series of articles on Northern Nigeria, the character of the country, the life of its peoples, and the administrative problem which they present. A similar series on Southern Nigeria appeared in the last Empire Day Edition of *The Times* on May 24.

It is particularly to be hoped, at a time when public interest has been prominently drawn to the relations and the territories of the European Powers in West Africa, that more attention will be paid in England to the extent and nature of our responsibilities in that region. Nigeria is not merely by far the most considerable of our West African possessions, but the only British Dependency in any part of the world which approaches the Indian Empire in magnitude and variety. Our administrators there, in most inadequate numbers and under very difficult conditions, but with our Indian experiences to help them, are confronting problems almost as large and delicate as those which first inspired the administrative genius of Great Britain in the East. It is time their work were better understood.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

Nigeria is a geographical expression applied to a territory in West Africa which by successive stages covering a period of more than one hundred years, under circumstances widely differing in character and incentive, and almost wholly as the result of the initial enterprise of British explorers and merchants, has passed under the protection of Great Britain. With the discovery of Nigeria are associated exploits which for romantic interest and personal achievement hold a prominent place in British exploring records. The angry swirl of the Bussa Rapids must ever recall the well-nigh superhuman achievements of Mungo Park, as the marvellous creeks and channels of the Niger Delta evoke the memory of Richard Lander and John Beecroft.

THE PIONEERS.

You cannot visit the Court of the Emir of Kano without remembering Clapperton's account of the awkward religious conundrum with which the gallant sailor, the first European to enter that fascinating African city, was amazed and confounded by one of the present Emir's predecessors, nor ride over the wide and dusty road into the heart of Hausaland without thinking that but for Joseph Thomson's diplomatic tact in negotiating the early treaties with its potentates, which were to pave the way for the statesmanship of a Taubman-Goldie and the organizing genius of a Lugard, Nigeria would to-day be the brightest jewel in the West African empire of the French. The spirit of MacGregor Laird, the hardy pioneer who laid the first foundations of British commerce in this country, seems to hover over the broad bosom of the Niger. The marvellous panorama that unfolds itself before your eyes at Lokoja (the confluence of the Niger with its tributary the Benue) conjures up the heroism and

tragedy of the Allan-Trotter expedition; while to negotiate in a dug-out the currents that eddy round the famous *ju-ju* rock—still termed Baikie's seat—is a reminder that somewhere in the blue depths below lie the remains of Dr. Baikie's ill-fated Dayspring.

This land is, indeed, a land rich in heroic memories to men of British blood. It is the more astonishing that so little appears to be known by the general public either of its past or, what is much more important, of the many complex problems connected with its administration.

THE PRESENT DIVISIONS.

Nigeria is, at present, arbitrarily divided into two units, "Southern" and "Northern," the latter of which these letters will describe. The division corresponds with the historical events which have distinguished the assumption of British control, and is to that extent inevitable. But to-day, with internal communications and administrative control rapidly extending, this situation presents many drawbacks. In the absence of any considered scheme of general constructive policy laid down at home, the existence of two separate Governments with ideals necessarily influenced by the personal idiosyncrasies of frequently changing heads, in a territory geographically united through which the channels of a singularly intensive internal trade have flowed for centuries, must of necessity tend to promote divergences in the treatment of public questions and, therefore, create numerous difficulties for the future. I propose to deal with this subject in greater detail later on.

TWO LITTLE KNOWN FACTS.

Meantime it would seem necessary at the outset of these letters to emphasize two facts which the public mind does not appear to have realized. The first is that Nigeria, both in size and in population, is not only the most considerable of our tropical dependencies in Africa, but the most considerable and the wealthiest of all our tropical dependencies (India, of course, excepted). Embracing an area of 332,960 square miles, Nigeria is equal in size to the German Empire, Italy, and Holland, while its population, though not yet ascertained with accuracy, can hardly amount to less than fifteen millions, being double that of British East Africa and Uganda with Nyassaland thrown in, and nearly three times as numerous as the native population comprised in the South African Union. The second is that nowhere else in tropical or sub-tropical Africa is the British administrator faced, at least on a large scale, with a Mahomedan population already to be counted in millions and increasing year by year with significant rapidity. Until a few years ago the work of Great Britain in West Africa, apart from a few trifling exceptions, was confined to the administration of the Pagan negro. The position is very different now. In the southern regions of the Protectorate, where its progression is a modern phenomenon, Islam is, from the administrative point of view, a purely social factor. But in the northern regions, where Mahomedan rule has been established for centuries under the Hausas, and in more recent times under the Fulani, Islam has brought its laws, its taxation, its schools, and its learning. It is there a political as well as a religious and social force solidly intrenched. This fact, which, administratively speaking, need not alarm us, unless the Administration is goaded into adopting a hostile attitude towards its Mahomedan subjects, does, however, invest Nigeria with an additional interest of its own and does supply a further reason why the affairs of this greatest of our African protectorates should receive more intelligent consideration and study at the hands of the public than it has enjoyed hitherto.

The Times (London)

Nr. *2665* vom *16. August* 1911

**NORTHERN NIGERIA AND
ITS PROBLEMS.**

**†II.—THE NATURAL HIGHWAY TO
THE NORTH.**

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

A casual visitor provided by private kindness with the hospitality of a stern-wheeler and not, therefore, exposed to the discomforts with which an inexcusably inefficient service of river boats afflicts the unhappy official on his way to Northern Nigeria, may be pardoned for finding much of captivating interest in 400 miles of leisurely steaming from Forcados to Baro, the starting point of the Northern Nigerian Railway to Kano. The heat of the afternoons, the myriad insect visitors which herald the lighting of the lamps, blacken the cloth, and invade every part of the person accessible to their attentions; the stifling nights, spent, may be, at anchor under the lee of perpendicular banks—these are trifles not worthy of mention by comparison with the rewards they bring.

THE RIVER SCENERY.

Sudden and constant changes in the scene enchant the eye as hour follows hour and day follows day on the bosom of this wonderful Niger, passing from serpentine curves so narrow that the revolving paddles seem in imminent danger of sinking into the bank itself or snapping against some one of the many-floating snags, to ever-broadening and majestic proportions with vistas of eternal forest, of villages nestling amid banana groves, of busy fishermen flinging their nets, of occasional dark massive heads lifted a brief second from the deeps to disappear silently as they rose, of brilliant blue kingfishers darting hither and thither. Now the river flows through some natural greenhouse of palms and ferns whose nodding fronds are reflected in the still green waters, now past a fringe of matted creepers gay with purple convolvulus pierced at intervals with the grey upstanding bole of the silk cotton tree. Here its course is broken by long stretches of fine hummocky sand across whose shining surface stalk the egret and the crane, the adjoining rushes noisy with the cackle of the spur-winged geese. Here it glides, expanding, between open plains bordered with reeds, only to narrow once more as the plain heaves upward and the tall vegetable growth gives way to arid granite outcrops, ascending towards the far horizon in to high tablelands.

If at dawn the Niger veils its secrets in billowy mists of white, at sunset the sense of mystery deepens. For that, I think, is the principal charm of this great highway into the heart of Negro Africa, the sense of mystery it inspires. Cradled in mystery, for two thousand years it defied the inquisitiveness of the outer world, guarded from the north by dangerous shoals and rapids, hiding its outlet in a fan-shaped maze of creeks. To-day, when its sanctuaries are violated, its waters churned and smitten by strange and ugly craft, it is still mysterious, vast, and unconquered. Mysterious that sombre forest the gathering shades encompass. Mysterious that tall half-naked figure on yonder ledge, crimson-framed in the

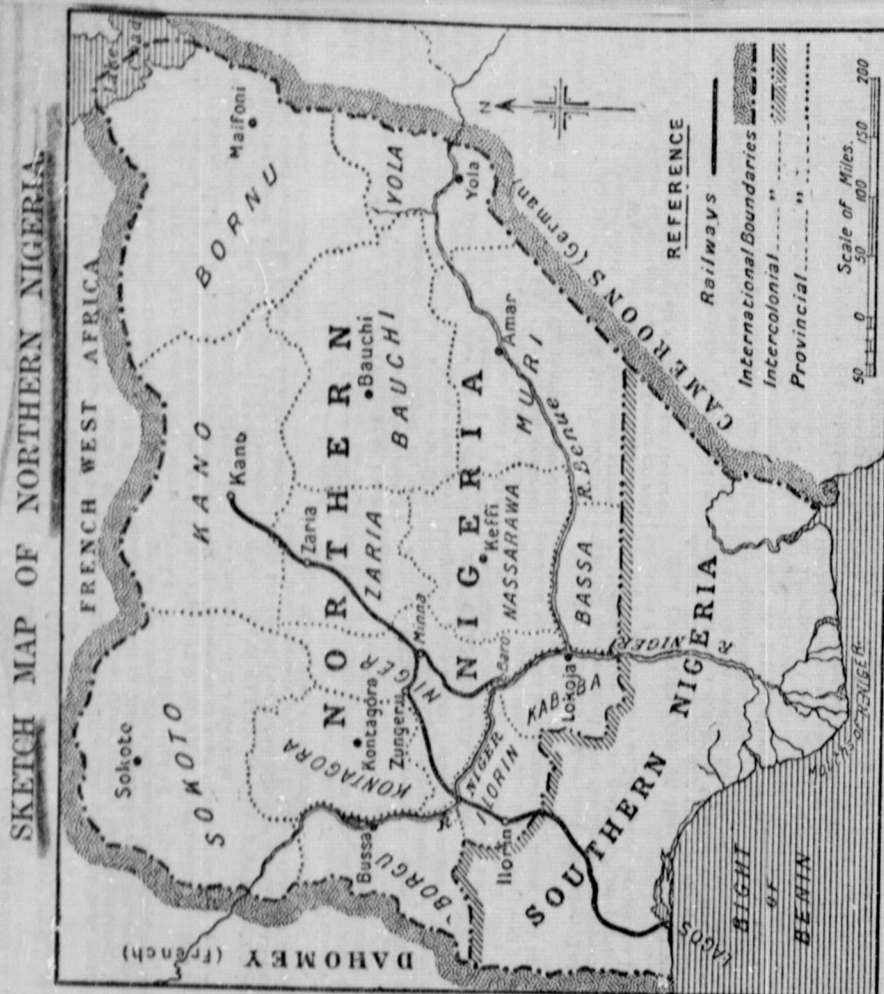
dying sun, motionless and statuesque. Mysterious that piercing melancholy note which thrills from the profundities beyond, fading away in whispers upon the violet and green wavelets lapping against the side of the boat. Mysterious those rapid staccato drumbeats as unknown humanity on one shore signals to unseen humanity on the other. Mysterious the raucous cry of the crown-birds passing in long lines to their resting place in the marshes. Mysterious those tiny lights from some unsuspected haunt of natural man that spring into life as the sun sinks to slumber, and darkness, deep unfathomable darkness, rushes over the land there to rest until a blood-red moon, defining once again the line of forest, mounts the sky.

NAVIGATION.

From the point of view of navigation and of commerce the Niger is a most unsatisfactory and uncertain river to work. It can be described, perhaps, as a river full of holes with shallows between them. Its channels are constantly changing. It is full of sandbanks which take on new shapes and sizes every year. The direction of the water flow below Samabri, where the bifurcation begins, is so unreliable that within a few years the Nun has become virtually useless, the Forcados gaining what the Nun has lost, while there are recent indications that the process may again be altered in favour once more of the Nun to the detriment of the Forcados. In the course of the year the water level varies 27ft., the period of rise being from June in an ascending scale until the end of September, the fall then commencing, the river being at its lowest from December to May. In the rainy season the banks are flooded, in the lower regions, for miles around. In the dry season the banks tower up in places 15ft. above water level. Roughly speaking, the Niger is navigable for steamers drawing 5ft. in June, 6ft. in July, and so on up to 12ft. in the end of September; from November to April for vessels drawing between 4ft. and 5ft. But the conditions of two consecutive years are seldom alike.

Government has done little or nothing to cope with these natural difficulties. The Admiralty charts available to the captains of steamers are ludicrously obsolete, and all wrong. No continuous series of observations has been taken of the river, and no effort made to tackle the problem of improving navigation. Four years ago, by Sir Percy Girouard's directions, soundings were, indeed, taken over a distance of 350 miles from Burutu (Forcados) to Lokoja at the junction with the Benue, with the result that only seven miles of sand-bars were reported to require dredging in order to secure a 6ft. channel all the year round. The experienced merchant smiled. He is a slightly cynical person, is the West African merchant who knows his Niger. Anyhow, he is still whistling for his 6ft. channel. One dredger, the best which money could buy, was purchased by the Northern Nigerian Administration. It did a little dredging round about Lokoja (and the merchants in the south declare that the performance has made matters worse for them), has been used as a passenger boat up the Benue, and is now, I believe, filling up the swamps at Baro, but the 6ft. channel still exists as an attractive theory in the Government Blue-book.

Beachtenswert!



AN ADMINISTRATIVE FAILURE.

There is so much to praise, administratively speaking, in Nigeria that one feels the freer to speak bluntly of the failure of Government to handle this matter of Niger navigation. It is one of the inevitable, one of the many deplorable, results of dual control over a common territory; one of the consequences of the long competition between two rival Administrations, each quite honestly playing for its own hand, and each quite satisfied that it alone can think Imperially. The upshot has been pernicious to the public interest. The river service is shocking from the point of view of efficiency, and enormously costly. The steamers themselves are failing to pieces. There is no system of public pilotage, or of lighting. Trading steamers must anchor at night, which involves in the aggregate a great waste of time and money. The two Administrations are so busy squabbling over their competing railways and manœuvring to frame rates which will cut one another out that the great natural highway into the interior is utterly neglected.

It is impossible that feelings of respect should not go out, not only towards the official who

[†]The preceding article in this series appeared in *The Times* of yesterday.

labours under these conditions in the Niger waterways, but also towards the merchant building up in quiet, unostentatious fashion the edifice of commercial enterprise upon which, in the ultimate resort, the whole fabric of administrative activity reposes. I do not now speak of the heads of those powerful trading firms in Europe, many of whom, by the way, have themselves gone through the mill in their time. To them England is indebted for the Imperial position she holds in Nigeria to-day, a fact which is too apt to be forgotten. I refer to the men, mostly young, in charge of trading stations on the banks of the Niger and its creeks, living a life of terrible loneliness amid primitive surroundings in a deadly climate, separated in many cases several days' journey from another white face, not nearly so well housed as the officials (I am describing Southern Nigeria, be it remembered), and not, like them, helped by the consciousness of power or stimulated by the wider horizon the latter enjoy.

THE STRAIN ON YOUNG MEN.

Thrown entirely on their own resources, usually unfitted by their previous life to face the privations and isolation of an existence such as this, very hard-worked—their lot is not an enviable one. No doubt the hardships they have to endure

are incidental to a career they freely choose, although often enough with little or no previous comprehension of its character. No doubt the fibres of a minority will be toughened by their experiences. No doubt these hardships are infinitely less severe than those which the early pioneers were compelled to undergo, many succumbing under the process; but in that connexion it should not be forgotten that the latter had the incentive of carving out their fortunes with their own hands, whereas the present generation out in Nigeria are not their own masters. One cannot help reflecting upon the irony of the contrast between the commiseration so freely lavished at home upon the spiritual drawbacks of the Nigerian native and the total lack of interest displayed by the Church in the welfare of these young fellows, many of them mere lads, exposed to all the moral temptations of their savage environment, in which only exceptional natures will detect the broadening spiritual influences. What an untold blessing would be a periodical visit to their African homes, fronted by the silent river, invested by the tropical forest, from an experienced, genial, sympathetic minister of God, who for a day or two would share their lives and win their confidence.

There is another matter which should be raised. These young men who come out from England—I refer to the English trading firms only, not having inquired into the system prevailing among the Continental firms—do so under a three years' contract. This is an altogether excessive period for the Niger. It should be cut down one half. Even then it would be half as long again as the officials' term of service. Professors of tropical medicine and magnates at home may say what they like about the improvement of health in the large European settlements. The towns are one thing, the "bush" is quite another. Speaking generally, the climate of Nigeria and the conditions under which four-fifths of white humanity have to live are such as combine, even in favourable circumstances, to impose the severest strain, both physical and mental, upon all but a select few. At the end of a year's continuous residence the strain begins to make itself felt in a multiplicity of ways. Not to acknowledge it, and not to make provision for it, is on the part of an employer penny wise and pound foolish—to put the matter on the lowest ground.

At Idah we leave Southern Nigeria. That bold bluff of red sandstone crowned with grey-trunked baobabs and nodding palms—black with roosting and repulsive vultures—which overhangs the river at this point stands out at the dying of the day, a sentinel pointing to the north. Henceforth the appearance of the country undergoes a remarkable transformation, more and more accentuated with every hour of steaming. High valleys, slopes, and table-lands; a sparser vegetation; masses of granite or red sandstone vomiting promiscuously from broken, arid plains and taking on fantastic shapes; in the distance mountain ranges and solitary rounded eminences—on our right King William's Range rising to 1,200ft., on our left Mounts Jervis, Erskine, Soraxte, and many others, varying from 400ft. to 1,000ft. The river curves, winds, and narrows, obstructed here and there by dangerous boulders which the falling waters bring into view. More substantial, better-thatched huts appear upon the banks, and around them an increasing number of robed Africans. Plantations of yams and guinea corn set out on parallel, raised ridges attest a higher skill in cultivation. Cattle are seen cropping the green stuffs near the water's edge, and canoes pass bearing cattle, sheep, and goats to some neighbouring market. We enter the spreading domain of Mahomedan civilization, and before long we shall find ourselves in a new world, as our gallant little vessel, none the worse for a narrowly-averted collision and grounding on a sandbank or two, casts anchor at Lokoja. Here beneath the wooded heights of Mount Pate the wonderful prospect afforded by the junction of the Niger and Benue unfolds itself, and presently we shall mingle with robed and turbaned African humanity, come from immense distances to this great market of the middle Niger. The mangroves of the Delta, the awesome grandeur of the forests—these are left far behind. We have entered the uplands of the North.

The Times (London)

Nr 39667. vom 18. August 1911.

**NORTHERN NIGERIA AND
ITS PROBLEMS.**

**III.—THE INDIGENOUS CIVILIZA-
TION OF THE NORTH.**

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN
NIGERIA.)

The political events of which Northern Nigeria was the scene last century are well known, but a brief recapitulation of them is necessary by way of introduction to the study of its present conditions, the life of its people, and the accomplishments and problems of the British Administration.

In the opening years of the 19th century, what is now Northern Nigeria consisted of the shattered remnants of the once famous Bornu Empire; of seven independent States more or less (generally less) controlled by chieftains of the remarkable so-called "Hausa" race, invaders of a thousand years before "out of the East," and of the aboriginal inhabitants, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity. Scattered throughout the region, and constantly shifting their habitat in response to the necessities of their calling, were tribes of light-coloured straight-haired people, Fulani, nomadic herdsmen and shepherds. From the ranks of these people, spread over West Africa from the Senegal to the Chad, had sprung from time to time political leaders, divines, and men of letters, who had played a conspicuous part in the history of the old Niger civilizations. The Hausa chieftains had established a nominal authority over a wide expanse of territory and were constantly at war with the aborigines on their borders. It was not, however, for warlike feats, but for their commerce, farming, cotton, and leather industry, for the spread of their language, for the great centres of human activity they had formed, and for the fertility and prosperity of the land which they had made their home that the Hausas were justly renowned all over Western and Northern Africa. They had evolved no great imperial dominion whose various parts acknowledged a central head, such as Melle, Ghanata, Kanem, and Bornu, but they had leavened with their intelligence and fertilized with their industrial achievements some of the naturally richest areas of tropical West Africa, and they had earned for themselves in these respects a widespread fame.

THE FULANI CONQUEROR.

It was at this period that a learned Fulani, Othman Fodio, fell foul of the chieftain ruling over the most ancient and aristocratic of the Hausa States, Guber. The latter, fearing for his authority, ordered all the Fulani in his country to be slaughtered, with the result that Othman found himself joined by a numerous following, impelled by a common desire to save their heads. Emerging successfully from the struggle, Othman preached a *jihad*, confided sacred standards to his worthiest captains, and despatched them far and wide. The Hausa chieftains were successively overthrown and replaced by Fulani, and regions unassimilated previously by the Hausas were occupied. Othman's warriors even crossed the Niger and invaded Yorubaland, a large part of which they conquered and retained (Ilorin), the forest belt, Yoruba resistance within it, and, probably, the tsetse fly proving an insurmountable barrier to further progress southwards. Down the Niger they advanced no further than the neighbourhood of Lokoja. Othman adopted the title of *Sarikin musulmi*, and during his life and that of his son Bello Hausaland ex-

perienced for the first time the grip of a central directing power. It is doubtful, however, if this change in their rulers had much effect upon the mass of the population, to whom dynastic convulsions mean very little, and it is noteworthy that the Fulani conquerors possessed sufficient statecraft to interfere but slightly with the complicated and efficient system of administration and of taxation which the Hausas had introduced. They took over the government of the towns from the Hausas, the people in many instances assisting and welcoming them. The general condition of the country remained pretty much what it had been. Moreover—and this fact is significant in connexion with the arguments I shall presently adduce as regards the inspiring motive of the Fulani uprising—such of the old Hausa families who by their learning and piety had become invested with a special public sanctity were not generally molested by the conquering Fulani. Thus the Kaura, Kajura, and Fatika families of Zaria, which had given birth to a long line of Mallams, were preserved in all their authority and dignity by Othman and his successors.

AN ANTONINE PERIOD.

A period of comparative political quiet ensued. Othman issued regulations, and caused them to be strictly enforced, inflicting the severest punishments upon robbers and evil-doers generally. A recrudescence of spiritual influence and of letters everywhere manifested itself. Learned men flocked to Sokoto, where Othman had built his capital, from West and North Africa. The trans-desert trade revived. Security was so well established that Clapperton, who visited the country during Bello's reign, records the common saying of the time that a woman could pass unmolested through the land, even if she carried a casket of gold upon her head. With the death of Bello the influence of the central power, enormously difficult to maintain in any case owing to the greatness of the area and the absence of ways of communication, declined. Administrative decay gradually set in and extended with the years. Little by little the authority of the Emir of Sokoto was openly questioned in all save spiritual matters. Allegiance slackened. Emirs quarrelled amongst themselves. This or that chief acted on his own responsibility in political affairs affecting the general weal, or entirely broke away from control. The roads became infested with bands of highwaymen, whose proceedings differed in no way from the banditti of feudal Europe. Rebellious chieftains formed robber strongholds. Military operations degenerated into mere raiding for the capture and sale of prisoners of war to replenish revenues from ordinary taxation, which the disturbed state of the country was causing to decrease.

THE DECAY OF FULANI POWER.

There has probably been a natural tendency in recent years to exaggerate the aggregate effect for evil upon the country which accompanied the weakening of the Fulani dynasty. There is no proof that the state of affairs was worse than what had obtained previous to Othman's *jihad*. It could hardly have been worse than the condition of Western Europe at sundry stages in its history when the weakness of the paramount authority and the foraging and strife of rival barons combined to desolate the homesteads of the people and lay waste the countryside. Some notion of parallels in approaching the events of West African history is very desirable, but not often conspicuous. But there can be no doubt—the evidence of one's own eyes in ruined villages and once cultivated areas "gone to bush" is conclusive—that when the alien Britisher arrived upon the scene as a reforming political force,

Northern Nigeria was once more urgently in need of a power sufficiently strong to restore order. Such was the condition of the Hausa States. In Bornu matters had gone from disorder to chaos, culminating in the final tragedy of Rabeeh's incursion, the slaughter of the Shehu, and the sack of Kuka, the capital.

There is no need here to describe the events which led to the British occupation, or to narrate the circumstances attending it. We have replaced the Fulani in supreme control of the destinies of Northern Nigeria. We are there to stay. How are we carrying out our self-imposed mission? What are the problems with which we have to grapple? Those are the questions to examine. But

† The previous articles were published on August 15 and 16.

before doing so, let us first see what manner of people they are over whom we rule henceforth as over-lords. What is their mode of life, their principal occupation, their character, and the material and spiritual influences which direct their outlook and mould their existence?

A PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE.

An attempted reconstruction of the prehistoric period—considered locally—of that portion of Western-Central Africa now known as Northern Nigeria would take up many columns of *The Times*, and would be largely founded upon conjecture. It suffices to say that in the course of ages, through the influences of Moorish, Semitic, and probably pre-Semitic Egyptian culture, fused in later times with Mahomedan law, learning, and religion, there has been evolved in this region a civilization, combining a curious mixture of Africa and the East, to which no other part of the tropical or sub-tropical continent offers even a remote parallel. And this is the more remarkable since these territories have been separated from the East by inhospitable, mainly waterless stretches, and from the north by vast and desolate sandy wastes, while southwards the forest and the swamp cut them off from all communication with the outer world by sea. The peoples responsible for the creation of this civilization did not acquire the art of building in stone, but, at a cost of labour and of time which must have been gigantic (slave-labour, of course, such as built the Pyramids) they raised great cities of sun-dried clay, encompassing them, and a considerable area around for purposes of cultivation and food-supply, with mighty walls. These walls, from 30ft. to 50ft. high and from 20ft. to 40ft. thick at the base, they furnished with ponderous and deep-towered entrances, protecting the gates with crenellated loop-holes and digging deep moats outside. They learned to smelt iron and tin, to tan and fabricate many leather articles durable and tasteful in design; to grow cotton and fashion it into cloth unrivalled for excellence and beauty in all Africa; to work in silver and in brass; to dye in indigo and the colouring juice of other plants; to develop a system of agriculture including (in certain provinces) irrigated farming, which, in its highest forms, has surprised even experts from Europe; to build up a great trade whose ramifications extend through the whole western portion of the continent; to accumulate libraries of Arabic literature, to compile local histories and poems, and, in a measure, to become centres for the propagation of intellectual thought.

That is the condition in which Leo Africanus found them in the 16th century, when he first revealed their existence to an incredulous and largely unlettered Western world; in which the pioneer explorers of the 19th century found them; in which the political agents of Great Britain found them ten years ago when destiny drove her to establish her supremacy in the country. That is the condition in which they are to-day in this difficult transition stage when the mechanical engines of modern progress, the feverish economic activity of the Western world, the invading rattle of another civilization made up of widely differing ideals, modes of thought, and aims assail them.

GREAT BRITAIN'S RESPONSIBILITY.

Will the irresistible might wielded by the new forces be wisely exercised in the future? Will those who, in the ultimate resort, direct it abide by the experience and the advice of the small but splendid band of men whose herculean and whole-hearted labours have inscribed on the roll of British history an achievement, not of conquest, but of constructive statesmanship, of just and sober guidance nowhere exceeded in our management of tropical dependencies? Will they be brought to understand all that is excellent and of good repute in this indigenous civilization; to realize the necessity of preserving its structural foundations, of honouring its organic institutions, of protecting and strengthening its spiritual agencies? Will they have the patience to move slowly; the sympathy to appreciate the period of strain and stress which these revolutionary influences must bring with them; the perception to recognize what elements of greatness and of far-reaching promise this indigenous civilization contains? Or will they, pushed by other counsellors, incline to go too fast both politically and economically, impatiently brushing aside immemorial ceremonies and customs, or permitting them to be assailed by selfish interests on the one hand and short-sighted zeal on the other? Will they forget, amid the clamorous calls of "progress" and "enlightenment," that their own proclaimed high purpose (nobly accomplished by their representatives) of staying the ravages of internal warfare and healing open wounds will be shamed in the result if, through their instrumentality, the seeds of deeper and deadlier ills are sown which would eat away this fine material, destroy the lofty courtesies, the culture, and the healthy industrial life of this land, converting its peoples into a troubled, shiftless mass, hirelings, bereft of economic independence, and having lost all sense of national vitality. Thoughts such as these must needs crowd upon the traveller through these vast spaces and populous centres as he watches the iron horse pursue its irrevocable advance towards the great Hausa cities of the plains; as he hears the increasing calls from the newly-opened tin mines for labour, from the Lancashire cotton-spinner for cotton and markets; as he takes cognisance of the attempts already being made to break the spirit of the new and admirable land law, and of the efforts to introduce a militant Christian propaganda; as he listens in certain quarters to the loose talk about the "shibboleths" and "absurdities" of indigenous forms and ceremonies, the cumbrousness of native laws and etiquette.

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21. 8. 1911.

NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

†IV.—ROAD, VILLAGE, AND TOWN.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN NIGERIA.)

A broad, sandy road, piercing a belt of shea trees. The sun beats downward shrewdly, and combined with the gentle amble of the patient beast beneath you induces drowsiness. It is hot—dreamily, lethargically hot. All the world seems comatose, the unfolding panorama unreal as if seen through a fog of visionary reverie. But there is nothing fanciful about the rapidly approaching cloud of dust ahead, which emits a swelling murmur of confused sound. It takes shape and substance, and for the next half-hour or so drowsiness and heat are alike forgotten in the contemplation of a strange medley of men and animals.

A CARAVAN EN ROUTE.

Droves of cattle, among them the monstrous horned oxen from the borders of Lake Chad, magnificent beasts, white or black for the most part. Flocks of Roman-nosed, short-haired, vacant-eyed sheep—white with black patches. Tiny, active, bright brown goats skipping along in joyful ignorance of impending fate. Pack-bullocks, loaded with potash, cloth, hides, and dried tobacco leaves, culinary utensils, and all manner of articles wrapped in skins or in octagon shaped baskets made of parchment, tight drawn in a wicker framework, which, later—on the return journey—will be packed with kolas carefully covered with leaves. A few camels, skinny and patchy, and much out at elbows, so to speak, similarly burdened. The drivers move among their beasts. Keeping in the rear, with lengthy staves outstretched over the animal's back, they control any tendency to straggle across the road. Tall, spare men, for the most part, these drivers, small-boned, tough and sinewy; Hausas mainly, good-featured, not unfrequently bearded men, often possessed of strikingly handsome profiles, with clean-shaven heads and keen, cheerful looks. But many Tuaregs are here also from the far-distant north, even beyond the Nigerian border; their fierce eyes gleaming above the black veil drawn across the face, covering the head, and falling upon the robe beneath, once white, now stained and rent by many weeks of travel. From the shoulders of these hang formidable, cross-handled swords in red-leather tasselled scabbards. Nor are the Hausas always innocent of arms, generally a sword. But here is a professional hunter who has joined the party. You can tell him from his bow held in the right hand and the quiver of reed-arrows—barbed and, maybe, poisoned—slung across his back. The legs of the men are bare to the knees and much-worn sandals cover their feet. Some carry loads of merchandise, food, and water-gourds; others have their belongings securely fastened on bullock or donkey.

WOMEN AND BABIES.

Women, too, numbers of them, splendid of form and carriage, one or both arms uplifted and balancing upon the carrying pad (*gammo*) a towering load of multitudinous contents neatly held together in a string bag. Their raiment is the raiment of antiquity, save that it has fewer folds, the outer gown, commonly blue in colour, reaching to just below the knees, the bosom not generally exposed, at least in youth, and where not so intended, gravely covered as the alien rides by; neck, wrists, and ankles frequently garnished with silver ornaments. Many women bear in addition to the load upon the head a baby on the back, its body hidden in the outer robe, its shiny shaven head emerging above, sometimes resting against the soft and ample maternal shoulders, sometimes wobbling from side to side in slumber at the imminent risk, but for inherited robustness in that

region, of spinal dislocation. Children of all ages, the elders doing their share in portage, younger ones held by the hand (nothing can be more charming than the sight of a youthful Nigerian mother, gladsome of face and form, teaching the young idea the mysteries of head-carriage!). Two tired mites are mounted upon a patient ox, the father walking behind. A sturdy, middle-aged Hausa carries one child on his shoulders, grasps another by the wrist, supporting his load with his free hand. A gay, dusty crowd, weary and foot-sore, no doubt, tramping 20 miles in a day carrying anything from 40lb. to 100lb.—but, with such consciousness of freedom, such independence of gait and bearing! The mind flies back to those staggering lines of broken humanity, flotsam and jetsam of our great cities, products of our "superior" civilization, dragging themselves along the Herefordshire lanes in the hop-picking season! What a contrast! And so the trading caravan, bound for the markets of the south, for Lokoja or Bida—it may well be, for some of its units, Ibadan or Lagos—passes onwards, wrapped in its own dust, which, presently closes in and hides it from sight.

Throughout the dry season the trade routes are covered with such caravans and with countless pedestrians in small groups or in twos or threes—I am told by men who have lived here for years, and by the natives themselves, that while highway robbery is not unknown, a woman, even unattended (and I saw many such), is invariably safe from molestation—petty traders and itinerant merchants, some coming north loaded with kolas, salt, and cloth, others going south with butchers' provender, potash, cloth, grass, and leather ware, &c., witness to the intensive internal commerce which for centuries upon centuries has rolled up and down the highways of Nigeria.

TOWN AND VILLAGE.

Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! The sonorous tones pierce the mists of sleep, heralding the coming of the dawn. *Ashadu Allah, ila-allahu, ila-allahu!* Insistent, reverberating through the still, cold air—the night and first hours of the day in these latitudes are often very cold. A pause. Then the unseen voice is again raised, seeming to gather itself into a passionate appeal as the words of the prayer flow more rapidly. The tones rise triumphant and die away in grave cadence. It thrills inexpressibly, this salute to the Omnipotent Creator ringing out over every town and village in the Moslem Hausa States. "God the Greatest! There is no god but God!" And, as the call ends, "Peace!"

A faint amber flush appears in the Eastern sky. It is the signal for many sounds. A hum of many human bees, the crowing of countless roosters, the barking of lean and yellow "pye" dogs, the braying of the donkey, and the neigh of his nobler relative, the bleating of sheep, and the lowing of cattle. The scent of burning wood assails the nostrils with redolent perfume. The white tick-birds, which have passed the night close-packed on the fronds of the tall fan-palms, rustle their feathers and prepare, in company with their scraggy-necked, scavenging colleagues the vultures, for the useful if unedifying business of the day. Nigerian life begins—and what a busy, intensive life it is! From sunrise to sunset, save for a couple of hours in the heat of the day, every one appears to have his hands full. Soon all will be at work. The men driving the animals to pasture, or hoeing in the fields, or busy at the forge, or dye-pit or loom; or making ready to sally forth to the nearest market with the products of the local industry; the women cooking the breakfast, or picking or spinning cotton, or attending to the younger children, or pounding corn in large and solid wooden mortars, pulping the grain with pestles—long staves, clubbed at either end—grasped now in one hand, now in the other, the whole body swinging with the stroke as it descends, and, perhaps, a baby at the back swinging with it; or separating on flat slabs of stone the seed from the cotton lint picked the previous day.

†The previous articles were published on August 15, 16, and 18.

The Times (London)

Nr.

NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS
PROBLEMS.

†VIII.—A VISIT TO THE EMIR OF
KANO.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

Kano Province under the British administration includes a number of independent Emirates which we found existing and which we have maintained—Kano, Katsina, Katagum, Daura, Kazaure, and Gummel. The total area of the province is 28,600 square miles, almost the size of Scotland, and its population 2,600,000, or what that of Scotland was in the middle of last century.

The present Emir, Abbas, a reserved and very dark Fulani with refined regular features and long aristocratic hands, is a fine figure of a man. The description of a visit to him may serve to convey some idea of the ceremonious etiquette observed at the Courts of the Mahomedan Emirs, for Kano is typical of all the great Emirates, with the exception of Sokoto, where formalities are even more elaborate. It will also throw some light upon several questions of interest and moment connected with the problems of British administration. To depict the Emir's residence as a compound built of clay is, while accurate, to give but an inadequate idea of the imposing character of these solid structures, the best of which are, with supervision, capable of resisting for centuries the action of the weather. I am probably understating the case when I say that the tall and bulky wall—some 15ft. in thickness—surrounding the residence encloses five acres. Dismounting at the principal entrance, we are escorted through the gateway by several officials and emerge into a vast enclosure open to the sky. At its extremity, facing us, is an inner wall and another deep embrasured gateway leading to the State apartments. On our right stands the Emir's private mosque, a building of considerable proportions, but smaller, of course, than the public mosque outside the walls. Here and there a few picturesque figures are noticeable.

THE STATE APARTMENTS.

For perhaps a minute we wait. Then a blare of trumpets resounds and through the inner gateway emerges a brilliant gathering which advances slowly towards us, the Emir in the midst. Within a dozen yards or so it halts, and the Emir, separating himself from the throng, greets us with hand outstretched—the only African in the Emirate to whom etiquette allows this particular form of salutation with the white man. Towering above most of the councillors, officers of State, and heads of leading families by whom he is accompanied, and bearing himself with great dignity, the Emir murmurs some words of welcome. He is dressed entirely in costly white robes and turban. His feet are encased in ostrich feather sandals, a foot-gear introduced in the 15th century by Mohammed Rimfa, the 20th King of Kano, justly revered for a reign full of years and usefulness, and he carries the silver-mounted staff of office presented to all the ruling Emirs by Sir Frederick Lugard after the British occupation. He invites us to follow him and leads the way in silence to his apartments, his courtiers closing round us as we proceed. In the same impressive silence we pass through the inner gateway and find ourselves in a broad passage flanked on either side by lofty audience chambers whose dimensions it is difficult to gauge in the semi-obscurity which reigns within them. At the end of the passage is yet another

gateway. Thenceforth we proceed alone with the Emir and the Waziri or Vizier—the present holder of that office being a man of great independence and strength of character, whose fearless candour and ripe judgment have been of inestimable service in assisting successive Residents to understand the many complex problems of native administration. Crossing a courtyard, we enter the outer room of the Emir's private apartments. And here for an hour we discuss many things, chairs being provided for us while the Emir and Waziri, in accordance with the etiquette of the country, sit cross-legged before us.

A word as to the architecture and appearance of the room, which, as we are subsequently to ascertain, is roughly similar to the audience chambers we have left behind. It is some 20 to 25 feet in height, with an arched roof supported by wooden beams on the cantilever principle; both beams and roof are, like the floor, stained a deep black with the varnish obtained from the shell of the locust bean; a few plates of European manufacture are let into the supporting rafters; the walls, constructed of the usual sun-baked clay mingled with other substances, have a glittering appearance due to the admixture of mica; two doors, an outward and an inward one, of massive timber bound with iron bars affixed by native nails ornamented with large circular brass heads, and a divan of rugs and shawls complete a picture which suggests a certain austere simplicity.

THE AUDIENCE.

After the usual interchange of compliments I said it was desirable the Emir should understand clearly in respect to any subjects which might be touched upon that I had no connexion direct or indirect with the British Government or with any British commercial or other interest, that I was merely visiting his country as an independent traveller and would report what I had seen and heard, and that I hoped he would feel free to tell me frankly what was in his heart, for the people of England only wished to know the truth. Conversation then ranged over the part of the province of Kano that I had, up to that time, visited, the industry of the inhabitants, their methods of agriculture, the care they bestowed upon secondary crops such as cotton, cassava, and onions, the great city market and variety of goods sold therein. I expressed a wish to see the irrigated farms, and the Emir named certain localities near the city where such farms were to be seen. The increasing prosperity of the country through the preservation of peace was touched upon *de part et d'autre*. The antiquity of the city and its interesting records were the next subject approached. It would, I remarked, be a very great pity if its essential characteristics were not maintained amid the innovations which the railway would bring in its train. From that point of view I ventured to express regret that the ancient walls of the city were, in parts, falling into disrepair. In time to come future generations of Kanawa would, I thought, lament the fact. Would it not be possible to start repairs on one section at first, performing the needed work gradually, doing a certain amount every year, and finishing section by section? The Emir fully concurred, saying that his people themselves wished the walls restored. He hoped to deal with the matter, but thought that it might be easier to commence preliminary repairs on a general scale rather than start one part and finish that first as I had suggested. From the question of the wall we turned to the more difficult one of European traders and educated native traders from the coast whom the railway would bring settling in the city. The Emir remarked that while white merchants were welcome, it would be better for them and for the city and its inhabitants if those who wished to trade with the Kanawa founded places of business at convenient spots outside.

M. L. M.

THE EMIR AND MISSIONARIES.

Missionary propaganda in the Muslim Hausa States of the north was next touched upon. The subject has already given rise to discussions at home which are being followed in Northern Nigeria with anxious concern, and such momentous consequences are bound up with it that it was incumbent, your Correspondent felt, to ascertain through personal

contact the views of one of the most important, in a certain measure the most important, of the Mahomedan Chiefs through whom we exercise supreme control. I told the Emir I would be quite frank with him and hoped that he would be equally frank with me. The English people and the Kanawa people, I said, worshipped the same Almighty Creator of the Universe. The English people followed the teachings of Christ, the Kanawa people the teachings of Mahomed, and both peoples thought their religion the best. But although the people of England held firmly to their beliefs, they had no desire to interfere with those of the Kanawa. Their representative, Sir Frederick Lugard, had pledged himself in their name to that effect, and the English people always kept their word. But, I went on, some of my countrymen, who wished well to the Kanawa, thought Christianity could be preached in Kano without breaking this pledge, because there would be no interference and no moral pressure would be put upon the people of Kano to change their religion even though Christian teachers sat down in the city and taught. The Kanawa could come to hear them or not as they pleased. That was the view held by some of the people in my country. What I wished to know was the Emir's opinion on the matter. Did he, or did he not, see objections to the presence of Christian preachers in the city?

For some time the Emir kept silence, his fingers twitching nervously. One could see the struggle passing in his mind, and realize some of the difficulties of his position. Presently he spoke thus. I reproduce the words as literally as possible:—

Mahomedanism is a matter of the heart. Our fathers and our grandfathers were Muslims. For many generations we have been Muslims. What is the use of preaching if there are no converts? Even if the Christian missionary tried to meet the native on equal terms, he could not do so because all white men are *Sarikis* (chiefs) and the people cannot help so regarding them. The missionaries might not wish to use force. But they would exercise pressure amounting to force, because of the prestige all white men have, and the people would be disturbed and troubled in their minds. There would be unrest.

THE EMIR'S LETTER.

I asked the Emir whether he would have any objection to confirming in writing the views he had expressed. After a further period of silent consideration, he said he had none. Here is the letter subsequently received from him—rendered from the Arabic text:—

Praise to God Who alone is to be praised.
Salutations.

This letter is directed to the stranger, —, who has come.

Know that as regards the preaching [of Christianity] which we discussed here, my opinion is that it were better to stop it altogether from the first—because, if our people are disturbed about their religion, they will become suspicious and afraid. Hence the country will become unsettled. Neither you nor we desire the country to become unsettled, for that would be harmful. On the other hand, as regards secular matters and the affairs of this world, we can do anything—however great a change it might be—since our people are accustomed to law and to obey the orders of their rulers as their fathers and grandfathers were before them. Also as regards white men living in the city of Kano, if they do so many of our people will leave it, since the white men are too strong, and every one of them is in our eyes a great man and powerful. The lion and the lamb cannot lie down together. My opinion is that the white man who may wish to settle should have a separate town outside the city of Kano—then we shall have our town and they will have theirs. This is the wisest course, and far more advantageous for our subjects than a mixed city of natives and non-natives.

Peace.

At the close of the interview we were re-conducted with the same ceremonious politeness and in the same silence as before to the centre of the outer enclosure, where we took

Signatur: 800 f 2

Datum: 8. Sept. 1911.

The Times (London)
8. 9. 1911.

NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

†IX.—GOVERNING ON NATIVE LINES.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

The fundamental principle followed by the Government in Northern Nigeria is indirect administration—that is, administration through the native rulers of the communities, the Chiefs and their executives, under the supervision and with the assistance of the Residents. That was the policy laid down by Sir Frederick Lugard in a series of comprehensive memoranda which form not the least notable feature of the great work he carried out during his tenure of office, a creative work of which the value can but grow in public estimation as the sense of perspective deepens with the years and as additional information supplies what in the early days of the occupation was largely lacking. That was the policy Sir Frederick Lugard's successor, Sir Percy Girouard, found in being, not, indeed, unthreatened, but enthusiastically upheld by the most experienced members of the political staff. He not only gave it his full official support and checked certain leanings of an opposite kind, but he brought to bear upon the situation a personal sympathy, an illuminating and penetrative genius, which popularized the policy in quarters previously hostile or indifferent. Sir Henry Hesketh Bell has loyally followed in the footsteps of his predecessors. That nothing should be allowed to divert us from keeping on the same road is the writer's conviction, for what it may be worth, after several years' study at a distance and recent investigations on the spot.

THE OBJECTIONS.

A genuine and honest endeavour is being made not only to rule through the native Chiefs, but to rule through them on native lines. Too much importance can hardly be ascribed to the distinction. The success already attained would be thrown away if policy were deflected in the direction of substituting European for native ideas. If the native machine is expected to perform functions for which it is unqualified, the works get out of gear. If the Chiefs are called upon to exercise their authority in enforcing measures essentially alien to the native constitution, their prestige over the individual lapses. They become mere puppets, and indirect rule breaks down. I hope to make clear what the native constitution is, and what is meant by ruling on "native lines." The difficulties of improving and purifying, when required, a native administration without impairing its general efficiency are always considerable. In Northern Nigeria they are, for several reasons, peculiarly so. If the result, so far, has shown the wisdom of the original conception, it has been due to the determination and tact of the senior political Residents and to the excellence of the native material. Our task has been furthered by the administrative capacities of the Fulani Chiefs. Some were, indeed, found unfit and had to be removed, but the majority are increasingly showing themselves not only capable but quite indispensable to the work of government.

It would, however, be mischievous to conceal the fact that indirect rule in the proper sense of the term, which involves the preservation of native law and custom, has to bear, in West Africa, the brunt of constant and insidious assaults on the part of interested, or prejudiced or ill-informed, opinion. This opposition is often quite honest, and easy to understand if the conditions are grasped. Indirect rule is an obstacle to employment and promotion in some branches of the service. It

restricts the scope of secretarial, judicial, police, and military activities. It robs the educated native barrister trained in English law, and the educated native clerk, of a field for the exercise of their professions. It checks the European capitalist in a hurry to push on "development." The missionary is apt to regard it as a stumbling-block to Christian propaganda. Finally, there is the type of European who is racially biased against the retention of any sort of control by the native in his own country. Indirect rule, therefore, has very many enemies, and it cannot have too many friends among the thinking public at home. So far as Northern Nigeria is concerned, strenuous efforts will have to be put forward by all who are convinced of the necessity of upholding indirect rule therein, when the amalgamation of the two Protectorates is taken in hand. That time cannot be far distant, and the wind which blows from the South is charged with many hostile tendencies. There would seem, then, to be solid reasons for the public to appreciate the conditions which render the continuation of the existing policy necessary to the welfare of the Northern Protectorate.

SIZE AND DISTANCE.

Let us first consider the geographical facts, and ways and means. Northern Nigeria is 255,000 square miles in extent, and the territory is divided into 13 Provinces. Of these Provinces, Sokoto, the most considerable in point of area, is nearly as large as Scotland and Wales; Bornu is the size of Ireland; Kano is almost as large as Scotland; Kontagora-Borgu is slightly larger than, and Bauchi and Muri the size of, Greece; the Niger Province is as large as Servia; Yola is as large as Denmark; and Naasarawa exceeds the area of Switzerland. It is only by realizing space, by realizing that months of travel still separate some Provinces from others, that the expense, to say nothing of other considerations, which would be entailed in gathering up all the administrative threads of such a territory into the hands of a staff of British officials, can be understood. I have never heard it suggested that the Lords of the Treasury parted enthusiastically with the meagre sum allotted to Northern Nigeria. One cannot imagine that their Lordships' satisfaction would increase if they were presented with a bill, not of a quarter of a million, but of two millions. The single Province of Kano, which, under the present system, is supervised by 17 political officers, and more than pays its own way, would require at least 300 officials if direct rule were established or the prestige of the Chiefs so weakened as to deprive them of all real authority over the people; and this exclusive of a swarm of native officials who could not be done without in any case. That brings me to my next point. Direct rule would of necessity involve an enormous, directly paid native staff. For its every action the Government would be compelled to accept responsibility, and its members would, perforce, be largely composed of the class of native—the most undesirable type, it may be added—from which the policemen and soldiers are now recruited. Putting aside the question of expenditure altogether, can any sane man, disposed to look the facts squarely in the face and knowing anything of the country, contemplate with equanimity the consequences of such a régime? Then, assuming for purposes of argument the non-existence of these impediments, where would be the moral justification, let alone the purely political expediency, of sweeping away the rule of the Chiefs?

NATIVE LAW AND CUSTOM.

Having indicated some of the quagmires into which direct rule would lead us, one may now pass to an examination of the foundations upon which native law and custom repose in the organized society of the North, as revealed by systematic inquiry extending over the past five years. Essentially the same ground-work is found in the more rudimentary pagan

† The previous Articles appeared on Aug. 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and Sept. 5.

communities which have remained without the area of Mahomedan organization. Incidentally, it may be well to mark that Northern Nigeria has not evolved powerful pagan organisms comparable with those of Yoruba and Benin in the South. The basis of the social system is the village community. A number of village communities form the tribal community. The partly hereditary, partly elective rule of the tribal community constitutes, with the Executive, the Government of the entire community. The ruler himself is the "Governor," against whose actions the people can appeal to native law and custom. For the welfare of that community the ruler is guardian. Land is the common heritage of the community. The ruler is trustee for the land. Upon him devolves the granting of rights of occupancy. The structural law of tenure is the right of occupier and user, not of owner. Private ownership of land is unknown. The cultivator is, in reality, a licensee. Alienation of land is unknown. The unit of taxation is the village community. Each individual is supposed to be assessed according to his earning capacity. If he is an agriculturist he furnishes a proportion of his crop, which, in effect, is a rent paid to the community for the use of land. If an artisan, he pays a tax upon his trade. If a herdsman, upon his cattle. The community as a whole is subject to specific imposts which assist in maintaining the Civil List of the ruler. The character of the taxes and imposts follows the requirements of the Koranic law modified, when considered expedient, by pre-Koranic customary law. Justice is administered by Judges conversant with the sacred books, appointed by the ruler and exercised on the principles of Koranic law. If a balance could be struck, it would probably be found that a system of this kind ensures a greater amount of human happiness than many of the forms of government even now existing in Europe. Indeed, the closer one's knowledge of African life and the more insight one obtains into the immense sea of human misery heaving beneath the crust of Western civilization, the more one is led to marvel at the shallow commonplaces which picture the African wallowing in degraded barbarism. Like all institutions the African system lends itself to abuse. Those abuses the British Administration has set itself to correct, while maintaining the system itself. Upon the Colonial Office continuing to support that policy, and upon the men who are applying it on the spot being enabled to go on with their work free from interference, depends the future happiness and prosperity of the Nigerian people, which, in effect, is at once the Imperial interest and the justification of Imperial rule.

LAND TENURE.

In so extensive a territory, differing local circumstances affecting soil, population, occupation, distribution of power, and so on had obviously created different methods or rather heads of taxation and variation in the formulae of government, assessment and levying of revenue &c. One question above all others had to be elucidated, that of the ownership of land—the basis of the whole social edifice. Sir Frederick Lugard initiated these inquiries. They were vigorously prosecuted by Sir Percy Girouard and the Residents. It then became apparent beyond all possibility of doubt that the land, whether actually occupied or not, was national, that freehold property was foreign to all native ideas, and that, under native law and custom, the new rulers of the country were recognized as holders of the land in trust for the people and, thereby, the grantors of occupant's rights. Sir Percy Girouard therefore urged that these cardinal principles should be given the force of law. Legislation which should embody them was, moreover, of additional moment for two reasons. First, because the opening up of the country was bound to give rise to the danger of alienation of occupancy rights creeping in and being incorporated into native custom, out of which there would automatically be evolved a customary sanction for the mort-

gaging of land, the creation of a class of landlords, a wide field for the European speculator in land, and a general break-up of the native system. Secondly, because the approach of the railways, the development of roads, the increasing demand for foodstuffs, and the all-round intensifying economic pressure were bound, once more automatically, to originate, independently of the industry of the cultivator, an incremental value in the land. Before that prospect was realized by the native and perhaps became under native law and custom the subject of private property (which would have meant the creation of vested interests difficult to displace), it was the obvious duty of Government, as trustee for the community, to step in and secure these expanding values for the future benefit of that community. But things move slowly in West Africa, and legislation of the kind referred to was novel—indeed, unique. West Africa's problems had never been thought out ahead before. Just as matters were ripening, Sir Percy Girouard was suddenly transferred to East Africa. But the Colonial Office was sympathetic, and there were men in Nigeria who, comprehending well the perils of leaving the land question unregulated, were determined to do their utmost to push the matter through.

A MOMENTOUS PROCLAMATION.

On January 1 of this year the most far-seeing measure of constructive statesmanship West Africa has ever known was put upon the Statute-book. "The Land and Native Rights Proclamation" consecrates the three main principles of native law and custom, first, that the whole of the land, whether occupied or unoccupied, is "native land"; secondly, that the land is under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor, to be "held and administered by him for the use, need, and common benefit of the natives of Northern Nigeria"; and thirdly, that the Governor's power shall be exercised in accordance with "native laws and customs." For the rest, and without going into detail, the measure can be described as expressing the native system, and the natural developments of the native system, in English. It is not, in Nigeria, an innovating measure, but a conservative measure: not an experiment, but a preservation of the *status quo*. It is not a measure of land nationalization, because land nationalization means State control of the land and all that is done upon it. What this measure does is to provide for the communalizing of the communal value of the land, leaving the occupier full control over the use of land and full benefit for his private enterprise upon it, with payment of rent to the community to which the land belongs, instead of to a landlord. The individual's right to all that is due to individual work and expenditure, but not to the communal value, is secured. No freehold can creep in and no monopoly profit can be made out of the land. The "holding up" of land for speculative purposes is, in effect, penalized, while the man who is industrious is not made to pay more as the outcome of his enterprise. At the same time the basis is laid for a land revenue which, with the years, will be the chief source of income of the Government—the healthiest form of income, perhaps, for any Government. For the first time in the history of West Africa the art of governing the native on native lines has become consecrated in British legislation, and the pernicious tradition of applying the law of England to African land questions has been set aside. It is impossible to exaggerate the potentialities for good of such a departure from crude, ignorant, and unscientific precedent. It will be the duty of the Colonial Office, to which the greatest credit is due for having sanctioned this Proclamation, to watch strictly that the principles laid down therein are not departed from in practice, and that, with certain modifications of method due to divergent and pre-existing conditions, those principles shall be applied in Southern Nigeria as well. That attempts to undermine the provisions and the spirit of the Northern Nigeria law will arise may be unhesitatingly assumed.

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NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

†X.—THE PRESERVATION OF THE NATIONAL LIFE.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

The native administrative machinery varies slightly in the different Emirates, and is better organized in some than in others, but a description of the system as it obtains in the Kano Emirate, which is a little larger than Belgium and Luxemburg, will serve as a general indication applicable in its essentials to the others. The Executive consists of the Emir, advised and assisted by the Resident, and his Judicial and Executive Council, composed of the Waziri (Vizier or Chief of Staff), the Maji (Treasurer), the Alkali (Chief Justice), and five Mallamai ("teachers," men versed in the law and in the customs of the country) of repute. This is the Supreme Court of Appeal. The Emirate is divided into districts under a district Chief or Headman (Hakima) responsible to the Executive. Each district is divided into sub-districts under a sub-district Chief or Headman (Maijimilla) responsible to the district Headman. Each sub-district is composed of townships or villages with village-heads (Masugari) responsible to the sub-district Headman.

THE POLICE.

Kano city itself is under the supervision of the Maajon-Wuteri, who corresponds roughly to our English Mayor, with 20 town police (Dogarai), picturesque individuals in red and green, and 20 night watchmen (Masugafia) under him. Ninety more police are spread over the various districts and attached to the District Courts. There are no British native police whatever. That experiment was tried for a time, being attended with such conspicuous ill-success and being accompanied by such an increase in crime that it was wisely abandoned. Nothing could surely convey a more striking proof of the order reigning throughout the Emirate and of the law-abiding character of the people than the fact of its being policed by 90 men armed with nothing more formidable than swords. Think of 90 constables sufficing for Belgium and Luxemburg, or any other area of 13,000 square miles in Western Europe; or take the population of the Emirate—one and a half millions—and point to a single comparable proportion of police to population in Europe. Crimes of violence are extraordinarily scarce, and the native Administration, backed by the British Raj, has now such a hold upon the country that for a case to be unreported would be hardly possible. The roads are safe for the solitary traveller—I frequently passed women alone or accompanied by a child, sometimes husband, wife, and child, many miles from the capital. I have walked alone, save for one white companion, through the deserted streets of Kano city at night. Kano city is not, however, free from thieves, and seeing that so many strangers are constantly coming and going it is hardly to be wondered at. Some two years back night burglaries became unpleasantly frequent. Native ingenuity hit upon a plan to cope with them. The services of the professional rat-catchers were enlisted. They were enrolled as night-watchmen, paid £1 a man, and told they would be fined 2s. 6d. every time a robbery was committed. Very few fines were inflicted, and Kano was cleared of its nocturnal undesirables "one time."

The general standard of probity among the inhabitants of Kano themselves is, however, shown by the free and easy manner in which merchandise is left unguarded in the great market, and it appears that lost property is constantly being handed over to the Alkali, who has the articles called out by a public crier in the market place.

THE PUBLIC TREASURY.

The absence of a fixed scale of emoluments for public servants is always the weak point of native government. Northern Nigeria was no exception to the rule. The proportion of the taxes actually collected which eventually found its way into the so-called Public Treasury was used by the Emir with small regard to the public interest and with a great deal for his own. The Alkalis and their assessors, though by no means universally corrupt, were dependent for their living upon such sources as the fees (usheri) upon judgment debts and upon the estates of deceased persons (ujera). To Mr. Charles Temple, now Acting Governor, whose knowledge of Northern Nigeria and its peoples is unequalled, belongs the credit of having instituted in the Kano Emirate the Beit-el-Mal or Public Treasury in the proper sense of the word, which has since been extended, or is being extended, into all of them. The system follows traditional lines, but vastly improves them. In practice it works out as follows:—Half the total revenue collected goes direct to the Northern Nigeria Government. Of the remaining half, 50 per cent. is paid into the Beit-el-Mal to provide salaries for the native officials and to pay for necessary public works. The balance is divided into fifths on the basis of two-fifths of each district's yield to the district headman; two-fifths of the sub-district's yield to the sub-district headman; one-fifth of his own village's yield to the village headman. It will doubtless be possible, as the system becomes perfected, for each district to have its own Beit-el-Mal, with limited powers, receiving its instructions from the central Beit-el-Mal, just as the local British Treasuries receive instructions from the Treasury at Zungeru. This would enable the district heads, sub-district heads, and village heads to have fixed salaries, like the Native Executive, a very desirable ideal to aim at.

The Emir draws a fixed sum monthly from the Beit-el-Mal for his private expenses, which are numerous, and the public expenditure is accounted for and overlooked by the Resident. The Waziri draws £1,000 a year, the Maji £360, the Alkali £600, the Limam (High Priest) £72. There are 13 districts in charge of 13 local Alkalis drawing £60 a year each. The public works completed out of the Beit-el-Mal funds during the last year or two include the rebuilding of the Kano market at a cost of £600, a new gaol at a cost of £1,000, a new Court House, £250, besides keeping the 13 gates of the city in repair, additions to the mosque, &c. In regard to the latter it is interesting to note that the work of adding to the mosque and repairing the minaret was entirely carried out by contract labour. The contract was given out by the Emir and the contractor paid the workmen to the number of over a thousand, a previously unheard of event in native annals and an example of one of the many improvements which the native Administration is carrying out under British influence.

JUSTICE.

The administration of justice has been vastly purified by the inauguration of fixed emoluments. The District Courts and the Supreme Court administer Koranic law, or customary law—that is, traditional law based on custom, or Government proclamations. Speaking generally, the Alkalis are a fine body of men, and they appear to be realizing more and more the dignity and responsibilities of their position. The chief Alkali in particular is a man of very high character. The legal code in criminal and civil matters is, of course, mainly inspired by the sacred books, and the Alkali is generally a doctor of Mahomedan common law. His influence and power appear to be more extensive than that of the Egyptian *kadi*, since he has jurisdiction in criminal cases and in land suits, which the latter has not. Of the cases tried in the Courts of the Kano Emirate about 30 per cent. are matrimonial, such as

† The previous Articles appeared on Aug. 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and Sept. 5 and 8.

divorce, restitution of conjugal rights, alimony, &c. The Courts are very hard worked, dealing with about 7,000 to 8,000 cases per annum, and the Alkalis fully earn their salaries. I attended the chief Alkali's Court in Kano city and was greatly impressed by the general decorum, the respect shown to the Alkali, the activity of the assessors, the marshalling of the witnesses, the order, rapidity, and businesslike manner in which the whole proceedings were conducted. It was an example of native self-government in Western Africa which would have astonished a good many people in Europe. No British Court, no alien magistrate, could possibly deal with these "affairs of the people," which require a complete mastery of Koranic law and customary law, such a mastery as only a trained native can ever acquire, and it is to be hoped that any attempts which may arise to curtail the jurisdiction of the native Courts—accepted by all classes of natives—will be promptly discouraged, together with similar attempts to interfere with the present Beit-el-Mal system.

From a practical point of view the maintenance of the native Administration, guided and supervised by the Resident—i.e., indirect rule—is inseparable from the financial question. If the native Administration were not financially provided for it would cease to exist. If the Emirs and their Executives were converted into mere civil pensioners of the Government, they would become figureheads deprived of all power and prestige. Under the system I have described the Emirs have power, and only hyper-sensitiveness and short-sightedness can see in their power our weakness. It is, on the contrary, our strength and defence against the reactionary elements which exist and which are bound to exist in a country but newly occupied, and which are certainly not less hostile to the native authorities who pursue their labours under the aegis of the British Raj than they are to the British Raj itself. Anything that impairs the influence of the native authorities not only impairs the efficiency of the Administration of the country, but is an invitation to lawlessness and disorder.

THE STANDARDS OF JUSTICE.

Among these to whom the government of the coloured races of mankind appears in the light of a sacred trust committed to an Imperial white people, as well as to the servants of that people who possess the widest experience in the practice of such government, the preservation of the national life of these races must be a matter of paramount importance. Increased knowledge, born of familiarity in the art of tropical government and of anthropological research, and that clearer realization of human needs which an expanding mental horizon brings with it, are teaching us many things. They are teaching us that there can be no common definition of progress or common standard for all mankind; that the highest human attainments are not necessarily reached on parallel lines; that man's place and part in the universe around him must vary with the dissimilarities of race and environment; that what may spell advance for some races at a particular stage in their evolution may involve retrogression if not destruction for other races in another stage; that humanity cannot be legislated for as though every section of it were modelled on the same pattern; that to disregard profound divergences in culture and racial necessities is to court disaster; and that to encourage national growth to develop on natural lines and the unfolding of the mental processes to proceed by gradual steps is the only method by which the exercise of the Imperial prerogative can be morally justified. All the good work accomplished in Northern Nigeria during the last seven years can be flung away by a refusal to benefit from experience in other parts of the world. In pleading for the slow but sure policy everywhere in Nigeria, and in pleading that where in Nigeria national life has already expanded through the exercise of its own internal forces into organized communities possessing their own laws and customs, their own machinery of government, and their own well-defined characteristics, that national

life shall be protected, preserved, and strengthened to enable it to bear the strain of new conditions, one is pleading, it seems to me, for the true welfare of the people and for the highest concept of Imperialism.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM.

These considerations hold good as regards every branch of European activity. Effective British political control does not require constant encroachments of departmental activity. British industrial interests can be allowed to find a natural outlet in the ordinary play of economic forces without, for example, calling upon Government assistance to undermine the national weaving industry. British commercial necessities do not demand that the big native cities should be thrown open to the white trader, who can pursue his useful avocations just as well, and certainly with much greater regard to health, outside than inside them. In the same way the advent of the missionary into the organized Mahomedan provinces of the North before the country is ripe to receive them would be a positive danger, besides being an act perilously akin to a breach of faith. Surely we have become sufficiently intelligent to take a broadly human view of these things. There is a field in Pagan Northern and Pagan Southern Nigeria sufficiently extensive to occupy all the energies of all the missions put together, without invading the heart of Moslem Nigeria. The advent of Christian missions into Kano or Katsina or Sokoto, for example, would be regarded as an act of aggression. Their presence in Zaria is a great mistake. We hold this newly-occupied country by the force of our prestige, far more than by the very small number of native troops in our service. That it is the duty of Government to prevent the introduction of elements, whatever their character and however lofty their motives, whose presence is calculated to cause unrest, is sufficiently self-evident not to need emphasizing. No Government can afford to disregard so clear a view as that formulated, for example, in the Emir of Kano's letter which *The Times* has published. But one would desire, if possible, that the leaders of the Christian Churches themselves should be brought to appreciate the justice of the contention.

STEADY DEVELOPMENT.

The question of economic development is on the same plane. That peace, the advent of railways and the growth of population will eventually result in the creation of a large commercial movement of affairs with Northern Nigeria, apart from the mineral output, is not to be doubted. But exaggeration as regards immediate prospects is to be deprecated, and the claims of economic development, important as they are, should not be allowed to play too great a part in administrative solicitude. The main concern of the Administration for the next few years should be that of placing the political, financial, and educational organization of the country upon secure foundations. Political unrest and social confusion are stumbling blocks to commercial progress, and everything should be done to avoid them. Those in a position to realize the marvels already accomplished in this district by the handful of British officials administering the country, and the many problems requiring on the part of those who are called upon to deal with them the utmost delicacy and tact in adjustment, cannot but enter a caveat against all tendencies, from whatever source they may emanate, be they of self-interest or of unselfish devotion, to "rush" Northern Nigeria. Rapid expansion does not necessarily mean progress. Sometimes it means exactly the reverse. Let us, rendered wise by experiences elsewhere, set our faces like flint against the "Europeanizing" of Northern Nigeria. In Sierra Leone, in the Gold Coast, in the Western Province of Southern Nigeria, we have daily object lessons of the deplorable results of this denationalizing process. That Northern Nigeria should be preserved from it must be the earnest wish of all who are acquainted with its peoples and alive to their possibilities.

Signatur:

Datum:

NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

†XI.—A SCHEME OF NATIONAL EDUCATION.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA).

If we have the imagination to grasp the true significance of the events which led a century ago to the break up of the Hausa dynasty by the Fulani, we shall find the key to the moral side of permanently successful government in Northern Nigeria.

A close study of the few documents at our disposal must, I think, induce the belief that, dating from the introduction of a higher spiritual influence into the country—Mahomedanism had begun to acquire a footing by the 11th century—the land was never free from an agency which sought the uplifting of society. Before the Moorish generals carried fire and sword into the Niger Valley, holy voices were raised in protest against the "decay of faith with the increase of infidelity." "Not one of the acts forbidden by God"—lament learned Arabic historians—"but was openly practised: wine was drunk, and adultery has become so frequent that its practice seemed to have acquired legality." The terrible punishment which ensued was ascribed to these lapses: "It was on account of these abominations that God avenged Himself by calling in the victorious Moroccan army." We seem to be listening to another Moses denouncing the wickedness of the people of Israel. In the midst of all these turmoils, when the worship of the true God was being swept aside by a wave of recrudescing paganism, when mosques were being destroyed and desecrated, and social lawlessness reigned supreme, little knots of true believers gathered together, forming as it were islands in a sea of turbulence and moral abasement to which Christian Europe added a fresh element of degradation by her demand for slaves—thus intensifying internal warfare by furnishing it with a new and deadly incentive.

THE REFORMS OF OTHMAN FODIO.

There is evidence that in the middle and towards the close of the 18th century the Hausa Kings were relapsing into paganism (in Zaria, for instance, the old Hausa "Teafi" customs—rock worship—had been revived). It was at this period that the spark of a spiritual renaissance arose in the most northerly of the Hausa States, Gober. Othman Fodio, a Fulani, ultimately the leader of the uprising, was above all a moral and spiritual reformer, as was his teacher, the Mallam Jibrila. He sought to raise the whole tone of society. He used his influence at the Court of the Hausa King to secure the building of schools and the spread of letters. He himself and his brother and his son—in whose hands he placed affairs of State after the conquest—wrote a number of books whose titles are sufficient to indicate their character. Here are some of them:—"The Book Manifesting the Path of Righteousness and Unrighteousness," "The Book for the Saving of the People of the Time and the Teaching of the Ignorant to Understand the Knowledge of the Word," "Explanation to the Rulers as Regards their Duties and What is Due from them in the Execution of their Duties," "The Book Expressing the Difference between Right and Wrong," "The Book the Window for Students in the Holding of the Doors of the Faith in God the Giver," "The Book to Prevent others from Following the Promptings of the Devil," "The Book plainly Showing that the Love of the World is the Cause of every Fault."

Othman's converts were by no means limited to men of his own race. It was not unnatural that such a man should have been an offence to many, that his converts

should have been molested, and that, finally, by his personal action in releasing a number of them from bondage, a collision with the authorities should have been precipitated which eventually led to the proclamation of a holy war. Othman engaged in the struggle with the words, "If I fight this battle that I may become greater than my fellows, may the unbelievers wipe us from the land." Upon its successful termination the statesman and the warrior became once more the social reformer. Othman returned to his preaching and to the compilation of his books.

BRITAIN THE SUCCESSOR OF OTHMAN.

A consideration of these facts irresistibly suggests that the root-causes of the Fulani outburst were spiritual in their nature. Othman led a moral and spiritual revival among his people, and gave a renewed inspiration to letters. That the country after half a century fell back once more into political chaos does not in the least weaken the moral to be gleaned from these events. The religious revival has not gone back. From the political chaos the country has been rescued by the British power. One of the obvious duties of the Administration is to continue the work of the great Fulani reformer in everywhere extending and broadening the intellectual horizon. The creation of a system of education which shall be truly national is imperative at this moment, when the whole fabric of native society is being shaken by disturbing elements. The field is clear, the slate clean. We are here unfettered by those bitter experiences of the West Coast of Africa and of India which are perpetual reminders of past blunders and daily handicaps to true progress.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM.

The predominant characteristic of our educational methods, official and unofficial, in Western Africa hitherto may be summed up in one word—denationalization. The result is so notoriously unsatisfactory as to need no specific illustration. If readers of Mr. Valentine Chirol's book on India will turn to his chapters on the failure of our educational methods there they will be furnished with a replica of the situation on the West Coast of Africa. It is not an exact replica, because, while the ties of caste in India are a deterrent to denationalization, in West Africa this deterrent is non-existent. But there is not one charge which Mr. Chirol brings against the Indian system that could not be equally brought against the West African system; and the same consequences are ensuing. We are barely beginning to realize that the policy, or rather impolicy, of the last half-century has been a hideous example of misdirected effort, and there is hardly an administrator who does not contemplate the development of the "educated native problem" with the gravest foreboding.

The object of the Northern Nigeria Administration is to set on foot an educational system throughout the country which shall save the Protectorate from these follies, while at the same time affording the rising generation the intellectual pabulum we are bound to provide, and, ultimately, laying the basis for a native Civil Service. At the present moment the scheme is only in its infancy, but the infant is robust and full of promise. It is at Nassarawa, a beautifully situated and healthy spot a few miles outside Kano, close by the Emir's country residence, that the first Government schools have been started. They consist at present of the Mallamai school, or school for teachers, a school for the sons of chiefs, an elementary vernacular school, and a technical school with carpenters', blacksmiths', leather-workers', and agricultural classes. The creation of a primary and secondary school will follow as soon as the work is sufficiently advanced. Special importance attaches to the elementary schools, as through them the mass of the population will be influenced. As soon as the teachers now being trained are ready, they will be supplied to the Provinces, where the Residents are eagerly awaiting them; and it is the intention in every case that they shall be accompanied by a technical instructor. The training of Government clerks and of artisans for the Public Works

†The previous Articles appeared on Aug. 16, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and Sept. 6, 8, and 12.

Their presence together—among them were sons of the Emirs of Sokoto, Kano, Bauchi, Bornu, Katsina, Katagum, Bida, Gombe, Gando, Daura, and Muri—was evidence of the revolution which a few years has brought, for their respective fathers were until our advent in a state of more or less constant friction and sometimes of open warfare. These *Yan Sarikis* (sons of chiefs) are not only allowed but encouraged to correspond with their parents, and mounted messengers constantly pass to and fro.

In the technical school the leather-workers were particularly interesting. The encouragement of this branch of native art should prove a great incentive to what is a national industry. There is no reason why in time the Hausa leather-workers should not cut out the trade in Tripoli saddlery and boots, imported across the desert and sold at fabulous profits in the local markets, or even supply, as the Hausa cotton manufacturer supplies, the needs of French and German territory. Indeed, there is no limit to the vistas which this national system of education opens up.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

One other fact needs chronicling in connexion with these national schools. It is the intention of the Administration to insist that all pupils receive careful religious instruction from teachers of their own creed. When I visited the schools, lessons in reading and writing the Koran were being given by a Kano Mallam specially selected by the Emir of Kano, somewhat on the model of the Egyptian schools. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Colonial Office will resist any attempt at interference with this policy. Interference would be disastrous. It has been a prodigious labour of tact and careful steering, for which Mr. Hanns Vischer, the Director of Education and the founder of these schools, deserves the greatest credit, to secure the support of the Emirs for a truly national system of education. Many prejudices had to be overcome. The older school of Mallams do not look with a favourable eye upon an innovation which must gradually displace their influence in favour of a younger generation, broader-minded and more tolerant because better educated than they. Attempts both internal and external have not been, and are not, wanting to warn the Chiefs of the danger of permitting their sons to become contaminated by foreign doctrines inimical to Islam. Justification for the confidence which the chiefs repose in our good faith can alone enable us to defeat these influences. Were that confidence to be shaken, the effort to train the future rulers (under the British suzerainty) of the country, with a view to making them mentally and physically better fitted to assist the Administration, and to bring them into closer contact with one another and with the Government official, would receive a fatal blow, and the prestige of the Government would be deeply shaken. Let us once more turn to Mr. Chirol's pages and note the consequences which have followed the elimination of religious instruction from the Government schools in India. To allow a weakening of the spiritual forces at work among the peoples of the Northern Hausa States would be to perpetrate a cruel wrong upon those who have come under our protection, and thenceforth are our wards.

A rapid multiplication of national schools in Northern Nigeria, so eminently desirable, entirely depends upon the financial support which the Administration, hampered in every direction for lack of funds, is able to contribute. The Imperial Government would be displaying wisdom in making a special grant for the purpose—the present sum available being altogether inadequate for the importance and urgency of the object in view—and in seriously broaching the problem of control over all unofficial educational agencies in the Protectorate.

Department is recognized as a necessity, but it takes quite a secondary place in the general educational plan which has been so successfully initiated, and these men will be trained so as to retain both their national instincts and their national dress.

THE SCHOOLS AT NASSARAWA.

A ride out to Nassarawa and some hours spent in investigating the work already accomplished (there are some 350 pupils) I shall always remember as one of the pleasantest experiences of my visit to Northern Nigeria. Here at last one saw a common-sense, well-thought-out, scientific scheme to enlarge the mental outlook of the West African on African lines, to keep him in touch with his parents and in sympathy with his national life. Here, one felt, was the nucleus of a future Hausa University to be raised some day by the people themselves on their own initiative, a University which should far outshine the ancient glories of Timbuktu and Jenne, which should herald the dawn of a real African renaissance, which instead of divorcing the people from their land should bind them to it in intensified bonds of pride and love. For one thing, the preservation of the national tongue is aimed at, the general teaching being given in the vernacular, for the present in Hausa—the *lingua franca* of the country—although in course of time, as the system extends, classes in Fulfulde (Fulani), Kanuri (the language of Bornu), and perhaps Nupé will doubtless suggest themselves, not, however, to the exclusion of Hausa, but in combination with it. For another thing, the fatal mistake of taking in pupils free, or even paying them to come, is not being repeated here, the principle of every pupil paying a fee, paying for his books, and paying for his medical attendance having been laid down from the start.

The Mallamai school was full of special interest, being composed of grown men from 18 to 30; for these are the teachers of to-morrow. I was told, and I can well believe it from their intellectual faces, that the rapidity with which they acquire and the ease with which they retain knowledge are amazing. Land surveying and farm measuring are included in their curriculum, and some of them, although their course of instruction is not completed, have already rendered very considerable assistance, their work (which I was able to examine at a later date) covering many assessment sheets and being neat and generally accurate. I attended the geography lesson which was then going forward, and found these future teachers studying, not the configuration of the Alps or the names of the English counties, but the rivers, mountain ranges, and political divisions of their own continent; not the distances between Berlin and St. Petersburg, Rome and Paris, but between Kano and Lokoja, Zaria and Yola, and the routes to follow to reach those places from a given spot. The various classes, I observed, were not puzzling over stories about St. Bernard dogs rescuing snow-bound travellers or busy bees improving shining hours, but becoming acquainted with the proverbs and folk-lore of their own land; not being edified by learning the properties of the mangel-wurzel or the potentialities of the strawberry, but instructed in the best methods of growing yams, sweet potatoes, and sugar-cane. I did not see rows of lads in European costume, unsuited to the climate, hideous out here, and vehicles for the propagation of tuberculosis, but decently clothed in their own graceful, healthy African garb.

The school for the sons of chiefs—which, I venture to hope, will not, as is rumoured, be abandoned without very careful consideration—struck me as a triumphant proof of what a sympathetic Administration can accomplish in a very short time in the way of winning confidence and removing suspicion. Here were perhaps three score youngsters, the older and more advanced boys forming a separate class; and a more intelligent, keener set of pupils it would be difficult to select in any country.

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NORTHERN NIGERIA AND
ITS PROBLEMS.

† XIII.

MINING DEVELOPMENT AND
THE BAUCHI PLATEAU.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN
NIGERIA.)

There appears to be no doubt that Nigeria is a highly mineralized country. Iron exists in considerable quantities, and in many districts in Southern, but more particularly in Northern, Nigeria. In the Southern Protectorate large deposits of lignite and inferior coal have been discovered (as already recorded in *The Times* of December 30, 1910), and mineral oil also; but the extravagant hopes held out of being able to work the latter at a profit seem in a fair way of being abandoned. West Africa is a peculiar country, and is apt to turn the tables upon the company promoter with a disconcerting completeness. A number of mineral surveys have been carried out by the Imperial Institute, but the potentialities of the vast bulk of the country are still unknown.

BEGINNINGS OF THE TIN INDUSTRY.

The chief discoveries have been concerned with tin. The industry was originally, and in restricted form, a native one, and has a somewhat romantic history, whose brief outlines, obtained from conversation with the native authorities of Liruei-n-Kano and Liruei-n-Delma, are as follows. Some 80 years ago the people of the former place, a small town in the south-east of Kano Province, whose inhabitants carried on an iron-smelting industry under the direction of an able woman *Sariki*, found the white metal. They ascertained that it possessed a trading value. They invented an ingenious but simple method of treating and producing it in an exceedingly pure form, which remained a secret among the members of the ruling family and their adherents, but which was explained to me by them in detail by the side of one of their furnaces at Liruei-n-Delma. After honeycombing the neighbourhood of Liruei-n-Kano with vertical pits, they wandered in course of time over the whole stanniferous area, washing and digging in the beds as far south as the tenth parallel. Further than that they could not move owing to the hostility of the Pagan tribes. Tin, in thin, rounded rods, became a regular article of sale in the markets.

The first sample of tin ore was sent home by Sir William Wallace, then Acting High Commissioner, in 1902. It was examined by the Imperial Institute, and was found to contain over 80 per cent. of tin dioxide, equal to about 64 per cent. of metallic tin. From that time onwards the Niger Company, which, under the arrangements made with the Imperial Government at the time of the abrogation of the Charter, stands to gain very largely through the development of the mineral resources of the Protectorate, has spent considerable sums—at first without return—in proving and encouraging the industry. To the Company it is due that the field has been opened out at all. It is but fair to state this, because the Company is the butt of much criticism in Northern Nigeria—in some respects, I think, criticism inspired by jealousy of its own remarkable enterprise. In the last three or four years no fewer than 82 companies have been floated to exploit Northern Nigeria tin, with a total capital of £3,792,132.* Hardly a month passes but some fresh companies are floated, or the attempt made to do so. It has, therefore, become a very big thing indeed, and an outside non-expert opinion may be of some use from the point of view of the "man in the street" at home.

COMPANY PROMOTING.

The country is flooded with prospectors, on the whole of a much better type than is usually attracted to the tin fields of the West Indies.

indeed, and an outside non-expert opinion may be of some use from the point of view of the "man in the street" at home.

COMPANY PROMOTING.

The country is flooded with prospectors, on the whole of a much better type than is usually attracted to a new mining region; and the Government, under guarantee from the Niger Company, are now building a light railway in the direction of the principal deposits. Needless to say, there has been the usual amount of swindling, and, perhaps, more than the usual amount of lying. Tin has been "located" in districts where there never was and never will be the slightest vestige of tin; imaginary "bore-holes" have been sunk, and companies have been formed in London on the strength of utterly fraudulent reports. Statements have been issued proclaiming that the country is self-supporting for the white prospector in the matter of supplies, which is totally untrue; and that it is a health resort, which is equally false. Young fellows have been sent out on agreements which are a disgrace to those who drew them up, and in some cases their bones are rotting in the ground. An unpleasant feature of the affair has been the indecent precipitancy with which, in certain instances, ex-Government officials have identified themselves with syndicates formed in London—a practice which appears to be growing, and which is to be deprecated in the interest of the high standard and general purity of our public service. No doubt these incidents are common in the initial stages of every such enterprise. They are none the less to be deplored.

THE BAUCHI TIN FIELD.

The western portion of the Bauchi Province is the true centre of the nascent industry. The country about here is wild and beautiful, broken by mountain ranges which cannot always be negotiated on horseback, and rising to a considerable height—up to 5,000ft. round about Bukuru and Pankshin. Anything more at variance with the forest regions of the south it would be impossible to imagine. The whole province is well watered, and the mineral section lies in the watershed of three fluvial systems, one feeding the Chad, of which the Delimi (or Bunga) is the most important; another the Benue, of which the Gongola, Kaddera, and Sango are the principal tributary offshoots; another the Niger, through its tributary the Kaduna, which branches out into a fan of numerous lesser streams. Naraguta, on the Delimi—where most of the mining is actually concentrated—is almost at the heart of these three systems. There appears to be no bed of tin-bearing wash over the whole country; but for centuries upon centuries hundreds of feet of rock—chiefly granite of sorts, with gneiss and basalt—have been denuded by the action of the weather, and the tin discovered is the concentration of the tin disseminated throughout those rocks which has been washed into the beds of the rivers. Practically (there is one known exception—there may be two) all the tin yet discovered is alluvial, and there is virtually no alluvial tin except in the river-beds themselves. It occurs in patches—which explains, although it does not excuse, the flamboyant statements issued on the strength of specific returns over a given area, from washings. A company may have secured a licence or lease over a wide area, in one particular corner of which one or more of these patches has been met with. The returns from washings in these patches, some of which are very rich, are sometimes made to apply in prospectus-framing to the whole area, when the bulk of it may be devoid not only of tin in payable quantities, but of any trace of tin at all.

A WARNING TO INVESTORS.

It is unwise to dogmatize about a new country where further discoveries may give a different complexion to the situation. But in the present state of our knowledge, the statements describing Northern Nigeria as the "richest tin field in the world" are, to put it mildly, a manifest exaggeration, and the happiest thing which could happen to the country and to the industry would be a cessation of the

* In the case of some of the companies only a part of their capital is invested in the Nigerian tin fields. The total given is therefore somewhat in excess of the actual amount sunk in this enterprise—to what extent, however, I am unable to say.

† The previous articles appeared on August 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and September 5, 8, 12, 14, and 15.

"boom." It may be fairly urged that the Government's business is not the protection of the home investor. All the same, it is not in the public interest that Northern Nigeria should get a bad name through "wild-cat" schemes and dishonest finance. Five years hence a boom may be justified by results. At present it is not. Disinterested expert opinion on the spot estimates the eventual output of the discovered field at 5,000 tons per annum. It is always possible that further and valuable deposits may be struck. On the other hand, the life of an alluvial tin mine is, by general consent, a short one, and ten years will probably cover the life of the existing mines. In the circumstances it is very evident that a great number of the companies which have been floated are over-capitalized, and will never pay an honest dividend. Companies with a small capital, whose property is a good one and favourably situated, have every chance of doing so. For the small man, working with a modest capital, who is fortunate enough to select a good site—and who is prepared to come in and do the actual mining—the prospects, I should say, are distinctly good; and prospectors of that sort could count upon receiving every assistance from the Administration, which is anxious to encourage them. For two energetic men—it is always better to be *à deux* out here—a capital of £3,000 would be ample, and the conditions imposed on licence- and lease-holders are not onerous, although the staff for dealing with applications is too small, entailing vexatious delays.

There is no serious labour trouble, and there is not likely to be any, provided the natives are properly treated. The representative of the Niger Company, who has considerable knowledge of the country, and whom I saw at Joss—a beautiful station, reflecting the greatest possible credit upon the Company and its local staff—was very emphatic on this point, and his views were borne out by the most experienced people I consulted. In this connexion I feel impelled to remark that both from the political point of view and from the standpoint of the interests and progress of the industry itself—not to mention other considerations—it is absolutely essential that abusive acts, such as the incident which occurred at the close of last year at Maiwa, about which I cabled you from Kano, should be punished with exemplary severity. On that occasion the guilty party escaped with a substantial fine. Should anything of the sort recur, expulsion from the country ought to accompany a fine. The Bauchi Province is not yet entirely "held," and much of it is peopled by very shy and timid Pagan tribes, whose members are amenable under just treatment to regular labour on short terms for prompt pay—as has been proved in the final stages of the completion of the Riga-Chikum-Naraguta road, although such labour is quite foreign to them. Harsh and unjust handling would send them fleeing to the inaccessible hills. While on this subject, I am also bound to say that the political staff of the Bauchi Province is hopelessly and dangerously undermanned, or was when I left the country last January. It is tempting Providence to allow 300 white prospectors to go wandering over the face of a vast country like this (27,000 square miles) with a political staff amounting to no more than 13 all told. Twenty political officers, at least, should be permanently on duty in the province.

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS.

The question of transport has been a difficult one, and still remains so. The situation has been somewhat alleviated by the construction of a road connecting Naraguta with the Baro-

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TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS.

The question of transport has been a difficult one, and still remains so. The situation has been somewhat alleviated by the construction of a road connecting Naraguta with the Baro-Kano Railway at Riga-Chikum; although, following that road for its whole then-completed length, I fail to see that it will be of much use in the rains without a series of pontoons over the rivers which cut it at frequent intervals, and no measure of the kind was in contemplation last January. Possibly the situation has changed since. The scarcity of villages and, consequently, of food supplies for man and beast, along the road is also a drawback. Doubtless the road will fall into disuse, and turn out to have been more or less a waste of money after the completion of the railway—which mercifully, has been started from Zaria instead of following the deserted country from Riga-Chikum, as was originally proposed. This railway, to which I shall refer in my next letter is being constructed in the direction of Naraguta, but not to Naraguta itself, which is wise, for the development of the industry in that immediate neighbourhood is still a sufficiently doubtful quantity to permit of the supposition that the centre of gravity may shift to Bukuru or some other spot. It traverses the region where the Kano tin deposits are situated, virtually the only ones not entirely alluvial in character.

At the present time the road chiefly used for the transport of the tin is that opened and maintained by the Niger Company between the mines and Loko on the Benue, a distance of 180 miles. The Niger Company has established ferries across the rivers and organized a system of carriers and donkeys. But at best the route is not an ideal one, costs a great deal to keep open, and is hardly capable of dealing with more than 500 tons per annum. I found complaints rife as to alleged favouritism by the Company in its management of the transport, but failed to discover any specific facts justifying them. Of course the Company enjoys a complete monopoly of that road, even the Government, it seems, having to apply to the Company for carriers; and a monopoly is always undesirable in theory and sometimes very irritating in practice. Apparently the same situation has come about in regard to the Riga-Chikum road. But it is difficult to see how any tin at all could have been got down to, or machinery and stores got up from, the river if it had not been for the Company's enterprise and far-seeing methods. Certainly the loudest of its local critics would have been quite unable to cope with the problem.

THE BAUCHI NATIVES.

Something remains to be said of the Bauchi Province. It consists of the Bauchi and Gombe Emirates, the Ningi Division (an independent community, half Muslim, half Pagan, of erstwhile noted freebooters and fighters), and the purely Pagan section, of which the Hill Division is the most important. The total population is about half a million. In no part of Africa, probably, is there such a conglomeration of different tribes—Angass, Sura, Tangali, Chip, Waja, Kanna, Bukurus, &c., &c.—as is to be found in the Pagan Division of Bauchi, which for centuries has been the refuge of communities fleeing from Hausa, Fulani, and Beri-Beri (Kanuri) pressure.

Among these people many customs of great anthropological interest must linger, many religious practices and philological secrets that might give us the key to much of which we are still ignorant in the history of the country, and assist us in the art of government. It seems a pity that their gradual Hausa-izing, which must be the outcome of the *pax Britannica*, should become accomplished before these facts have been methodically studied and recorded. The Pagan Division is a unique corner of Africa, and it would be well worth the while of Government and of scientific bodies at home to prosecute research within it. The Administration has no money to spare. It is a misfortune that public opinion in England is so lax in these matters. We wait to understand the ethnological lore of our African dependencies till German scientists have gone through them and told us what they contain of anthropological value, incidentally sweeping the country bare of its ethnological treasures.

NEW NIGERIAN POSTAGE STAMPS.—Two new denominations—3d. and 5s.—have just been added to the current postage stamp series of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate, the former printed in purple on yellow paper, and the latter in red and green on yellow, in conformity with the Crown Agents' unified Colonial colour scheme. The stamps still bear the portrait of the late King Edward, printed from the De La Rue general Colonial postage and revenue key-plate upon surfaced paper, have the Multiple Crown C.A. watermark, and are perforated 14. The current postage stamp series of this Protectorate is remarkable for containing a postage stamp of the face value of £25.

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NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS PROBLEMS.

XIV.—DISADVANTAGES OF THE DUAL SYSTEM.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY
IN NIGERIA.)

No interested student of Nigerian affairs can fail, I think, especially after an examination of the problem on the spot, to arrive at the conclusion that the present dual system of administration, with its artificial territorial boundaries, its differing methods, and its inevitable rivalries, has served its turn and should be brought to an end as speedily as possible. The situation to-day is incongruous and in some respects almost absurd, and the absence of a sense of proportion in estimating responsibilities and acknowledging public services is conspicuous. No comprehensive scheme of development and, what is more important, no unity of principle in public policy is possible while it lasts. It is not only natural but, in the existing circumstances, right that the Administration of each Protectorate should work for the interests of its own Protectorate. But Nigeria is geographically a single unit; and Imperial policy suffers from a treatment which regards the interests of one section as not only distinct from, but in certain cases antagonistic to, the interests of the other. It is not suggested that administration should everywhere be carried out on the same pattern. No one would contend that the problems of government in the Northern Hausa Provinces, for instance, can be assimilated to those in the Eastern Province of Southern Nigeria. But that the main principles of government should be identical, and should consider the interests of Nigeria as a whole, can hardly be disputed.

DIVERGENCIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

Take, for example, the question of direct and of indirect rule. The tendency in Southern Nigeria, as the Secretariat gets stronger and the initiative of the Commissioners decreases, is towards direct rule, especially in the Western Province. Northern Nigeria has resolutely set the helm in the contrary direction. Take the question of taxation. North of the imaginary line which separates the two Protectorates the native pays a direct tax to the Administration, and tribute from the people to their natural chiefs and to the Government is assured on specific principles. South of that line the native pays no direct tax, and in the Western Province the Central Administration doles out stipends—apparently suspendable—to the chiefs; while the paying of native tribute to the chiefs, where it has not altogether ceased, exists only by the conservatism of native custom. Take the question of education. The Southern Nigeria system is turning out every year hundreds of Europeanized Africans. The Northern system aims at the establishment of an educational system based upon a totally different ideal. In Northern Nigeria, again, the land question has been settled, so far as the Northern Protectorate is concerned, on a broad but sure foundation; but the Southern native is an alien in Northern law. In Southern Nigeria there is no real land legislation; and its absence is raising, especially in the Western province, a host of future complications.

WANT OF A CONTINUOUS POLICY.

In criticizing a West African Administration it must always be borne in mind that no broad lines of public policy are laid down from home. None of the Secretary of State's advisers have ever visited Nigeria, and, however able they may be, that is a disadvantage. There is no West African Council, composed of men with experience of the country, to assist the permanent officials in advising the Secretary of State. The result is that each Governor and each Acting-Governor "runs his own show." One set

of problems is jerked forwards by this Governor, another by that. The Governor's position is rather like that of a Roman Emperor's, and the officials responsible for large districts, never knowing what a new Governor's policy is going to be, look upon every fresh change with nervous apprehension—which has a very unsettling effect. Much waste of time, as well as many errors, would be avoided if we at home had clear ideas as to our goal and defined (not too sharply) the methods by which it was to be attained. This could be done without hampering the Governors. Indeed, the indefiniteness of the home view is often a serious handicap to a Governor; he may for that very reason hesitate to take action where action is required, and may find himself committed by an Acting-Governor, in his absence, to action of which he personally disapproves. In other instances the existence of definite plans in London would act as a salutary check upon sudden innovations by a new and inexperienced Governor. Frequent changes of Governors there must be, until the conditions of life in Nigeria are very much improved. But the inconveniences arising therefrom would be largely mitigated, if there were a continuous and well-thought-out policy at home.

FURTHER ANOMALIES.

The position of Northern Nigeria is very anomalous. It is a vast Protectorate shut off from the seaboard by another less than one-fourth of its size; the Customs dues on its trade are in consequence collected by its neighbour. Southern Nigeria enjoys a very large revenue; its officials are decently housed and catered for, able to spend freely upon public works, and to develop its natural resources. Northern Nigeria is still poor, a pensioner upon the Treasury, in part upon Southern Nigeria; it cannot stir a step in the direction of a methodical exploration of its vegetable riches; its officials are housed in a manner generally inadequate and sometimes disgraceful, many of them are in receipt of ridiculously inadequate salaries, and they are now deprived even of their travelling allowance of five shillings a day.

This deprivation is so impolitic that a word must be said on the subject. The reason for the grant of this allowance, which the Southern Nigerian official enjoys, was frequent travelling, expensive living, and mud-house accommodation. As regards the first two, the arguments to-day are even stronger than they used to be. The Resident and his assistants, if they are worth their salt, must be more or less constantly on the move. When travelling about the country 4s. to 5s. a day, sometimes a little more, is an inevitable expenditure, at present a clear out-of-pocket one. As to living, it is a commonplace that the price of local food supplies is much higher than it was seven years ago. So far as the mud-houses are concerned, probably more than half the officials (except at places like Zungeru and Kano) live in mud-houses to-day. The Resident at Naraguta, for instance, lives in a leaky mud-house, while the Niger Company's representative at Joss, five miles off, has a beautiful and spacious residence of brick and timber. A good mud-house is not to be despised, but the money allowed for building good ones is quite inadequate. Moreover, many of the brick houses supplied are an uncommonly poor exchange for £90 a year.

I am not by any means certain that the real official objection to the bringing out of their wives by all but leading officials is not to be sought in the assumption that married officials, of other grades than the first, would no longer put up with the crude discomfort they now live in, and would be a little more chary of ruining their health by touring about in the rains—at their own expense. That Northern Nigeria is not, under present conditions, a fit place for any but an exceptional type of woman I reluctantly admit. But the constant aim of Government should be to improve conditions in order to make it so. Moreover, it is at least a moot point whether Government has any right to prevent an official from taking

The previous articles appeared on August 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and September 5, 8, 12, 14, 18, and 25.

Remember!

out his wife, unless the part of the country he is appointed to is in a disturbed state. After all, the risk is the official's—and his wife's. Our women, as well as our men, have built up the Empire and made it, on the whole, the clean and fine thing it is; and what a good woman, provided she is also a physically strong one, can accomplish in Northern Nigeria is beyond calculation. The moral influence of one such woman is powerfully felt throughout the length and breadth of a very extensive region in the eastern part of the Protectorate. Other aspects of this question will obviously suggest themselves, and ought to be boldly tackled; but the national prudery makes it difficult to do so in the columns of a newspaper.

The salaries paid in Northern Nigeria fill one with astonishment. The salary of a first-class Resident appears to vary from £700 to £800; that of a second-class Resident from £550 to £650; that of a third-class Resident from £450 to £550. Kano Province, when I visited it, was in charge of a third-class Resident, admittedly one of the ablest officials in the country—that is to say, an official drawing £470 a year was responsible for a region as large as Scotland and Wales, with a population of 2,571,170! The Bauchi Province was in charge of a second-class Resident drawing £570 a year; it is as large as Greece, has a population of about three-quarters of a million, and entails additional administrative anxieties through the advent of a white mining industry. These two instances will suffice. The men saddled with these immense responsibilities are really Lieutenant-Governors, and should be paid as such. The Governorship of the Bahamas, 4,404 square miles in extent, with a population of 61,277, is apparently worth £2,000; that of the Bermudas, with an area of 29 square miles and a population of 17,535, £2,946, and of Barbados, with 166 square miles and a population of 196,498, £2,500.

THE RAILWAY DUEL.

To all these incongruities must be added the series of events which have led to the creation of two competing railway systems, and consequently to open rivalry between the two Administrations in the effort to secure the traffic from the interior. This rivalry is certainly not lessened by the circumstance that the method of railway construction followed in one Protectorate differs radically from that pursued in the other. Needless to say, it is perfectly honourable to both sides, but it is deplorable, nevertheless, and not in the public interest.

The position of the competing lines is roughly this. Southern Nigeria has built, or rather is building (for the last section is not quite finished), a railway which crosses the Niger at Jebba, proceeds therefrom to Zungeru, the capital of Northern Nigeria, and onwards to a place called Minna. Northern Nigeria has built a railway from Baro (a town 407 miles up the Niger) to Minna, where the junction is effected, and thence to Kano. Southern Nigeria, which looks upon the Northern Protectorate as its natural *Hinterland*, wishes to attract the trade of the North over its line to Lagos, desires that the through rates it has drawn up should be accepted by Northern Nigeria, and claims the right of fixing the rates on the section of its railway from the point when it enters Northern Nigeria territory (Offa) to the point of junction. The Northern Administration, which does not in the least regard itself as the natural appanage of the South, desires to feed the Baro-Kano railway in conjunction with the Niger, and declares that the through rates proposed by Southern Nigeria are so manipulated as to ensure the deflection of the northern trade to Lagos. Thus the Baro-Kano line, or at any rate a considerable section of it, would be reduced (apart from its very definite strategical importance) to scrap iron.

A word as to the two systems. So far as governing principles are concerned, the Southern method is less concerned with capital expenditure and with rapidity of construction than with the advisability of securing permanently good construction and putting in permanent work throughout. The Northern method, on the other hand, aims at keeping down initial capital expenditure, exercising strict economy in the matter of buildings both for the public and for

the staff, and rapidity of construction; the line is to be improved as the traffic grows. It is impossible to resist the conclusion that the Northern method has demonstrably proved its superiority so far as actual construction is concerned. The Southern line has been, and is being, constructed on the old model. Consulting engineers in London are employed by the Colonial Office and appoint the staff in Africa. They are unchecked; the Colonial Office has no independent railway adviser for tropical Africa, no railway board or department or anything of that kind. Thus two distinct staffs are concerned, one appointed by and responsible to the consulting engineers in London, the other the general manager's staff in the Dependency. Both would probably find it difficult to define the point where the responsibilities of one begin and those of the other end. No one who knows West Africa can fail to appreciate the divided counsels, the friction, the waste of time and money which such a system must inevitably entail, even though every human rivet in the machine were endowed with superlative qualities.

ADVANTAGES OF THE NORTHERN METHODS.

The great advantage which the Northern Nigerian system possesses over that of Southern Nigeria is unity of direction. But the capital difference between the two systems is this. Northern Nigeria has shown that it is possible to construct a railway without the services of consulting engineers in England at all. The fact is that the Administration—i.e., its Public Works Department—with the help of a few Engineer officers lent by the Home Government, has been its own builder. The absence of any foreign body has reduced friction to a minimum. In fact there has been no friction whatever, because the railway staff has co-operated in every way with the Political Staff, and the exercise of the Political Officers' legitimate duties in protecting the interests of the natives has not been resented by the railway management. I should be the last to minimize the excellence of the individual work performed by the engineers in charge of the Southern line, from whom I received the greatest hospitality at various stages in my journey; but the nature of the system there followed precludes that enthusiastic co-operation of all the elements concerned which is the predominating characteristic of Northern methods.

In no direction does the system show better results than in the organization of labour. It has demonstrated the right way of dealing with native labour in West Africa—that the labourer on public works shall be drawn from the neighbourhood, that he shall be accompanied to the scene of his labours by his own village or district headman, the native authority to whom he owes allegiance and whom he knows and trusts; that he shall perform his duties in the presence and under the supervision of that headman; and that for the conduct of the headman himself and for the whole proceedings under which recruitment is carried on and labour performed the Political Officer shall be responsible. In other words, it shows the right procedure to be that of recruiting through and by the orders of the natural authorities of the people under the supreme control of the Resident—combined with a form of payment which shall ensure that the wages are placed in the earner's own hand, not in somebody else's hand. By this system alone, it would seem, can the labour of the country, already employed in agriculture and industrial pursuits, be capable of bearing an additional burden for public purposes without injustice, without ferment, without dislocating the whole labour system of the region. Persuaded of this truth, the Political Officers of Northern Nigeria, aided by the ready willingness of the railway staff, have achieved a veritable triumph of organization which should ever remain a model to follow.

I cannot conclude without expressing regret that in authorizing the construction of the new line the Colonial Office should have been led to break the gauge and to decide upon a 2ft. 6in. line instead of the 3ft. 6in. standard.

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THE TIMES, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1911.

NORTHERN NIGERIA AND ITS
PROBLEMS.

XV.*

A SCHEME OF AMALGAMATION.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN
NIGERIA.)

In my last letter I endeavoured to depict some of the disadvantages and drawbacks arising (and likely to become accentuated with time) from the dual administrative control now obtaining in Nigeria. For the following suggestions as to a possible amalgamation I claim no more than that they constitute an attempt, put forward with much diffidence, to indicate a few constructive ideas which might form the basis for expert discussion.

The main objects an amalgamation might be expected to secure, apart from the removal of certain inconveniences, are four in number:— (a) That the financial management should be directed not only to meeting present needs, but to making provision for the future; (b) that the right sort of man should fill the important and onerous post of Governor-General; (c) the division of the territory into Provinces, corresponding as far as possible with natural geographical boundaries and existing political conditions, and involving as few changes as possible; (d) a comprehensive scheme of public works.

These points can, in the limits of an article, be best examined collectively.

THE FOUR NEW PROVINCES.

On the accompanying map Nigeria is divided into four great Provinces. I. The Northern or Sudan Province, comprising the regions where a Mahomedan civilization has existed for many centuries, and where the majority of the people, except in Kontagora, are Muslims. The ruling families in Kontagora are, however, so closely related with those of Sokoto that it would probably be found expedient to incorporate the former into the same Province, which would therefore consist of Sokoto, Kano, Bornu, the Zaria Emirate, and Kontagora. Its headquarters would be at Kano. II. The Central Province, comprising the Pagan section of the present Zaria Province—i.e., Zaria outside the limits of the Emirate proper—and the Nassarawa, Bauchi, Niger, Yola, and Muri (north of the Benue) Provinces. It is not quite easy to forecast where the centre of gravity of the Central Province would ultimately fall; but if, as is probable, the Bauchi highlands become in time a second Simla for the Central Executive, the headquarters of the Central Province would presumably be fixed at Zungeru, the present capital of the Northern Protectorate. III. The Western Province, comprising all that is now incorporated in the existing western province of Southern Nigeria, plus—to the north—Kabba, Ilorin, and Borgu; the right bank of the Niger and Nun would form the eastern boundary. Its headquarters would be at Oshogbo or its immediate neighbourhood. IV. The Eastern Province, comprising what is now the eastern province of Southern Nigeria, but with its western frontier co-terminous with the left bank of the Niger and Forcados, and its northern frontiers pushed up to the south bank of the Benue so as to embrace Bassa and part of Muri—Yola being left, for political reasons, in the Central Province, as noted above. Its headquarters would be at Old Calabar, the starting point of the future eastern railway. (See map.)

Each of these great Provinces would be ruled

manding the troops. The official members of the Legislative Council would include the director of rail and river transport (both services being amalgamated and placed under one department); the directors of public works, agriculture, forestry, commercial intelligence, and mining; and the Principal Medical Officer. The unofficial members would include selected representatives of the educated native community, and later on one or two distinguished Mallams, and selected representatives of the European commercial and mining communities. But in no case would the functions of the Council be allowed to conflict with the Native Administrations of the Mahomedan Provinces.

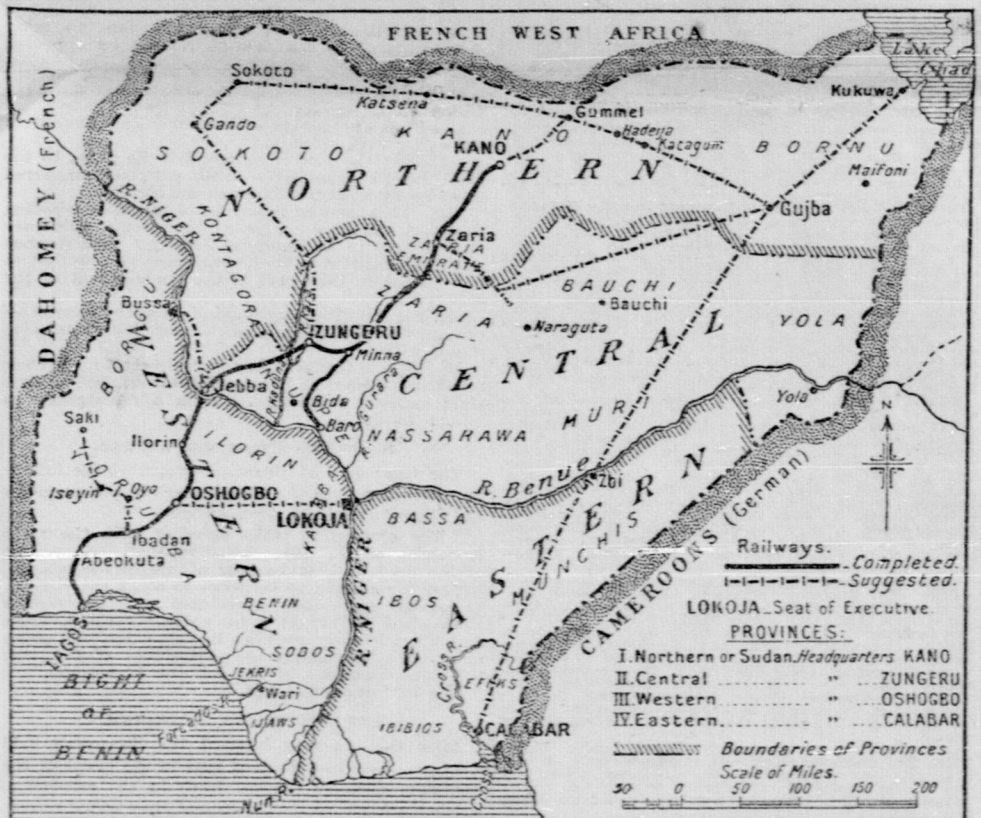
THE NEW FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The method of handling the finances of the Protectorate would depend to a large extent upon the capacity of the Home Government, in conjunction with the potential Governor-General and other advisers, to map out ahead a considered scheme of railway construction and improvement of fluvial communications, which would proceed from year to year, and for which provision would be made. The whole problem of communications, both rail and river, ought to be placed under a special department subject to periodical inspection by an independent expert sent out from home by the Colonial Office, the system of consulting engineers in England being, if possible, abandoned. The situation financially lends itself, in a general sense, to a certain boldness of treatment and departure from ordinary British West African precedent. Two distinct classes of Budgets might with advantage be evolved—a Colonial Budget and the Provincial Budgets. In other words, there would be a central Budget and four local Budgets, one for each Province. The Colonial Budget would be fed by the Customs revenue, the whole of which would be credited to it. (It may be estimated that two or three years hence the total Customs revenue collected in Nigeria will amount to £2,500,000.) It would be augmented by the profits on the railways, the mining royalties, harbour dues, and pilotage fees (there should be a system of public pilotage on the waterways). The Protectorate could be authorized to raise, on its own recognizances, a loan of £5,000,000, redeemable in a term of years. This loan would be expended in a succession of public works—some of the necessary lines of rail are indicated in the map—in accordance with the scheme of construction mapped out as previously suggested. The Colonial Budget would determine the successive instalments of expenditure out of loans, and would provide the interest on the new loan and on the existing loan of £5,000,000 contracted by Southern Nigeria (for public works in Southern and Northern Nigeria). A further loan of £3,500,000 is about to be contracted by Southern Nigeria. The revenues of the Colonial Budget, from whatever source derived (other than from loans), would be apportioned by the Governor-General in Council for the administration of the four Provinces in accordance with their respective needs. These needs would show marked variation for some years to come. For instance, the hypothetical Northern and Central Provinces (i.e., the territory which now comprises the bulk of Northern Nigeria), relying upon the increasing regularity and juster assessment of internal direct taxation—what may roughly be termed a graduated property tax—might be expected to advance steadily towards the self-supporting stage. When that stage had been reached the surplus would be set aside under the Provincial Budget for extending the system of fixed salaries to native officials, expenditure on provincial public works and economic

SKETCH MAP OF NIGERIA

SHOWING SUGGESTED REARRANGEMENT OF PROVINCES.

SKETCH MAP OF NIGERIA



by a Lieutenant-Governor, with Residents and Assistant-Residents under him; wherever possible the present political boundaries of the divisions now called provinces, which would become districts and sub-districts, would be retained. Thus in the Northern or Sudan Province nothing would be changed in this respect, save the separation of Mahomedan Zaria from Pagan Zaria; nothing would be changed in the Central Province (so far as the units remaining within it were concerned) except the division of Muri, which would offer no political embarrassments. The enlargement of the Eastern Province as proposed would in some respects facilitate the work of administration, and would not cut across any ethnic divisions. In the Western Province the principal alteration would be the re-grouping of the different Yoruba sections in their old State form (*vide* the series of articles on Southern Nigeria in *The Times* Empire Day Edition) under a Resident, who would reside at Oyo; Ilorin, Kabba, and Borgu would remain under Residents as at present.

Warri (the capital of the existing central province of Southern Nigeria) would become the seat of a Residency for the Bini, Sobu, Ijaw, and Jekri speaking peoples. Lagos town would continue to be what the expenditure of much money and the enterprise of the Yorubas have made it, the commercial emporium of at least the western portion of the Protectorate, and the headquarters of the small surrounding area known as the "Colony" (*vide* Empire Day Edition) administered by a "Lagos Council." This would replace the present "Lagos Legislative Council," and would be composed of much the same elements as the latter, presided over by a Resident. The functions of the Lagos Council would be confined to the "Colony."

The headquarters of the Governor-General and the central seat of Government would be the high plateau immediately behind Lokoja—known as Mount Patte—situated in the very centre of the Protectorate, commanding the Niger and the Benue, within easy steam of Baro—the starting-point of the central railway—and linked up with the western railway by a branch line to Oshogbo, as indicated on the map. The Governor-General would be assisted by an Executive and Legislative Council. Of the former the Lieutenant-Governors and senior Residents would be *ex-officio* members, together with the Chief Justice, the Colonial Secretary, the Financial Secretary, and the officer com-

research, improvements in sanitation, and so on, in collaboration with the native authorities of its various sections. A portion of my hypothetical Northern or Sudan Province—Kano—is already self-supporting. Indeed, but for the military establishment, the whole of that Province would be showing to-day a handsome surplus and, apart from the public works to be met out of loans, would require, even if it continued to be debited with the military establishment, very little assistance from the Colonial Budget. The hypothetical Central Province would require more assistance for a time; but, as in the Northern Province, the basis of an expanding land revenue is securely laid and a not inconsiderable mineral development, bringing revenue, apart from royalties, is assured to it. On the other hand, most of the hypothetical Western Province and almost the whole of the Eastern Province—i.e., in combination, Southern Nigeria of to-day—produces no internal revenue whatever except licences, the amount derived from which will assuredly grow but will not become really large for many years. Therefore, until and unless we can approach the delicate problem of introducing direct taxation among peoples, with the majority of whom we have been in touch for years without requiring the payment of any form of tribute, the Colonial Budget would have to furnish these Provinces with most of their administrative revenues.

*The previous articles appeared on August 15, 16, 18, 21, 23, 25, and 31, and September 5, 8, 12, 14, 18, 25, and 27.

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NORTHERN NIGERIA AND
ITS PROBLEMS.

XVL*

CONCLUSIONS.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT LATELY IN
NIGERIA.)

An alternative scheme to the projected amalgamation outlined in my last article would be to abandon the idea of a Central Legislative Council for the whole Protectorate and of a new administrative headquarters, the Governor-General spending a certain time at the headquarters of each Province. Lagos would, under such a scheme, become the capital of the extended Western Province (see map), and the action of the Lagos Legislative Council would extend to the whole of that province. A Legislative Council would be created for the extended Eastern Province. The administrative machinery of the new Central and Northern Provinces would be left as it is now. On the financial side the alternative scheme to the one I have sketched would be to let each Province contribute to the Colonial Budget in accordance with its capacities upon a definite proportional basis, the sums thus accruing to the Colonial Budget, *plus* the loan funds, being utilized in the creation of public works on the lines already sketched. This alternative scheme of amalgamation or federation would possess some advantages over the first in certain respects and compares unfavourably with it in others.

THE MILITARY BUDGET.

It will be objected that these suggestions do not take into account the present military expenditure of the Protectorates, and are dumb with regard to the Imperial grant to Northern Nigeria. I have left a consideration of these two questions until now because they can, I think, be taken together. The military establishment of Southern Nigeria costs £100,000 per annum, that of Northern Nigeria £160,000. Neither is excessive in itself, although in the latter case it amounts to no less than 33 per cent. of the total expenditure of the Protectorate! It is not one penny too much, and to reduce the number of troops would be folly, having regard to the immensity of the country and the kind of political problem facing us. And yet could anything be more topsy-turvy? Here is a financially struggling Protectorate in need of the most vital necessities; incapable even of building decent houses for its overworked and short-handed staff; forced to deprive them of even their travelling allowances, and to sacrifice considerations of reasonable comfort—and therefore of health—for its *personnel*; in a position to pay so little for posts of enormous responsibility that the entire political expenditure is only some £70,000 per annum; able to devote but a miserable £1,300 a year to economic forestry—but saddled with this incubus of £160,000 for a military establishment which has already been called upon (in the case of the last Ashanti war) to provide contingents for service outside the Protectorate—as would infallibly happen again in the by no means remote contingencies of a further outbreak in Ashanti or disturbances in the Sierra Leone Hinterland. This situation needs to be examined in conjunction with the Imperial grant about which so much fuss is made.

BRITAIN IN ACCOUNT WITH NORTHERN NIGERIA.

The nation imagines that Northern Nigeria is costing the Imperial Treasury something like £250,000 to £300,000 per annum. Nothing of the kind. The grants in aid from 1906 to 1909 inclusive amounted to £1,220,000—an average of £305,000. But against this must be set the direct benefit to the revenues of the United Kingdom derived from the profit which the Mint makes upon the silver coin exported, in ever-increasing quantities, to the two Nigerias. The average yearly cost of silver in the last nine years has, I believe, varied between 2s. 0½d. and 2s. 6½d. The coin at par value is issued at 5s. 6d. an ounce; and I am credibly informed that the profit to the Mint is considerably more than half the net import by Nigeria, seeing that half the face value of the coinage is greater than the cost of minting, *plus* maintenance of gold reserve and provision for remitting. The net export of coinage—virtually the whole of it silver—to the two Nigerias (*i.e.*, the total exported *minus* the coin returned) amounted from 1906 to 1909 to £981,582. If the profit of the Mint is taken at only 50 per cent., it will thus be seen that the nation is making a direct average profit of nearly £125,000 a year out of the two Nigerias, against an average of £305,000 paid to Northern Nigeria by way of a temporary grant in aid. To say, therefore, that Northern Nigeria is costing the British taxpayer a quarter of a million a year or more is to say what is not true. What the nation advances directly it recoups itself for, in part, in another direction—besides which, these grants are in the nature of a capital investment. When amalgamation comes, let this grant be cancelled, and let the Imperial Government on the other hand foot the bill for the military expenditure (which, as we have seen, amounts to £260,000), looking upon it, say, for the next ten years, as Imperial expenditure. Nothing would so alleviate the whole situation, while at the same time simplifying it, and, as has been shown, the actual disbursement of the nation on this item would be considerably less—even now—than what it would appear nominally to be, owing to the profit made by the Mint on the silver coin sent out.

NEED OF EARLY EXAMINATION.

As already explained, the above proposals are put forward merely as a basis for the discussion of a problem of some difficulty but of great urgency. I claim for them nothing more than that; no conceivable scheme of amalgamation but would lend itself to copious criticism. But the present mish of anomalies cannot be perpetuated without increasing detriment to Imperial interests in Nigeria. The existence of two public policies side by side in a single territorial area, where internal peace is rapidly fusing the indigenous communities, divided by an imaginary line which does not even correspond to natural boundaries, and exhibiting multiple differences of aim and method—in some cases acutely antagonistic interests—presents many obvious inconveniences and paves the way for future embarrassments of every kind. If these remarks can induce the Colonial Office to hasten an early and serious examination of the problem, they will not, however open to criticism, have been made in vain. Amalgamation must come. All realize that. Unforeseen events might very well, at a given moment, compel us to make precipitately, decisions of far-reaching moment without giving due consideration to all the features of the case—such as characterized the amalgamation of the Lagos Colony and Protectorate with old Southern Nigeria in 1899.

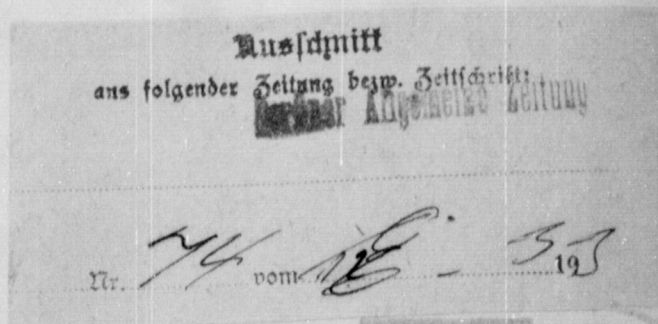
As to the man—a last word. The responsibility of selecting the official to be in supreme control over the amalgamated Nigerias is no light one. The task confronting a Governor-General, especially in the first five years, will be replete with difficulties. The post will need heavy calls upon tact and patience, and a peculiarly high type of constructive statesmanship. The only remark I would venture to make on the point is this. Any serious administrative error perpetrated in handling affairs in the north would be attended with consequences of exceeding gravity. That is a proposition I think no one will be inclined to dispute. It suggests either that the continuation of the existing policy in what is now known as Northern Nigeria should be a *sine qua non* of amalgamation, or that the Governor-General himself

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should be personally acquainted with the political conditions of the Northern Protectorate, or at least that the Lieutenant-Governors of the hypothetical Northern and Central Provinces should be chosen from among the most experienced of the existing senior Residents.

It only remains to record, with sincere gratitude, the courtesy and kindness with which your Correspondent was everywhere received during his stay in the two Protectorates by political officers, railway officials, merchants, and natives alike. From the Colonial Office before leaving, from Sir Walter Egerton and his staff, from Sir Henry Hesketh Bell, from Mr. Charles Temple (Acting Governor of Northern Nigeria), Mr. Goldsmith (Colonial Secretary), as from the Residents at Kano, Zaria, Naraguta, Bida, Minna, Baro, and the Kaduna, from the cantonment magistrate in charge of Lokoja, from the Commissioners at Warri, Onitsha, Oyo, Ibadan, and Abeokuta, and from the railway staff in both Protectorates, your Correspondent was the recipient of the most cordial hospitality and good will, and in the matter of cross-country trekking every facility possible was rendered to him. For all of which I would beg leave to express in your columns and in your name my heartfelt thanks.

In the 13th article of this series, dealing with the tin mines, I was perhaps a little too sweeping in absolutely condemning the practice of ex-Government officials identifying themselves with financial syndicates to exploit the country they have participated in administering. It has now been brought to my knowledge that in one such case, where permission was sought and granted by the authorities, the action of an experienced ex-official was, as a matter of fact, twice instrumental in preventing a fraudulent concern from being unloaded upon the public; and no doubt there is something to be said in favour of the practice from that point of view, arguing from an isolated case. But I must adhere to the opinion that, speaking generally, the practice is an objectionable one and lends itself to incidents which are calculated to impair the very high standard of public service of which Great Britain rightly makes a boast.



Wie England kolonisiert.

Nicht politische Machtentfaltung, sondern
wirtschaftliche Erschließung.

Der bekannte Politiker und Publizist
H. von Gerlach hat eine Studienreise
durch Westafrika unternommen. Wir
veröffentlichen bereits zwei Artikel aus
seiner Feder, die die Verhältnisse in Liberia
und Kamerun schildern. Die folgende
Arbeit befaßt sich mit der englischen Ko-
lonie Nigeria.

Wenn das große Publikum von englischen Ko-
lonien hört, so denkt es dabei an Indien, Austra-
lien, Kanada und Südafrika. Es weiß wohl, daß
England außerdem noch allerlei andere Be-
sitzungen hat. Aber von der Zahl, dem Umfang
und dem Wert dieser „kleineren“ Besitzungen
machen sich sicherlich recht wenig Leute ein auch
nur halbwegs zutreffendes Bild.

Wer weiß z. B. etwas von Nigeria? In
der Schule lernt man allerdings den Niger als
einen der großen afrikanischen Ströme, und
aus dem Namen läßt sich schließen, daß Nigeria
irgendwo am Niger liegen muß. Aber eine dar-
über hinausgehende klarere Vorstellung haben von
Nigeria sicherlich außer den dort kaufmännisch
interessierten Firmen nur ganz wenige Deutsche.
Und doch ist diese „Nebenfigur“ im eng-
lischen Weltreich bedeutsamer als irgend
eine unserer deutschen Kolonien.

Nigeria ist ungefähr so groß wie Deutsch-Süd-
westafrika. Aber es hat 18 Millionen Einwoh-
ner, Südwest 70 000! Und selbst unsere be-
völkerteste Kolonie, Ostafrika, bleibt mit ihren
zehn Millionen erheblich hinter Nigeria zurück.
Der Ein- und Ausfuhrhandel Nigerias reprä-
sentiert einen Wert von 220 Millionen Mark,
d. h. weit über die Hälfte des Handels all unse-
rer Kolonien zusammengekommen. Und, was fast
noch bedeutsamer ist, hier überwiegt die Ausfuhr
nicht unwesentlich die Einfuhr, während unsere
Kolonien in erster Linie Einfuhrländer sind.

Das liegt zu einem Teil natürlich an der Tat-
sache, daß die Engländer das „Glück“ haben, in
Nigeria ein von der Natur reich ausgestattetes
Land zu besitzen. Aber ganz gewiß nur zum
Teil. Sehr zu Hilfe kommt den Engländern ihre
Fähigkeit, aus den Kolonien herauszuholen, was
irgend herauszuholen ist, ohne dabei aber Raub-
bau zu treiben. Ganz das Gegenteil ist der Fall.
Sie treiben keine Augenblicksdividenden, son-
dern eine langfristige Kulturpolitik.

Oberster Grundsatz der englischen Kolonial-
politik, der jedem höheren Verwaltungsbeamten
immer wieder eingeschärft wird, ist: Gewalt oder
gar Blutvergießen vermeiden! Da sitzen in den
unausglichenen Sümpfen des Nigerdeltas, dicht

an der Küste, noch kleine wilde Stämme, zu denen
nie ein Weißer vorgebrungen ist. Da haufen in
den Bergen Nordnigerias noch wilde Heiden-
stämme, die sich dorthin vor dem Ansturm der
mohammedanischen Reitervölker geflüchtet haben.
Sie sind ganz und gar ununterworfen. Aber das
stört die Engländer nicht im geringsten. Sie tun
ja niemand etwas zu leide, der sich nicht zu ihnen
begibt. Und es braucht doch niemand in ihr un-
wegsames Land, wo für den Handel nichts zu
holen ist.

Der oberste Gesichtspunkt der englischen Ko-
lonialpolitik ist eben nicht politische
Machtentfaltung, sondern wirt-
schaftliche Erschließung.

Man treibt intensivste Verkehrs-
politik. Binnen wenigen Jahren hat man eine
Eisenbahnlinie von der Küste bis fast an die
Nordostgrenze des Landes, tief ins Innere, ge-
führt. Kaum stellt sich heraus, daß in dem bisher
noch unerschlossenen Hochlande von Bauchi reiche
Zinnlager vorhanden sind, so wird eine Zweig-
bahn dorthin gebaut. Eben ist man dabei, vom
Unterlaufe des Niger, von dem großen Handels-
plage Onitsha aus, eine Bahn nach den neu ent-
deckten Kohlenfeldern von Udi anzulegen.

So viel Geld wie möglich wird in wirtschaft-
liche Unternehmungen gesteckt, so wenig wie mög-
lich für Militär oder gar Strafexpeditionen aus-
gegeben. Man rechnet eben darauf, daß die Ein-
geborenen dadurch am sichersten an die eng-
lische Herrschaft gekettet werden, daß sie durch sie
wirtschaftliche Vorteile erhalten. Nichts lernt der
Mensch, auch der Naturmensch, rascher, als den
Wert des Geldes erkennen. Wenn die Niger erst
beginnen, die Londoner Marktpreise für Palm-
öl und Palmkerne, für Kakaos und Baumwollseide zu
studieren, so denken sie nicht mehr an Aufstände.

Niemand diskutiert hier die Frage, die in
unseren Kolonien eine so große Rolle spielt:
wie können wir die Neger zur Arbeit zwin-
gen? Alle Aufmerksamkeit konzentriert sich
vielmehr darauf, den Eingeborenen zu erhöhter
Produktion Anregung und Anleitung zu
gewähren. Man gebietet und verbietet so wenig
wie möglich, sucht lieber das Selbstinteresse der
Schwarzen in den Dienst der Produktion und
Kultur zu stellen.

Ein Beispiel aus der Forstverwaltung:
Allgemein verbreitet im tropischen Afrika ist die
Sitte, zur Trockenzeit große Gras- und Wald-
flächen abzubrennen. Da der Eingeborene ein
Dingen nicht kennt, so ist der für den Ackerbau
benutzte Boden nach drei oder vier Jahren so
erschöpft, daß er einer längeren Ruhepause be-
darf. Das für die nächsten Jahre landwirtschaft-
lich zu benutzende Land wird dadurch „unbar“ ge-
macht, daß alles darauf Stehende abgebrannt
wird. Das schadet im allgemeinen gar nichts.
Denn weder das lange harte Elefantengras noch

WENDEN!

die Mehrzahl der Bäume haben irgendwelchen Nutzwert. Leider gingen früher aber bei diesen Bränden auch die seltenen, wertvollen Hölzer, wie der kostbare Mahagoni und Iroko, die afrikanische Eiche, zugrunde. In Togo hat man, wie ich höre, die Waldbrände durch Verbote zu beseitigen versucht, deren Durchführung kaum durchzuführen ist. In den britischen Kolonien verfuhr man anders. Da wurde nur eine Vorschrift über den Mindestdurchmesser der zu fällenden Edelbäume erlassen. Außerdem aber wurde bestimmt, daß von jedem verkauften Nutzholzkamm — neben einer an die Regierung zu zahlenden Abgabe — der Häuptling 6 Schilling erhält. Wird der Stamm ausgeführt, so steigt der Bezug des Häuptlings auf 16 Schilling. Seitdem diese Bestimmung gilt, werden die Edelhölzer ängstlich vor den Waldbränden behütet. Ich möchte nicht die Tracht Prügel kriegen, die der Häuptling dem Schwarzen verabfolgen würde, der jetzt noch durch leichtsinnige Feuermacherei einen Mahagoni- oder Irokokamm zerstört.

Ein großer Mangelstand ist die Bauweise der Eingeborenen. Nicht bloß in den Dörfern, sondern auch in den großen Städten werden die Eingeborenenhütten noch jetzt fast ausschließlich mit Stroh, Gras und Blättern gedeckt. Das Zeug brennt in der Trockenzeit wie Zucker. An Löschern ist nicht zu denken, zumal es meist an Wasser fehlt. Die Hütten repräsentieren keinen eigentlichen Wert, wohl aber das Vieh, der Hausrat und die Waren, die mit verbrennen. Die Regierung wünscht als Dachbedeckung Wellblech. Aber sie hütet sich vor gewaltsamen Eingriffen in uralte Traditionen. Es geht ja auch anders.

In Lokoja z. B. macht es die Behörde so, daß, wer seine Hütte mit Brennstoff eindeckt, viermal so viel Gebäudesteuer zahlen muß, als wer sich für Wellblech entscheidet. Wer den alten Stil beibehält, zahlt 20 Prozent des Mietwertes als Jahressteuer. In modernen Wellblechwohnungen braucht man nur 5 Prozent zu entrichten.

So ist der Siegeszug des Wellblechs gesichert.

Auch die Bodenpolitik der Engländer scheint mir geradezu vorbildlich. Sie wird nicht schematisch gehandhabt, geht aber überall von demselben Grundsatz aus, nämlich dem, jede Terrainspekulation unmöglich zu machen.

In Nordnigeria gilt alles Land als Kronland. Kein Eingeborener wird in seinem Besitz gestört. Nur verkaufen darf er sein Land nicht.

Die Regierung macht von ihrem Bodeneigentum einen verschiedenen Gebrauch, je nachdem, ob es sich um wenig bevölkerte Distrikte oder um volkreiche Städte handelt.

In den menschenarmen Distrikten bekommt jeder, der sich als Farmer niederlassen will — es gibt dort nur schwarze Farmer — so viel Land überwiesen, als er mit seiner Familie bebauen kann. Er hat zunächst gar nichts zu bezahlen. Am Schluß jedes Jahres wird sein Anwesen geprüft: wieviel Land ist kultiviert, was wird daraus erzeugt, wieviel Vieh ist vorhanden usw. Danach findet eine Steuereinschätzung statt. Die Eingeborenenregierung nimmt sie vor, die englische Behörde kontrolliert sie und berichtigt sie nötigenfalls. Von der Steuer kommt die Hälfte den Engländern, die andere Hälfte den Eingeborenen zugute.

In den Städten wird kein Land umsonst abgegeben. Hier geht alles, ob es nun ein Weiße oder ein Schwarzer haben will, an lease, auf Zeitpacht. Die Höchstdauer der Pacht ist 21 Jahre. Alle drei Jahre wird jedoch eine Neufestsetzung der Rente vorgenommen. Die Rente ist ganz verschieden, je nachdem, ob das Grundstück in einer Haupt- oder Nebenstraße

liegt, für Wohn- oder Geschäftszwecke benutzt wird. Nach Ablauf der Pachtzeit fällt das Grundstück an die Krone zurück. Sie muß jedoch den Inhaber für die darauf stehenden Gebäude voll entschädigen.

Bei diesem System fahren alle Teile gut. Nur Leute, die in der Terrainspekulation ein berechtigtes Gewerbe sehen, werden es verurteilen. Aber die Engländer glauben, diese Leute in ihren Kolonien entbehren zu können.

H. v. Gerlach.

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vom

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1914.

NIGERIA UNDER UNION.

Mr. J. Astley Cooper leaves us in no doubt as to the benefits of unification in Nigeria and the soundness and success of Sir Frederick Lugard's rule in those far lands where we are shaping the destiny of some eighteen million native souls. Already the railways have been amalgamated; marine and Customs have also been amalgamated, and the public debt of both administrations unified, all to the accompaniment of rising revenues and an increasing tin export, which last year reached the value of £2500,000, against £189,174 in 1911. British rule, in short, has brought peace and prosperity to a country once distracted, and Mr. Astley Cooper would have us take credit for it and be a little more boastful before the world. As well we may. Notwithstanding many problems of race and climate, many physical obstacles and conflicting residues of barbarism and heathen tradition, Nigeria responds admirably to the quickening Imperial influences for which Sir Frederick Lugard so intelligently stands, while, despite three years of drought and many difficulties, which the pioneers of industry have bravely faced, it takes its place as a tin-producing country "with other parts of the world which have been producing tin for many years." Such is the achievement. And that half million, we are assured, is only a beginning, an earnest of potentialities, of Nigeria's "undoubted great resources," to use the Colonial Secretary's phrase; for this is still seed-time in Nigeria, and most of Sir Frederick's work is "spade work," "preparing for a greater future." There the praise and the patience end, for Mr. Astley Cooper is all for speeding up, for more encouragement for the prospector, for lighter mining royalties, for land-settlement schemes and freehold titles, for lower railway rates. It is the voice of the mining man we hear—the familiar plaint of the pioneer! And all these things are doubtless excellent. But there is much wisdom in hastening slowly where eighteen million natives confront 2,000 whites, where traditions abound and the native is wedded to the land by the laws of the tribe; and one is disposed to see much merit in Sir Frederick's policy of caution. In Mr. Cooper's own words, the problem in Nigeria is, not so much to get tin out of it—and there appears to be an abundance—as "to bring many people difficult to deal with into line," the task for which pre-eminently patience is required. That done, Nigeria will move forward spontaneously; all the rest, as Mr. Cooper himself will admit, is detail.