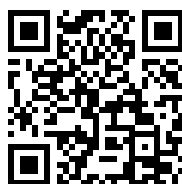


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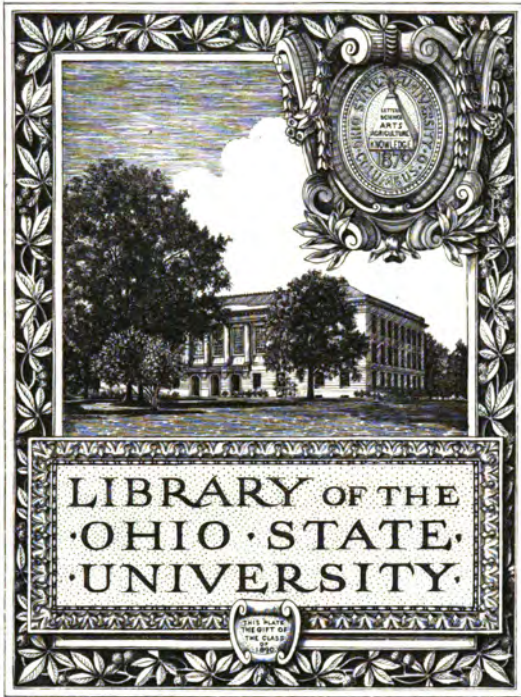
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# WEST AFRICA.

## REPORTS

ON THE

# BRITISH SPHERE OF THE CAMEROONS.

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*Presented to Parliament by Command of His Majesty,  
May, 1922.*

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# REPORTS

ON THE

## BRITISH SPHERE OF THE CAMEROONS.

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### COLONIAL OFFICE NOTE.\*

The following Reports have been prepared by the Lieutenant-Governors of the Northern and Southern Provinces of Nigeria and deal respectively with the Northern and with the Southern areas of the British Sphere of the Cameroons, which is being administered by the Nigerian Government.

2. The Protectorate of Nigeria is divided for administrative purposes into two groups of Provinces—the Northern and the Southern—each of which is under the immediate charge of a Lieutenant-Governor. Each individual Province is under the administrative charge of a Resident, who is assisted by a staff of Political Officers, known as District Officers or Assistant District Officers according to their standing and seniority in the service.

3. In these circumstances, it has been found convenient similarly to divide the territory in the Cameroons which is now under the administration of the Nigerian Government into a Northern and a Southern half, each of which has been added for administrative purposes to the group of Provinces to which it geographically belongs, and has been placed under the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor who is responsible for that group. Whereas, however, the area comprising the Northern portion of the Cameroons territory under British administration has been again subdivided into two portions—of which the more northerly is administered by the Resident of the Nigerian Province of Bornu and the more southerly by the Resident of the Nigerian Province of Yola—it has been found most convenient to treat the part of the Cameroons which is attached to the Southern Provinces as a separate provincial entity, and to post to the charge of it a Senior Resident assisted by a small staff of Political Officers.

4. The division of the British sphere in the Cameroons into a Northern and a Southern portion explains the fact that two separate reports, each dealing with one of these administrative areas, have been submitted, instead of a single document relating to the whole of the territory.

5. Though the reports bear the signatures of Mr. W. F. Gowers, C.M.G., the Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces, and of Lieutenant-Colonel H. C. Moorhouse, C.M.G., D.S.O., the Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces, respectively, and carry with them the endorsement of these officers of the Nigerian Government, the

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\* Based on a despatch from the Governor of Nigeria forwarding the reports.

report on the Northern portion of the administered territory was drawn up by Mr. H. R. Palmer, whose substantive appointment is that of Senior Resident of the Province of Bornu, when he recently was acting as Lieutenant-Governor of the Northern Provinces ; while the report on the Southern portion is mainly the work of Captain U. F. H. Ruxton, the Senior Resident in charge of the Cameroons Province.

6. The Report on the Northern portion is longer and more detailed than will be necessary in the case of similar documents that will hereafter, from time to time, be submitted for the information of the League of Nations, as it contains a great deal of descriptive matter and of general and ethnological information which, having once been placed on record, will be available for future reference and will not need to be repeated.

7. It is divided into three Parts. Of these Part I (paragraphs 1 to 82) deals with the Emirate of Dikwa, Part II. (paragraphs 83 to 121) with that portion of the British sphere of the Cameroons which lies North of the Benue River and East of the Nigerian Province of Yola, and Part III (paragraphs 122-208) with that part of the British sphere of the Cameroons which lies South of the Benue River and East of the Nigerian Province of Yola.

8. Since November, 1917, with the exception of the cases noted below, it has not been found necessary by the Government of Nigeria to maintain any military force in any part of the Northern area, or on its account to strengthen the small garrisons normally maintained at Maiduguri, the administrative capital of the Province of Bornu, and at Song, near Yola, in the Nigerian Province of that name. Those exceptions were due to the existence of a no-man's-land between the British and French spheres of influence, which had unfortunately been unwittingly created by the provisional arrangement of boundaries made at the conclusion of the campaign in the Cameroons, and which had become the place of refuge and base of operations of a number of lawless characters (*vide* paragraph 73 of the Report). As a result, a military patrol took place in 1919 and a company of Mounted Infantry was posted for a few months in 1920 at Bama, a point overlooking this area. Small military escorts were also furnished by the Nigeria Regiment to the Political Officers of the Yola Province while getting into touch with the chiefs and people in the territory further to the South during 1920 and 1921, proceedings which are described in paragraphs 104 to 110 of Part II. and in Section IV. (paragraphs 162 to 191) of Part III. The only police force maintained in this part of the territory is the small force of "*dogarai*," or native constables, employed by the Native Administration. These constables are armed only with staves.

9. Paragraphs 81, 106, and 166 to 177 show that the native population throughout the Northern portion of the administered area is well disposed toward the new *régime* ; but in the Districts which are being administered from Yola there are numerous very primitive Pagan Tribes which, during German times, were never brought under

control, and in dealing with these both time and patience will be required before their confidence can be gained or close touch established with them.

10. Coming to the report of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria which deals with the Southern portion of the administered area in the Cameroons, paragraph 23 thereof is interesting taken in conjunction with the report on the European-owned plantations, which forms the third enclosure to this report, as showing how little reliance the German Colonial Government placed upon the indigenous population of the Cameroons for the opening-up and development of this part of the country, compared with the trust which they reposed in European energy and enterprise to effect this end; and how small a place, in consequence, was occupied on their official horizon by purely native affairs which, according to the theory of administration in force in Nigeria, is, in a tropical dependency, the principal interest and preoccupation of the Provincial and District Staff.

11. The only military force maintained in the Southern area of the administered territory in the Cameroons is a double Company of Infantry stationed at Bamenda—*vide* paragraph 36 of the Report. The rank and file composing this unit, which is a Company of the Third Battalion of the Nigeria Regiment whose headquarters are at Calabar, are Nigerian natives. No soldiers are recruited in any part of the area that formerly belonged to Germany. The total police force maintained consists of 154 rank and file under the command of a Commissioner of Police. Though armed, this force performs purely civil functions.

12. As shown in paragraphs 61 to 63, the attitude of the natives is satisfactory, but the people of this area are generally of a more primitive character, and are in a more backward cultural stage, than are those of the tribesmen further to the North who have long been subject to Mohammedan influence. Their indigenous systems of tribal administration, therefore, are much ruder and less highly organised than are the native administrations of the North; and their development along lines of natural growth toward the goal of greater efficiency must necessarily be a slow and gradual process which will require time, tact, and patience for its guidance.

13. The Northern portion of the administered area is practically financially self-supporting, though it will be observed from paragraph 105 that in the area dealt with in Part II. of the Northern Report, certain sums have been advanced from the funds of the Native Administration of the Emirate of Yola.

14. The Southern portion of the administered area, on the other hand, is not at present financially self-supporting, as an examination of the first Appendix to the Southern Report will show. The actual charge on Nigerian funds on account of the administration of this area from 1916 to 1919, inclusive, amounted to £50,236. The corresponding excess of expenditure over revenue for the year 1920, which was similarly met from Nigerian funds, amounted to £12,296; and

that for the three months January 1st to March 31st, 1921, totalled £16,589. At that time the calendar year was abandoned for accounting purposes by the Government of Nigeria, and the financial year, April 1st to March 31st, was substituted for it. The revised estimate of the excess of expenditure over revenue, on account of the administration of the Cameroons Province, for the financial year 1921-22 amounts to £78,834 and the corresponding estimated deficit for 1922-23 amounts to £79,000. It is anticipated, therefore, that by March 31st, 1922, the Government of Nigeria will have expended the sum of £157,955 on the administration of the Southern portion of the administered area in the Cameroons, in excess of the revenue collected therein; and that, by March 31st, 1923, this total will have swollen to £236,955.

15. In concluding these introductory remarks, it may be well to mention that, since the Government of Nigeria assumed administrative charge of all these western districts of the Cameroons, when in 1916 the campaign in that territory was at last brought to a successful issue, it has suffered under great difficulties owing to shortage of staff. Not only was it impossible during the continuance of the War to make any additions to the number of officers which, in normal times, was regarded as necessary for the administration of Nigeria, but it was also necessary to release for military service in one or another of the arenas of conflict a number of such officers as were at that time actually available. It was, therefore, while the Government of Nigeria was already more short-handed than it had ever been, that it was called upon to include in its charge an additional area amounting to some 33,750 square miles in extent, carrying a population estimated at about 644,000 souls. This area is approximately the same as that of the Colony and Protectorate of Sierra Leone, and is rather larger than that of Ireland. The difficulties with which the Nigerian officers have had to contend have, therefore, been considerable, and their task would have been impossible had not the fullest use been made from the first of the locally-evolved indigenous machinery of tribal administration, and had not great tact and sympathy been displayed by the officers concerned in their dealings with the many shy and sensitive communities whose well-being has been committed to their charge, and whose confidence they have had to win.

16. The results of their labours, as set forth in the accompanying reports, are of a kind upon which His Majesty's Government, as well as the Government of Nigeria, has good cause to congratulate itself; and it is not easy to speak too highly of the work done, and of the qualities which have been displayed, by the men who have served the Empire in these remote and little-known regions, where, in a very special manner, they had the honour of their country in their keeping.

COLONIAL OFFICE,  
*April, 1922.*

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## A.—REPORT ON THE EMIRATE OF DIKWA.

## SECTION I.—GENERAL AND INTRODUCTORY.

This report is submitted in accordance with the Secretary of State's despatch of the 19th August, 1920, asking for reports on the British Sphere of the Cameroons which should serve as the first annual report for submission to the League of Nations.

2. The present Emirate of Dikwa is a small portion of the ancient Empire of Bornu which at one time embraced the whole region of Chad—East to Wadai and Borku on the one side, North to Bilma and Fezzan on the other, and West to Damagram and the central parts of what is now the Fulani Emirate of Kano.

The more modern Sultanate of Bornu was overrun by Rabih Zubeir, a quondam adherent of Zubeir Pasha, in 1892, and Dikwa was made Rabih's capital. It remained so until finally Rabih himself was killed in battle by French forces near Kuseri, and his son Fadl Allah also met the same fate near Gujba.

The French then installed as Sultan of Bornu, at Dikwa, Sanda Bukurmi, a representative of the ancient Kanembu dynasty—the Wazir and brother of the present Shehu of British Bornu.

When at a subsequent date Dikwa, with its feudatory districts of Gulfei, Kuseri, Logone and Musgu, fell under German influence, another scion of the same house, Sheikh Umar Kabir, was installed at Dikwa as the German Shehu of German Bornu.

3. In 1902 the British occupied British Bornu and the present Sheikh, Abubakr by name, left Dikwa to restore the old Kanembu capital at Kukawa.

4. The early history of Dikwa therefore is merged in that of Bornu which is too well known to require more than mention here. Reliable chronicles of the Bornu Sultans date back to the 10th century, when the centre of the Empire lay East of Chad. In the 15th century they made their capital at Gazargamu, West of the Lake.

5. Recurrent waves of Arab and other emigrants were so successfully assimilated that at the beginning of the 19th century the original dynasty still reigned and Bornu had far outlived the ordinary span of an African Empire. In 1808 it survived a grave crisis when Gazargamu was captured by the Fulbe in the "jihad" which had so much effect in creating the Mohammedan Emirates of Nigeria. The Fulbe were quickly repulsed by the efforts of the Sheikh Mohamet al Amin al Kanemy, a man of Arab origin, with the help of Arab and Kanem warriors from East of Lake Chad. He restored the Sultans but retained all real power in his own hands. Thirty years or so later his son, Sheikh Umar, like Pepin le Bref deposed the last *roi fainéant* and assumed the nominal as well as the real sovereignty, though still keeping to the modest title of Sheikh. In 1824 a British mission under Major Denham reached Bornu and concluded a treaty with the Sheikh al Kanemy visiting Dikwa among other districts. It is descendants of this Sheikh al Kanemy who now rule both in Bornu and Dikwa.

6. The conquest by Rabih therefore remains but an interlude which may be said to have ended with the death of his son Fadl Allah. Rabih's conquest with his Kordofan captains has had important effects on Bornu, but to-day almost his only obvious monument is Dikwa town. Founded originally by Tuareg as a halting place of the Sultans of Bornu on their expeditions to the south-east, Rabih removed the old inhabitants elsewhere in order to form his own stronghold there for strategic reasons, and the building of his wall, fort and arsenal, and the houses of himself and his chiefs displayed plan and method unusual in these parts of Africa.

## SECTION II.—PHYSICAL FEATURES, CLIMATE AND POPULATION.

7. The area of the Dikwa Emirate is about 5,000 square miles and the population estimated at 200,000, giving a density of 42 to the square mile. It lies between latitudes  $10^{\circ} 50'$  N. and  $13^{\circ} 05'$  N. and longitudes  $13^{\circ} 10'$  E. and  $14^{\circ} 40'$  E. Its shape is somewhat that of a closed fist with two fingers extended, the main portion being a flat and swampy plain between the mountains of Mandara on the South and Lake Chad on the North; while the extension is formed by a strip of territory stretching southwards on the western side and including a part of the mountains. The mountains are inhabited by pagans and the plains by Mohammedans, among whom pastoral and semi-nomad Arabs form the dominant element, the rest being mostly Kanuri or Berri-Berri, a race of Teda origin now largely merged with conquered negro races. This general description is amplified in the following paragraphs.

### *Physical Features.*

8. The principal features of the mountain district is a lofty spur pushed out northwards from the main mass of the Mandara mountains like a rocky peninsula into the Bornu plain. It is about 20 miles in length and at its highest reaches nearly 4,500 feet according to the German maps (1,450 metres), which is more than 3,000 feet above the level of the plain, from which the mountain sides rise precipitously almost without foot-hills; it is visible on a clear day from Kukawa, the old capital of Bornu, a crow fly distance of 125 miles. This spur is almost bare of trees and bleak and forbidding in appearance. Further south into the heart of the hills there is more verdure and the scenery is pleasing as well as grand. The formation is of granite. These hills support a considerable population, for water is found in many places, and generations, perhaps centuries, of labour have terraced the steep sides for the growing of corn. The plains at the foot of the mountains receive all the drainage and are swampy and well-wooded, but thinly populated.

9. The region immediately to the north of the mountains consists of undulating sandy country interspersed with numerous swamps in which the rivers coming from the mountains lose themselves. A very notable feature is a sandy ridge running south-east and north-west known as Dahr-aj-Jimeil (Arab: The little camel's back). It is this ridge which breaks up and diverts the rivers, and on it are situated

numerous villages. Though pierced in one or two places by rivers it may be followed as far as Maiduguri and on to Geidam, and it carries the Mora-Maiduguri main road.

It appears to mark an ancient level of the lake which was upset by volcanic disturbance in the Biu-Gongola region.

10. Further north from about latitude  $11^{\circ} 45'$  N. towards Chad, the conditions are remarkable. The plain is characterised by wide stretches of treeless dead flat swamp-land, broken by low ridges and islands of sandy soil on which the villages show up against the horizon. The soil in these swamps is that frequently known as "black cotton soil," and in Arabic as "firki." It seems to be a deposit of argillaceous loam superimposed upon a sandy sub-soil. This formation becomes saturated with water in the rains and acts as a gigantic sponge absorbing vast quantities of water from the river-courses coming from the South. Only the excess water, so to speak, reaches Lake Chad *via* a number of rivulets and creeks. In the dry season, on the other hand, the water sinks through the sandy sub-soil and the "firki", being no longer fed with water, dries to a peculiar hardness and is rent in every direction by crevasses often a yard deep. Hence, no doubt, the name "firki" from the Arabic root "farak"—to split. It is only for about three to four months that the "firki" is water-logged; during this period it can only be traversed with the greatest difficulty as the soil is of a peculiarly holding quality.

Dreary and monotonous as this region is it is nevertheless well populated and rich, for excellent corn can be grown in the "firki," planted when it begins to dry and reaped in the dry season. Irrigation crops are also common.

11. These peculiar characteristics are only intelligible by reference to the general hydrography of the Chad basin—for the Bornu plain to the southwards, as far as the latitude mentioned, is practically an extension of the Lake, the sandy ridges corresponding to the islands in the Lake and the "firki" to the stretches of water between.

12. Dikwa has only a very narrow frontage on the Lake itself, some five miles, owing to a bend westwards in the River Lebait which forms the international boundary. It is almost impossible to say where land ends and the Lake begins. In the dry season the "firki" gradually gives way to fresh grass land broken by numerous pools and creeks till further advance becomes barred by swamps in which grow very tall reeds and grasses which completely block out the horizon. A passage can be forced in canoes through these reeds to open water, but the distance is considerable. Conditions vary greatly from year to year.

#### *Rivers.*

13. The only two rivers of importance are the Lebait and the Yedseram. The former with its tributary, the Kalia, forms the international boundary with the French for a considerable distance on the East and North-east. These rivers, the Lebait and the Kalia, are themselves connected with the large Logone river. The Lebait is the largest affluent into Chad after the Shari. It contains water all the

year round. The Yedseram forms the western boundary, *i.e.*, between Dikwa and British Bornu from the extreme south of the Emirate till the latitude of Dikwa, *viz.*, 12° 02' N., when it loses itself in the "firki" and does not reach Chad. It only flows for two months near Dikwa and for perhaps four in the South. A network of watercourses intersects the country near the Lebait. These disperse the waters of the Lebait and the Kalia throughout the "firki."

#### Trees.

14. Apart from the stretches of "firki" and of farmed land the country is covered with thin forest in which predominate various types of acacia and trees of a habit in accordance with them. The extreme south is better wooded, as has been mentioned. The trees are in general low, stunted and twisted, and it is only on the banks of the Yedseram and the Lebait and in the extreme south that they reach to much height. The commonest acacias are the *A. Arabica* (Arabic, *sunt*), *A. Seyal* (Arabic, *talk*), *A. Senegal* or *Verek* (Arabic, *kittir* or *hashab*), *A. Camphylocantha* (Arabic, *Shahab*), and *A. Albida* (Arabic, *haraz*). The last reaches a considerable height in the southern parts of the Emirate.

15. Evergreen tamarinds and sycamores are not uncommon, the latter being especially found in towns as a shade tree, while the baobab if not very common is also very conspicuous when found. One of the sycamores produces a latex of commercial value, *viz.*, the *Ficus Platyphylla*. The only palms are the *dum* (*Crucifera Thebaica*), near Chad and in the south-east of the Emirate and an occasional *deleb* (*Borassus Flabellifer*) in the south-east. The desert date (*Balanites Aegyptiaca*, Arabic, *hajlil*) and the African myrrh (*Balsamodendron Africanum*, Arabic, *gafal*) are very common, as well as various jujubes (*Zizyphos*) and wild plum (*Sondias* and *Vitex Cienkowski*). African Mahogany (*Khaya Senegalensis*) and African Ebony (*Diospyros Hespiliiformis*), and a species of kapok (*Bombax Buonopozense*), which are all used for carpentry, are unfortunately not common save in the south or on watercourses, where also are found the locust bean and, in the south only but in fair numbers, the useful shea butter. The lime, pomegranate, and fig have been planted in Dikwa town by Rabih.

16. In the swampy thickets of Lake Chad are found papyrus often growing to 10 and 12 feet high, and the very peculiar "Ambaj" (*Aeschynomene* or *Herminiera Elaphroxylon*), perhaps the lightest known wood, growing much higher and sometimes 2 feet in diameter. Both of these are found in the valley of the Upper Nile.

#### Climate.

17. The Chad region lies sufficiently far from the equator and the sea not to be characterised by the very slight variation in temperature and moisture, and in the length of day and night which is typical of the tropics. Its climate is therefore distinguished by a long dry season ending in two months of tremendous heat just before the first rains: these hot months are preceded by three to four months of cold weather; the rainy season too divides into two parts, which are most

aptly described by the French terms "le petit hivernage" and "le grand hivernage," and are separated by a short break of dry weather.

18. The first rains fall in May, occasionally even in April, and it is from mid-March till early May that the intense heat which distinguishes the region is mostly experienced. The temperature at mid-day generally reaches 110° and may be at 120° Fahrenheit in the shade. 124° in the shade has been registered by a German officer though at another time in the year. In the cold season night temperatures as low as 41° have been registered, and this is felt by Europeans to be far colder than the figure suggests. The wind called the Harmattan from the north-east and heavily charged with sand obscures the sun's rays on many days in the cold season. The average temperature in the cold months is just over 70° and nearly 20° less than in the hot season. At the junction of these two seasons extreme diurnal variations are registered of 60° and even more.

19. The rainfall averages about 24 inches, and is heaviest from mid July till the end of August. After mid-September there are occasional thunder-storms only. In May thunder-storms are frequent, but there is almost a return to dry season conditions in June. Winds are easterly and north-easterly in the dry season and westerly in the rains. Hail seldom falls.

20. The climate cannot be described as healthy for foreigners, in spite of its cold season and small rainfall. The great heat in the hot season is very trying, especially in the absence of scientific housing, and the fact that much of the rain-water lies in swamps and evaporates instead of draining away in brooks and rivers renders the rains far more unhealthy than would be expected. Nevertheless the cold season is almost invigorating, and the rains before mid-September, when mosquitoes become numerous, refreshing and cool. The nights too are generally cool all the year round, even in the hot season if spent out of doors or in airy rooms.

21. The climate of Lake Chad deserves special mention. The Lake is not at its highest till December-January, that is long after the rains have ceased. The wind blowing across the Lake to the Bornu shore causes bitter cold. With the fall of the wind and the beginning of great heat in March-April extraordinarily heavy dews are in evidence which cause dense fogs in the early morning and a humid heat throughout the day. Mosquitoes are now out in myriads at night and a sort of gad-fly with a severe bite is active by day. The Lake is now receding rapidly and continues to do so for some months. In the early rains the climate is fresher and cooler, but as soon as much rain-water begins to lie the mosquitoes and other biting insects drive away the Arabs who pasture on the shores in the dry season, and only a few farmers who cultivate wheat, rice, beans, onions, &c., in irrigation farms remain. They send away their stock, however, and keep fires burning in their houses and use effective grass-made mosquito shelters.

*Population.*

22. *Arabs*.—Of the estimated population of 200,000 perhaps one-eighth are pagans; of the 175,000 Mohammedans about a half are Arabs. These are the descendants of pastoral tribes immigrating into the region during the last 300 years. They have retained to an extent remarkable in the circumstances the language, features, and character of the race, though sometimes much affected by their contact with the black races. In the east and south-east of the Emirate they completely predominate over the longer-settled peoples. They are largely pastoral, and though not nomads in the full sense yet migrate from their farm villages from December till June in search of pasture.

23. *Berri-Berri or Kanuri*.—The Berri-Berri or Kanuri are a people probably of Teda origin with some infusion of Arab in their ruling clans. These Teda and Arab elements, however, have been largely swamped by the constantly strengthening negro strain. They are divided ethnologically into many tribes and clans with differing characteristics but united by the bond of common language. Kanuri, which is closely related to the Brabra dialect of the Nile Valley, may be aptly described as “Kusshite.” Traces of older races of Kanem, such as the Ngalaga and 'N'guma (So) rulers of the region 1,000 years ago, may here and there be found. One of these races, viz., the Kotoko, watermen living on the river Lebait, remains fairly distinct. These Kotoko are notable for a fine physique.

24. *Mandara*.—Mandara is not an ethnic but a geographical term. There are about 10,000 Ghamerghu and Wala in the south of the Emirate. This is the same race which inhabits the valleys of the Mandara mountains, in the French sphere. Mandara was for several centuries a tributary state of Bornu. Its chiefs were immigrants called Wandala of a not dissimilar origin from that of the Kanuri, and the influence of Bornu religion and civilisation has been so strong that the inhabitants of Mandara have become almost Kanuri though they have retained their aboriginal pagan tongues.

25. *Margi and Batta*.—The semi-pagan tribes of the Margi or Batta stock may number 15,000. They live in the south-west of the Emirate and along the river Yedseram. Kanuri influence has been and is strong amongst them.

26. *Hill Pagans*.—Of the hill pagans inhabiting the mountains and who may number 15,000–20,000 very little is known. Several languages or dialects appear to be spoken and ethnological differences between the tribes may be considerable. As far as has been seen their physique seems to be markedly poor.

27. *Fulani*.—Some 2,000 nomad Fulani practically complete the list of races in the Emirate. This race, as is well known, is very widespread in the Sudan; its members in Dikwa are Mohammedans and pastoral nomads.

*Language.*

28. Arabic and Kanuri are understood among the Mohammedans throughout the Emirate, the former being the *lingua franca* of the

country as it is spoken in the countries to the east with which Dikwa is in close connection. Mandara, Kotoko, Fulani, Margi and Ghamerghu are spoken in addition by the small sections of these races as already noted. Several dialects are spoken in the hills.

*State of Civilisation.*

29. The state of civilisation in the Emirate may most easily be described as that which dominates throughout the Mohammedan Sudan from the Nile to the Atlantic. In these regions there can be no doubt of the political advantages which have accrued from their conversion to Islam ; for an administrative system has sprung up which compares by no means unfavourably with many parts of Europe in a not too far distant past. Whether the social or moral standards of the negroes have been affected for the better or the worse is a disputed question, but it is not apparent that the results are worse than those which in other parts of Africa accrue from the introduction of European ideas of "individualism" and European "law."

30. The Berri-Berri or Kanuri, with the thousand year history of the Empire of Bornu behind him, has developed in his domestic and industrial life many comforts and customs which are valuable and interesting. Moreover a notable proportion of the people have the elements of letters, and though this in most of the tribes goes little beyond some small knowledge of the Koran and the ability to write an ill-spelt letter in Arabic, yet there are not a few who are men of no mean learning in religion, law, and such a typical Arabic study as genealogy ; and they include some shining lights who may have made the pilgrimage once or twice, and have observed with intelligence Egypt, Arabia and even Damascus. The Kanuri formed one of the nations in the Al Azhar University at Cairo.

31. The past history of the Sudan shows that such progress as has been achieved in the direction of culture, moral and material, has been wholly due to miscegenation between tribes who may be regarded as aboriginal, and conquering Hamitic or "Semitic races from the East and North." Bornu throughout its history is no exception to this rule. Every thought, every idea, and every material convenience, which differentiates the Kanuri from the primitive peoples who surround them, has mediately or immediately come from centres of ancient or mediæval culture such as Meroe on the Nile, Garuma in Fezzan, or their successors the Christian kingdom of Nubia, or finally the Islamic conquerors of Africa. A close examination of the Sudan reveals the fact that in reality there is no such thing as a purely "negro" culture—it is almost true to say that all Sudanese culture is Oriental culture transplanted and adapted.

But after centuries of dominance the Kanuri strain is now growing weak—in the birth rate and in other respects the races show signs of decadence—and for the future the best hope of Bornu undoubtedly lies in imitating the processes of history and nature, and encouraging the more virile and able pastoral Arab tribes to continue the processes of miscegenation and dominance which is the cause not only of the origin of the Bornu Empire but of its survival.

32. The semi-pagan Ghamerghu and Margi provide a striking contrast to the Arabs and Kanuri. Though for several generations, if not some centuries, under the control of Mohammedan Bornu, yet to-day, though industrious farmers, they have little interests beyond beer, women, quarrelling and dancing, and frequently both sexes go about naked save for some scanty garnishings in leather or grass about the middle. The handsome physique of the Margi young men, thus set off, is one of the interests of a tour in the south of the Emirate.

33. The mountain pagans fall again into another category. Primitive and apparently truculent and dangerous, for neither the rulers of Bornu nor Mandara nor Rabih nor the Germans have succeeded in bringing them under control, they are split into tiny independent communities who regularly fight each other; their political ideas can scarcely rise beyond harrying the neighbour and the stranger and vicious resistance to the invader. Nevertheless the comfort and cleanliness of their homes, the order and neatness of their farms, and the remarkable development of the rotation of crops is astonishing. When the initial difficulties have been overcome no doubt they will prove a real asset to the country.

### SECTION III.—ECONOMIC.

#### *Trade and Trade Routes.*

34. Economically the Emirate is fortunate both in its geographical situation and in the richness of its natural resources—for it lies across what is far and away the best route for trade between Nigeria and the countries of Bagirmi, Kanem, Wadai, Borku, Darfur, and the eastern Sudan. Of other available routes, that north of Lake Chad must pass through barren and thinly inhabited desert regions; another route crossing the Lake involves a four to six days' voyage in inconvenient boats; and to the south the mountains of Mandara, inhabited by unsettled pagan tribes, throw the next available passage as far south as the valley of the Benue.

35. There is therefore a considerable volume of trade passing through Dikwa between French Territory and the Nigerian Railway, a traffic which has largely arisen since the abolition of the German Customs and which should increase considerably as the communications to the east improve.

36. There are also considerable numbers of Mecca pilgrims passing continually, some 6,000 per annum, who if they are not traders *primo motu* yet swell the through traffic; they generally attach themselves to, and sometimes form, trading caravans.

37. Dikwa itself is perhaps scarcely likely to rival Maiduguri, the capital of British Bornu, as a centre for European firms for the present, but as the capital of a region more thickly populated than any part of British Bornu it must sooner or later become of commercial importance. At present Tripolitan Arabs and African agents of European houses have a considerable turn-over in skins and cotton goods. It is said that several years ago a European agent of a German

firm spent two years in Dikwa testing the trade, but gave it up on account of the expenses of transport.

#### *Communications.*

38. Communications unfortunately fall far short of trade needs at present. As already indicated the passage of the "firki" flats is the great difficulty, and for many long stretches of road nothing short of heavily built causeways with frequent bridges will make travelling easy from July to December. Such a causeway, built since the War, exists on the road to Maiduguri and in places on the road to Fort Lamy, capital of the "Territoire Militaire du Tchad," but though it is very useful, the tracks of cattle make a dreadful mess of the surface in the rains and some means of improving this must be found in the absence of metalling material. These are the only two roads that are "made" in any sense of the term; but wide tracks cut through the bush exist from Dikwa *via* Mora in Mandara to Maroua, the capital of the French "Circonscription" in North Cameroons, and again across the south of the Emirate coming from Maiduguri to these places. The former was cut by the Germans and runs dead straight for miles, while the latter was opened during the War and has some roughly-made bridges upon it. As an instance of the difficulties of communication, the distance from Dikwa to Fort Lamy is 72 miles as the crow flies but by road 97 miles.

39. Bad as the roads are in the rains, it has nevertheless been found possible with careful driving to motor everywhere in the dry season except over the spurs of mountains; this is owing to the rarity and shallow nature of the watercourses and to the thinness of the bush. Developments of wheeled transport are therefore immediately possible: ox-carts are a valuable and very practicable form of transport.

40. Of other advanced means of transport and communication there are none. It is said the Germans used carrier pigeons. Canoe transport is unknown, though the river Lebait is suitable for this purpose for most if not all the year. Donkeys, bullocks and camels are most used to transport goods; the latter are, however, never retained in the Dikwa Emirate in the rains. The nearest post and telegraph station is at Maiduguri (56 miles), and there is a wireless installation at Fort Lamy (72 miles).

#### *Stock.*

41. The internal resources of the Emirate are pastoral and agricultural. According to figures of taxation there are certainly 40,000 cattle and 50,000 sheep and goats, but when administration settles down it will be surprising if these numbers are not more than doubled on careful census.

42. Horses and donkeys are numerous and breeding is carried on widely. It is impossible to give any idea of their numbers. Camels are common on the trade routes in the dry season.

#### *Cereals.*

43. Corn is the main agricultural wealth of the Emirate. Owing to the peculiar physical character of the plain as outlined in Section II,

it is possible to grow corn for a longer period than usual in parts of Africa with a similarly light rainfall. On the stretches of light sandy soil millet (*Pennisetum*), Arabic *dukhn*, is grown everywhere, some varieties being planted late and some varieties early. Even if rains are late and do not come in profusion till the end of July, nevertheless so quickly growing is this product that a rainy season of fifty days will suffice for a crop.

44. The heavier guinea-corn (*Andropogon*), Arabic *durra*, is grown on heavier and moister soils, particularly in the southern part of the Emirate, and two or three varieties are common, notably *Andropogon Sorghum* and *Andropogon Saccharatum*. This corn generally requires a longer rainfall than millet. It is however in the "firki" swamps of the northern and eastern portions that the heaviest crops of guinea-corn are grown. This is of the variety known as *Andropogon Cernuum*, in Arabic *berbere*, which is sown at the end of the rains; after fourteen days is planted out, and is ready for cutting in seventy days, when the country has almost completely dried up. It is in the great yield of this corn per measure of land and per working farmer that the peculiar wealth of the Emirate lies. The initial labour is sometimes heavy, but the yield per man may often be five times that of *dukhn* or *durra*. It is scarcely surprising that a large population consents to live on these unlovely flats, and that strangers from distances will come every year to rent a piece of land. Thus even in 1921 when prices were high all over Nigeria, 100 lb. of threshed *berbere* could be bought in Dikwa market for 1s. 4d. in spite of the fact that there is no inconsiderable export to French Territory in the north-east.

45. Maize is grown, but in small plantations only in or near villages. A wild grass like millet, very short, is cultivated by the hill pagans as a rotation crop—Arabic *umm birsike* (*Eleusine Corocana*). Wheat is grown only on irrigated farms, but is an important crop to those villages near the shore of Lake Chad and on the river Lebat. Rice is also cultivated on these farms but to a much smaller extent. It also grows wild. Experiments with imported rice and wheat recently made since the War have been successful.

46. Of other miscellaneous crops, and with little or no commercial importance, the most important of food-stuffs are beans, onions, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, okra, sesame, tomato, garden egg, melons, tobacco, indigo, henna, and gourds are widely grown for local domestic uses.

#### *Cotton and Ground-nuts.*

47. Of products of commercial value for export cotton and ground-nuts may have importance some day, but the cost of transport will for long be prohibitive. The early explorers frequently speak of the extent of cotton cultivation and of the weaving industry at and near Dikwa, and though neither is nearly so noticeable now owing to the import of European merchandise, nevertheless the native article, which cannot compete in general with the cheap imported cloth, yet fulfils a certain demand by reason of its greater weight and durability. All the

cotton grown is used locally. In the French sphere of North Cameroons cotton cultivation is being encouraged strongly with no little effect.

Ground-nuts are little grown but there is plenty of land suitable for their cultivation.

#### *Hides.*

48. Hides, however, do stand the transport to the Nigerian Railway, and before the trade slump of 1921 large quantities were being taken to Maiduguri and Kano for sale. The quality should be good, but the present tanning treatment leaves much to be desired.

#### *Sylvan Products.*

49. As already mentioned in Section II, gum in large quantities, and shea butter and rubber, in small, are found in the bush and forest areas, but like cotton and ground-nuts they could not possibly pay transport at present.

#### *Minerals.*

50. Iron is found in the mountains. Rabih searched unsuccessfully for gold in the mountains.

#### *Industries.*

51. Compared with other similar parts of the Sudan industrial development is considerable and in Rabih's time and for some years afterwards Dikwa was very remarkable for a number of good craftsmen. Armourers and gun repairers were in great demand and there is still evidence of skill in the blacksmiths. Rabih's builders too were exceptional and there are several carpenters in the town who only require tools to be really useful. The leather working is as good as any seen in Nigeria. The other common trades of the Sudan are carried on everywhere, viz., spinning and weaving, dyeing, pot-making, saddle-making, silver-smithing, mat-making, &c., but there is no industrial product for which Dikwa is particularly notable.

#### *European Settlement.*

52. Except in the possible exploitation of such little mineral wealth as the Emirate may prove to possess, there is no place whatsoever for the foreign settler or concessionaire. The Emirate is thickly populated for Africa; its pastures are as fully stocked as the means at present available of herding and watering allow. Only gross disregard of native interests could contemplate the grant of large rights of land occupation to European or alien settlers. Nevertheless there is a large place for the European and other "middlemen," in the widest sense of the word, and the arrival of a railway will probably see a cosmopolitan opening up of the Chad basin.

### SECTION IV.—ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE GERMANS, 1902-1914.

53. The administration of German Bornu under Sheikh Umar was in many ways dissimilar to that under his Cousin Sheikh Abubakr in British Bornu. In the latter the skeleton of an organised state was built up with salaried village and district headmen, light but regular

taxation, central and local courts, a treasury, police force, prison, &c., the former presented the picture of an unreformed Sudanese kingdom shorn only of the worst abuses such as slave-raiding and frequent war.

54. It is true that in 1914 the Germans had in view a scheme of reorganisation much on the lines of the native administrations of Nigeria. Under this scheme a division of the revenue from taxation into three parts was to be made, one part going to the German Government, one to the paramount chief for "central services" and one to the district and village headmen. This was to have been introduced in Mandara in the autumn of 1914 and into Dikwa the following year. A census had already been made in Mandara.

55. Lack of staff and pre-occupation with the less remote parts of the Cameroons had prevented the Germans from attempting anything in the way of administration in Dikwa. This is the unanimous testimony of natives in Dikwa and was well known in British Bornu. Dikwa was at first occupied as the main headquarters of all the troops north of Garoua on the Benue, but was quickly abandoned for Kuseri at the junction of the Logone and Shari rivers which thus became the headquarters of what was known as the "German Chad Territory." The administrator-in-chief later went to Mora in Mandara and was followed by the bulk of the troops. At Dikwa was maintained a small detachment under a junior officer only.

56. In these circumstances Sheikh Umar formed his administration on the model of that in vogue in Bornu before Rabih's arrival. Under this there flourished, as in the old days, the evils of the farming of taxes, sale of offices, seizure of estates and lands, numerous petty exactions on every possible event in human life and, worst of all, a horde of absentee fief-holders living on the proceeds of the exactions of their extortionate agents.

57. The land and the Arab clans were parcelled out into a large number of petty fiefs the holders of which resided at the capital, and though one man might hold several fiefs it was rare that they would adjoin or be even in the same neighbourhood. It is perhaps possible that if Bornu had had longer experience of Rabih, who had large ideas and was prepared to depute responsibilities to capable lieutenants, a better administrative machine might have sprung up. On the other hand the old Bornu system by ensuring that the nobles remained weak, as under Domesday Book in England, secured in a sense that the king was strong, and may be responsible for the longevity of the Bornu Empire.

58. Taxes were levied by Sheikh Umar, and these were the old customary taxes of Bornu. The principal was the Binemram, a general tribute assessed not on individuals but on each village or clan unit as a whole—the Kanuri generally by villages and the Arabs by clans. The sums were roughly proportionate to general wealth and were assessed apparently by a sort of bargaining between the Sheikh, the fief-holder, and the village or clan headman. The next important tax was Kajimram and was a levy on herds owned in other territories who came

to pasture in Dikwa. The Zaka was another regular contribution from the whole population; it was a percentage on the harvest and is, strictly speaking, a religious alms. The Binemram was assessed and paid in Austrian (Maria Theresa, 1780) dollars, the common coin of the country, generally known as the "liar." Its yield is said to have amounted to about £3,000 and was apportioned between the Sheikh and the fief-holders. Zaka, Kajimram, and a few other sources of revenue amounted to about £1,000 and went almost all to the Sheikh. This puts the regular revenue of the state from taxation at about £4,000, but it is certain that much more was levied by the ruling classes, not only in "fees" in the collection of these regular and recognised taxes, but also in presents, bribes, and other exactions, which were not precisely arbitrary as they were customary. Even if all this had brought the total to £10,000 it could not be said that this total was too high for the country. The legitimate objection to the system is rather that even if the poor did not pay too much the rich paid too little, and maintained a host of tax-free parasites, useful for nothing but fighting, who ate up the revenue which might have been spent on useful public works.

59. The German share of the tribute in 1913 was £525 and 12 horses, while grain and cotton was called for from time to time for use of the garrisons at Kusseri and Dikwa. No special levy was made. The cash amount was paid, when called for, by the Sheikh and fief-holders in the proportion of about 2 to 3 out of their shares of the Binemram.

60. There were eight law courts in the state. Two of these were in Dikwa itself and presided over by the two principal Imams. All these courts administered Mohammedan law in principle, following local custom in details. It is noticeable that crime was looked upon very much as a private wrong. The court would summon or arrest the offender but would leave the complainant to prosecute. This attitude still persists. Sheikh Umar himself exercised very close control over the courts, deciding all important cases with one or other of the Imams as assessor and inflicting large fines which mostly went into his own pocket.

61. The German officers in Dikwa collected customs on merchandise crossing the frontier from Nigeria, apparently 5 per cent. on all goods save those from Tripoli, and used for this purpose their soldiers assisted by parties of the Sheikh's men, allowing the Sheikh a percentage. The native Courts were not apparently established on German initiative; nor does it appear that the ordinances and orders issuing from Buea and Berlin had yet been put into effect in Dikwa; it is notable that from taxation ordinances which decreed a tax of 10 marks per adult male throughout the Cameroons the areas of Mora, Garoua, and Ngaundere are exempted, Dikwa being included under Mora. Sheikh Umar was allowed to retain his fire-arms, which can scarcely have numbered less than 1,000 and he was accustomed to use this force in collecting taxes and suppressing disturbances. No trained native political staff existed at Dikwa and their soldiers, being foreigners from

the coast, almost the only means of communication which the German officers, with the exception of one who learned Kanuri in Dikwa, had with the natives were Dikwa youngsters who had picked up pidgin English in the cantonment—German not being used at all.

62. It is pretty safe to say that the less Europeans in such a position meddled with native affairs the better, a fact which the superior German officers at Mora and Garoua who studied languages and are well spoken of by natives probably realised.

63. Sheikh Umar was fortunately a strong man of great intelligence and independence of character. He had a complete knowledge of his country and had travelled widely in the Chad region and what is now Nigeria. He had the faults of his character but was generally ready to protect his subjects against other oppressors and had a sense of fair play which made him quite ready to punish his own chiefs who had gone too far. His character no doubt admirably suited the German temper, and the last Resident of the German Chad Territory, after surrendering at Mora, went out of his way to recommend him to the British authorities. He was warmly praised by British and French officers in the Cameroons during the War.

64. Inadvisable as this administration, or rather lack of administration, may seem, the proof that things worked well enough in a sense is that neither the Dikwa capital nor territories lost population to neighbouring states. Very many of the Bornu notables preferred to remain in Dikwa with their smaller fiefs than suffer the more inquisitive *régime* in British Bornu. If some peasants often fled to Bornu to escape extortion, many others, and particularly Arabs, thought it better worth while to suffer some and dodge many exactions in Dikwa than be held down to regular taxation in Bornu. There were also no fatiguing public works in Dikwa. Kanuri petty traders did not find Dikwa profitable as the Sheikh bought on credit and rarely paid, but several Tripolitan Arab traders flourished and were a notable feature in the life of Dikwa town.

65. The boundaries of German Bornu varied from time to time, and are not quite correctly shown on the von Meiself map. In the 19th century Bornu extended beyond the Shari river, and it was natural therefore that in 1902 Sheikh Umar was given control of all the territory between the Yedseram river, which was the Anglo-German frontier, and the Shari, which became the Franco-German frontier. This arrangement was abandoned apparently when the military headquarters were moved to Kuseri, and the small states of Gulfei, Kuseri and Logone were made independent. These states were integral parts of the old Bornu, but had hereditary governors belonging to the local tribes and did not contain many Kanuri. They were also nearer Kuseri, and in the shortage of European staff it was no doubt more convenient to treat them as independent than to attempt to rebuild the fabric of Bornu so severely shaken by Rabih. I am informed that at times the Germans attempted to maintain the connection by insisting that these petty chiefs should go to Dikwa for the Mohammedan festivals, and Sheikh Umar stated that in 1914 the German Resident

commanding at Mora told him that the territories would be again amalgamated as part of the reorganisation scheme already outlined.

#### SECTION V.—LAND TENURE.

66. The question of land tenure, on which notes are requested in the Secretary of State's despatch, presents in the greater part of the Dikwa Emirate some quite particular features which are worthy of special consideration. It should be said in preface that no interference was made by the Germans nor has any been made since. It is impossible to define exactly the extent and limits of rights over land ; the general sense of native opinion alone can be given. The following remarks are put forward tentatively but may be subject to revision on fuller knowledge. The Muslims admit the theory that all land is vested in the ruler of the state. At the other end of the scale, however, very strong private rights over farm land are allowed to the individual. It appears that any possessory or proprietary rights lie with a headman of a village, clan or other community as such, apart from the right and duty of administration of unoccupied land. Though land hunger has not yet begun in Dikwa, nevertheless the Emirate is comparatively thickly populated and certain soils, *e.g.*, the "firki" have a very special value ; accordingly in many parts the rights of inheritance, letting, sale, and of demanding a division between heirs are recognised.

67. Examples are more illuminating than theories. A farmer with the full rights, however they may be described in legal language, may sell, let, or grant away such rights as he has. He may absent himself, *e.g.*, on the pilgrimage, and on his return claim his land ; if his absence had been very long some sort of prescription would be pleaded in refusal, but he would still have the right of appealing to the head of the state, *viz.*, the Sheikh, not to the Courts, for a fair decision on the facts. On his death male agnates succeed. Should the land not be strictly divided and the senior male agnate attempt to sell, let, &c., his rights, apparently the other heirs could demand a division and he could only sell his own rights subject to the Sheikh's rule. Should the heirs be absent on an owner's death, they could yet claim their inheritance on their return from absence if not too prolonged.

It would appear as if both the strict law of Muslim inheritance and the ideas of family possession have influenced prevailing custom, but it is the Sheikh, not the Courts, who is called on to administer equity on the circumstances of each case.

It will also be readily understood from the nature of the individual rights, and from the peculiar conditions of the "firki," that rents charged are often very precise and large, and that a whole body of elaborate rules has sprung up, after the nature of easements and servitudes, governing rights to water and the building of water dams for irrigation.

68. A village headman has his family land but an official farm. In small hamlets apparently the land on which the hamlet stands is in his official control.

"Houses" and "wells" and "cultivated trees" are owned, the land on which they are built being regarded as appurtenant to them only

so long as the house, &c., exists. The village headman controls unoccupied lands, *e.g.*, bush or farm land vacated. Out of the former he can make grants as the representative of the ruler; and the latter he may let, and even sell for use to "natives" subject to the right of the "owner" or heir to reclaim.

There are therefore no landlords, for the fief-holders are in no sense land-owners.

69. The above is an attempted outline of the views of the farming peasantry. The Sheikh of Dikwa and his Councillors and the Chiefs generally hold views more communistic or "advanced" in the European sense of that word. No doubt they regard private property in land as an infraction of sovereignty; but they naturally want to encourage immigration, especially Arab immigration, and they object to the "dog in the manger" attitude of the Kanuri, who makes excessive claims to land, refuses to let or sell his rights and tries to charge rents to Arabs and use the proceeds to pay his taxes. These views have been expressed in so many words by the present Sheikh including the remark about the tax. He also pointed out that lands left vacant in Rabih's wars or in the famine of 1913 are often claimed by Kanuri with no near title to them. A concrete case will be illuminating. One Husein, a petty Sheikh living in the neighbouring state of Mandara, had been in the habit for some three years of coming to Dikwa for three months every year and renting a piece of "firki" land at the rate of a "liar" (about 5s. at present) per small measure of land. He then decided to migrate with all his community and cattle, but the Kanuri land-owners refused to let. Husein appealed to the Sheikh who, finding on enquiry that there was plenty of land for all and that the old rents were extortionate, decreed a division of the land with the condition that if the harvest were reasonable the Arabs should pay to the Kanuri "Khasham al jurab," Arabic for "mouth of the corn bag," *i.e.*, a tenth of the crop. In effect he created something like a lease in perpetuity, or still more closely resembling perhaps the "feu" of Scots law.

This decision seems in the community's interest and not unfair to the Kanuri, and it is obviously not good policy that the rather indolent Kanuri should as a landlord "batten" on the energy of the Arab. There can be little question but that the trend of action by the chiefs has been and is for the general benefit of the country.

70. Underneath this existing system it is interesting to note the persistence of conceptions arising from political conditions now long passed away. There are some five old towns of the So, the rulers of this region about 1,000 years ago, mentioned in paragraph 23. It is universally admitted that the headmen of these towns were in olden days in the same position as Chiefs who "own," *i.e.*, "are trustees for," the community's land as is the custom of most people of the West African Coast. Their headmen still bear to day the title of "mai," *i.e.*, king, as distinct from the numerous other titles for village headmen, which all indicate an official position in the administration of some superior. These land rights are to-day almost, if not quite, a thing of memory. Yet one of these headmen or a member of their families

would certainly plead them in a case before the Sheikh if not as a legal title yet as something which might influence a decision favourably towards himself. Yet more important is the prestige which this ancient tradition gives these "mai"; they are the dispossessed but hereditary lords of the soil, and it is notable that both the Sultans of Bornu and the Kanemi Sheikhs left them their rank and employed them as local officers.

71. There is at present no information as to land tenure among the hill pagan and the semi-pagan tribes. Doubtless the idea of family and communal ownership is much stronger. But it would be surprising if the prodigious labour involved in terracing the mountains has not given rise to some quite special rights there also.

#### SECTION VI.—DIKWA DURING AND AFTER THE WAR, 1914-1920.

72. From August, 1914, to his death in January, 1917, Sheikh Umar controlled his country without difficulty; the general upset of war was not felt much though the Arabs were rather more than usually troublesome. Sheikh Umar gave every possible assistance to the British expedition into Mandara, and earned the highest encomiums from the military officers. He said he was delighted at the prospect of coming under the British, and he certainly never allowed any suspicion to fall on the sincerity of his professions. He surrendered 513 fire-arms. After the fall of Mora in February, 1916, a detachment of mounted infantry was stationed at Dikwa and a Political Officer was in residence for some months, but no attempt was made to introduce important changes into the Sheikh's administration.

73. The new Sheikh, also called Umar and nephew of his predecessor, succeeded to difficult circumstances. His appointment was as Regent only and provisional for a year. He was a comparatively young man and owed his selection to the Dikwa chiefs, including some of his uncles. The loss of territory under the provisional boundary hit him and his chiefs not only in prestige but also in pocket. Worst of all the boundary was an imaginary line between villages far apart and never defined on the ground, and the greatest uncertainty reigned in the native mind as to the allocation of the villages anywhere near this line. The result was simply a paralysis of administration in the whole border region. This necessitated a military patrol in the southern part of the Emirate in 1919, and the posting of a full company of mounted infantry there in 1920.

74. In November, 1917, the military detachment and political officer at Dikwa had been withdrawn, and from then onwards Sheikh Umar administered on similar lines to his predecessor under advice and instructions from the resident of Bornu at Maiduguri. It says something for the stability of the Dikwa administration that things went on comparatively well. A tribute to the British Government of £500 per annum was paid from 1917-1920. Nevertheless the aspect of Dikwa town is eloquent evidence of the decline, for its appearance now cannot compare with that at Sheikh Umar's death. Many fine buildings have fallen into ruins and most of those still

inhabited appear as if they had not been repaired since the dry season of 1916-1917. No doubt the Sheikh and his chiefs, who cannot but have been very uncertain as to their future, put by what little money they had "for a rainy day." Tripolitan Arab traders largely left the town, some for Fort Lamy and some for Maiduguri, whence with the cessation of German customs trade with Dikwa could be easily carried on.

#### SECTION VII.—ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE MANDATE.

75. A partition of influence in the Cameroons was effected by the Franco-British Declaration of the 10th July, 1919. In June, 1920, though the mandates had not yet been formally granted it was decided between the French and British authorities to proceed with administration, and in September, 1920, the territories affected by the new border so far as they could be ascertained, having regard to certain doubtful points in the description of the boundary contained in Article I, were formally handed over by the French to the British and *vice versa*. Dikwa thereby regained some of its lost territory and in addition the piece of mountain country described in paragraph 8.

76. Steps were immediately taken to reform the administration. The first was to establish 14 districts with resident district headmen chosen from among the fief-holders. The fief-holders therefore immediately disappear as a class and will no longer have any possessory rights over their fiefs, though any private property they may have had in them remains to them. Some of them become district headmen or may receive posts in the administration yet to be created, but the majority will have to live on their farms, or take to a trade, or subsist on the Sheikh's bounty. Radical as this reform is and slowly as it had come about in Nigeria, it had long been looked upon as inevitable by the Dikwa notables; the late Sheikh Umar had even been prepared to introduce it during the War, and it would have been accepted with readiness. Of the 14 district headmen, five belong to the Kanemi family, the family of the Sheikhs; four to the Arab families, who have been influential at the Bornu Court in the 19th century; three are heads of Arab tribes who have always lived among their people; one is the titular commander-in-chief of the Bornu army, and one a Mandara chief resident in the mountain district.

77. In April, 1921, a political officer and a clerk with a native political staff of five took up residence in Rabih's Fort, and a Government office and Treasury were opened. The international boundary was soon after provisionally delimited on the ground so far as was possible in conjunction with a French officer.

78. The policy to be followed is that of indirect rule. The duties of the political officer are advisory only, and the whole actual work of administration will be in the hands of the Sheikh and his subordinates as in German times, but with a reformed and organised machinery on the lines adopted in the Nigeria Emirates. With the very close affinities between Dikwa and British Bornu a very few years should see rapid development in this policy. The political officer is the

medium of communication between the Sheikh and the Nigerian authorities.

79. The following reforms are in process of being established :—

- (a) *Taxation*.—The Binemram is continued, and when a census has been made will develop into an income tax ; the present incidence is about 5s. per adult male ; in addition a special tax on stock wherever owned, thereby including and extending the kajimram, is being levied at the rates of 1s. 6d. per head of cattle and 3d. per head of sheep and goats. No other taxes or dues of any kind will be levied save fines and fees of court ; Mohammedan customary alms and contributions on festivals will not be interfered with.
- (b) *Treasury*.—The revenue for 1921–22 has been estimated at £10,000 from taxation and court receipts. 25 per cent. of the taxes will be paid to the British Government, the rest will be used in paying salaries to the Sheikh of £3,000 a year, and to the district and village headmen, kadis, police, prison warders, &c., leaving about £1,000 for public works. The revenue should increase rapidly, and when the new administration is properly established 50 per cent. of the taxes will be paid to Government.
- (c) *Courts*.—The two courts in Dikwa are continued ; one, however, is under one of the Imams as kadi and will administer Mohammedan law and local custom. The other will be a judicial council presided over by the Sheikh with the chief Imam as assessor and two other members, and will deal with matters such as land, slavery, administrative matters and offences generally, and such new laws as the British authorities will introduce. It is proposed to give full powers to these courts. The district courts are four, and administer Mohammedan law and local custom through a kadi. Their powers will be strictly limited.
- (d) *Police and Prisons*.—A police force will be begun on a small scale only until revenue permits expansion. A prison is being built, and when it is complete prisoners will be transferred to it from the portion of the Sheikh's house where they are now lodged.
- (e) *Public Works*.—Court houses, treasury buildings, and prisons are being built. A beginning is being made with building up causeways for roads. Ox-carts and a motor lorry are being purchased, and carpenters, blacksmiths, and motor mechanics trained. With the increase expected in revenue much larger sums will be devoted to these purposes.
- (f) *Education*.—Six boys attend the school at Maiduguri in Bornu, and two young men are being sent to the college at Katsina in Nigeria to train as teachers.

80. These reforms will come into full effect as from 12th November, 1921, the festival of Mohammed's birthday, by which time the estimated revenue, the *sine qua non*, will be in hand. The financial position of this Emirate should be highly satisfactory when the revenue reaches £20,000 from taxation, as it should do. Government will receive £10,000, and £10,000 or more entering the native treasury will provide for public services on an efficient scale.

81. There can be no doubt as to the goodwill of the community as a whole to the new *régime*. The peasantry gain largely. The fief-holders and their followers as a class lose, but their change from parasites to producers must in the end greatly benefit the state. The Sheikh gains a cash income scarcely less than before, and free of the heavy responsibilities of supporting most of the officers of government out of his own pocket. It is needless to add that no effort will be spared to encourage the initiative of himself and his councillors, and make them real rulers of a state to be developed on lines which they can themselves appreciate to be for the common good.

82. The following are the principal statistics of the Emirate:—

Area	..	..	..	..	5,000 sq. miles.
Population	..	..	..	..	200,000.*
Population per sq. mile	..	..	..	..	42.
Cattle	..	..	..	..	40,000.†
Sheep and goats	..	..	..	..	50,000.†
Revenue from taxation (1921)	..	..	..	..	£10,000.†
Native Courts	..	..	..	..	6.†
Administrative districts	..	..	..	..	14.

## B.—REPORT ON THAT PART OF THE CAMEROONS WHICH LIES NORTH OF THE BENUE RIVER, AND EAST OF THE NIGERIAN PROVINCE OF YOLA.

### SECTION I.—PHYSICAL FEATURES.

83. The country consists of a strip of land which runs from the south-west to the north-east corner of the parallelogram formed by latitudes 9° 30' and 11° 00' N. and longitudes 13° 00' and 13° 45' E.

At its *waist* or *narrowest* part, at Dela above the 10th latitude, the strip is 10 miles across; thence running northward, it gradually broadens up to Madagali, in its *extreme north*. The area is unknown since the precise meaning of S. 7 of Article I of the Convention is as yet undetermined. In *length* it is just under 100 miles.

#### *Boundaries.*

84. This area is bounded on its west side by Yola Province of Nigeria, and on its remaining sides by other parts of the Cameroons, which fall, as to the northward territory under the administration of the Bornu Province of Nigeria, and as to the eastward and southward territory under French influence.

\* Chiefly 85,000 Arabs, 65,000 Berri Berri.

† Figures which will increase largely.

85. The western boundary was fixed by the Anglo-German Commission of 1902, and consists roughly, from the 9th to the 10th latitudes, of an arbitrary line cutting from the River Tiel to and across the Jiral hills, and from the 10th latitude to the extreme north of the line of the Kilangi and Yedseram Rivers. The eastern and southern boundary (arranged by the British and French Governments) is of a different nature from the western boundary, for it consists of undefined "basins" or "watersheds" down to the 10th latitude, and, thence onwards, of the line of the Tsikakiri and Tiel rivers.

86. The boundary to the north dividing the mandatory territory between the Bornu and Yola Provinces has, so far as is possible, been already arranged and demarcated, and runs roughly in an east and west line through a point about 6 miles north of Madagali town.

87. The eastern boundary with the French remains to be demarcated. It is described in Article I of the Franco-British Convention as follows:—

"(7) The watershed between the basin of the Yedseram on the west and the basins of the Mudukwa and of the Benue on the east thence to the watershed of Mount Mulikia. (8) Thence a line to the source of the Tsikakiri to be fixed on the ground so as to leave the village of Dumo to France. (9) Thence the course of the Tsikakiri to its confluence with the Mayo Tiel near the group of villages of Luga. (10) Thence the course of the Mayo Tiel to its confluence with the Benue."

88. So far as Sections (8) and (9) and (10) of this Article are concerned, the intention is one that can be quite well interpreted by a boundary commission—but the meaning of Section 7 is in doubt, because there is no apparently defined watershed which is common to the basins of the Mudukwa and Yedseram or to the basins of the Mudukwa and Benue.

The region in question is a region of isolated groups of *massifs*, and the Mudukwa and Yegoa (both Chad affluents) rise at a point some 40 or 50 miles from the nearest Benue tributaries, with many transverse valleys in between.

On the other hand there is a Benue-Yedseram divide as mentioned below. (Paragraph 92.)

#### *Hills.*

89. A rough idea of this narrow strip of country can be gathered from the following details; southward the country consists of plain lands running down from the Jirai Hills to the River Tiel. The country north of Sorau is broken up by outcrops of the Jirai Hills. At Maiha, on the 10th latitude, the converging hills form a valley perhaps 8 miles wide in the centre of which lies Kwagul town. North of Kwagul the Jirai Hills terminate, letting in the Bornu plain lands which sweep down past the Kilba Hills to the foot of certain of the Mandara *massifs*.

90. The Jirai and Mandara *massifs* have a mean height of about 3,000 feet above sea level, with occasional altitudes of 4,000 feet.

They are formed of granite and their surface varies from comparatively smooth fields to masses of black boulders void of vegetation.

91. The hills consist for the most part of ridges running on no general system with, occasionally, peaks and high plateau land. The only phenomenon seen was at Kamale (east of Moda) where a finger-shaped rock makes an unmistakable land mark.

#### *Rivers.*

92. The country is well watered and has a mean rainfall of about 35 inches. The river system is interesting. The Maiha-Mubi *massif* (about latitude 10°) forms the main divide and gives source to the rivers Kilangi, Tsikakiri and Yedseram, which flow south-west and north respectively. Another stream is the Mayo Pandi or Masagala which cuts the Sorau-Wafango road, below which it forms a waterfall, and runs south, through the towns of Bungel and Belel into the Tiel. Other minor streams, tributaries of the rivers named, are of course legion. To the north, on the Bornu border, is a system of Gejes or chains of pools wherein tsetse flies abound. By the village of Bazar ("Bassa," Moisel) on the road from the Uba to Mitsiga, is a deep pool called by surrounding Margi peoples Guti, which is, to those people, their local god and arbitrament. In the extreme north-west corner and connected with the Yedseram River is a lake which abounds with crocodiles.

#### SECTION II.—INHABITANTS AND NATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

93. The inhabitants consist of peoples called by the Fulani Habe or aboriginals on the hills, and of Fulani and their followers on the plain. The district is undoubtedly very populous, comparatively speaking. The local population was estimated at 60,000 at least or 40 to the square mile; of these the Fulani muster about 10,000, or one-sixth of the total.

#### *Habe or Aboriginals.*

94. *The Habe* consist of divers tribes, the chief of which are the Jirai, Maiha, Falli, Hiji, Kamaji, Tur (or Turu) and Margi, and there are others including the Kubosi, Kundul, Gude, Mijilu, Vemgo, Waga, and tribes yet unvisited.

95. Casual research into the languages of these various tribes revealed that, though so widely separated mutually as to be practically incomprehensible to their neighbours, yet they have certain connecting links, particularly among their numerals. Two examples may be quoted. The Hausa *tokkos* (eight) is found here in the following forms, viz., *tiggis, tuggis, tuggisi, tikkise, dokkos, takkas* and *tarassa*, also the *delma* (-*deri* (hundred) *modi* (one)) of Bolenshi in the form of *dermak*. It is assumed that, however remote the connection may have been between these various "Hausa" tribes, and the association is certainly not a recent one, yet there was a time when a common influence swept across from Kanem to the Mandara Hills and Hausaland.

96. The Jirai and Maiha are Batta clans, the latter claiming a Wandala admixture. Here the influences of the main tribes of Batta

and Margi (including in the latter Kilba and Burra) met other peoples, and inferior tribes were driven to the hills.

97. The tribes seem to have the same burial customs—which are similar to those of the Batta tribe. There are common burial grounds in some central place among the various scattered compounds of the quarter: graves are of the shaft and tunnel variety.

98. Towns consist of scattered compounds which contain an average of perhaps five huts each and two corn bins.

99. The men generally wear leather loin-cloths, and gowns if they care to put them on; the women are naked but for some small fibre covering, and only in Maiha did they wear leaves. They (the women) usually paint themselves red.

100. Tribal marks and modes of hair dressing are not striking nor were there any peculiarities of disfigurement. Most of the men are not circumcised. As to weapons the Jirai are reputed to use spears only. Bows and arrows appear to be the more favoured weapons among the other tribes.

#### *Fulani.*

101. *The Fulani* history is the usual one. Certain Fulani clans or families had settled with their cattle in various localities before 1805. They joined Lamido Adama of Yola and were given fiefs.

As usual they seem to have made but little impression on the hillmen even when in late years they came under German sway and acquired fire-arms in addition to the German moral support. Of the Fulani chiefs the Ardo or Chief of Madagali is the most important. His town lies on the eastern side of a horse-shoe formed by a sweep of hills which run out north of Kamali, and have their north-western extremity at Su. Madagali is safeguarded by an outcrop on its south and west, and to the north by a treble system of walls, the only town walls to be found in the area.

102. The Germans seem to have adopted a system of indirect rule and during their *régime* their Fulani agents acquired fire-arms.

103. In regard to *Courts* the Fulani chiefs had power to deal with trivial cases, but all serious matters had to go before the German official at Garua.

#### *Present administration.*

104. *Native courts* have been appointed this year to take minor cases (within their area of jurisdiction), and as these courts improve their powers will be increased. Their jurisdiction will be concurrent with that of the district officer who alone will deal with the hillmen.

The country has recently been visited by the district officer with a small force, and he is endeavouring to pave the way to good relations with the pagans.

105. Without doubt, as in the rest of Nigeria, the Fulani and other advanced natives will soon be won over to our side. The resident is satisfied with the attitude of the Fulani chiefs in this area. Monthly salaries (to the total of nearly £2,000 a year) were advanced to the

leading chiefs, native alkalai, and local police by the Yola native administration from the beginning of the current year so that lack of means might not be pleaded thereafter as an excuse for abuses.

106. Complaints innumerable were brought before Capt. Brackenbury, the district officer who opened up our administration in the area, towards the end of last year, and before Mr. Carlyle, who relieved him. Many of them were against the chiefs for acts which were the inevitable consequence of *lacunæ* in administration caused by the War. Captain Brackenbury was obliged to turn a deaf ear to many of such complaints lest otherwise we should be brought to upset the state of society in general. Our attitude was understood readily and appreciated.

107. Subsequent complaints have in many cases arisen out of petty jealousy and partizanship between the chiefs on one side of the Tiel and their followers, with chiefs and followers on the opposite side, for the river was of course not the natural boundary between the riverain states, and those who elected to abide where they were rather than follow the "flag," incurred, naturally enough, the disapprobation of their fellow clansmen overstream.

#### *Taxation.*

108. As to past *taxation* the Germans collected (through the Fulani heads) a poll tax on male and female adults and the same on animals. The rates were as follows :—

Male adult	..	..	..	..	..	2s.
Female adult	..	..	..	..	..	1s.
Horse (or mare)	..	..	..	..	..	2s.
Cattle	..	..	..	..	..	1s.
Donkey	..	..	..	..	..	6d.
Sheep or goat	..	..	..	..	..	1d.

The French increased the rates on natives to 5s. male adults and 3s. female adults, but women with families were exempted. (These rates the French have advanced this year in their territory to 10s. and 5s. respectively.) The rates on stock were left as the Germans put them.

109. As to present taxation. Cattle tax will be collected as in Nigeria at the rate of 1s. 6d. a beast (possibly 2s. next year) but no assessment of the people has yet been attempted. Collection will be made in due course on the same basis as that of last year's (French) assessment.

#### *Future administration.*

110. One of the main questions which arises with regard to the administration of this area concerns the degree in which it will be of benefit to the tribes concerned that their affairs should be managed in conjunction with those of the Emirate of Yola.

In this connection it is to be noted first of all that before the era of European occupation the Emirs of Yola enjoyed a hegemony over all this territory and as far East and South as Tibati and N'gaundere.

In so far therefore as concerns units domiciled in these territories which are either of pure Fulani blood, or of Fulani blood with an admixture of pagan, or of a type known as "Haben Amân," *i.e.*, pagans who had been converted to Islam and accepted the Emir of Yola as their overlord, there can be no question that it will be both politically and socially advisable to return to the *status quo* and rule them through the Emir of Yola—their natural overlord. On the other hand it is not advisable to allow the Emir of Yola to attempt to rule pagans who had in the past remained totally unamenable to Fulani influences, or over whom—before the European era—he had not an effective jurisdiction.

The difficulty lies in the fact that these two types of people lie in certain areas side by side, and it is thus difficult to settle this question entirely on a geometric or geographical basis.

As it is clear, however, that Fulani influence and the resources of Yola will be of benefit to these tribes, if they can be applied without that course involving "coercion." The best plan which commends itself is not to attempt for the present to define the Emir of Yola's jurisdiction in these areas—save in the case of peoples who clearly belong to one of the first three groups mentioned, *i.e.*, people who were originally and would be now, but for European action, his own kith and kin or "subjects"—but rather leave it open to the more primitive tribes of peoples to join the Yola political unit if in the future they find—as they probably will—that it is to their social and material advantage to do so.

It is suggested that this can best be affected by admitting the Emir of Yola's claim to a titular paramountcy of the whole province of Yola, but not labelling any particular part of the province as Yola Emirate—the whole province being split into administrative divisions directly under Europeans and the Fulani chiefs being employed in them on administrative work, only in so far as that may be deemed desirable, having regard to their previous relations with tribes other than their own.

### SECTION III.—AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

#### *Trees.*

111. The land is generally extremely fertile and varies from dry gravel soil in most parts to a darkish loam in the extreme south and also in the sweep of the plain to the north. On the former soil are found Gawo (*Acacia albida*) trees and others of no economic value. On the darker soil are found in plenty Shea trees and Gamji (rubber) with a few, but not many, Kamalifidi and Farin Kaya (*Acacia Sieberiana*) (gum) trees. Tsamia (*Tamarindus indica*) and Doka (*Isobertia doka*) are generally common. Silk cotton cocoons are not seen. Along the Rafin Gori which forms a part of the northern boundary with Bornu the following trees grow profusely—the Kainya (ebony) being particularly large and plentiful, *viz.*:—Kainya (*Diospyros mespili-formis*), Marki (*Anogeissus leiocarpus*), Baure (*Ficus gnaphalocarpa*), Madobia (*Pterocarpus erinaceus*), Kiriya (*Prosopis oblonga*), Maji

(*Pardaniellia Oliveri*), Bauchi (*Acacia Sieberiana*), Zuwo (*Celtis integrifolia*), Dinyia (*Vitex Cienkowski*), Tsamia (*Tamarindus indica*), Madachi (*Khaya Senegalensis*) and Gamji (*Ficus platyphylla*). (All names used are Hausa.) The locust tree is rarely found even by towns.

#### Crops.

112. Among the hills, except such as are boulder-strewn it may be said that every yard of the ground is either farmed or fallow. No terraced farms in Nigeria exist which approach in perfection the farms on the hills above Madagali. On the top of the range there the whole surface consists of terraces built up from one to four feet high, admitting broad ledges. The terraces are mathematically level as can be gauged by the succession of parallel lines viewed from a distance.

113. Here is found that local rarity, rotation of crops. In Tur, for example, last year (1920) *dawa* (guinea corn) was grown by all; this year beans, *tamba* (*eleusine corocana*) and *aiya* (*cyperus rotundus*) are the common crops; next year *dawa* will be grown again, and so on.

Ground-nuts (*gedda*) are planted every year, but planted late; for instance, they were not planted at Tur by the 1st July.

114. The principal staple crops throughout the district are *Dawa* and *Jigari* (a variant of *dawa*). The Bulrush varieties *Maiwa* (*pennisetum spicetum*) and *Gero* (*pennisetum typhoideum*) are hardly grown at all. Ground-nuts are common. Cotton is grown largely for local use. Rice is seen here and there, but the people are not adept in its culture. Last year, for instance, at Boloko on the river Tiel they cut and stacked and left it so long that, when they came to beat it, it was rotten.

#### Industries.

115. Of industries spinning and weaving are the principal. Among the Fulani and their dependents all the men weave and all the women spin. This, however, is incidental employment for such times as they are not occupied in their main task of farming.

#### Stock.

116. Stock of cattle, including some few dwarf cattle (*Buji*), and of horses, donkeys, sheep and goats are plentiful, and there is no doubt whatsoever that the people have acquired much wealth in the past by slave owning and slave dealing. Now that times have changed and slaves will no longer do the bulk of the field work for their masters, there is no doubt again that, for a while, some of the present prosperity will cease.

#### Markets.

117. Markets exist at each chief town. There are at least twenty markets in the area. The trade is chiefly internal.

#### Minerals.

118. Of mineral wealth nothing has been seen or heard. Nevertheless this is a locality which would seem to give promise of such.

119. The Fali people smelt from ore found locally and sell the ore to the other tribes. The local clans of the Fali tribe, the main habitation of which lies south-east of the area, have, however, not been yet visited.

#### *Roads.*

120. *Means of communication.*—The road system, which supplies the only means of communication, may be compared to a pair of scissors, slightly open, with the pivot at Uba and the four ends at Maiduguri (north-west), Dikwa (north-east), Yola (south-west), and Garua (south-east). This is not exactly true because the main Maiduguri-Yola road actually passes west of Uba, but it throws out a good loop line to Uba with its junctions at Wamdiu and Mijili respectively. Again, the traveller from Madagali to Yola can either continue his westing at Uba or carry on dead south to Sorau and join the other road thence at Malabu. Or again, he can find an intermediate course through Kwagul and Holma.

121. The roads were fair in June and could readily be converted into motor roads—always provided that the supervision of a European were available. Towards the end of the rains, however, the road from Mubi to Madagali, especially in the vicinity of Uba, is very swampy and dreadful to travel over. This, of course, is simply a matter of elevation and drainage and happily good (granite) metal is available and handy.

### C.—REPORT ON THAT PART OF THE CAMEROONS WHICH LIES SOUTH OF THE BENUE RIVER AND EAST OF THE NIGERIA PROVINCE OF YOLA.

#### SECTION I.—GENERAL AND INTRODUCTORY.

122. This portion of the mandated territory lies between latitudes 6° N. and 9° N. and has a total area of approximately 10,000 square miles. Crossing from the southern border of Yola Province the country rises steadily towards the south and is well-watered, fertile and undulating.

#### *Inhabitants.*

123. The inhabitants are the Fulani descendants of the various conquering expeditions that have emanated from Yola during the last 100 years. These have forced the aboriginal pagans back from the better grazing and farming grounds to the mountains and foothills where, too, they had greater chance of escape from the mounted slave-raiding forays of the Fulani.

124. These Fulani, the purity of whose stock has been much impaired by intermarriage with local pagans, now live with their followers and domestic slaves along the main trade routes or have built permanent mud villages in the centre of good grazing lands. Along the trade routes are also small settlements of Hausa and Kanuri traders.

125. The bulk of the country is very sparsely populated. Much of the pagan area among the mountains has never been visited nor has any serious attempt been made to administer the remoter tribes. This

was due to the shortage of political staff and to the fact that it appeared unwise to attempt to administer more than could be held administered with limited resources.

*Population.*

126. The country is divided into the following five administrative units :—

District.	Square Miles.	Population.
Nassarao (Chief Fulani) ..	800	10,000
Numberu (late Laro) .. ..	300	800
Toango (late Kwancha) ..	2,500	3,200
Gashaka .. .. .	6,000	10,000
Gurumpao (Chief Pagan) ..	150	1,500
Total .. .. .	9,750	25,500

The population therefore averages 2·61 to the square mile, but the above figures are taken from Native Administration records and should be considered as approximate only.

127. Although five-sixths of the size of Yola Province, it has only about one-tenth of the population and in the south especially is very thinly populated, averaging only 2·5 to the square mile. This is due to a large extent to the nature of the country. The slopes of the rocky ranges are for the most part unfit for ordinary cultivation, and consequently a very large area is uninhabitable.

128. Most of the pagan tribes who have been for years subject to the Fulani have lost their primitive habits. Nearly all the men speak Fulani and are clothed in a short sleeveless gown, though the women still go naked except for a bunch of leaves before and behind.

129. Of the 25,000 inhabitants (30,000 would probably be a closer estimate), some 7,000 are Fulani. At a rough computation the distribution of the remaining pagan element is as follows :—

Daka .. .. .	1,500
Tigwom .. .. .	500
Kankam .. .. .	200
Verri .. .. .	500
Jubu .. .. .	1,300
Kotofa .. .. .	100
Mambila .. .. .	6,000
Kaka .. .. .	300
N'Doro .. .. .	100
Chamba .. .. .	8,000

*The Chamba.*

130. The Chamba, the largest of the tribes inhabiting the Northern portion, are said to have come two hundred years or more ago from the hills to the East, and to have spread through the part they now occupy, absorbing, through intermarriage, the Daka, the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. It is not known whether this migration

was due to the pressure of a more powerful neighbour or to an undue increase in population.

The Chamba language is now exclusively spoken and the tribe extends into Muri Province, where they are akin to the Mumuye.

131. The Chamba are admirable agriculturists and use the Nassarao and South Yola markets for the sale of their produce. Gurumpao, the chief town, paid its tribute for the first time in cash in 1921 by the sale of locust beans in the South Yola markets. But for all their good farming qualities, the Chamba are notorious thieves and traders are continually being robbed. The thefts are usually committed in their villages at night, though it is very rare for any violence to be used.

#### *Mambila and Kaka.*

132. The Mambila in the South are the next largest tribe, and they and their neighbours, the Kaka, are the most primitive and have been left practically untouched. They have paid no tribute since 1917, when some of the villages paid a small sum to a Muri Political Officer.

#### *The Jubu, Verri and other Tribes.*

133. The other tribes are scattered through the Toango and Gashaka Districts, and, with the exception of the Jubu, would appear to be either dying out or being absorbed by other tribes through intermarriage. The Jubu, inhabiting the north-west corner of Gashaka District, are emigrants from Muri and of Jukon stock; of all the pagans, they are the most civilised and industrious.

134. A small portion of the high Alantika range runs into Nassarao District from French territory. The people living on these hills are said to be cognate with the Verri and have remained unsubjected, the Fulani never having been able to make any impression on them.

135. It is hard to believe that this lofty range can be very populous, as has been suggested, for there does not seem to be room for a great amount of arable land, and the people do not venture from the hills, but live and farm entirely in them. Some of the Verri and Chamba living at the foot of the range occasionally visit the nearer villages. When they do so they say they are obliged to go up very warily and naked, as anyone wearing clothes would most likely be shot on sight, so great is the antipathy of these hill people to strangers. A few intrepid Hausa traders are believed to have ventured at different times to get into touch with the people, but have never been known to return.

#### *The Fulani.*

136. In 1806, Othman of Sokoto gave Modibo Adama, first Emir of Yola, a flag, and in 1809, on hearing that Othman had started his wars of conquest, Adama set out himself.

137. It is impossible to trace the sequence of the many campaigns he personally conducted, nor is it known exactly which he led himself and which were sent out under other leaders, but there can be no

doubt that the whole of the country with which this report is concerned formed but a small portion of the vast territory which eventually acknowledged his suzerainty, and was called after him, Adamawa.

*Gashaka.*

138. Kwancha and Gashaka were divisions of Banyo, one of the old Adamawa fiefs. Haman Gabdo, the first fief holder, built and made his headquarters at Kwancha in 1840, moving later to Banyo, in order to be in closer touch with the more truculent pagans whom he had conquered.

139. He died at Gashaka, and on his death his eldest son was appointed Chief of Banyo by the Emir of Yola, two of his other sons being given charge of the divisions of Kwancha and Gashaka.

140. That Zubeiru, Emir of Yola, 1890-1901, was acknowledged to be the Paramount Chief of Gashaka is proved by the fact that when Sambo, Chief of Gashaka, became troublesome at this time, Ardo Umoru of Banyo, who was also a vassal of Zubeiru's, led forces against Sambo for Zubeiru. Umoru defeated and captured Sambo and his three sons, and sent them to Yola as prisoners to Zubeiru, who banished Sambo to Madagali, where he died in exile.

*Kwancha.*

141. The Yola Fulani first appeared in this region about 1835, and eventually captured the town of Kwancha, which was the stronghold of the Kotofa pagans. The Emir Adama of Yola appointed Ardo Dandi to be Chief of the Kwancha country to hold it for him as his vassal.

*Nassarao.*

142. In 1832, the Emir of Yola, Adama, sent his son Hamidu, to whom he had given a flag, to the south-east of the Verri Hills to conquer and settle the country. Hamidu first of all made his headquarters at Nassarao, but later moved to Hibango in Yola.

143. The original Hibango fief of the Yola Emirate embraced most of the present Nassarao District, and was given by the Emir Adama to his son Hamidu.

144. Hamidu had four sons, Iyabano, who succeeded him; Amadu, Kau and Karimu. Amadu succeeded Iyabano in 1879, and held the fief until 1903, when the Anglo-German Boundary Commission divided the fief in half.

145. Amadu stayed at Hibango and kept the Hibango District under Yola and the British, while his son Muhammadu Lawal, cousin of the present Emir of Yola, went to Garua and was appointed the new District Chief of what was named Nassarao District under German rule. Shortly afterwards, Amadu decided to leave Yola and join his son Muhammadu Lawal, and Kau, his brother, became the District head of Hibango.

146. A large number of Fulani followed Amadu across the border and for some time the exodus to their old chief continued.

147. Here, as elsewhere, the boundary, being determined by geographic instead of political considerations, has been the cause of much bitterness between the two divisions of an old fief. This has been marked in the case of Nassarao, Amadu and his son, Mohammadu Lawal losing no opportunity of annoying Yola.

#### *Land Tenure.*

148. As regards land tenure, the Pagans are in undisturbed occupation of the great bulk of the country, while the Fulani Chiefs claim that all rights over land in proximity to their own towns, market towns, and slave-farm hamlets are vested in themselves.

### SECTION II.—PHYSICAL FEATURES.

#### *Boundaries.*

149. The Northern and Western Boundary is the old Anglo-German frontier line, so that from North to South this country adjoins successively the Nigerian Provinces of Yola and Muri, and on the South and East lies the French sphere of the mandated territory.

#### *Mountains.*

150. The mountain ranges are very striking, and clearly defined. On the West starting from the North are the Alantika, Balkwassa, Jongba, Sapeo and Awudi groups—the watershed among the crests of these forms the present Anglo-French frontier. To the South and West are the Gandua, Aludu Ganderu and Ribao ranges, thence to the North-west there is a lofty range called every few miles by a different name by the wild and uncivilised pagan tribes who inhabit it. Some of the peaks in this range reach heights of from 7,000 to 8,000 feet.

151. The Western border is the old Anglo-German frontier among hills which, in the South at least, are practically unknown to British Administration. Further North is the fine Shebshi range, of which the outstanding and most striking peak is known as Vogel Spitze. Thence through the Gurumpao mountains inhabited by the Daka and Chamba pagans to the Tibba hills in the South-west corner of Yola Province.

#### *Rivers.*

152. Throughout it is well watered and the soil in the valleys is very productive. On the East the tributaries of the Deo and Faro rivers flow East and later North to the river Benue. On the West the Ini, and its tributaries, flow North through Yola Province to the Benue and the Tarabu and the Yim West North-west through Muri Province to the same river.

#### *Climate.*

153. The climate is comparatively speaking cool and healthy, and compares favourably with that of most of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, with the exception perhaps of the Bauchi plateau.

## SECTION III.—ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE GERMANS.

154. Until the beginning of 1914 the Germans had done very little in the way of administering this territory. Of the four Districts of Kwancha, Gashaka, Nassarao and Laro, into which it was then divided, the two former were controlled from Banyo, and the two latter from Garua.

155. Early in 1914, a German junior officer was sent from Garua to Maio Kalei, a village 20 miles to the West North-west of Nassarao town and almost on the Yola Province Southern border. Here he built a mud fort and established a station. He took the collection of the taxes out of the hands of the chiefs and dealt with them himself, turning especial attention to Traders' Licences and Import and Export duties.

156. Before the outbreak of war, however, nothing was done in the way of establishing and guiding native Courts, fixing and advertising taxation or improving communications.

157. In fine, these districts were on the very outer fringe of the German sphere of administration, and might fairly be described as unadministered.

158. The Chiefs were ordered to collect certain sums for Land Tax and take these amounts to Garua and Banyo. On their arrival at these places they were given approximately 45 per cent. as their own share. This they retained as a purely personal perquisite. So long as the required sums were produced no supervision appears to have been exercised over the method of collection and no limitation imposed on the amount to be collected.

159. Native institutions were practically non-existent. The District Heads had no control beyond the small radius of their head-quarter towns and slave-farm hamlets except over alien Hausa and Kanuri traders.

160. Such civil and criminal cases as were heard at all were corruptly and arbitrarily dealt with by the Chiefs. Alkalai or Native Judges existed, but the title was one of courtesy and the office a sinecure.

161. Extortion, oppression and slave-dealing were indulged in by any who thought themselves strong enough to carry such malpractices through to a successful issue.

## SECTION IV.—ADMINISTRATION UNDER THE BRITISH.

162. This territory has been administered since 1915 by a Political Officer detailed by the Resident of Yola from his staff. Kwancha town was first occupied by the British troops in June, 1915, but administration was not commenced until five months later, in November, 1915.

163. The Political Officer has a Native Political Staff of seven, consisting of a Political Agent, an Arabic Writer, an Interpreter, speaking Hausa, Fulani, Kanuri and Shua Arabic, and four Couriers.

164. His escort consisted until the beginning of 1917 of one European Subaltern with 15 Rank and File—replaced afterwards by a Corporal of Police and 11 Constables.

165. The Political Officer's headquarters were at Kwancha until October, 1920, when they were removed some 20 miles to the West North-west and established at Toango. This move was necessitated by the cession to France of a strip of territory all along the Eastern border of Gashaka, Dodeo, Kwancha and Laro Districts. This strip was designed to give the trade route from Banyo to Garua to the French, and included the three District headquarter towns of Dodeo, Kwancha and Laro.

166. The District of Dodeo was ceded entirely to the French by the Frontier Delimitation of August–September, 1920, with the negligible exception of a few sparsely populated square miles.

167. This leaves in the British sphere the four Districts of Nassarao, Namberu, Toango, and Gashaka, and the Pagan area of Gurumpao. It will be noticed that the names Kwancha and Laro have disappeared, while Toango and Namberu are substituted. The reason is that the Districts formerly known as Kwancha and Laro were practically bisected by the last Anglo-French Frontier Delimitation of August–November, 1920.

168. The two District Heads concerned, Usumanu of Kwancha and the patriarchal Mansuru of Laro, had to choose between remaining in their headquarter towns of Kwancha and Laro under French administration, which would have meant the loss of the Western and more populous halves of their Districts, or migrating to the West and establishing new headquarter towns in the parts of their districts which remained in the British sphere.

169. Both Chiefs unhesitatingly chose migration, though both realised that such moves would entail much trouble and considerable financial loss—financial loss in that in all probability many of their domestic slaves would refuse to accompany them, and trouble in that the building of a new town, always a laborious undertaking, would be still less easily achieved under the present conditions of British administration with its restrictions on the former ruthless use of forced labour.

170. Usumanu, formerly of Kwancha, started building, in the dry season of 1920–1921, his new headquarters at Toango in the British sphere; Mansuru, formerly of Laro, did the same at Namberu.

171. As new Chiefs with the titles Chef de Kwancha and Chef de Laro, were at once installed by the French, it was necessary to change the titles of Usumanu and Mansuru to District Heads of Toango and Namberu. That these two Chiefs took this step is a gratifying tribute to the British administration from 1915 to 1920, especially in the case of the venerable old Mansuru of Namberu, who had always hoped to live and die at Laro. They were given a small grant each from Native Administration moneys, £85 to the District Head Toango, and £30 to the District Head Namberu.

172. The Chiefs of these four Districts have hitherto been regarded as the independent rulers of their Districts, and were answerable solely to the Political Officer at Kwancha, now Toango, who was appointed by the Resident Yola.

173. But from every point of view, their re-incorporation into the political entity of the Yola Emirate, with which they are racially and historically connected, appears desirable.

174. The Chiefs of Gashaka, Toanga and Namberu view the prospect willingly.

175. The Chief of Nassarao, an exceptionally intelligent and able man, although at first very averse from the idea—he has an old-standing private feud with the Emir of Yola, his cousin—is now reconciled to the prospect. The fact of his being eligible to succeed to the Yola Emirate has, no doubt, caused him to modify his somewhat extreme attitude on the subject in the past.

176. This Chief has recently desired the Political Officer to express to the Resident Yola his sincere loyalty to him and to the British rule, which he represents in this corner of the Empire. He also says that what he has seen of British administration during the last five years inspires him with confidence, and that he now realizes that he had no real grounds for his former fears that he would be condemned unheard or without being openly confronted with any traducers. He is, therefore, prepared to tender honest and courteous, if not effusive, allegiance to his kinsman, the present Emir of Yola, and truly serve the Native Administration as the District Head of the territory which he now holds as an Independent Chief.

#### *District Administration.*

177. All five Districts of the Division have been orderly and free from internal dissension, and the Native Administrations may be said, generally speaking, to be efficient. The relations between the Fulani and the Pagans under their domination is friendly, and with one or two exceptions, more a state of passive resistance than anything else, all villages are under fairly good control. It has been possible to keep the Division staffed with a Political Officer more or less continuously since 1915, and this has had much to do with the satisfactory state of affairs; but another reason is the severity, not forgotten, with which a village or group that showed any truculence or refused to pay tax promptly when called upon, was dealt with under the German *régime*.

178. Of the four Fulani Districts, Toango is, perhaps, the poorest. There are no markets in the District, since Kwancha town has been included in French territory.

179. Numberu District is much in the same position as Toango, having had the richest portion, including their market, shorn off and included in the French sphere of influence. The Chief is old, and leaves much to his Sarakuna, but his eldest son, aged about 35 years, a very intelligent man, gives him much assistance.

180. There is left the independent Chamba groups of Gurumpao and Yibbi. These two groups threw off the yoke of Nassarao; the former when war broke out, and according to the Chief, because of the excessive demands by Nassarao for labour and corn for the Germans, but most probably the truth is that he seized the first opportunity that offered to regain his independence.

181. His first act in throwing in his lot with us was to go to the Officer Commanding Troops at Maifaran and give information about the Germans. The Chief of Nassarao with some German troops attacked him, but beyond killing and capturing some of his men, he did nothing more. However, his loyalty in 1919 appeared to be on the wane, and the Chamba patrol in January, 1920, visited Gurumpao and brought things into order again.

182. The Yibbi group, of which Sarkin Japuli is the head, was under Nassarao up to a year or two ago, when they refused to pay tax any longer to Nassarao because, as the Chief says, the emissaries of Nassarao became too extortionate in their demands. This is denied by Nassarao. Most probably, the Yibbi group wished to have their independence like Gurumpao, which lies practically between them and Nassarao.

#### *Taxation.*

183. In 1916, at the request of the Chiefs themselves, whose revenues for nearly two years had been *nil*, the Political Officer then in charge obtained permission to resume taxation.

In 1916, £550 Land Tax was collected and also another £550 Cattle Tax.

184. The Land Tax was practically a Poll Tax in accordance with German procedure and incidence, as far as the latter could be ascertained. The Cattle Tax was at the rate of 1s. per beast, the German rate having been 1 mark.

185. This total, £1,100, was trebled by 1920, not by raising the incidence of the Poll Tax, but by quietly and gradually increasing the area controlled by each Chief in his own District.

186. Traders' Licences were issued by the Political Officer from 1917 to 1920. This was in accordance with German custom. In 1920, however, the issue of these Licences was withdrawn, since their effect is to hinder freedom of trade.

187. All Land and Cattle Taxes were divided into two equal parts—50 per cent. going to the Government and 50 per cent. to the Native Administrations.

Of the Native Administration's share, half was divided among the Chiefs who effected and were responsible for the collection—for the Political Officer and his staff took no part in the collection, though the Political Officer himself made or approved each assessment—and the other half went to the clearing and maintenance of good but unmetalled roads; and rest-camps were built for travelling Europeans, and ferries and bridges made.

*Native Courts.*

188. There are now four Native Courts at Nassarao, Toango, Gashaka and Gurumpao. The first two of these are excellent. Their books are well-kept and regularly scrutinized by the Political Officer. The cases are also regularly read to him by the respective Alkalai (judges) and Mallamai (Court Scribes). The Gurumpao Court is a Pagan Court, with the Chief as President, three elders forming the other members of the Court.

*Native Gaols.*

189. The receipts from fees, fines and legitimate death duties suffice to pay the fixed salaries, monthly, of judges, scribes and warders of the three gaols. These gaols are carefully inspected by the Political Officer, and the prisoners are properly fed, housed and clad.

The purchases of food and clothing are also made from Court receipts.

*General.*

190. Administration, mostly on Nigerian lines, has made great progress in the last six years, and Chiefs and people seem well content.

191. But much remains to be done in the way of extending the area under administration. Much country remains to be visited and toured. The pagans on the hills above Gurumpao and the bulk of the Kaka and Mambila pagan tribes in the extreme south have never been visited by a European. Then the Alantika range must be climbed and explored. These Alantika hills are right against the southern border of Yola Province, yet it is said that no native trader who has climbed to the top has ever returned.

Local rumour says that the top of the range is thickly populated, and that the pagans are a short race, with dwarf cattle, and that the grain-crops grow to only half the height of those upon the surrounding plains.

## SECTION V.—AGRICULTURAL, INDUSTRIAL AND MINERAL RESOURCES.

*Minerals.*

192. Of the mineral resources, nothing definite is known, though tin is believed to exist and traces of gold were stated to have been found a few years ago in the mountain region around Banyo.

*Forest Produce.*

193. This portion of the Cameroons is not rich. There are no plantations, nor is there forest wealth for development, such as gum, shea nuts, rubber or timber. The population is not sufficiently dense for the farming of cotton or ground-nuts for export; only small quantities of these are grown for home consumption.

*Stock.*

194. The line of future development seems to lie rather in the direction of cattle, sheep and goat rearing.

195. It is, in fact, magnificent cattle country, the beasts doing extremely well on the grassy upland plateaux, known locally, in the

Fulani language, as *sapbé*. Although the tsetse fly exists in the northern half of Gashaka District, there is compensation in the immune and splendid grazing slopes that rise gradually and penetrate far among the foothills of the mountain ranges that so conveniently separate the Yola portion of the Cameroon territories from that administered by the French from Bamenda.

#### *Crops.*

196. The soil is good and fertile, and in addition to the ordinary crops found in Nigeria, there is much excellent rice grown in the riverain strips.

197. Pineapples grow readily in Toango and Gashaka Districts. But several efforts to grow European potatoes have proved unsuccessful. Only at the much greater altitude of N'gaundere, 156 miles to the east of Toango, will they succeed at all, and there they do well.

#### *Industries.*

198. The native population are farmers and graziers. With the exception of a little smelting of iron ore, basket work, mat-making, spinning, weaving and primitive smith's work, there is no industrial section. There are a few peripatetic tailors, and an occasional ornamental leather worker.

#### *Trade.*

199. Two large trade routes pass through this territory, both coming from Banyo and the south. One is *viâ* Gashaka and Karbabi to Ibi in Muri Province, and the other *viâ* Sapeo and Nassarao to Yola, Kano and Bornu.

200. Traders going north carry kolas, hides and a few coloured Banyo grass mats. Those going south have the Niger Company's trade salt in 40-lb. bags, large slabs of "potash," native Kano cloth, Manchester cotton goods, and cheap cloth and cheap plain white grass mats from Gire in Yola Province.

Hides are taken in small numbers to the Niger Company's trading depôt at Yola, but European trade does not flourish in this locality, nor is there any opening for it as far as can be seen at present.

201. A certain German firm attempted to open a trading store at Kwancha a year or two ago, but they found the trade insufficient to pay working expenses, and were compelled to close down.

202. Native trade is healthy, but the only articles which assume any importance are kola nuts, cloth and salt; other articles traded in are numerous, of which the following may be taken as examples: scents, thread, beads, sugar, soap and potash, but in no case does any one kind of goods form a separate trade.

203. The kola traders mainly travel to Fumban, from Nigerian centres, taking down native cloth from Kano, and various miscellaneous trade goods. They barter these goods at Fumban for the kola nuts and return to Nigeria with them. This trade is of some importance, and appears to have resumed quite its normal volume.

## SECTION VI.—MEANS OF COMMUNICATION.

*Roads.*

204. The only line of communication is the main caravan road. This runs from Yola town in Nigeria, *vid* Nassarao, Laro, Kwancha and Dodeo southwards to Banyo and Fumban, and forms the spinal cord of all these districts. This is an important, much-used trade route. The part from Yola southwards is good, and with a small amount of work could easily be made suitable for wheeled transport.

From the Ganderu pass in the Dodeo range, however, the road passes through mountains and is only suitable for foot traffic and carriers.

205. A subsidiary route of some local importance is one which runs from Kwancha, off the road mentioned above, to Tingere and N'gaundere. This is also much used by traders from Nigeria entering the Cameroons.

206. The main Yola-Banyo route has a noteworthy branch at Laro running north-east to Garua. This is the main line of communication for travellers from Banyo and the southern parts of the Cameroons to Garua and the northern districts or north-eastern districts of the Cameroons.

207. In addition, some 400 miles of paths, 10 to 15 feet in width, have been cleared and thoroughly stumped. This is for inter-district and inter-village traffic, and no metalling has been attempted.

*Posts and Telegraphs.*

208. The nearest telegraphic communication with any of the districts in this area is the Yola Office from which all communications have to come by runner or horseman.

W. F. GOWERS,

*Lieutenant-Governor, Northern Provinces.*

KADUNA,

26th January, 1922.

## REPORT ON THE CAMEROONS PROVINCE.

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LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR'S OFFICE,  
SOUTHERN PROVINCES,  
LAGOS, NIGERIA.

26th November, 1921.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

REPORT ON THE CAMEROONS PROVINCE.

I.—GENERAL.

1. *Boundaries.*—The southern portion of the British sphere of the late German Colony of the Cameroons is now termed the Cameroons Province of Nigeria, and comprises the four administrative Divisions of Bamenda, Kumba, Ossidinge and Victoria. From south to north the Province forms a long narrow wedge, about 80 miles in width and 270 miles in length. It is bounded on the east by the French sphere; on the north, in about Lat. 7, by the Muri Province of Nigeria and the remainder of the British sphere now attached to the Nigerian Province of Yola; on the south by the Atlantic Ocean; and on the west by the Calabar and Ogoja Provinces of Nigeria.

2. *Area and Population.*—The area is approximately 17,548 square miles, containing a population estimated at 358,914 persons or 20·45 to the square mile. The European population in September, 1921, was 42 males and 7 females, of whom 36 were Government officials. The African non-native population numbered 760.

3. *History.*—The name "Cameroons" is derived from the Rio dos Camaroes, or "Shrimp River," as the Portuguese explorers of the fifteenth century called the Duala estuary. Victoria was named after Queen Victoria by the Baptist missionaries, who, when they were expelled from Fernando Po in 1858, established themselves there on land purchased from the natives. The Head of the Mission (Alfred Saker) asked the British Government to declare a Protectorate, and for three years at Ambas Bay (Victoria) the British flag was hoisted by native chiefs as the symbol of the Government by which they desired to be controlled. In 1884, however, Dr. Nachtigal, the German emissary, forestalled the British Consul, Mr. Hewitt, and made a treaty with King Bell of Duala, thereby planting the German flag over the Cameroons River. The British, who had already made arrangements for establishing a protectorate over the whole coast from Lagos to the Cameroons, then withdrew and allowed Germany to take over the whole Cameroons District, including Victoria, where the Baptist Mission made over their interests to the Basel Mission.

4. In 1899, the Germans first appeared on the Cross River and occupied Nsanakang; Sir Ralph Moor, the British High Commissioner at Calabar, proceeded there and protested that the whole Cross River lay within the British sphere of influence, but eventually he was instructed to give way.

5. In their early encounters with the natives of the Victoria and Kumba Divisions, among whom there was no tribal cohesion, the Germans met with little opposition, but in the Ossidinge Division a stubborn resistance was offered, especially by the Ekoi.

Military rule was gradually established, but in 1904 there was a widespread rebellion in the Ossidinge Division which was suppressed with some severity. At Bamenda, in the grass-lands, the Germans had an easier task in establishing themselves, because the most powerful chief, the Bali, early recognised their authority and assisted them with his native auxiliaries to subdue the other tribes. Of late years the Germans experienced little hostility from the natives, except among the wild cannibal tribes of the Bamenda-Ossidinge border, which are hardly yet under full control.

6. *Racial*.—The tribes of the Cameroons Province belong to one or other of the two language groups, the Bantu and the semi-Bantu, between whom the dividing line is roughly the northern limit of the Kumba Division. The Bantu is a pure negro who has migrated here from Central Africa, while in the semi-Bantu there is mingled the blood of a more civilised race or races from North Africa. The two groups are not easily distinguishable by any marked and uniform physical differences, but here and there the semi-Bantu evinces the finer features of a higher caste. In the north-east (Bamenda) are the warlike semi-Bantu peoples, such as the Bali, partly Mahomedanised in costume and customs, though not to any extent in religion, by the invading Fulani and Hausa; but their peculiar culture, their arts and crafts, are far older and of ancient origin. In the south, near the coast, are the primitive Bantu forest negroes, such as the Bakweri, who were very low in the order of civilisation until the British missionaries began to teach them a better way of life.

7. *Physical Features*.—The physical features contained within this comparatively small area present the greatest diversity, ranging from mangrove swamps at sea level to the Cameroon Mountain (13,350 feet) and plateaux at 6,000 feet. The Cameroon Mountain is volcanic; there are two noteworthy craters among the many that have broken out from time to time. The last eruption\* was in 1909, but it was not serious. This mountain, which, shaped like a tortoise and 25 miles in length, is separated by the Mungo River valley from other and not necessarily volcanic ranges to the north.

8. As a whole, the country is much broken up and difficult to travel. The main feature is the steep rise on the Central African plateau, which, in general, corresponds with the division between the forest and grasslands. The Kumba, Ossidinge and Victoria Divisions are mainly covered with forest, while the Bamenda Division is for the most part open grassland. Of the rivers only the Cross, Membe and Mungo Rivers are of any importance. In the rainy season, the Cross River is navigable for steam launches as far as Ossidinge, the Membe to Mbonge and the Mungo to Mundame.

9. *Climate*.—The mean temperature at Victoria is about 77° Fahr. At Bali, near Bamenda, the mean is about 64°, the maximum 87° to 90°, and the minimum 43° to 45°. The annual mean rainfall for 12 years was 105·71 inches at Buea, 171·27 inches at Victoria, and 412·23 inches

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\* An eruption has occurred since this report was written.

at Debundsha on the coast to the west of Victoria. Bibundi to the west of Debundsha is said to be one of the rainiest places in the world. No statistics are available for Kumba and Ossidinge stations, but at Bamenda for three years the average has been 106·75 inches.

10. The climate varies from the enervating tropical conditions in the neighbourhood of Rio del Rey to the almost non-tropical temperature of the Bansa plateau in the Bamenda Division. At Buea (3,232 feet) and Bamenda (4,726 feet), European cattle, flowers and vegetables thrive. As to the suitability of the former place for a sanatorium, there is a conflict of opinion; some say it is an ideal climate, while others contend that during the rains, Buea is insupportable, being enveloped in clouds and very damp and depressing.

11. *Harbours*.—The harbours available for steamships are Rio del Rey, Tiko and Victoria. The last is beautifully situated on Ambas Bay, and has great possibilities, since there is deep water close in shore, but it is somewhat exposed to the west winds. Rio del Rey is a good natural harbour, but has seldom been visited by ocean steamers since the German days. Tiko, on the Mungo River delta, was originally built to provide a port for the ships of the African Fruit Company, and a fine wharf with 18 feet of water alongside at low tide has been decked and kept in repair. It is now used as an engineering repair depôt for Government craft.

12. *Railways*.—There are no ordinary railways within the Province. The railway from Bonaberi (Duala) to Nkongsamba (160 km.), which lies a few miles to the south of the foot of the plateau in lat. 5°, runs parallel to the present Anglo-French frontier only a few miles from it to the eastward. Victoria is connected with Buea by a Decauville railway (2 feet gauge). This was built by the West African Plantation Company, Victoria, and has numerous branches serving the plantations. The total length of the line is about 43 miles.

13. *Roads*.—The only roads in the Province which in the German time were designed for motor traffic were Victoria to Buea (16 miles), Victoria to Bibundi (25 miles) and Buea to Tiko (18 miles), which were of permanent construction with stone bridges and culverts. The Germans, however, appear to have made no use of motor transport. North of Kumba for 20 miles and south of Ossidinge for 12 miles motor roads were constructed, but the streams intersecting these roads were bridged with temporary structures. Communications generally throughout the Province are very difficult owing to the rough and rocky nature of the country, more especially in the north and east of the Ossidinge Division and the whole of the Bamenda Division, where mountains make all travel extremely arduous. The linking up of Victoria with the northern stations by a good road, which is now in course of construction, will be a troublesome and costly undertaking owing to the steep hills that must be circumvented and the number of wide and swift streams that will have to be bridged.

14. *Telegraphs*.—A telegraph line runs from Victoria to Buea, Kumba, Tinto, and Ossidinge to Ikom, where it is connected with the Nigerian system. The line is of a temporary nature, being partly

constructed by the British during the War. A branch line runs from Tinto through Chang in the French sphere (formerly British) to Bamenda. Buea is also connected with Duala, where the nearest cable office is situated.

## II.—RESOURCES.

15. *Mineral*.—No useful mineral deposits that could be made the basis of a mining industry have as yet been proved to exist in the Cameroons Province. No gold has been found except an occurrence of spangles of theoretical interest only on the eastern boundary of the Ossidinge Division. Promising occurrences of mica have been found in the pegmatites of the Ossidinge and Kentu Districts. Galena is found in the cretaceous sandstone in the Ossidinge Division, but no argentiferous lead or zinc ores. Iron ores, formed by the decomposition of basalt, are found on the hill slopes of the Bamenda Division. The Cameroon Mountain is of basalt, which is the prevailing type of volcanic rock. Clays and loams suitable for brick-making are abundant, but limestone is scarce. Occurrences of asphalt are reported from Ossidinge on the Cross River and a thin layer of coal with 48·3 per cent. of ash occurs at Ossidinge. The Ossidinge salt springs are of some local importance as salt is scarce so far from the coast.

16. *Sylvan*.—The forests which cover the larger part of the Province are rich in oil palms, especially so along the border between Ossidinge and Bamenda Divisions. Mahogany, iroko and other hardwoods are found in most of the forest country; camwood is plentiful at Ossidinge. From this place also ebony was exported in small quantities by the Germans. Coconut palms are widely distributed, but not in sufficient quantity to make trade in copra profitable.

17. *Agriculture*.—The staple foodstuffs of the native are plantains, coco-yams (*colocasia*), and maize. Subsidiary crops are ground-nuts, beans and peppers. In the river valleys and the plains the soil is fertile, but on the hills and mountains, which form so large a portion of the Province, the conditions tell heavily against the farmer, who has little encouragement to cultivate more than is necessary for his own subsistence. The destructive system of shifting cultivation prevails, causing incalculable harm to the forests, and doubtless in time to come this will react unfavourably on the rainfall. At Kumbo (Bamenda) the soil is peculiarly adapted for the kola, which is grown in large quantities and is of fine quality. It is exported to the Northern Provinces of Nigeria. The cocoa and rubber plantations of the Victoria Division are dealt with in a special report. Cocoa-growing has made much headway among the natives near the coast and northwards as far as Kumba. The cotton grown in the Province is inappreciable, but in many parts the soil seems admirably suited to the growth of tobacco.

17a. *Botanical Gardens*.—Mention must be made of the Botanical Gardens, unrivalled in tropical Africa, which extend for about a mile up the beautiful valley of the Limbe stream at Victoria. They were started in 1890, and have been continually added to since that date,

till they now cover about 300 acres. The agricultural experiments carried out here have ranged from ornamental and medicinal plants and palms to cocoa, coffee, tea, fruits, fibres, rubbers and hardwoods. The gardens also served as a testing ground for soil analysis and rotation of crops. In addition there was a museum and agricultural and forestry research institute, elaborately fitted with all kinds of apparatus under an expert botanist.

18. *Livestock*.—In the south-east of the Bamenda Division, where there are large stretches of park-like country, many cattle are raised by nomad Fulani from Northern Nigeria. These brown, humped, long-horned cattle have been brought down from the north and are kept for their milk and butter besides their meat. They are in marked contrast to the local breeds, which are black and white, small and short-horned, and are not used for dairy purposes. The Germans had a dairy farm at Buea, where experiments in crossing German and local breeds were carried out. Goats and sheep (hairy) are to be seen in fair numbers in most villages, also pigs, chiefly of the black-skinned variety. Ducks are plentiful in the Ossidinge and Kumba Divisions, while there are few householders who do not keep fowls. Horses thrive in the uplands, but all the forest land lies within the tsetse belt.

19. *Fauna*.—Except in the grasslands of Bamenda elephants are found in most parts of the Province and do considerable damage to the plantations and to the farms generally. The hippopotamus and crocodile frequent the Cross River and its tributaries. Other wild animals are the gorilla, still said to exist in the Ossidinge Division, the buffalo or bush cow, various kinds of antelope and monkey, the leopard and black forest pig. Of feathered game, partridges are the most numerous; there are also a few guinea fowl and wild duck.

20. *Industries*.—The Cameroons native seems to have no notion, except where he has acquired it from the European, of carpentry or joinery. Objects are hewn or carved from a solid block of wood, and only near Bamenda has wood-carving become an art. Another gap in his culture is in regard to the use of stone for building. The native here ignores the use of stone for almost any purpose; the sole exception seems to be mysterious stone circles or single upright stones with some religious import. On the other hand, some of the natives of the Bamenda Division are skilled ironworkers, smelting the iron from local ore and fashioning serviceable weapons and agricultural implements. The only other industries that need be noticed are salt manufacture from the salt springs near Ossidinge, crude pottery wherever suitable clay is found, and mat-weaving from the raphia palm fibre.

### III.—ADMINISTRATIVE.

21. The Cameroons Province is administered by the Government of Nigeria, though its finance is kept separate, and only certain laws at present apply by virtue of special proclamations. Among these laws may be cited the Criminal Code and the Native Courts Ordinance. With these and a few other exceptions of less importance, the German law remains in force. The Province is under the direct control of a

Senior Resident, who takes his instructions from the Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern Provinces of Nigeria. The headquarters are at Buea (3,232 feet) on the eastern slope of the Cameroon Mountain, which in the German times was the hot-weather capital, to which the Governor moved in the dry season from the official capital at Duala.

22. The Province is divided for administrative purposes into four divisions, which, with slight modifications, correspond to the German administrative units :—

	<i>Area.</i> Sq. miles.	<i>Population.</i>
1. Bamenda .. ..	7,300	220,000
2. Kumba .. ..	4,034	62,766
3. Ossidinge .. ..	5,016	53,281
4. Victoria .. ..	1,198	22,867
Total .. ..	17,548	358,914

These Divisions are in charge of civil officers. There is no military rule, as there was under the Germans, when Bamenda was administered by the military officer in command of the garrison.

23. The German administration of the Cameroons was based on the general principles of German Colonial policy dictated by the Imperial Government, which may briefly be described as the rapid development of the country on strictly German lines without too fine a regard to any native institutions or customs which conflicted with that policy. The result was an almost complete lack of sympathy between the governors and the governed. There appears to have been no definite comprehensive policy in native affairs based on ethnological or tribal institutions or any attempt to seek, except by compulsion, the co-operation of the native rulers and the people in furthering the development of the country. The reports of the German District Officers, which may reasonably be assumed to have been in a form required from headquarters, show this in a marked degree. Native affairs, if alluded to at all, were dismissed in a few lines, whereas, from a British point of view, such comparatively unimportant matters as the success or otherwise of the introduction of a new brand of potatoes were dealt with at great length. The policy of the Germans as regards Labour, the Judicial System and Land Tenure are dealt with under paragraphs 25–28, 29–32 and 46–58 of this Report respectively.

24. In Native Affairs, the British policy in the Cameroons follows that of Nigeria, which may be summarised in the words of Sir Frederick Lugard :—

“ ‘ to rule through the Chiefs, to endeavour to educate them in the duties of rulers, to seek their co-operation, and to maintain their prestige.’ With this object in view, ‘ the tribal organisations are studied in order that they may be utilised as the framework for government, and the regeneration of the natives may be through their own governing class and their own indigenous institutions.’ ”

and to reconcile the natives to the adoption of modern conditions and methods in a manner which conflicts as little as possible with their own institutions, and to trust to the spread of education gradually to approach the ideal without resort to immediate compulsion.

#### IV.—LABOUR.

25. Under German rule the system of forced labour, not only for public works and railways, but also for the privately-owned plantations near Victoria, was the policy adopted. This compulsory labour was entirely Government controlled, and, as one would expect, thoroughly systematised, with Labour Commissioners and other officials, and the regulations for the housing, feeding and medical treatment of these labourers when at work, left little to be desired, whatever may be said of their methods of recruiting.

26. The labour, as far as the present British sphere is concerned, was drawn to a considerable extent from the more thickly-populated Districts to the North and North-west, whereas the principal public works and plantations were situated in the South, with the result that the mortality among the labourers, who had to work under climatic conditions entirely different from those prevailing in their own homes, was remarkably heavy.

27. In a report from the Military Administrator at Bamenda, he records that, in 1912, of 300 Balis sent to the plantations, 94 had died. From the German reports from the Bamenda and Ossidinge Divisions in particular it was clear that the officers administering those Divisions were beginning to get anxious about this continuous drain on their Divisions, partly because it deprived them of a large proportion of their able-bodied men, and also because, in the Ossidinge Division in particular, whole villages were migrating across the Nigerian boundary to escape the *corvée*. Their representations, however, appear to have passed unheeded.

28. Since the British occupation, forced labour for private concerns and official recruiting have been altogether abolished. The only compulsory labour that is permitted is for public works and services, such as road construction and transport, in the district to which the labourers belong. These works must be sanctioned by Government and the labourer must be paid the current wage. That the principle of forced labour is not vital to the existence of the very large European-owned plantations, seems proved by the fact that at the time of writing the plantations are being efficiently maintained by a supply of over 10,000 labourers, who have gone to the work of their own accord; and it is a standing proof of their good treatment and contentedness that not a single one is indentured or under any form of contract, but is free to go when he will. It would not have been possible to effect such a change by the stroke of a pen without completely disorganising the labour market, but within two years dating from the beginning of effective British occupation, all compulsory labour, except for the purposes indicated above, had ceased.

## V.—JUDICIAL.

29. Under the Germans the administration of justice was divided into two spheres concerning Europeans and natives respectively. The Chief Justice's Court at Buea alone, so far as this Province was concerned, had criminal jurisdiction over Europeans. Criminal charges against natives were disposed of by the District Officers and their subordinates. The criminal law was the Criminal Code of Germany. This code was also the law administered to natives, but with the important qualification that offences punishable according to the code by ten years' imprisonment, could, if committed by a native, be punished with death. These offences included rape and allied offences committed by natives against Europeans; attempts to endanger railway trains, and forcible resistance to a German official in discharge of his duty. Sentences of over six months required sanction, and minutes of proceedings had to be rendered; death sentences required the approval of the Governor before being carried out, but this rule could be waived in exceptional cases for political reasons. The civil law applicable to Europeans was the Civil Code of Germany. In cases where both parties were Europeans, it seems that the legal Courts alone and not the Courts of the District Officers, had jurisdiction. Where both parties were natives, the law seems to have been the German Civil Code tempered by "native law and custom." In addition to the penalties provided by the Criminal Code, offences against employers by any coloured servant or employee of a European could be summarily punished by a "Disziplinarstraf," involving flogging or confinement in irons. Among such offences were carelessness, laziness, disobedience and desertion. Returns of these cases were submitted periodically to the Governor, but they were not included in the judicial statistics of the Protectorate. Another method of punishment at the disposal of the administrative official was "Verwaltungsstrafverfahren," which may be rendered "administrative coercion." It seems to have covered all cases of non-compliance with any executive order which the official concerned had the power to issue.

30. The Germans had no regular system of Native Courts, but a certain limited jurisdiction in purely domestic affairs was given to officially recognised headmen, as in the Victoria and Buea Districts, and in Victoria a Native Court of Appeal from headmen's decisions had been constituted, from which there was an appeal to the District Officer. But judicial powers for their own affairs were very sparingly granted; in fact, at Ossidinge, every case was tried by the District Officer.

31. Under the British in the Cameroons the judicial system is that of Nigeria, except that the Supreme Court of Nigeria has no jurisdiction. There is a Provincial Court of which the Resident is Judge with full powers. The officers in charge of divisions are Commissioners of the Court with powers limited to two years' imprisonment. All Commissioners of the Court have jurisdiction over Europeans as well as natives. Every sentence of over six months' imprisonment is subject to the confirmation of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Southern

Provinces, Nigeria, to whom are sent full copies of the proceedings in cases requiring confirmation. All capital sentences are reviewed by the Governor in Executive Council. The criminal law is the Criminal Code of Nigeria, which is applied to Europeans and natives alike without distinction. Administrative and disciplinary proceedings are illegal. Flogging is only allowed under the Code in exceptional circumstances in cases of slave-dealing and burglary, and all summary punishment is done away with. The civil law is the English Common Law and doctrines of equity and Statutes of general application which were in force in England in 1900, modified by the proviso that British Courts shall in Civil Causes affecting natives recognise native law and custom when not repugnant to natural justice and humanity, especially in matters relating to marriage, land and inheritance.

32. In addition there are Native Courts on the pattern of those in Nigeria, administering Native Law and Custom. These Courts are set up by the Resident to meet the needs of the different districts, and are regularly constituted by Warrant, approved by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Warrant defines the area of the Court's jurisdiction, states the powers conferred upon it, and names the Chiefs appointed as Members. The extent of the judicial powers conferred depends on the progress and enlightenment of the district concerned, and up to the present no Native Court has greater criminal jurisdiction than six months' imprisonment. Under the Native Authority Ordinance the Court as a whole or a single selected Chief can be granted limited executive powers. To these purely Native Courts, the District Officer, to whom appeal lies, has access at all times; but, though he exercises close supervision and endeavours to make the chiefs effective instruments of justice, by teaching them the elementary rules of evidence and enforcing strict impartiality and integrity, he avoids unnecessary interference, so as to promote a sense of independent responsibility and initiative. The object is to make the Native Courts and Provincial Courts component parts of one judicial system and relieve the latter of work which can be better done by the natives themselves.

#### VI.—POLICE.

33. The total police force in the Province is 154 under a Commissioner residing at Buea. Though armed, they are a purely civil force, and not semi-military as was the German "Polizeisoldat." For the most part they are natives of the Cameroons.

#### VII.—PRISONS.

34. There is a prison at the headquarters of each Division, conducted on lines similar to those governing the Nigerian prisons. The German regulations for the conduct of prisons were similar to those of Nigeria, except that all prisoners were confined in neck rings and chains, a practice which is prohibited in Nigeria.

#### VIII.—MEDICAL.

35. There are at present three Medical Officers in the British sphere, at Victoria, Bamenda and Ossidinge; it has not been possible to

provide a full complement since the War. There is a European hospital at Victoria and native dispensaries at all Divisional headquarters.

#### IX.—MILITARY.

36. The only troops stationed in the Province are a Company of the West African Frontier Force at Bamenda, numbering 237 rank and file with three British commissioned officers and two British non-commissioned officers. This Company is stationed there, partly for the moral influence of their presence on the natives of certain portions of the Bamenda Division which in the German time were not wholly under control, and partly in pursuance of the normal arrangements for the defence of the territory. The Germans had about 200 soldiers at Bamenda and a similar force (exact number unknown) at the Soppo barracks near Buea. The Schutztruppe were paid by Imperial Grant-in-aid. As far as can be ascertained there was no conscription under the Germans, nor is there any at the present time, and all recruiting has been discontinued.

#### X.—RELIGION, MISSIONS AND EDUCATION.

37. Out of the estimated total population of 358,914, about 7,000 are Christians and less than 2,000 are Mohammedans, the remainder are pagans. Most of the Mohammedans are immigrants and their faith is making very little headway. On the other hand, the Christian religion with the increased activity of the Missions, is likely to attract many converts. The pagan religion is, in a word, ancestor worship, with a belief in a life after death beneath the earth, the counterpart of their existence in this world.

38. In matters of religion the Germans appear to have ensured freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, although some exception must be made in the case of the Bamenda Division, where they laid down the sphere of activity of each Mission. The two Missions established in the Province were the Roman Catholics and the Protestant Basel Mission, and to them was left all education of the natives. The Roman Catholics had large schools at their headquarters at Engelberg (Victoria), Einsiedeln (Buea), Ossing (Ossidinge), Bekom and Kumbo (Bamenda), while the Basel Mission, which also gave instruction in handicrafts, had similar establishments at Victoria, Bombe and Nyassosso (Kumba), Besongabang (Ossidinge), and Bali (Bamenda). Both Missions had small schools in various villages which fed the large schools. The Roman Catholic Mission has now been succeeded by the French Roman Catholic Mission, and the Basel by the Baptist Mission; but unfortunately their funds have been so depleted since the War that they have been able to afford so far very small educational facilities. The Government has, therefore, begun to fill the breach by providing five adequately staffed and inspected schools to meet the large and growing demand among the natives for education. Nearly 600 boys and girls are now attending these five schools.

## XI.—REVENUE AND TAXATION.

39. Under the Germans the principal sources of Revenue other than the Customs was the native poll tax, the rate of which was fixed at 10 marks per adult able-bodied male. The local administrative officers were empowered to reduce this rate to 6 marks in districts or parts of districts where the higher rate appeared to be beyond the paying capacity of the people. Thus in the Victoria Division the tax was 10 marks, but 6 marks in the Bamenda Division. In the case of inability or unwillingness to pay in cash, the amount due was worked off in German times by a given number of days' labour, but cash payment was the general rule. Natives unable to pay cash could be handed over to private employers. The village headmen were responsible for the collection of the poll tax, and 10 per cent. of the sum collected by each was retained by him as payment for his services. The proceeds of direct taxation were gradually assuming a more and more important place, as is shown by the fact that in 1904 the percentage of revenue derived from taxes was 7 per cent. and from Customs 75 per cent., whereas the estimate in 1914 was 32 per cent. from taxes and 53 per cent. from Customs. The German system of poll tax has been retained in all its essentials, but the rate has been reduced to 8s. in the Victoria and Kumba Divisions, and 3s. 6d. in the Bamenda Division. At Ossidinge the rates vary from 7s. to 3s. There is, however, one marked difference in the application of the system, since, whereas under the Germans all the tax went to general revenue, now half the tax is paid to revenue and half is allocated for expenditure on works and services of public utility calculated to promote the development of the Division in which the tax is collected. In all parts of the Province the tax is paid without difficulty or hardship, and all labour in lieu of tax unpaid has been abolished.

40. In 1912-13 the Germans collected £17,725 in Customs dues in this Province. The sum of £8,015 in Customs dues was collected in 1919. The German Tariff remained in force until 1st November, 1921, when, with the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Nigerian Tariff was applied and the fiscal boundaries between Nigeria and the British sphere in the Cameroons were abolished.

41. The only other native tax from which any appreciable revenue is derived was the pedlar's licence or travelling trader's tax of 25 marks, payable annually by any native who traded beyond the limits of his village. This tax has also been retained, but reduced to £1 per annum.

42. A table showing Revenue and Expenditure is given in an Appendix.

## XII.—LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

43. Under the Germans, licences to sell liquor were granted to certain companies and no restriction was imposed on sale, except that soldiers and police were not allowed to purchase liquor of any sort without a written permit. There does not appear to have been much drunkenness nor the privilege of selling liquor to have been abused. Certain areas, of which the Bamenda Division was one, were wholly

closed to the importation of or traffic in fermented liquor not being of local inland origin. Under the British, by a Proclamation of 15th November, 1916, the importation of all trade spirits was prohibited, and by a further Proclamation of 3 July, 1920, the importation also of injurious spirits, such as absinthe, was prohibited, and the distilling of any spirits in the British sphere was made a criminal offence. This latter clause, however, did not apply to fermented liquor usually made by the natives.

### XIII.—ARMS AND AMMUNITION.

44. The import of muzzle-loaders and powder was forbidden by the Germans. Natives were not allowed to bear arms of precision, but exceptions were made in cases where an employer certified that his employee was a responsible and reliable person, and recommended that he be allowed to hold a gun. Much the same conditions prevail now, the Government permitting its own employees and those of private employers, who have long service and good character, and approved chiefs to bear arms of precision, usually shot guns, under licence. Other natives are permitted to carry the muzzle-loader for the protection of their crops and for hunting, but the import of these guns is strictly limited and their distribution controlled.

### XIV.—SLAVERY.

45. By an Imperial Order of 28th July, 1895, slave-raiding and slave-dealing were prohibited, but the status of slavery was not abolished. On 21st February, 1909, another Imperial Order recognised the Duala custom of the children of house slaves being acknowledged as "half-freed," but laid it down that the children of "half-freed" were free. The same Order also forbade debt bondage. Rights of ownership were forfeited when the master grossly abused his duties to his house slaves, and freedom certificates were in such cases issued by the Government. The present situation is that in the Victoria Division there are no slaves, and in the Bamenda Division the few persons originally enslaved are now treated on a footing practically indistinguishable from the free-born, and will soon have disappeared. In the Kumba and Ossidinge Divisions, on the other hand, there are several hundred persons who to the native mind are slaves. They have been captured or bought some years ago and live in separate villages, and are under strict laws regarding marriage, no slave being allowed to marry a free person or to arrange the marriage of his children. On the whole they are not badly treated, but at the same time they have to do menial work and suffer the ignominy attaching to their inferior caste. The German laws still apply, but after the Mandate has been approved, the Nigerian Law, which abolishes the legal status of slavery and suppresses all forms of slave trade, will doubtless be applied to this Province. When promulgated it may create misgivings among the owners of slaves, yet in my opinion, far from creating any marked social disturbance, will not have any appreciable effect, since the slaves in the Kumba and Ossidinge Divisions have been so long in that state that many do not know their own homes and are not sure of a welcome there if they do. These will probably remain with their

masters, especially if they have been humanely treated. A mere legal grant of a freedom by the Government does not give back to the slave his free status in the eyes of his fellows, and the slave himself feels that until he has ransomed himself with a sum of money he is still in public opinion a slave. There is nothing now to prevent a slave from gaining his freedom. The Government does not assist any master to recover a slave if he runs away and does not put any pressure on slaves to remain in that state, but in spite of this there have been since our occupation a negligible number of applications for freedom. It will probably be a generation before the slave class dies out.

#### XV.—LAND TENURE.

46. It is impossible, in a Report of this nature, to deal with this question in any except the most general terms and to indicate roughly the native system of land tenure, the effect of any German policy or enactments since the occupation on the aboriginal system, and the present situation.

47. The native system of land tenure in the Province, generally speaking, is that the ultimate ownership of all land, whether occupied or not, is vested in the chief or the village community. The right of property in land is derived either from right of conquest or from first occupation of a hitherto uninhabited country or through long-continued and uncontested use, and it will be found that the ownership of the land is vested either in the chief as at Bali (Bamenda) or in the community as at Buea according as the conquest or original occupation was the work of one single chief or of a community acting without any one directing force. In either case it comes to the same thing; it is the native village community or state that is the one and only owner of the whole territory, and this village community or state concedes the enjoyment and use of its lands to families and to individuals. The absolute and irrevocable alienation of land to a stranger is not allowed, and individual ownership can only be acquired over the results of a man's labour or that of his family and dependents, and over an area of land which does not include the soil itself. The ownership of the land remains collective, the representatives of the community, whether a single chief or several heads of families, being the trustees.

#### XVI.—GERMAN LAND POLICY AND ENACTMENTS.

48. In connection with the sale of German property in the Cameroons it was necessary to examine the German records to ascertain the titles and conditions under which such properties had been held under the German Government. These records were by no means complete; many had been destroyed or lost during hostilities, but fortunately the "Grundbuch" or General Land Register was found by the French Authorities at Duala, who kindly placed it at the disposal of this Government for purposes of this examination and for any necessary extracts to be made. From these data, though full particulars were not available in all cases, it was possible to arrive at a fairly accurate conclusion as to the German policy.

49. It appeared that from the date of occupation in 1884 until June, 1896, there was no definite policy of general application, as the following few instances of widely divergent procedure will show. In the case of the Kamerun Land und Plantagensgesellschaft title to ownership appears to have been established by occupation pure and simple, which the Government acknowledged when the question of title was raised. Or again a private individual, like the then Governor Soden, in 1887 purchased outright from the native chiefs of Buea "all land in Buea not built upon or cultivated," a transaction which two years later was approved by the purchaser's successor in office, von Puttkamer. The only condition attached to the sale was that no further sale of land should take place without Soden's permission, this clause being intended as a protection against the native practice of selling the same land twice, or more times.

50. Again, the Westafrikanisch Pflanzungsgesellschaft Victoria arose from an amalgamation of the properties and interests acquired by various individuals who purchased from the Government large tracts of land of about 2,000 to 3,000 hectares at an average price of 5 marks per hectare. The Government undertook in one such case "to make the transaction possible by creating Crown Land in so far as the rights of the natives do not conflict therewith." In general, the Government agrees to "assist the purchaser in his dealings with the natives."

51. Similarly, in the case of the Westafrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft Bibundi, the land was originally purchased from the native chiefs, though a clause was inserted in the agreement to the effect that ownership should remain vested in the natives. This would appear to have been little more than an appeasing formula, for later the Government acknowledged the agreement to be regular and valid, vesting the freehold ownership of the land in the Company.

52. In another instance, four individuals formed a company; they acquired land, not from the Government, but secured registration of the land in due form in the Grundbuch. It was found that no deed of purchase existed, but the Government recognised their title to the land.

53. In the above cases where the land was sold by Government there is nothing in the records to show how the Government came into possession of the land.

54. On 15th June, 1896, the German Government issued an Imperial Decree (a copy of the principal sections of which is attached for facility of reference) in order, apparently, to regularise existing tenure under the previous haphazard arrangements and to lay down a definite policy for the future in dealing not only with the Crown Lands but the acquisition of Native Lands by aliens. Section 1 of the Decree which makes all ownerless (presumably unoccupied) land Crown Land, and Sections 4 and 5, which give powers to Land Commissioners to determine which land is Crown Land, are obviously the most important as affecting the rights of the aboriginal natives. The practical effect of the decree as far as the British Sphere is concerned was confined,

with a few exceptions, to the Victoria, Kumba and Buea Divisions, where most of the land owned by Europeans was situated, and where large areas had already been granted to concessionaire companies. In these divisions occupiers of land acquired by the various haphazard methods disclosed in paragraphs 49-52, were given freehold titles. The Land Commissioners then proceeded to carve out native reserves on the basis of six hectares (about 15 acres) for each adult male, and all the remainder of the land not covered by a title or forming part of a reserve, was declared Crown land. In some instances the native reserves cut into land claimed by private individuals or companies. In some cases a friendly settlement by way of exchange was come to with the Government; in other cases resort was had to the law. The legal position on this point of expropriating plantation lands for native reserves is obscure, largely due to the extremely vague wording of the clauses intended to safeguard the rights of natives in the agreements dating prior to 1896, and also to conflicting decisions of various land commissioners at different times.

55. The natives generally complain that the reserves are not large enough, and that the worst land was allotted to them. In the northern districts no native reserves were created, nor does there appear to have been any definition of what was or was not Crown land, presumably because the condition of these regions was not such as to tempt concessionaires. The Government took what land they needed, and a few odd traders and the Missionary Societies had no difficulty in getting the comparatively small areas they required.

56. Only two other enactments connected with land have been traced. One, in 1903, providing that property might be expropriated if the public interest demanded it—compensation had to be paid; the other, in 1910, dealing with the sale and leasing of Crown lands. It may be mentioned, that subsequent to the Decree of 1896, the methods of the Land Commissioners in dealing with applications from aliens to lease or purchase land from the natives were such as to safeguard native rights and prevent their exploitation. In addition to the Commissioners a "guardian of natives" was appointed, usually a missionary, to watch the interests of the natives; the terms of the proposed lease or sale were fully explained, and when agreement had been reached, were officially recorded.

57. The general effect of the German land policy may be briefly summarised as follows. In the northern part of the British sphere there has been practically no interference with the rights of the native communities over their lands. In the southern portion, round the base of the Cameroon mountain, the rights of the natives have been alienated, except so far as certain areas have been reserved for their use.

58. There has been no change in the position since the British occupation, as no applications for leases of land by aliens have been received. The plantations and other German-owned properties have to be disposed of in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Peace,

and until that has been done the properties are merely held in trust by the Nigerian Government.

#### XVII.—PLANTATIONS.

59. A separate report (Appendix) has been written on the 28 plantations in the Province, which for the most part lie on the lower slopes of the Cameroon mountain and between it and the sea. Their total area is about 245,000 acres, of which about 45,000 acres are cultivated. Within these areas there are the native reserves of Buea and other villages. The main crop is cocoa, with rubber, bananas, and oil palms as secondary crops. A large amount of capital has been sunk in these undertakings, and expensive machinery for curing the cocoa has been installed in several plantations. As a whole they are wonderful examples of industry, based on solid scientific knowledge. Throughout one cannot fail to see evidence of the forethought and method with which the work has been planned. Nothing was left to chance. There was a careful system of Government supervision in force, and whenever any practice that was inimical to the general progress of the plantations was noticed it was suppressed by authority. A committee of planters sat from time to time and discussed the experiments and practical work of the plantations and made recommendations.

60. On the fate of these plantations will depend to a large extent the future prosperity of the Victoria Division. Provided that due allowance is made for the requirements of the natives, the plantations should be taken over by European and American companies, which alone will have sufficient capital and experience to maintain them at their past high level of efficiency and preserve the good name of the Cameroons for the high quality of its cocoa. It will be impracticable to split up the plantations into small plots for native owners. Without capital it would mean that the buildings and machinery would fall into ruins, entailing enormous loss, and without the necessary experience disease would soon spread and the cocoa would be destroyed. The resources of civilisation must, therefore, be brought to the aid of the native and the plantations sold to companies able to develop them. This policy will be really in the best interests of the natives of the Province.

#### XVIII.—CONCLUSION—ATTITUDE OF THE NATIVES.

61. The natives generally are peaceful and law-abiding; they pay their taxes regularly and without trouble. There is no antagonism to rule by the European. Though the older and more conservative may look with regret to the old lawless days, the younger generation, and particularly the women, prefer the security of life and property, the freedom of movement, and the convenience of a more civilised life that a stable central Government can provide.

62. There is little doubt that the natives of the western portion of the Cameroons had an almost historical predilection for British rule, which thirty years of German rule has not eradicated; they are closely allied in customs, dress, &c., to the tribes on the eastern borders of Nigeria.

63. The principal grievance the natives have is the high cost of imported goods and the low price paid for produce. They know that there has been a war and that it is now over; they cannot understand why the prosperous pre-war days do not return, and they naturally associate those good old days with the German Administration. To attempt to explain to people of such a primitive type the profound disturbance of the economic balance caused by the War is a practical impossibility.

64. I am very much indebted to the Resident, the District Officers of the Cameroons, and other officers for the information contained in various memoranda from which this report was compiled; and to Mr. W. E. Hunt, District Officer, Mr. A. R. Whitman, District Officer, and Mr. F. Evans, Supervisor of Plantations, my special thanks are due.

I have, &c.

H. C. MOORHOUSE,

*Lieutenant-Governor, Southern Provinces.*

## REPORT ON THE CAMEROONS PROVINCE.

### APPENDIX I.

#### ESTIMATED REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1921-1922.

REVENUE.	£	EXPENDITURE.	£
1. Licences and Internal Revenue ... ..	4,460	1. Pensions ... ..	5,016
2. Fees of Court, &c., and reimbursements in aid...	17,645	2. Political and Administrative ... ..	34,794
3. Customs ... ..	12,220	3. Treasury ... ..	351
4. Posts and Telegraphs ... ..	1,216	4. Posts and Telegraphs—	
5. Marine ... ..	525	Recurrent ... ..	7,908
6. Rent of Government Property ... ..	1,000	Special... ..	6,950
7. Direct Taxes ... ..	24,950	5. Civil Police ... ..	7,704
8. Miscellaneous ... ..	2,750	6. Prisons ... ..	4,091
	<hr/>	7. Agriculture ... ..	6,768
	64,766	8. Medical ... ..	14,266
Estimated deficit charged to Nigerian funds ... ..	78,834	9. Education ... ..	2,705
		10. Customs ... ..	2,175
		11. Marine ... ..	11,501
		12. West African Frontier Force ... ..	13,330
		13. Miscellaneous ... ..	3,921
		14. Public Works Department	4,470
		15. Public Works, Recurrent	4,400
		16. Public Works, Extraordinary ... ..	13,250
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£143,600		£143,600
	<hr/>		<hr/>

REVENUE BROUGHT TO ACCOUNT.		EXPENDITURE BROUGHT TO ACCOUNT.	
	£		£
1916 ... ..	14,646	1916 ... ..	16,246
1917 ... ..	49,454	1917 ... ..	62,487
1918 ... ..	39,092	1918 ... ..	60,945
1919 ... ..	46,142	1919 ... ..	59,892
1920 ... ..	57,832	1920 ... ..	70,128
January-March, 1921 ... ..	6,102	January-March, 1921 ... ..	22,691
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	£213,268		£292,389
	<hr/>		<hr/>

The actual charge on Nigerian funds in respect of the administration of the Cameroons Province from 1st April, 1916, to 31st March, 1921, amounted to £79,121. It is estimated that there will be a further charge of £78,834 in 1921-22 and £79,000 in 1922-23, making a total of £236,955 for the seven years.

## APPENDIX II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ALL-HIGHEST DECREE CONCERNING THE CREATION, OCCUPATION AND DISPOSAL OF CROWN LAND AND THE ACQUISITION AND DISPOSAL OF LANDED PROPERTY IN THE PROTECTORATE OF CAMEROON," DATED 15<sup>TH</sup> JUNE, 1896.

S. 1.—Save and except in the case of claims to property or other realty which private or legal persons, chiefs or native communities can substantiate, save and except also the rights of occupation of third parties established by agreements with the Imperial Government, all land within the Protectorate being ownerless shall be Crown land.

The title thereto shall vest in the Empire.\*

S. 2.—Subject to the regulations of S. 12 Crown land shall be occupied by the Government.

S. 3.—When Crown land is occupied in the vicinity of existing settlements of natives, areas shall be reserved the cultivation and usage whereof shall ensure the subsistence of the natives having regard also to future increase of the population.

S. 4.—Ownerless land (Crown land) shall be sought out and determined by Land Commissions which shall be appointed by the Governor who shall allot to them the requisite staff of surveyors. These Commissions shall also decide any claims made by private persons. An appeal to the law shall lie against such decision.

S. 5.—In districts where a Grundbuch exists the registration of lands occupied as Crown lands shall be effected in virtue of a certificate given by the Governor or by an official authorized thereto by the Governor to the effect that the occupation took place with due observance of the registration of the property shall be carried out accordingly.

S. 6.—Crown land shall be disposed of by the Governor to wit, either by transfer of the title to ownership or by lease. Regulations made under the mining laws, whether already in force or yet to be promulgated concerning the disposal of subterranean treasures of the soil, are not affected by the disposal of Crown land.

S. 7.—The conditions governing the disposal of Crown land shall be determined by the Governor on the detailed instructions of the Imperial Chancellor.

S. 8.—When Crown land is disposed of, sufficient areas shall be reserved for public purposes; in particular forests the preservation whereof is to the public interest shall not be disposed of. There shall also be reserved the right to recover any land required for roads, railways, canals, telegraph lines, and other public works in consideration of a refund of any actual immediate losses to those entitled thereto.

S. 9.—Navigable rivers and streams shall not be disposed of as property.

S. 10.—The sanction of the Government shall not be necessary to the acquisition of ownership or to leases of property which is owned or leased by a non-native. The Governor, however, is empowered to make notification of such juristic transactions obligatory universally or for certain districts.

S. 11.—Without the sanction of the Governor it shall not be permissible for natives to make over the title of ownership to urban properties of more than one hectare (2·4 acres) or to any rural properties, or to lease them for a period exceeding fifteen years, to a non-native.

Agreements which require sanction accordingly and sanction of which is refused shall be null and void.

S. 12.—With the specific approval of the Imperial Chancellor the Governor may be empowered to authorize individuals and companies to prospect for land

\* Replaced by "The Government of the Protectorate." S. 25 of the Imperial Decree of 21.11.1902.

in territories where Land Commissions have not yet been engaged to make agreements with the owners if any or other interested parties for the cession of the land and to occupy such land provisionally as ownerless land.\* Sanction of such agreements also the determination of the conditions upon which the land alleged to be ownerless and acknowledged subject to the admissibility of an appeal to the law to be ownerless by the Governor may be disposed of shall be in accordance with SS. 6 to 9 and 11.

S. 13.—The Imperial Chancellor and with his approval the Governor shall promulgate the regulations necessary to the administration of this decree.

S. 14.—The Imperial Chancellor shall have authority to cancel and modify any measures taken by the Governor in virtue of this decree.

Translated.

A. R. WHITMAN,  
*District Officer.*

Buca, March, 1921.

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### APPENDIX III.

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#### REVIEW OF THE PLANTATION INDUSTRY IN THE BRITISH SPHERE OF THE CAMEROONS.

The prosperity of the Cameroons is almost entirely dependent on the agricultural resources of the country. In the more thickly-populated districts progress in trade of such products as palm-oil and ground-nuts followed much the same course as it has done in the French and British African Protectorates and Colonies, but in the sparsely-populated areas, poor in indigenous plants of economic value, the German Government encouraged the investment of European capital and the development of agriculture by means of an organised plantation industry.

The large plantations, established in what is now the British zone, are situated in the vicinity of the Cameroon Mountain. From Victoria they spread Westward to Idenau and North-west to the Ndiian and Ikassa rivers. East and North-east of Victoria they are dotted along the Anglo-French boundary from Tiko to Essosung. The boundaries of the individual properties are irregular and much broken by native reserves.

At the outbreak of war the total area of land set aside for plantation development in the Victoria-Kumba Division was approximately 300,000 acres. This includes mission property, estates now owned by the African and Eastern Corporation, also land forming part of concessions reputed to belong to the Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun and the Deutsch-Westafrikanische Handelsgesellschaft respectively, satisfactory title-deeds to which have not yet been found. Appended to this report is a return† showing the owner, area and situation of the various concessions and plantations in so far as it has been possible to ascertain them from the German records taken over by the Nigerian Administration in April, 1916.

The exportable products to which chief attention has been directed are cocoa, rubber (Hevea, Funtumia and Ceara), palm-oil, kernels and bananas, and in a lesser degree, kola and coffee. In the North-west, beyond Kumba, tobacco of good quality was grown for export, but the tobacco estates in the British sphere have now reverted to "bush."

Of the cocoa, rubber and oil-palm plantations the most extensive and best developed are those belonging to the Westafrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft "Victoria," Westafrikanische Pflanzungsgesellschaft "Bibundi," Kamerun Kautschuk Aktiengesellschaft, Idenau Pflanzung, Deutsche Kautschuk Aktiengesellschaft, Kamerun Pflanzung, Moliwe, C. Woermann and the Afrikanische Frucht Compagnie.

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\* *Vide* concession to the Gesellschaft Nordwest Kamerun. † Not printed.

The plantations were well equipped with European bungalows, labourers' houses and hospitals, also stores and plant to deal with the various crops grown, and narrow-gauge railways for transport.

Power machinery is installed at Bota, Mokundange, Bibundi, Idenau, Ekona and Mpundu Estates. Missellele and two of the Tiko Estates are furnished with saw mills.

At the present time, buildings and machinery, owing to lack of repairs, material and insufficient supervision, are generally in poor condition. The properties, however, are still of considerable value. Soil and climate are favourable to the crops cultivated. Labour is comparatively cheap. Disease, however, is formidable in places and some areas have suffered considerably since 1914.

The German proprietors counteracted disease and increased the value of their properties by continually opening up new land and extending the area under cultivation. This plan is peculiarly suited to the Cameroons, where undeveloped land is plentiful and the staple food of the natives consists of plantains and cocoyams, the edible parts of the plants which are used as temporary shade for young cocoa. New farms thus increased the capital value of the plantations and at the same time provided food for the workpeople.

Although the people of the coast districts are indolent and unsatisfactory as agriculturists, the plantations, during the early years of development, experienced little difficulty in obtaining from the more industrious tribes of the hinterland sufficient voluntary labour for their requirements, but, as time went on, difficulties arose. The German Government in its anxiety to establish in a few years a colony such as it has taken other Empires centuries to build up in the East and West Indies, undertook considerable works of a public character, such as railway and road construction. In order to meet the growing demands for labour which this programme of rapid expansion needed, the Government disallowed recruiting of free labour in the districts which hitherto had supplied the plantation companies with their most suitable workers, and made itself responsible for all labour requirements, whether for work of a public or private nature.

Under Government control every precaution was taken to ensure the all-round well-being of the labourers, but the sense of freedom was crushed out of the people. Unsuitable men from the Northern grassland country were sent down to the coast and the death-rate was heavy. Following the British occupation of the country, though it would have resulted in economic chaos if the system of Government recruiting had been suddenly stopped, it was decided as a general policy, which was also strongly supported by the plantations management, gradually to abolish that system of recruiting labour. The transition stage from a Government-controlled to a purely voluntary system was not without difficulties, but the soundness of the latter policy is evinced in the fact that on the plantation books, at the present time, there are over 11,000 workpeople who have come down to the coast of their own free will and engaged themselves for work on the plantations. The fact that the labourer is free, *i.e.*, can stay indefinitely on the estate with wife and family, provided he behaves himself, or is at liberty to give notice if he desires to leave, ensures his fair treatment. He realizes, in a way no Government recruited labourer can, the mutual benefits accruing to employer and employee.

The chief defects of the discarded system are the hindrance to voluntary labour due to the restriction placed on the free movement of the people, the recruiting of an unsuitable type of labourer, the difficulty in establishing on the plantations a permanently resident labour force, and the spread of venereal disease owing to the men not being encouraged to take their wives and family to the plantations.

The plantation labour force is representative of all the races of the Cameroons, but the majority of the people now employed are from the Bakossi tribe whose country has unfortunately been bisected by the Anglo-French boundary.

In spite of local evils which attended the methods which for a period were adopted by Government to regulate the supply of labour, the plantations have played an important part in the settlement and development of the colony.

Apart from the regular employment afforded, the natives have been taught discipline and have come to realize what can be achieved by industry. Every labourer is an embryo planter. Large numbers who return to their villages take up cocoa or other cultivation on their own account, thus increasing the general prosperity of the country.

The well-planned and attended native cocoa-farms established throughout the principal labour-recruiting districts, so different to the primitive cocoa-farms seen in Nigeria, offer striking testimony to the value of experience and example.

Following the German evacuation, the large enemy-owned plantations were merged into one whole, and a Department of Government was formed to preserve them from the fate which would have speedily overtaken them had they been abandoned. This Department is still running and although, owing chiefly to lack of supervising staff, it has not been possible to keep the estates in the same excellent order as that in which their owners left them, their capital value has to a great extent been maintained, and they stand, to-day, a monument to work well done and an example in industrial agriculture to the people of the Cameroons in particular and West Africa generally.

F. EVANS,

*Supervisor of Plantations, British Cameroons.*

7th October, 1921.

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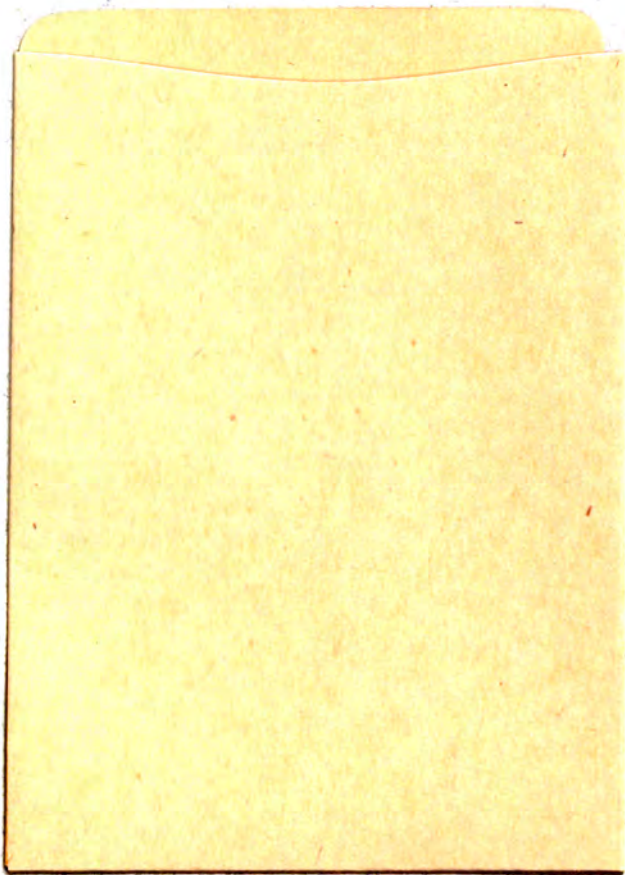












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