BENIN

THE CITY OF BLOOD

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BENIN

THE CITY OF BLOOD

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LONDON
37 BEDFORD STREET

NEW YORK
70 FIFTH AVENUE

1897

PREFACE

THE reasons for writing the story of the Benin Expedition of 1897 are two in number. Firstly, for the relations and friends of those concerned to have a full account of what happened, and, secondly, to leave on record certain details of organisation and equipment which may be useful in the future to officers serving on similar expeditions.

All tendency to enlarge has been carefully avoided, and the reader must kindly accept the baldness of the narrative as surety for its lack of exaggeration.

Mr. Overend's illustrations are from sketches supplied by the Author and by the courtesy of the Proprietors of the *Illustrated London News*.

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THE CITY OF BLOOD

CHAPTER I

PREPARATIONS FOR THE EXPEDITION

TRULY has Benin been called The City of Blood. Its history is one long record of savagery of the most debased kind. In the earlier part of this century, when it was the centre of the slave trade, human suffering must here have reached its most acute form, but it is doubtful if even then the wanton sacrifice of life could have exceeded that of more recent times. Nothing that can be called religion exists within its limits, only paganism of the most unenlightened description, with certain rites and observances, which, from their ferocious cruelty, have caused Benin to be the capital of superstitious idolatry and barbarity for more than a hundred miles inland. The Benin Juju is the Juju

bowed to by tribes even beyond the Kukuruku country, and even holds the more civilised Jakri or water tribes, now for some years under English protection, in a half doubtful belief.

Juju is a term of wide meaning, and embraces every form of superstitious offering to, or imaginary decree of, a god, from the gin-bottle hung on a branch to a human sacrifice, the culmination of their magic and atrocities. The King to a large exent has had the right of placing the ban of Juju on anything in his kingdom by the exercise of his mystical powers, and this he has often done with articles of commerce, such as rubber and ivory; and so by his arbitrary decrees, and the servile superstition of his subjects, prevented the trade in these articles passing through his dominions. One of the Jujus of the Beni is never to cross water; hence they never enter canoes, and all the river trade is done by Jakris or Ijos; therefore each large waterside Benin town has its Jakri village or settlement, inhabited by the agents of the chiefs and their men during trading operations.

This complete isolation from the water, and therefore to a great extent from contact with white

men, must have done much to prevent the smallest seeds of civilisation finding their way to the capital. The King himself is supposed to have his limiting Jujus, one of which is that he must never enter the town until he is made king, nor ever after leave it. To what extent this Juju is binding, and how it may work to his ultimate death, or capture, from his betrayal by his subjects, now that he has fled from the city, will be interesting to see.[1] But as he appears to have the power of removing Juju in certain cases, he and his wise men may perhaps remove their own limitations and so save their lives.

Living in his isolated city, the King and his predecessors have studiously withstood the incursion of white men; the few visits that have been paid have been friendly, either in the form of trade negotiations or for making a treaty, as in the case of Captain Gallwey's mission in 1894. But in no case, at all events of late years, have the few missions that have been allowed access to the city been treated in any but the most friendly manner, except the ill-fated expedition of January 1897. The explanation of the mission, the reason of its

[1] Since the above was written the King has been captured.

undertaking, the confidence to the last in the friendly attitude of the natives, and the absence of any weapons of defence, must rest in the graves of those brave men who lost their lives, and whose death has created a loss to the Niger Coast Protectorate which must be felt for years to come. The distress of all who knew them out on the West Coast was grievous to see, and the tributes to their capabilities and qualities were evidently not merely due to the brutality of the massacre, but to the great loss their friends and the Protectorate had sustained.

The history of the painful massacre is too well known to recapitulate. But there are one or two points it is well to dwell on.

Firstly, The King sent a message to say that he was "making his father," and did not wish to receive the mission.

Secondly, Mr. Phillips sent a message to the King to tell him that the mission was of importance and could not be delayed, to which an answer was sent that the King would receive the mission.

Thirdly, The King's messengers accompanied the mission for some distance, and then left, at their

own wish, to inform the King of the approach of the mission.

Fourthly, no member of the expedition, at the express desire of Mr. Phillips, wore any weapon, which were all locked up in their boxes; and so certain was this gallant man of being able to treat the natives pacifically, that, after the attack commenced and officers suggested getting their revolvers, the last words he was heard to say were: "No revolvers, gentlemen; no revolvers."

Now, "making one's father" is an African native custom, which takes place once a year, and is an excuse for general holiday making, eating, drinking and dancing; and, in the case of the more debased natives, sacrifices, human and otherwise. That King Duboar would not have cared to have Englishmen present at Benin during his fiendish orgies one can well imagine; but, at the same time, would not a gallant man like Phillips probably think that the presence of his mission might restrain the blood-lust of the King and Juju priests, and perhaps save some poor creatures from an untimely death? It was not the sort of excuse to deter such

a man, or any of those who accompanied him, representing the Queen, from continuing their mission to a Sovereign in treaty with her. We have heard the Little England wail of interfering with the prerogatives of native royalty. There are, however, some prerogatives of native royalty that make interference necessary.

Treachery of a planned and deliberate nature was incontestably proved against the King and his army, and it is only to be hoped that he may eventually be caught and pay the penalty of his crimes.

The massacre took place on January 4, 1897, but the news did not reach Admiral Rawson, the Commander-in-Chief of the station, till the 10th. He immediately ordered the *Widgeon* and *Alecto* to Benin River, and the *Phœbe* to Brass, as the effect of the news on the Brass chiefs, who previously had given considerable trouble, was expected to be disquieting. On the 14th the *Philomel* was ordered to Brass. But it was not till the 15th that orders were received from the Admiralty to organise an expedition against Benin, and I venture to think that the Commander-in-

Chief and Captain Egerton, Chief of the Staff, may be congratulated on having performed a feat of organisation and equipment which has never been equalled in similar expeditions. In twenty-nine days to collect, provision, organise, and land a force of 1200 men, coming from three places ranging between 3000 and 4500 miles from the position of attack: to march, by an unknown and waterless road, through dense bush held by a warlike race, fighting five days, and in thirty-four days to have taken the chief town; in twelve days more, the city having been left to the Protectorate forces, to have re-embarked all the men, and coaled the ships ready to proceed to any other place where circumstances might require them, is a feat that seems so marvellous that it is scarcely credible.

To understand the position of affairs on the 15th of January, the first thing to consider is the geographical situation of the ships.

H.M.S. *St. George* at Simons Town, with a small dockyard under her lee.

Theseus and *Forte* at Malta, 8000 miles off, and practically out of range of any but the most meagre telegraphic orders, and technically not

under the Commander-in-Chief of the African station till after leaving Gibraltar. *Philomel* and *Phœbe* under orders from their cruising positions to Brass, and therefore having only the ordinary stores on board.

Alecto up the Gambia, and out of telegraphic communication. *Widgeon* at Brass. *Malacca* promised from England.

All details as to nature of ground, exact positions of places, water supply, and local resources were absolutely unknown.

So that the condition at headquarters was, that the *St. George* would have to provide and ship any extra stores of special nature for all the ships of the expedition which the operations on the coast might require. The only ships near a dockyard were the *Theseus* and *Forte*, and although they were sure to arrive equipped, as far as their officers could foresee, with all necessary gear for themselves, still there were many things required by the vicissitudes of the special form of climate which they might have overlooked.

Previous small campaigns which had been undertaken by ships on both the East and West Coasts

had supplied plenty of experience as to the necessary equipment for kits, commissariat, carriers, and water, so that on the 20th H.M.S. *St. George* was able to leave with every article, except those ordered from England in the *Malacca*, to supplement the ordinary ship's stores and equip the expedition.

Broadly speaking, a man-of-war contains material in a state of sufficient readiness to land an armed force in case of necessity at immediate notice; such a force is not equipped for more than one day's marching, but rather for occupying a fixed base, since details arise requiring considerable preparation, when transport of water and provisions is necessary.

The late expedition was one through dense bush, in an unhealthy climate, where the only means of transport was by carriers, each load being limited to approximately fifty-four pounds. All provision, baggage, water, and ammunition loads had therefore to be made up to this weight. No contractors or outside labour are available, and therefore on these occasions ships' companies have to be their own contractors, and material has to be weighed and packed, and even the boxes made and sealed by

the same men who are eventually going to march and fight. For convenience of issue the provisions were packed in tin-lined biscuit-boxes, and each box contained rations for twenty-four men for one day, complete in every detail to candles and matches. By this means all weighing when issuing in camp was avoided; and also the contents of each box being consumed daily prevented loss from deterioration of the ullage cases.

The seamen's kits were packed in ordinary painted canvas bags, four kits to a bag, and each bag marked and numbered according to its company, and also painted with its divisional colour. By this means all confusion in issue on arrival in camp was avoided.

All available empty kerosene tins were obtained for water, and wooden bases fitted to strengthen them. Every one-pound and half-pound tin procurable was collected and used for packing coffee, tea, etc., inside the provision boxes. The weighing out and fitting these boxes was carried on on board the *St. George* during the passage from Simon's Bay to Brass. The contents of each box will be found in Appendix.

While the *St. George* was busy at Simons Bay, the *Theseus* and *Forte* were by no means idle at Malta. On Friday the 15th, at 9 a.m., the signal was made to these two ships to prepare for sea, both of them had their engines to pieces, portions of those belonging to the *Forte* being in the dockyard. The *Theseus* had practically no coal, provisions, or stores on board, as she was expecting a triennial survey of her storerooms and coal bunkers. The whole of her stores for six months, provisions, and 1000 tons of coal were taken in, and she was ready to start within twenty-four hours. Both ships left at 4 p.m. on the 16th for Gibraltar. During the passage there was ample time to think of extras required, and twenty-four hours at Gibraltar gave opportunity to complete with coal and to draw all extras in the way of waterproof sheets, medical stores, tents and extra ammunition. On the further passage, blacksmiths and carpenters were employed day and night making portable mountings for Maxims, and other accessories that might prove to be of use.

In England matters were equally prompt. The

P. and O. ship *Malacca* was actually leaving the Thames with a cargo when she was overtaken and recalled, and her cargo discharged. She was coaled, and within five days was fitted as a hospital ship, with ice-rooms and every appliance which medical and surgical science could suggest. At the Protectorate itself preparations were rapidly assuming shape. The native troops, called Houssas, were being assembled at Warrigi; a hundred men of the West India Regiment were ordered from Sierra Leone to Accassar to hold the Brass chiefs in check; Mr. Turner of the Protectorate was raising a Lagos contingent of fifty men to act as scouts, which eventually did much good service during the advance. Surveys and collection of intelligence were being conducted by the Protectorate officers with great energy, in spite of the enervating nature of the climate and the difficulties of the country. All these threads were being woven, ready to be joined together with the least delay on the arrival of the various detachments at Brass.

The reason for the selection of Brass for the place of assembly was that it was the nearest

telegraph station to Forcados, and Forcados, having a fairly deep bar which ships drawing twenty feet of water could cross, was preferable as the ships' base to the shallower but nearer bar of the Benin River.

CHAPTER II

WARRIGI AND CERI

ON February 4th, Admiral Rawson and a portion of his staff, with Colonel Hamilton, accompanied Consul-General Moor in his yacht, the *Ivy*, to Sapele, to personally inspect the selected base, Warrigi, and to introduce himself to the scenes of future operations. The passage from Forcados Bar to Sapele is one of great interest to anyone new to the scenery of the West African rivers. While eight miles outside, with the shore almost indistinguishable from a mere blue streak, a small black buoy has to be found which marks the sandy bar that guards the river mouth. Steering past this, rollers are seen breaking on each side where the shallows are, and even in mid-channel, in twenty feet of water, the size of the rollers show what an unpleasant place it would be in bad weather. After entering Forcados River a sharp turn is made to

VIEW OF WARRIGI.

the left, and the ship almost at once finds herself in a series of narrow creeks, with mangrove trees, and nothing but mangrove trees, on either side, their branched roots and long weepers giving them a most uncanny appearance.

The banks here and there show, by unmistakable signs, places where steamers have crashed into the trees in attempting some of the narrow turns; in fact, so sharp are many of these corners that they can only be negotiated by single screw ships in this primitive and uncomfortable manner.

For four or five hours these incessant lanes of mangrove trees were passed, until at last we emerged into the Benin River, close to a few huts called Young Town. To the left lay the entrance to Gwato Creek, scanned with interest as the usual road to Benin, in fact the one taken by poor Phillips and his expedition; and one of the points of future attack.

Proceeding up the river to Sapele, the entrance to Ologi, or Ologbo Creek, was an object of interest, for on the nature of that creek above Ologbo depended the whole of the scheme of attack on the city of Benin.

Warrigi was reached about two hours afterwards, where signs of activity were apparent; provisions were being landed, a pier built, and a large portion of the bush cleared to build storehouses.

Four miles farther on we arrived at Sapele, and the *Ivy* anchored near the hulk, "Hindoostan," which forms the English Consulate. Intelligence of all sorts, was badly needed, and a large number of native carriers were required to supplement those from Sierra Leone and Warri. A meeting of the friendly Jakri chiefs was therefore called for the 7th by Captain Gallwey, the Vice-Consul. This officer, so well known throughout the Protectorate, was one of the very few left after the massacre who knew this district intimately; his knowledge both of the place and the natives, as well as his experiences of Benin, were invaluable in gathering information necessary to the campaign.

The meeting of these chiefs took place in the court-house of the old Vice-Consulate at New Benin, the trade settlement at the entrance of the river. It was a quaint sight; all the chiefs were men of more or less importance, with the most

vividly-coloured loose sort of skirts tucked round the waist, which seemed most uncomfortable, and always on the point of falling down. The more important ones wore plush jackets, again of the most vivid hue, and round their necks and arms were coral charms and bracelets worth in some cases several hundred pounds. They were allowed to be seated while the proclamation telling of the massacre and the measures that were being taken against Benin was read out. It was impossible to tell from their faces what they thought, but it must have been with a shade of scepticism that they heard that the King was to be king no more, his town taken, and his Juju priests, if possible, killed, the Juju houses burned, and the Benin Juju for ever broken,—that Juju which had lasted through all traditions, and in which they themselves had a sort of half hankering belief. Yet they had the example of Nana, who had defied the White Queen, and was now a prisoner hundreds of miles away. At all events, their tribes supplied carriers in sufficient numbers to help in the war palaver, and the meeting broke up. Afterwards, men who had been to Benin were examined, and on the floor

of the Consulate, with patience and the expenditure of many matches, corks, and pieces of paper, a plan of Benin was made which eventually, except in a few details, turned out to be very correct; but it was a queer sight to see these black beings with the tribe-mark gashes on their cheeks and bodies, their hair at times done in the most fantastic plaits, warming to their work, as pleased as children making a sand castle, as they gradually traced out the only plan they had ever made or are ever likely to help in again.

An average nigger of low type lies without compunction if there is the slightest thing to be gained by it, and often, when nothing can be gained one way or the other, out of absolute indifference to telling a lie or the truth. If you ask a nigger how far it is to a place, his first thought is: "Why does white man want to know? he want me to go there," and consequently doubles the distance. Questions about a place always have to be prefaced by an assurance, "You are not wanted to go there." The brain of the black man is also very slow; when once fairly on a subject it works well, and he has a good memory, but

DRAWING A PLAN OF BENIN CITY.

change from one point to another and apparently his brain cannot do so quickly, and it will take some few minutes of waiting and patient interrogation before he thoroughly gets in touch with the new subject. They are not, therefore, easy people to manipulate from an intelligence point of view.

Again, as regards distance the native mind is chaotic ; the only measure of distance is by time. The only times recognised are 6 a.m., noon, and 6 p.m. : sunrise, noon, and sunset.

Mohammedans are rather better, for they have intervening prayer-times. Any distance under four miles is "not so far." After much patient cross-examination the distance to Benin was fixed at eighteeen miles by the bush path, but it eventually turned out to be twenty-one.

We were lucky in obtaining guides for the road from Ologbo to Benin. The chief one, by name Owaghi, turned out to be a good fellow, and by no means a coward.

The Ologbo-Benin route was the one chiefly used by Nana in his trade with the interior. Slaves carried the palm oil and other produce to Ologbo, and thence the Jakri men in canoes transported it

down the Ologbo Creek to the white traders on the Benin River. When in 1894 Nana was smashed, many of his people settled down at Ceri, a village some two miles below Ologbo, on the opposite side of the creek, and some smaller villages within a mile or two of it. Here they lived apparently in constant fear of the Beni, for the narrow strip of water of Ologbo Creek, and the water Juju of the Beni, were all that prevented a raid and their eventual sacrifice at Benin. At Warrigi and Ceri much progress had been made in the work, a broad road had been made between these places, and Colonel Hamilton and his Houssas having marched to Ceri on the 6th, had there made an excellent camp for the 1st and 2nd Divisions, his own men being quartered in Ceri villages. A road was being pushed on from Ceri to opposite Ologbo, so as to advance one column if necessary by the right bank of the river. At the outset, swamp was discovered on the riverside, and the road cut by Captain Cockburn of the N.C.P.F. at the edge of the marsh was, on survey, found to have a general bearing of E.S.E., whereas Ologbo was suspected of bearing N.E. A night survey of the river by

Commander Startin, Captains Gallwey and Cockburn confirmed this, which practically put all idea of following the riverbank out of question. The question of bridging the river now depended on the nature of the bank on the opposite side, and this could only be ascertained by an armed reconnaissance. In the meantime I had orders to make a suspension bridge strong enough to take the guns; in eight hours it was ready to throw across. The reconnaissance, under Colonel Hamilton, however, showed the bank on the Ologbo side to be if anything worse than that near Ceri, and taking into consideration the labour of making a corduroy road a mile or more in length, all idea of bridging had to be given up, and water transport resorted to. Of course this meant a great break and delay in our line of communications compared to being able to have a bridge for the carriers to walk over; it also meant an additional depôt at Ologbo, but there was no help for it.

The *Primrose*, one of the Protectorate launches, and two surf-boats were available at Ceri, six large canoes were expected, and a second launch and more surf-boats were sent for. In spite, however,

of this alteration in transport, no delay was thought of in the advance, as the men were actually leaving their ships and entering the more malarial districts.

The time of disembarkation had been arranged so that after the day of landing a continued advance as far as possible was made daily, since the shorter time the men were exposed to the climate the better they would be prepared to march and fight, and the success of the operations greatly depended on having no fever till after the major portion of the work had been accomplished.

So much had been written and said lately as to the non-fighting qualities of the Beni, that the Commander-in-Chief decided to cut down the men landed to seven hundred, instead of employing twelve hundred as originally intended, since the fewer men exposed to the influence of the climate the better.

On the 9th the disembarkation from the ships to the branch steamers was commenced, and the *Philomel*, *Widgeon*, and *Barrosa* proceeded to Gwato Creek to keep the Gwato army employed, while the *Alecto* and *Phœbe* were ready to start

their men for Sapobar to cut off any fugitives in that direction, and to keep the Ugugu and Soko people employed and prevent them marching to Benin.

On the 10th the steamers arrived at Warrigi; on the 11th the Admiral and Staff and 1st and 2nd Divisions landed and marched seven miles to Ceri. One death from sunstroke occurred on board the steamers, and two or three bad cases fell out on the march up. The heat was very great, portions of the road being quite unsheltered from the sun; but the general health of the men was excellent, and all were in great spirits at the prospect of an early brush with the enemy.

CHAPTER III

ADVANCE ON OLOGBO

THE number of the enemy holding Ologbo was not known; six chiefs were supposed to be there with a large number of soldiers, but it was expected that the main army would be on the Gwato Road or at Benin. It was, however, certain that the camp at Ceri could not have escaped the attention of the Beni, who would be sure to make a good stand to help their water Juju. Care was taken in no way to excite the enemy's suspicions as to an early attack, as a water landing protected by bush is easy of defence, and considerable losses might easily be incurred if the enemy obstinately defended the landing-place.

Early on the morning of the 12th February the advance began. Colonel Hamilton, with sixty-two N.C.P. men, twenty-nine of A Company 1st Division, with one Maxim, under Lieutenant Fyler,

R.N., and another under Captain Burrows, N.C.P.F., were embarked in the *Primrose* and two surf-boats to make the first landing. One Maxim was in addition mounted on the *Primrose* to search the bush and cover the disembarkation.

The river from Ceri to Ologbo is only one hundred feet broad, and winds considerably, and dense bush everywhere extends to the water's edge. Had the enemy possessed knowledge equal to their pluck they might have given us, on this and several other occasions, a severe reception. Two sharp turns in the river were negotiable only by running the *Primrose* into the bank and then bringing the stream, which ran about two knots, on the right bow, to fall off into mid-stream again. These might have been two very awkward five minutes had the enemy but known our plight.

Nearing Ologbo the Maxim was played on the bush to dislodge any enemy that might have been in ambush. No firing was returned, and at 8.10 the force disembarked by wading ashore.

The Jakri or waterside village of Ologbo was situated as shown in the map. It had been burned, just after the massacre, by Captain Burrows,

the district Commissioner. From the water a narrow avenue some fifty yards long led to the ruined houses and an open plateau roughly circular, with a diameter of about one hundred yards; with the exception of the avenue, this plateau was completely surrounded by bush; a slight rise in the centre offered a suitable position on which to extend the men in skirmishing order and place the Maxims. A searching volley soon disclosed the enemy, who commenced the attack, never venturing into the open, but keeping inside the cover of the bush and firing their long guns at us. To these we replied with sectional volleys and the deadly sweeping fire of the Maxims. The attack appeared to increase in severity, and was at its strongest an hour after landing, when Captain Koe was shot through the arm, and the native officer, Lieutenant Daniels, and one Houssa wounded. At this time reinforcements of one company Houssas and the other half of A Company arrived and strengthened the fighting line. The attack was still kept up with considerable spirit, and Colonel Hamilton decided to advance up the Ologbo path, and so flank their attack. This he did with one company

Houssas, the naval Maxim, and half A Company. Advancing towards the path, having searched the entrance with the Maxim, he marched slowly, firing searching volleys right and left, and eventually halted about eight hundred yards up. The effect on the emeny was magical, they almost immediately gave up the attack and retreated before the advancing soldiers, leaving the camp practically undisturbed. Throughout the whole expedition this dislike to being behind the advance was most marked in the Beni; very rarely, and then only by isolated individuals, was an attack made anywhere but on the leading company of the column. In the meantime the process of transport of the troops was proceeding, necessarily slowly, owing to the difficulties of the river with its numerous snags and turns and the small number of boats. To expedite matters, in case of Colonel Hamilton requiring larger reinforcements, Admiral Rawson sent one company of Houssas, under Captains Cockburn and Turner, to march opposite Ologbo, so that they could be ferried across in canoes, and so save the two-mile water transport. It was a heavy march, one mile by bush path and then one mile

through the marsh, which was about half-way up to the knees; they eventually arrived after about three hours' marching, and, with the addition that the boats had brought, made sufficient to hold the camp and to allow an advance to be made on the Beni-Ologbo village. This was done at noon, with A Company of 1st Division of bluejackets, three companies Houssas, two 7-pounders, a rocket-tube, and the naval Maxim; no opposition was met with beyond the enemy firing a big gun and then retiring. The village had been increased by the building of two smaller villages, evidently as barracks for the troops, for here, as well as at all other places on the line of march, the soldiers appear to have kept quite apart from the villagers, and had their own separate camps. The 1st Division and scouts came over the same day from Ceri, and camped partly at Ologbo village and partly at a camp made at the beach.

An examination of the bush showed signs of considerable attempts at defence; a path had been cut about ten feet from the edge of the bush, and running round its inside edge, for the easy movement of the defenders. This path had a network

of smaller paths running to the rear and leading into the main path to the village, intended both as roads of retreat and also to retire to reload. The dead, with the exception of six bodies, had been removed. Subsequently, one heap of thirty-eight was found about half a mile away, so their loss must have been considerable. This first touch of the enemy showed that the Beni were not to be discounted in the easy and off-hand manner which experts had imagined, since they had kept up a sustained attack for two hours against Maxims and volleys, and probably lost a large number of killed, besides wounded who had got away.

Both camps were soon scenes of busy preparation, especially that on the beach, which was designed to become a large depôt. Shelters had to be built for the men, covered with green leaves to protect them from the sun and dew; boilers were set up for boiling the river water before drinking; the low bush fringing the camp had to be cleared, and storehouses erected for the provisions and water. The carriers were assigned a separate camp, defended by the main one; this is quite necessary, as their constant jabbering

all through the night is one of their many evil points.

The houses at Ologbo village were very clean and comfortable, being tidily thatched, and had raised bed-places made of hard red clay, which, by the bye, were hard to lie on without any form of mattress. The thatch was full of large grey rats, which skeltered about in evident astonishment at their new householders.

That evening we had the sad news of the death of Lieutenant-Commmandant Pritchard and a seaman at Sapobar, as well as of the capture and burning of Gwato. The news was serious as well as sad. Determined resistance was being made at all three points of attack, and although Gwato might well be a place to expect a large force, Sapobar, so far distant from Benin, and in what might be looked on as a not altogether unfriendly country, was a district where such decided opposition was hardly looked for. This, coupled with our warm reception at Ologbo, caused the Admiral at once to revert to his original scheme of landing a large force. Things were far too serious to admit of doubting for a moment the courage of

the enemy in the bush, or their skill as bushmen. Not only was it imperative to occupy and keep Gwato to prevent the withdrawal of that army to protect Benin, but it was equally important that the Ugugu country at Sapobar should be shown that the white men were in earnest, and prevent the more or less friendly people from joining the Beni cause. To effect these two purposes the Gwato expedition required immediate reinforcement with men, rocket-tubes, and guns, and not a man could be taken from Sapobar, as intended, to increase the main column; also Captain M'Gill, who was to have commanded the 2nd Division, was indispensable at that place.

Nor was this all, the 1st Division was none too large for the work it had to perform in fighting its way to Benin, and additional men would be required to hold fortified bases along the road and keep up our communications. The orders were issued, and the changes effected with marvellous rapidity and without the slightest confusion. It is no small triumph for the organising powers of the Chief of the Staff to effect such a change, involving provision, water, kit, and ammunition-

carriers, as well as the distribution of stores, water-tins, chafs for the carriers, and, in fact, every detail of commissariat and transport, without the delay of an hour to the main column. Captain Randolph Foote was called up to take charge of the 2nd Division, and all officers' duties readjusted with a precision which, however, was to be equalled by an even greater change within the next few days. Had it not been for the experience gained on previous small expeditions, and the forethought and trouble bestowed originally on the ration boxes, and marking of every article with its distinctive colour, as well as the careful drilling and subdivision of the carriers, such a change must have meant delay and confusion; and if ever careful attention to detail met its reward, it was when change after change of the numbers and constitution of the main column was effected, without one delay or the absence of a single class of store.

Next day was employed in transhipping provisions and stores, and boiling water for the advance-guard to proceed with. The Headquarter Staff came over to Ologbo beach, and arrangements

were made for the advance-guard to push on early next morning.

That night was destined to be our first of several night alarms. At 3 a.m. a message was sent from the Naval Camp to say that their sentries reported the enemy in the bush all round, and although ours had seen none, still, at the outset of a campaign, and dealing with an unknown foe, it was not safe to assume that they would not make a night attack, although it is rarely that a black man indulges in this form of warfare.

Quietly, therefore, the men stood to their arms, or more correctly, lay down to them, under the most lovely starlight sky, and patiently waited for the enemy or the réveille. At half-past four the latter came, and fires were lit and water boiled for the cup of cocoa which, with two biscuits, was to be our main meal till late that afternoon.

CHAPTER IV

BUSH-FIGHTING

THE end of the last chapter saw the advanced column ready to start for their first march along the bush path. This is therefore a fitting place to attempt some sort of a description of the bush and the methods of bush-fighting. Imagine a country of 2500 square miles one mass of forest, without one break except a small clearing here and there for a village and its compound. Imagine this forest stocked with trees some 200 feet high, with a dense foliage overhead, and interspersed between these monster products of vegetable growth smaller trees to fill up the gaps. Imagine between all these trees an undergrowth of rubber shrubs, palms, and creepers, so thick that the eye could never penetrate more than twenty yards, and often not even ten. Imagine the fact that you might easily walk for an hour without seeing the

sun overhead, and only at times get a glimmer of a sunbeam across the path, and you have an elementary conception of the bush country of Benin.

Through this dense mass of tangled undergrowth run paths leading from village to village, and trodden only by barefooted natives in single line, so that the worn path is as a rule just broad enough for one man to walk in comfort, touching the bush each side with outstretched arms. Where the soil is soft, feet treading for centuries have worn the path to a lower level, and banks strewn with dead leaves and débris rise each side almost to the level of a man's head; where a tree has fallen across the path there it lies, and a new path is trodden to make a detour round the obstruction. There are no high-way committees in Beni-land, but as ages go by the tree decays and the old road may be resumed, or some philanthropic person sets light to the old dried wood of one of these monster obstructions, and gradually it will burn itself away like a huge piece of slow-match. It is impossible to describe the grandeur of the magnificent cotton-trees, with their splay roots extending like solid brackets for ten or

twelve feet from the bottom of the main trunk, monuments of age and strength.

Here and there great monkey-ropes, decorated at intervals with orchids, festoon down to seriously impede the carriers and their loads. Then again, fine suckers, no thicker than a piece of string, hang down from some branch a hundred feet overhead, as if intended to supply moisture to that particular branch by a short cut. All is lovely at first, and the main wonder must be, "For what purpose can all this waste of vegetation be, or what object can it serve?" If, however, you lie down on the bank and rest, you get that rank smell of decaying vegetable matter that has malaria so plainly present in it. Overhead all seems so grand, close down lies the poison which will shortly find its way into the systems of the white men to rack them with pains and prostrate them with wasting fever.

Well, such is the bush through which we will have to march for some days before we see Benin. Marching, fighting, and pressing on always with the cooped-up, oppressed feeling of a confined space, and looking hopefully for the clearings where we are to camp and sleep.

Fighting along a path of this sort must be a speciality, and there is no better treatise extant on bush-fighting than that by Lord Wolseley in his *Soldiers' Pocket-Book*. In the Admiral's general orders the greater portion of this was lithographed and distributed among the officers for their instruction. But still, though a general description of what really happened may almost read like a rescript of those remarks, it will not be altogether without interest, especially as in the late expedition we were additionally assisted by Maxims, rockets, and 7-pounder guns.

The chief peculiarity of such fighting is the small front exhibited, and the overwhelming advantages that the enemy has from being able to form ambushes in the bush, since from its dense nature it is easy for a man to lie ten yards from the path and to be quite out of sight. The trunks of the trees, again, form excellent shelter for the enemy's sharp-shooters, and carefully hidden platforms in the trees themselves afford most excellent positions of advantage above the level of the ordinary line of fire.

The only way of advancing along such a path

is by firing precautionary volleys at intervals into the bush on either side. The main purpose of these volleys is to penetrate any ambush where the enemy may be lying waiting for the column, and so scatter them; or to scare a man in a more secure retreat behind a tree and cause him to fire earlier than otherwise he would have done. This latter was frequently the case, and many a volley was followed by the deep "pom-pom" of the long Dane guns hurried into firing early instead of waiting for accurate aim at individuals. On no account should these volleys be neglected on such a march, and intervals of one to two minutes is the longest that should elapse between them. Firing these volleys by sections means a large expenditure of ammunition to the leading company, which is a serious consideration on several days' marching with daily fighting and probably a big battle at the end. Ordinarily speaking, four file are quite sufficient for each volley. The leading file firing straight along the path and the remainder firing half right and half left forward. To effectively fire a volley from a narrow path in single file half the men should fire to the right and half to the left.

BUSH FIGHTING.

This is best done by drilling the whole column at the order "Halt!" to close up, the ranks turning outwards lying down with their feet clear of the path, the carriers do the same, so that a clear road is left for the officers or sectional leaders, or for the Maxim or rocket-tube to come to the front. The difference in the point of time in getting a Maxim to the front through a well-drilled or badly-drilled company is enormous.

As soon as the enemy disclose their presence by returning the fire, a short sort of general action between them and the leading company ensues, the latter firing volleys by sections or half companies in the direction of attack; the number of volleys depending on the persistence of the enemy. Should they be difficult to dislodge, the Maxim should be put in action anywhere on the bank on the side of attack, provided a good arc of training in the direction of the enemy is obtainable. If the attack is from ahead, the Maxim of course should be run through the company to the head of the column. To save ammunition, and to drive the enemy from their position a war rocket is useful, but it is often impossible to fire it in the required

direction from the number and size of the trees and their branches—once having struck a tree it is as likely to return as to go in any other direction. On several occasions when the rockets were not fired directly over the natives they appeared to pay no attention to them, but returned immediately to the charge. A cleared space seen ahead should always have great attention paid it, as it is certain either to be a Juju place, a camp, cross-roads leading from the main road to a village, or a clearing in the bush for an ambuscade. A Maxim, however, soon clears anyone out of such a place, and at a distance at which the old-fashioned smooth-bores are useless.

The nature of ambuscades used by the Beni were peculiar. They never chose a thick portion of the bush, but always made a clearing, cutting the bush to a height of three or four feet, the object in view being apparently to hide in the bush beyond, and have a clear range for their slugs without being impeded by the foliage to a convenient range of about thirty yards. Anything more useless could hardly be conceived, as any form of clearing or bush cutting immediately

received attention from the Maxim long before the column was within range of the spot. Again, the advertisement of the place where they were to be found, and their probable exposure while the column was still some way off, must have accounted for a considerable number of killed and wounded, whereas the single bushman behind a tree had a great chance of escape both from volleys and Maxims. Although volleys should as a rule be fired low, with a rifle as near the ground and parallel to it as possible, still the trees should not be forgotten, for tree-fighting is an essential feature of Beni warfare, and one which our guides were always insisting on. In fact, they several times pointed out the tree platforms from which men had fired and then left in a hurry. The most weird feature of the whole fighting is the rarity with which the enemy is seen. Shots are fired, yells, whoops, and shouts are heard, men fall wounded and killed, yet not a sign of the enemy himself, except just the shiver of a moving bush and the half doubtful view of a dusky figure. It is a very trying form of fighting, and makes one long for open country and a sight of the enemy

that is firing at you. On the way up only one of the enemy was seen dead, but on the way down some days after other evidence existed that the number of killed had been large.

A favourite defence of a road was by means of an ambush path, which is a path cut parallel to the main road about fifteen or twenty yards from it, following it at every twist and turn. The idea of this is for the enemy to be able to lie in wait and escape quickly to reload without being hampered by the bush. Again, as a matter of fact, this defence of theirs proved of far more value to us than to them, since its occupation during advance doubled the front and gave each company only one flank to defend. Such paths were cut more than half-way to Benin; after that, probably from lack of time, they were discontinued. It need not be imagined that the ambush path newly cut in the bush was pleasant walking. The company who lined it on the march had a fairly ragged time.

The advance along a bush path consisted in firing precautionary volleys, and, when the enemy were found, firing a volley and advancing im-

mediately. It is this immediate and rapid advance that is the great point, if only the column is sufficiently compact to allow of it without undue extension. But, on the whole, it was found better for the advanced portion of the advance-guard to proceed quickly and keep the main body of the enemy driving in front of them, than to wait for the carriers to close up, which would at the same time give the enemy a chance to gain confidence and re-form.

Had the enemy only had the sense to attack our centre where the carriers were, they might have done an infinity of harm, and necessitated a totally different organisation of the column, but never could they stand having the firing between them and their ultimate place of retreat. Bush such as was encountered, properly defended by good bushmen with modern weapons, would be absolutely impregnable to any force of any size or constitution, especially when the short time of the dry season is taken into account.

The only other defences of the Beni were a few rifle-pits, one close to the King's compound, which was never used, and a small stockade of

no practical value; but had they, at the same time, destroyed the causeway leading to the stockade, over a ravine about twenty feet deep, they might have worried us considerably.

No pitfalls were used, although they were constantly expected, and it is not easy to account for their absence near Benin, except by the certainty of the Beni of our being unable to get near that city, and therefore this awful form of defence was left till too late. The soldiers also must undoubtedly have spread reassuring accounts of our early defeat; at all events, anyone who had dared to take bad news to the King would have been instantly sacrificed, and therefore his own brutality prevented a true knowledge of the state of affairs, and gave no time for extra defence.

These pitfalls, largely used in African warfare, consist of deep pits dug and sharp wooden stakes placed at the bottom, point up, the whole covered lightly with earth and leaves in the clever way that the bushman can imitate the ordinary ground. Lieutenant Daniels, the native officer of the Protectorate Force, only a year ago fell into one of these, and was staked right through the thigh,

receiving a most ghastly wound. Sometimes the stakes are poisoned, and then, of course, a scratch is fatal.

Bows and arrows were seen, but never was an arrow seen fired. The arrows found were poisoned, but the nature of the poison unknown.

The main armaments of the soldiers were long Dane guns, with a few revolvers, Winchesters, and Sniders. They were certainly very plucky, considering the weapons they had to stand against, and proved themselves most clever bushmen, thoroughly understanding that nature of fighting. The estimate formed beforehand of their fighting qualities proved entirely erroneous, and there was present among them a large portion of the pluck and military spirit to which the wide sway of their kingdom at the commencement was due, and which then made Benin the Queen of Cities of that portion of the Continent.

CHAPTER V

CROSS ROADS AND AGAGI

AT six o'clock on February 14th, the advanced column left Ologbo for a village called Aduaho.

The exact position of this village was uncertain, but it was known to lie about two or three miles on the right flank, and the place where the road to it branched from that to Benin was known to be about four miles off. As the distance from Ologbo to this crossing was short, carriers did not rest here, and therefore our guides had never been to the village, and so only knew of its existence by hearsay.

It was decided to go as far as the Cross Roads, look for the village, and, if found, destroy it; if not, to camp for the night at the Cross Roads. The column was formed as follows:—

Scouts under Lieutenant Erskine and Mr.

Turner. Colonel Hamilton, Sub-Lieutenant Phibbs, Commander Bacon, intelligence office.

Half Company Houssas: Captain Carter.

1 Maxim: Captain Burrows.

1 Rocket-tube: Mr. Johnson, gunner.

2½ Companies Houssas: Captain Cockburn, Captain Ringer, and Sub-Lieutenant Gregory.

1 Maxim: Death A.B.

2 7-pounders: Major Searle.

1 Company Marines: Captain Beaumont.

Baggage guard: 12 marines.

1 Maxim.

4 Scouts.

1 Company Houssas: Captain Gallwey, Captain O'Shee.

Colonel Hamilton was in command, with Sub-Lieutenant Phibbs as A.D.C.

For some time we marched through the bush, with occasional volleys from the scouts.

This was the first day that these recruits had been tried, having only been levied a fortnight, but they had assiduously been practised with their new rifle, the Martini-Henry. They turned out an excellent corps, and did a lot of hard work.

Probably many will join the Houssas at the end of their time of service, and very well fitted they are to do so. One incident created much amusement. At their first volley they went through the motions of loading and never inserted cartridges, the blank result at the order "Fire!" was extremely funny, as were also the remarks of the officer in charge.

Steadily and slowly we marched, occasionally hearing signal guns fired by the Beni, till at last at 10 a.m. the scouts reported the enemy in force ahead. As the scouts had none too much ammunition, and were only raw levies, Colonel Hamilton opened them out, and took the leading company of Houssas, Maxim, and rocket-tube, through them, and having found the ambush path advanced a second company along it. We then passed from the monotony of the march to the excitement of a running fight. Firing sectional volleys and then advancing; the enemy yelling and firing, then retiring and again advancing with a yell. One company sergeant-major and two men of the Houssa force were wounded, those on the ambush path being carried on to the main road, for in this

work it was most important for the company officers to see that none of the wounded were left in the ambush path, otherwise they might easily have been left behind and forgotten.

This running fight continued till 11.30, when we ran right into a clearing, which proved to be the enemy's camp at Cross Roads. Sentries were posted, and the bush cut to further clear the camp, and a general rest was ordered till half-past one. This day happened to be the birthday of Captain Carter of the Protectorate Force. Before starting he had wished for a good brush with the enemy as a birthday present, and as he was the one who led the company on the ambush path, his wish was gratified. So we all drank his health and happy returns of the day with a wineglassful of stout, a bottle of which had been brought with us from the headquarter mess. That was the last stout we were destined to see for many a long day.

It was a very jolly and much appreciated rest under those lonely old cotton-trees, with a feeling of satisfaction at having got the better of the enemy in their own haunts, and the knowledge that they did not intend to merely run away, but that

we would have the chance of teaching them a lesson of respect for the poor fellows they had murdered, and for the White Queen they had insulted.

At 1.30 we again started, this time leaving all impedimenta behind, to find Aduaho if possible, but we failed. A long weary march of three miles brought us to no signs of a village, the presence of which is always shown by clearings for plantation, plantain trees, etc., and as it was then 4.30, and only an hour and a half of daylight remained to us, we returned, reaching the camp at 6 p.m., very tired and hungry.

During the afternoon march we had struck and kept near a very peculiar ravine, which ran in the general direction of Benin. It was about 15 to 20 feet deep, with a high bank, with cotton-trees growing on it, showing that it was of considerable age. The bottom was covered with shrub vegetation, and its blocking at intervals for roads to cross, both showed that in winter it was not a waterway. Three days later we again crossed it near Benin. Its origin and use were not apparent.

The enemy's camp at Cross Roads had evidently

been a large one; at least twenty camp-fires were burning, and a very large number of yams cooking, either in the clearing itself or the paths leading from it, so we could count on having a considerable force of the enemy on ahead waiting for us next day.

The making of a camp is a busy sight. The carriers turned to with their hatchets to cut poles to make shelter for the officers and white men who had not lean-tos; these are square skeleton erections, roughly thatched, and strewn with leaves to form a bed. One of these sprang up close to where each detachment lay down, with their arms ready for instant use; as for a night attack each man must be in his place, and know his front to avoid confusion. The fires began to burn, and the food and water were served up. The carriers started cooking their rice, and making noise enough for a hundred times the same number of white men; when there was a little water to spare, as there was here for the last time till we reached Benin, some extra having been brought along in pails, a last wash was indulged in, for henceforward a few drops sprinkled from the day's allowance in our

water-bottles, was the only form of bath that we were destined to have.

With true hospitality Captain Gallwey shared his canteen, servant, and his all with me, as I had had no chance of providing myself with these luxuries. Indeed, the hospitality of all the Protectorate officers to us poor naval officers, stranded in a hurry away from our proper messes at the front, extended to sharing even their last half-bottle of whisky.

Ants abounded, and of that peculiar black sort which bury their nippers into you, and leave their heads still embedded in the flesh after you have pulled their bodies away. Up to the present, they had not been enraged as they were on our journey down, and so, with no mosquitoes, the night passed in peaceful oblivion.

Next day, the 15th, we had a good lie in, as we were not to start till 10 a.m., our orders being to turn the camp over to Captain Campbell and the remainder of the 1st Division, while we pushed on to a village called Agagi, about four miles farther on, where we expected to find well water for the carriers.

Well water in this country is of a brown-red colour, and should be boiled before being drunk by white people, but the blacks drink it with impunity. Water in Africa varies much in colour, on the East Coast some called white water has a milky tint, and red water is often found in the same neighbourhood. Natives having to drink both sorts while travelling eat onions as a corrective. For this reason a large stock of onions was taken with the expedition.

It was noon, and hot, before we were fairly started off, and almost immediately heard signal-guns ahead, so we advanced as usual, firing volleys. At 1.25 we were suddenly attacked fiercely ahead and on both flanks, but having an ambush path we were able to keep up a good flank fire. As we advanced the fire extended the whole length of the column, this being one of the very rare occasions when a few of the enemy were left behind the advance. The "Cease Fire" bugle, however, stopped the firing, and as it was not recommenced in the rear, it showed the enemy had moved on from that quarter. Attack after attack was made by the enemy on the head of the column during the afternoon, but the volleys kept them at a respect-

able distance; at three o'clock, however, it was thought advisable to try a rocket on them, and two were fired; one went very well, but had to be fired rather too much to the right on account of the trees; the other hit a tree, went off at right angles and burned itself out in the bush. Soon after this, opposition ceased, and arriving at a point where two roads led to the village, Captain Gallwey was sent with one company to the right; the remainder kept on, and we all arrived at Agagi at 4 p.m., where, much to our delight, we found about eight cocoanut-trees. The cocoanuts were very soon down and divided out.

Agagi was certainly the prettiest village of the lot, and, judging from the cocoanut-trees, must have been an old town of some importance. There were three large wells—but no water—completely dried up. The bottom seemed soft, and digging was tried, but the deceptive layer of mud proved to be only sediment, below which was the hard rock.

Entering Agagi from the Benin Road, you turned into a grass avenue flanked by bush, with a Juju gate at each end, and then came to a model village,

clean and well kept, facing a farm clearing. What a treat it was to the eye once more to look at distance, even if that distance was only a hundred yards, and to enjoy the open, unfettered feeling of space after the cramped bush paths of the march. The houses were too hot and stuffy to live in, so shelters were erected. A hospital soon appeared made of hammock awnings and leaves, quite a model of impromptu house construction at which the P.M.O., Dr. Allman, and his assistant, Dr. Routh, were adepts. The casualties of the day were, one Houssa killed, one scout and one carrier wounded. Poor fellows, like all the wounded they were very plucky, and never even groaned, though the agony of swallowing to the poor carrier, who was shot through the gullet, must have been very great. No military ceremony takes place at the funeral of a Houssa, the body is merely turned over to his nearest relative, who invites some particular friends to help him, and they bury him according to their own rites—generally in a house, which is then burned to hide the grave, a very necessary precaution when dealing with depravity formed in the fashion of human beings and called Beni.

The water question was a most serious one. Wells there were, but no water, and so we were face to face with the fact that we had not sufficient carriers in the expedition to carry water for both Divisions, *and for themselves*, to Benin. We had with care water for one day more, allowing the carriers a little, and that was all. There were only two courses open to us, either to delay the whole expedition at least a fortnight, by forming water-depôts at Cross Roads and Agagi sufficient to supply both Divisions, or to turn the majority of the 2nd Division carriers into water-carriers for the 1st Division, and advance rapidly and take Benin with one Division only. The latter seemed the most feasible course. While the matter was the subject of discussion, three carriers were brought near the Colonel's tent in a state of absolute collapse. The doctors examined them carefully, pressed their eyeballs, felt their pulse, and said, "Yes, they are in a state of collapse, probably from want of water, but if we give them water, fifty more will be carried in in the same condition." The natives are cunning. Well, they were taken away as they came, and no more appeared, but a pint of water was issued to

each carrier for the evening, and a quart to each white man and Houssa. It is a common mistake to imagine that black men require less water than white men, if anything they require more, especially as they need a lot to cook rice, which is their main form of food. The Houssas complained far more than the white men at the water limit. The least ration advisable is two quarts to each Houssa and white man, and one quart to each carrier per diem. A small calculation will show that to carry water for seven hundred soldiers and eight hundred carriers for three days meant four hundred and forty carriers for this purpose only.

Three days' water was the least we could start with for Benin. The Commander-in-Chief was immediately informed of the absence of water at Agagi. The message arrived at 1.30 a.m. The Chief of the Staff under the Admiral's direction set to work at once; orders were issued, and at 4.30 the revised column was ready to start from Cross Roads.

Every man not absolutely necessary, or in the fighting line, was left behind, and all extra baggage. No officer was allowed more than one carrier,—

practically the whole of the extra food, wine, and spirits, belonging to the headquarter and other messes, was left behind, and officers and men, from the Admiral downwards, limited to two quarts of water per diem, to include cooking. Five days' rations and three days' water were taken. The carriers were given a good drink, and our thirsty carriers recalled from Agagi to Cross Roads. It was a stringent cut down, but a necessary one, and an excellent example of the efficiency of the organisation of each department to enable it to be done, and the men ready to start in three hours. It was on these occasions that the talents of Captain Egerton, the Chief of the Staff, were so prominently exhibited.

Every department came well to the front in estimating the reduction of their carriers, and while reducing to the lowest limit, still, as events proved, had not cut matters too fine.

The 2nd Division was given the task of erecting water-tanks at Cross Roads, and of guarding the line of communication and collecting stores at Agagi, and, if time permitted, at Awoko.

Water-tanks are not the easiest things to

improvise, but seamen's bags, which were used to carry their kit, made of painted canvas, answered very fairly well, and the painted lean-to shelters for the men, now discarded with the reduction of baggage, sunk in the earth, made excellent tanks.

Of course all the water had to come from Ologbo beach and be boiled, so there was plenty to occupy the time of those left behind. In the absence of Captain Foote, who had not yet returned from charge of the ships at Forcados, the Cross Road camp was left in charge of Lieutenant Unwin, who had a party of marines as a guard. Henceforth Cross Road camp became the main advanced store of water and provisions, and supplied us with our first bath and bottle of soda on the way back, so that the memory of that picturesque place, with its huge cotton-trees, will be one of refreshment and gratitude.

CHAPTER VI

ADVANCE ON AND CAPTURE OF BENIN

THE evening of February 15th passed quietly at Agagi, though, from the nature of the camp and the nearness of the enemy, an attack might have been expected. At half-past eight next morning a shot was fired right into the middle of the camp from the bush close to, by some enterprising native, who, however, luckily did no damage. We had received orders, as explained in the last chapter, to send back all our carriers to Cross Roads with a guard; so, to cover their start, a company under Captain Cockburn was sent to engage the enemy in the opposite direction if near the camp, and to look for water on the lower ground.

This party encountered the enemy, and having kept them employed for a short time, returned to camp. Another company and a Maxim were after-

wards sent out to turn the enemy out of the bush, where they had been previously encountered; this they succeeded in doing to a great extent, but it is far easier to drive the enemy before you in the bush, since they keep to the head of the column, than to take a thickish piece of bush and try to dislodge the natives from it, as it is too thick to comfortably work through with accoutrements, using the rifle at the same time; whereas the oily native can lie down, fire, and retreat like an eel to reload. One scout was killed and one Houssa wounded in forcing into the bush. Here Mr. Turner of the scouts had a narrow escape, being shot through the brim of his hat and thrown on to the ground by the concussion. At 11.30 the party returned, and about 3.30 the Admiral arrived with Captain Campbell and the remainder of the 1st Division. We were all very glad to see the Commander-in-Chief so well, as we had feared the hot sun and marches (for hammocks were almost an impossibility on the narrow paths) might have proved too trying for him.

We had now with us all the men who were going to form the column for the push to Benin.

The advanced guard remained as before under Colonel Hamilton, and was composed of the Houssas, Houssa Maxim and guns, H Company of *St. George's* bluejackets, rocket-tube, and marine battalion. The rear-guard comprised the main body of carriers, the *Theseus* A Company bluejackets and *Theseus* marines, under Captain Campbell. The scouts were disbanded for the time and turned into carriers.

At 6.30 next morning a start was made for Awoko, the enemy not showing quite so much fight. We had rather expected that the Gwato army might have been recalled to contest the last two stages with us, but the numbers were not great, and probably the majority had retreated towards Benin. We halted for an hour and a half during the hottest time of the day, and drank sparingly of our water-bottles. The only casualty was one carrier wounded. At 3 p.m. we arrived at Awoko, and made the camp.

Awoko was a small village of no great pretensions, with only two cocoanut-trees. The largest house was turned into a hospital, the remainder were not worth living in. Water was now

treated like gold. Lieutenant Stuart Nicholson took charge of it, measured and issued it—no small work considering the number of the men. After about an hour in camp, a shot in the bush announced the vigilance of the enemy, and one poor carrier came staggering, badly injured, out of the bush where he had been collecting wood (he died the same night). The same shot hit the sentry of the water-tins just below the eye, but luckily the distance off of the gun prevented his being seriously hurt.

With so watchful an enemy, and being so near Benin, extra precautions had to be taken, and the bush all round the camp cleared to a much greater extent than had originally been intended.

We had now burned our boats with a vengeance, or rather the Admiral had done so. We had two days' water, and Benin before us with unknown opposition. The direction of water at Benin was known, and the guides could find it, but it was not likely it would be undefended even though the town was taken. If we missed Benin and did not find it next day (awful thought!), or if any delay occurred, we should have to halve the allowance,

or if the water-carriers got a panic we should have a dry time. But the upshot of the whole business was, that Benin *had* to fall next day whatever happened. Nothing, it is said, in this world can be gained without risk, and this risk had to be run, or the whole expedition fatally delayed, but the value of those rows of kerosene tins, as they stood so unpretentiously in the twilight, was hard to assess except by the word "everything." Of course, people can *exist* on very little water, especially with training, but for men to fight, march, and work, not hard but at times their hardest, they want water. At the time they are all right, and excitement compensates for most things, but when the thirst returns with the reaction, it is easy to see that the game cannot last. A *retreat* without water must be a truly terrible thing.

At 9 p.m. we had our little Juju entertainment in the shape of four signal rockets, just to give our friends in the bush something to think about. He who saw the blue, red, and green stars dropping from the heavens at the will of the white man, had plenty of food for reflection, and if he

were wise would have said for the night, "This is no place for me." At all events we were not further troubled that night, but fell asleep thinking of what marvels that wondrous city we had come so many thousand miles to see would disclose to us on the morrow.

Up at 4.30, and issued cocoa to all hands, as usual each man taking an allowance of biscuit in his haversack. Started at 6 a.m., and the advance-guard was fired on at once. At the same time, as the rear-guard was leaving the camp, one of the enemy incautiously showed himself, and was immediately fired on and killed by the rear-guard. The attack on the advance-guard continued on and off till 10.30 o'clock, when a determined stand was made by the enemy, and Ansell, chief torpedo instructor, was shot; his demolition party had been attached to me as messengers and also to blow up any obstruction, and it was while walking along, waiting to carry a message, that he was shot by a man not fifteen yards inside the bush. He was well known to us all, and his death was much lamented. The rear-guard buried him close to the path, writing his name on a tree

near his head, and covering the place with dead leaves.

It was a trying time for the Commander-in-Chief to be in the middle of the column in single file and hear firing ahead, perhaps volley after volley and the Maxims, and not be able to see what was going on. So a system of messengers was introduced by the Chief of the Staff, to carry notes from the head of the column to him, and it answered very well. Just three lines to say if many of the enemy were present, if Maxims were going to be used, clearing ahead being searched by Maxim, stockade in sight, or any small note of what was happening, served to keep him absolutely informed of what was going on in front. Three messengers were ample for the slow movement of the column. The collection of these notes at the end of the day, with times attached, gave a very good account of the day's work.

Shortly after eleven o'clock we came to a branch in the road, and as there was at first a slight contradiction between the two leading guides, the third, a deaf and dumb man, who was Captain Cockburn's servant, was called into requisition, and all agreed on the right-hand road.

This "dummy," as he was called, was quite a character. He had lost an ear for misbehaviour in Nana's service, but was a capital fellow for bush work, though a rank pirate. A feather in his cap, an old Dane over his shoulder, a devil-may-care air, extraordinary guttural noises and frantic gesticulations, made up the outward man, but he was blessed with a brain and an acuteness far above the ordinary black man.

Following this road for about two hundred yards, we came upon the first evidence that we were approaching Benin in the shape of a human sacrifice. Laid on the grass where two paths met was a young woman horribly mutilated, a rough wooden gag tied in her mouth was clenched tightly by her teeth, which, with the expression of her face, told of the agony of her murder. At her feet lay a goat with its knees broken. I asked the guide what it meant, and he said it was to prevent the white man coming farther; a queer idea! A few yards farther brought us to another; this time a man, with his arms tied behind him, lying on his face in the path, but for some reason not decapitated, which as a rule is the second form

of sacrifice. Truly, as I heard a sailor remark, "It is just about time someone did visit this place." These were our first signs of Benin, and they did not improve our temper towards the natives.

Farther on was a small clearing, and here they tried to stop us with an attack, their sacrifices having failed, and gave us a warm time. Our good guide, Owaghi, was shot below the knee, my interpreter through the neck, and two Houssas also were wounded. Forcing on, we next met a stockade erected between two high banks through which the path ran. In front was a causeway over a ravine about twenty feet deep; in the stockade could be seen a gun. Volleys from the bank seemed to clear the stockade, and the Maxim was set to work at it while the 7-pounder came up. A common shell was fired but did no damage, so the demolition party were called to blow it up. This was easy, as the Maxim and 7-pounder had caused all the Beni to quit. Sixteen and a quarter pounds of gun-cotton in a canvas hose placed at the base, blew it literally to smithereens. We were rather close, but it could not be helped, and beyond my

being knocked down by two chunks of wood bounding off the opposite bank, no one was touched.

The gun was of quaint old manufacture, dating, I should say, from the old Spanish days, and much the same as used in the Spanish Armada. The Beni showed their wisdom by not firing it, as it would probably have done them more damage than us! The scent was now getting hot; it was 1 p.m., and we knew we were near Benin. Three hundred yards brought us to a clearing, which proved to be the little village Igba, a mile from Benin. Here we halted and brought up the guns and rocket-tube to fire towards the city (whose rough direction only we knew), and served out a little water to the men, who wanted it badly.

We little knew the effect those rockets were going to have in Benin. It would hardly be credited that at a mile off, and fired only in a general direction, they should have pitched into the Juju compounds. A Beni woman afterwards described what happened.

"The compound was thronged with people, when suddenly from the blue appeared two

hissing thunderbolts into the very heart of their sacred precincts. Not a white man in sight! Yet here were two messages from the sky.

"'Truly the white men are gods!' they said, and ran panic-stricken from the place."

Four shells and three rockets from this village and on we pushed, this time with the *St. George's* seamen in front. The Houssas being rather short of ammunition, and in case of a dash being necessary, the white men were best at the front. A quarter of a mile more brought us to a warm corner, which proved to be the junction of the bush path with a broad avenue leading to the city. Something in the nature of a big gun was fired somewhere, but the stuff it was loaded with went only about our boots. A few seconds brought us to the open, and how broad it seemed! Hardly more than fifty yards from bush to bush, yet after the bush path it seemed open country.

On emerging,—Benin lay out of sight to the left,—just a few houses of Ochudi's compound were visible; opposite was bush, from which puffs of smoke showed the presence of our old friends. The avenue led on to the right, and was clear of

natives. The bush on the left still had Beni in it, who were keeping up a desultory fire. About forty or fifty Beni were extended about two hundred yards off, across the avenue in the open between us and Benin, and firing as they came on. The marines extended towards the bush opposite and fired volleys to clear it. The *St. George's* seamen took the bush on the left flank and the left-hand side of the avenue. The Houssas the right side of the path and the right flanking bush. The Maxim played on the men ahead, but as it had unfortunately lost its fore sight in the bush, the range was difficult to get, and more of the enemy got away than otherwise would have done so.

Advancing up the path we had a good many losses. Poor Captain Byrne was hit, and another marine close to him. Two others were knocked over almost on the top of each other, and several more were wounded. A guard of marines was left with the doctors and the wounded, while the main column pushed on.

Shortly after a man was seen running down waving a cloth. Firing was ceased, and in ran a Jakri boy with three cuts in his head, and his

ear cut in half, saying that the Beni were murdering all their Jakri slaves, and he had barely escaped. There was nothing we could do except push on. Ahead was a large building with some guns mounted in front, behind which two or three men were running about evidently trying to induce them to go off. At last one did, sending an odd collection of bullets and old metal about us, Mr. Johnson of the *Phœbe*, who had managed the rocket-tube so ably all the march, being hit rather badly in the foot.

One cheer and a rush, and we were up to the building, which was unoccupied, as were the compounds behind it. The enemy had all gone, and luckily for us they had, for a further acquaintance with what proved to be the King's compound showed that had they held it they might have given us a bad time. But the rockets had done their work, and having posted sentries, we were able to rest and wait for the rear-guard. A trying day the rear-guard under Captain Campbell had had, urging on the carriers, occasionally halting and then going almost at the double as the column proceeded with its concertina-like motion.

As the rear-guard debouched, the *Theseus* marines defended the rear of the carriers, and the A Company of *Theseus* bluejackets the right and left flanks, and waited for some time while Dr. Allman attended some wounded carriers. Then the column advanced, occasional shots being fired at their rear, and arrived at the place where the wounded of the advanced column had been left, and found, to everyone's great regret, that Dr. Fyffe had just been killed while tending the wounded at that spot. Volleys were fired to clear the bush, and they proceeded to the King's compound, followed later by the wounded and their escort.

The casualties for the day were: one officer killed, two wounded; three men killed, twenty-four wounded.

CHAPTER VII

BENIN

BENIN is an irregular straggling town formed by groups of houses separated from each other by patches of bush. It is perhaps a mile and a half long from east to west, and a mile from north to south.

Entering from the direction of Ologbo through a grass avenue flanked with bush, a few houses are seen on the left; these run well back into the bush, and form quite a large village of themselves; they belonged to a general called Ochudi, and the village was known as Ochudi's compound.

Houses then straggle on on the left side, till high red-clay walls are encountered, with a galvanised iron roof sloping outwards from the northern wall. This is the main entrance to the King's compound. In this compound or village are the Juju compounds, Palava House, King's

House, and many houses for the King's immediate followers and the Juju priests. It was in these Juju compounds that the main sacrifices were carried out. To describe one of these Juju places will be to describe all of them, as they only differed in position and size.

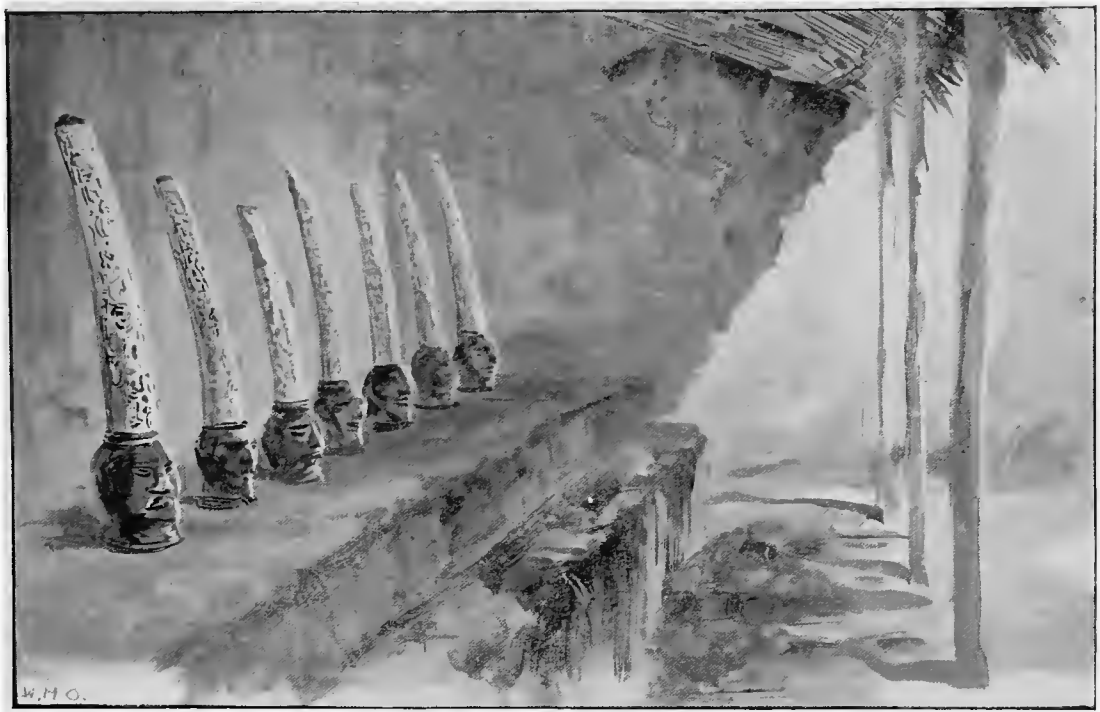
These spaces were about a hundred and fifty yards long, and about sixty broad, surrounded by a high wall, and covered with a short brown grass. At one end was a long shed running the whole breadth of the enclosure, and under this was the altar. The altar was made by three steps running the whole length under the shelter of the shed; slightly raised for some distance in the centre, on which raised portion were handsomely-carved ivory tusks placed on the top of very antique bronze heads. Near these tusks were carved clubs, undoubtedly for use upon the victims of the sacrifice. The altar was deluged in blood, the smell of which was too overpowering for many of us. This same awful smell seemed to pervade the whole compound, as if the grass had been watered with blood.

In the centre of several of these Juju places was an iron erection like a huge candelabra with sharp

hooks. Its purpose was not known, but it is probable that it was some instrument of torture, or for hanging portions of the victims on. In most of the Juju compounds was a well for the reception of the bodies.

The one lasting remembrance of Benin in my mind is its smells. Crucifixions, human sacrifices, and every horror the eye could get accustomed to, to a large extent, but the smells no white man's internal economy could stand. Four times in one day I was practically sick from them, and many more times on the point of being so. Every person who was able, I should say, indulged in a human sacrifice, and those who could not, sacrificed some animal and left the remains in front of his house. After a day or so the whole town seemed one huge pest-house.

And these pits! who could describe them; out of one a Jakri boy was pulled with drag-ropes from under several corpses; he said he had been in five days. But it is incredible that he could have lived that time in such a place; one day, or two at the outside, must have killed even a black man.



JU-JU HOUSE AT BENIN.

Blood was everywhere; smeared over bronzes, ivory, and even the walls, and spoke the history of that awful city in a clearer way than writing ever could. And this had been going on for centuries! Not the lust of one king, not the climax of a bloody reign, but the religion (save the word!) of the race. The Juju held sway for a hundred miles all round, and that in the older and more flourishing times of the city must have been practised with, if possible, greater intensity than at the present day.

Human sacrifice undoubtedly differs in criminal degree, as do the various grades of every other barbaric custom.

It should be remembered that no one blames Abraham for his attempted sacrifice of Isaac, doing it with sorrow from absolutely conscientious motives, and cases where the blame to the individual must be comparatively small still remain. For instance, a not uncommon form in some parts is for a chief at times to kill a slave to take a message to his father, or some reverenced person, in the land of shades. On these occasions a slave is sent for and given the message, and told when he gets to

the next world to give it to the chief's father. The slave repeats the message, absolutely believes that when he dies he will find the old chief, give him the message, and then enter his service in the far-off world. He is then killed quite willingly and peaceably, for the confidence of the black slave in his chief is unbounded. Again, the killing of wives and slaves to accompany the dead man to the next world is not without its redeeming side. But the atrocities of Benin, originating in blood lust and desire to terrorise the neighbouring states, the brutal love of mutilation and torture, and the wholesale manner in which the caprices of the King and Juju were satisfied, could only have been the result of centuries of stagnant brutality.

Behind these three main Juju compounds, lay the Palava House and the King's House, side by side. The former a large oblong building, with a roof running over the side and end walls, leaving the centre open. The roof was of galvanised iron, and down the south portion of it ran a huge bronze serpent with a most forbidding looking head. Red mud seats ran round the walls, for the use of the

chiefs taking part in the palava. The doors were covered with stamped brass, as were also portions of the woodwork of the roof. This place was turned into the hospital, and any article of value found in the town was stored here. The King's House was almost identical, but smaller, and had rooms leading off it. The archway over the King's sleeping-place was decorated roughly with stamped brass and squares of looking-glass.

The remainder of the compound consisted of storeroom, medicine house, and houses for the King's followers, as well as some other Juju compounds. After which it straggled away into ruined and uninhabited houses, used probably as burial-places for the men of note.

The storehouses contained chiefly cheap rubbish, such as glass walking sticks, old uniforms, absurd umbrellas, and the usual cheap finery that traders use to tickle the fancy of the natives. But buried in the dirt of ages, in one house, were several hundred unique bronze plaques, suggestive of almost Egyptian design, but of really superb casting. Castings of wonderful delicacy of detail, and some

magnificently carved tusks were collected, but in the majority of cases the ivory was dead from age, very few of modern date were to be seen, and those mostly uncarved. Silver there was none, and gold there was none, and the coral was of little value. In fact, the only things of value were the tusks and bronze work. In one well forty-one tusks were discovered. Of other ivory work, some bracelets suggestive of Chinese work and two magnificent leopards were the chief articles of note; bronze groups of idols, and two large and beautifully-worked stools were also found, and must have been of very old manufacture.

Leaving the compound and facing north there was immediately in front a clear space, forming, so to speak, the delta of the road leading to the water at Ikpoba. On the right was a crucifixion tree with a double crucifixion on it, the two poor wretches stretched out facing the west, with their arms bound together in the middle. The construction of this tree was peculiar, being absolutely built for the purpose of crucifixion. At the base were skulls and bones, literally strewn about; the

THE CRUCIFIXION TREE.

débris of former sacrifices. The other crucifixion tree was used for single crucifixion only, and here a woman was crucified, and again the green shrubs at the base of the tree were full of bones and skulls.

Down the avenue to the right was a tree with nineteen skulls, the result of more or less recent murders, and down every main road were two or more human sacrifices.

A huge piece of land ran away to the left, which seems to have been the common burial-place of the town, that is, if merely laying down a dead body, or at the most wrapping it in a piece of matting, can be called burial. Hundreds of human remains must have been here in every stage of decomposition, from the newly dead to the mouldering skull. It was a ghastly walk, guarded at the far end by a headless sacrifice of a huge man. It is useless to continue describing the horrors of the place, everywhere death, barbarity, and blood, and smells that it hardly seemed right for human beings to smell and yet live.

And yet the town was not without its beauty of a sort. Plenty of trees and green all round, the

houses built in no set fashion, but each compound surrounded by its own bushes and shady avenues. It seemed a place suggestive of peace and plenty; let us now hope it may one day become so.

A description of Benin would not be complete without mention of the water path where the whole water supply of the town is obtained. Starting from the King's compound, you pass the large crucifixion tree on the right, and walk for three-quarters of a mile down a broad avenue with bush each side and occasional houses belonging to the poorer classes, who live on the north side of the main road. The avenue suddenly ends, and in front lies a narrow ditch appearing to go almost straight down into the ground; down this you pass, the sides rising almost perpendicularly overhead to a height of some twenty feet, with the bottom so narrow that it would barely take the sole of a boot. This mere track in the rock must have been worn by countless feet treading the same line exactly for centuries past.

On the banks was dense bush, the foliage of the trees nearly meeting overhead—an ideal place

for an ambush, and one impossible to escape from, especially in case of a panic. After about half a mile the path broadened, and then a second dip came, similar to the first, the narrow part continuing for a quarter of a mile and then broadening out into a shady avenue, till the small village of Ikpoba was passed on the right, and the water seen ahead. The stream of Ikpoba was one about which we had been more bothered to get information than any other—according to some accounts it was twenty yards broad, by others quite narrow. No one knew whence it came or whither it went. If it were navigable, it meant a short and easy road to the city, and a comfortable way by which to send the sick and wounded back. But no native had the slightest idea whether it was the source of the Ologbo Creek itself or a tributary of it, or whether it turned and ran in a contrary direction. A very short examination up there showed it to be unnavigable, and that the wounded would have to be jolted back twenty-one miles in hammocks, poor fellows! The stream was only three or four yards wide, full of snags, and a strong current against which a canoe could not ascend, and which in

descending would have swept one without control on to the snags. Just at Ikpoba it broadened out into a pool some twenty yards wide, quite shallow, but in the centre about six feet deep, with a nice sandy bottom, an ideal place for a bathe. There were the remains of a bridge which once had been a fine piece of native work, but had fallen into irretrievable disrepair. The water was excellent, in fact it is said that the Ikpoba water, carried down from the old city in demijohns, used to be sold in New Benin, sixty miles away, as a luxury. To us it certainly was one—and that bath in the cool running water, the first for many days, was a thing not lightly forgotten.

There is not much more in Benin to describe. Ojumo's compound at the extreme west end was merely a small village, placed just where the Gwato Road led into the main avenue. It was a queer remnant of the old military days of Benin, having the two great generals, Ojumo and Ochudi, each guarding one end of the town where the main roads from Gwato, Ologbo, and Sapobar led in; and grazing all about the place were bullocks and goats.

The former was an excellent class of beast, black and white, smaller than our English cattle, but compact, deep-set shorthorns, and quite a treat to see, after the scraggy beast usually met with abroad. They yielded excellent meat; we tried to drive them into some of the compounds, but they refused, charging the line of drivers without any fear.

Beyond one blacksmith's shop there was little sign of any native industry or evidence of much trade with the interior, in fact, it is known that the King was ruining the country by placing a Juju on nearly every article of merchandise. But now we may hope for a revival in trade, and the wealth and produce of the Hinterland is sure to flow through the city to the river as soon as peace and security are established.

The surrounding country appears to have been raided by the Beni, with some success, in their hunts for victims and slaves. Two Accra boys were found with their hands shackled to a log. These had been captured while gathering rubber in the Mahun country. Mr. Gordon's boy was found alive, also two other Jakri men, one of

whom was had out for sacrifice, only the boss Juju man said his head was a bad shape, and would bring bad luck to the city; so he got off on that occasion, deeply grateful for the fact that phrenology was studied at Benin.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE AT BENIN

WE left the expedition just arrived at Benin, and digressed in the last chapter into a description of the town. The Admiral decided to remain for that night camped where we were, and leave to the morning any further operations that might prove necessary to completely reduce the town—first of all obtaining a good supply of water. We knew the direction and distance of the water, but expected to find it obstinately defended.

That evening a Beni came in and asked for Captain Gallwey. He was supposed to be a messenger from the King, although from his costume and hairdressing evidently not a King's messenger. However, it turned out he was merely a private Beni gentleman who had heard the English had arrived, and turned in to have a conversation with us, asking for Captain Gallwey,

whose name he knew from the former expedition. Mr. Moor interviewed him, with the Admiral, and he was cross-examined as to the movements of the King. After a question or two it was evident that he was indifferent whether he spoke the truth or not, so he was called on to "Chop Juju."

Now "chopping Juju" is equivalent to taking an oath of friendship, and is about the most serious performance that a native of these parts indulges in. There are many ways of doing it, but it mainly consists in eating portions of the same fruit or vegetable, and repeating a declaration that he would speak "true mouth" with the white man, be white man's brother, and always be honest with him, etc. This particular ceremony was performed with a kola nut placed on a brass tray with water poured on it, the native then touched himself with the water and nut and ate part of it, the other part being eaten by Mr. Turner, who eventually was going to take over the duties of English Commissioner in the town. Having "chopped Juju," I believe he spoke the truth, but he was the most evil-looking individual that could well be imagined. Dark copper colour, almond eyes, flat nose, and a

mouth that turned up at the corners, gave him a diabolical expression, while his shifty glances seemed scanning everything but the person to whom he was talking.

This gentleman had it explained to him that, until he had proved his "true mouth" by showing us the water on the next day, he would be kept a prisoner and tied to a Houssa sergeant, which accordingly was done.

That evening the Headquarter Staff and the Consul-General moved into the main compound for the night, and were forced to sleep on the path to avoid the smell of blood on the grass.

Early next day a strong party was sent under Captain Campbell to bring in water; Colonel Hamilton taking charge of the advanced guard, our captured Beni being guarded by a sergeant, with orders to shoot him if he ran or led us into an ambuscade. On arriving at the place where the path narrowed and became a gully, a half company was left to guard the entrance, and we proceeded in single file down the narrow way. A more perfect place for an ambuscade could not be imagined, a very small force above might have

caused a panic and done infinite damage. As a security, sentries were sent up every hundred yards to line the top of the bank, and we soon discovered a path on the top of the left bank, along which half a company were sent, but the enemy were nowhere near, and lost the grandest chance of dealing us a severe blow that they ever had. A few Beni were in the village; with these we tried to make friends, but they ran for the bush.

The general joy at the river was great. Carriers, Jakri boys, all revelling in the cool water. As, however, it was the first day of getting water, and nearly eight hundred tins had to be filled, little time was available for the men to wash, much to their disappointment, but on subsequent days they had a better opportunity. We returned about 10.30, and water was once more liberally served out for cooking, drinking, and washing.

In the afternoon a strong party, accompanied by the Admiral, went to burn Ojumo's compound, a village just at the commencement of the Gwato Road. This was soon done, and with considerable zest after the horrors passed on the road. Here again we found Juju houses smeared with blood.

Blood again, blood everywhere. After returning we blew up the main crucifixion tree. The first gun-cotton hose nearly cut the tree in half, the second completed its downfall. The other tree was blown up the next day.

That evening the berthing of the troops was altered, the Palava House turned into a hospital, the Headquarter Staff taking the King's House. A commissariat store for the provisions was arranged, as also a water store with two days' supply of water.

Early that morning poor Fyffe had been buried. A more universally popular man did not exist in the expedition, and his death was felt by everyone. When the alteration in plans took place at Agagi, the Admiral sent for him and Lieutenant Gregory to join the force, which they did, travelling all night and arriving early in the morning, and he had only practically just joined us before we advanced to Benin. The whole of the medical details for the ships' landing had been arranged by him for the Admiral, who felt the loss of so popular and able an officer acutely.

Early next morning I was sent with a strong

party of Houssas, and the *Theseus* sailors and marines, to burn Ochudi's compound, the village belonging to the general who guarded the Ologbo and Sapobar Road. This was easily done, resulting in the capture of one Parrot. This compound consisted of about a hundred houses, whose roofs made a good blaze. Behind the buildings there was a huge garden, which we never had time to explore, but it must have been quite a hundred acres, surrounded by a high red wall. It is not unlikely that it was the walking place of the King, and formed part of his compound, which the Juju prevents him ever leaving.

That afternoon began the demolition of houses near the King's House, so as to make that portion of the town defensible by the Houssas after we had left. The destruction of those mud houses was a matter of some difficulty, gunpowder could not be used except in small quantities, when the difficulty of tamping rendered the charge useless; the danger of firing the thatch from large charges was a risk not to be run. It was wearisome work, the red dust from the hard mud irritating the nose and throat to an amazing extent.

The same afternoon a large party under Captain Campbell proceeded to the Queen Mother's House and destroyed it, so burning one more of the head-centres of vice in the city. The water party in the morning brought back an old Beni woman who had been captured on her way to the water by Lieutenant Fyler. Her information was not much, she described the rockets entering the King's compound and the panic of the people. So after being told that any Beni who wished to settle down quietly and peaceably in the town could do so, she returned to her own home. As a catcher of flies she was unrivalled, never missing one even in the middle of a long conversation. Our male friend, however, left us. After the water had been found he was released from custody, but apparently he did not agree with the interpreters on the subject of cooking his yams. He preferred them mashed, but the interpreter roasted them for him, so he walked away to his own home, where he could be fed according to his epicurean tastes. We were sorry he departed, because he might have been of further use, but undoubtedly in time he will return once more.

Sunday, 21*st*. The usual demolitions were proceeded with, and a good deal of work done. It was our last day in Benin, and none of us were sorry, except for the Protectorate officers who were to remain with the Houssas to settle the country. The early part of the day was quite uneventful, and we were preparing for a grand parade at four o'clock, when the colours were to be hoisted and three cheers given for the Queen, when an alarm of fire was raised, and sure enough smoke, evidently from the thatch of a roof, could be seen about three hundred yards off. The Admiral took in the position at a glance; there was nothing to be done but save all we could, prevent panic, and let the fire burn itself out. Captain Campbell undertook looking after the saving of the sick from the Palava House, which was luckily roofed with zinc and not thatch, and therefore gave more chance to the rescuers. Mr. Moorshead, the commissariat officer, saved as many of his provision boxes as possible, and we had our twenty-five kegs of powder to be carted away before the fire could get close to them; with the assistance of Lieutenant

Pears and our sailors, these were taken well clear of the compound.

Wildfire is the only name for describing the flames. The first uprush of heated air caused a miniature whirlwind which fanned the flame and carried blazing brands to roof after roof. The air was filled with a thin black smoke which gusts of wind swept in every direction, curling and wreathing it in fantastic shapes. Soon everything seemed in a blaze, brands swept by the wind missed whole compounds and lighted some roof two hundred yards away. The heat was great, due to the volume of the flame caused by the dryness of the thatch, and the smoke, full of finely-divided ash, irritated the eyes and throat. The gusts of this impromptu cyclone swept through the carrier and Houssa compounds, fanning the smouldering camp-fires into a blaze, and setting fire to the clothing and food that the carriers had left behind them in their flight, till, looking through the sweeping haze of smoke, it seemed as if the ground itself had caught fire and was burning. There was a dim grandeur about it all, and also there seemed to be a fate. Here was this head-

centre of iniquity, spared by us from its suitable end of burning for the sake of holding the new seat of justice where barbarism had held sway, given into our hands with the brand of blood soaked into every corner and relic; fire only could purge it, and here on our last day we were to see its legitimate fate overtake it, and see this, the centre of bloodshed, burn before our eyes in retribution for the millions of lives that had been wilfully sacrificed.

The smoke from the smouldering roofs gradually cleared, and the whole place seemed fresher and more healthy for its purging. We had now to assess our losses. A large quantity of provisions and water, and nearly all our personal effects were among the most important. Personally, I lost everything except what I stood in and my blanket, which consisted of four holes joined together by very little material.

Things were a bit bad for a short time. The march to start on the morrow, short of provisions, no clothing, some of the men having nothing but a flannel and boots, socks, and trousers left to them; waterproof sheets, and everything else destroyed,

and four nights in the bush before us—not a candle available to light up, when the darkness came on, except by opening our precious provision boxes.

The first thing was to send out a water party, as only an hour remained before dark. This was organised and sent as soon as possible. They had only been gone a short time when in marched Lieutenant Harrold and a train of carriers with provisions, under escort of a party of men from the *Forte*. It seemed as if plenty had suddenly dropped from the sky to replace our losses. It appears that these provisions had been sent to Agagi for us on the way down, but, being short of water, Harrold had pushed on to Benin, and welcome indeed he was. Nor was this the end of good fortune to some of us, for with him came Mr. Seppings Wright, the special artist of the *Illustrated London News*, with three months' provisions for himself. As, however, the campaign was practically over, he insisted on feeding us with his stock. Now Englishmen are not generally greedy, that is when there is plenty, but after the short commons we had been on, to see and

handle a bottle of pickles, to dive down for that chili hidden behind the label, to see jam—strawberry jam—once more, to find there was whisky, yes, and claret, and all such trivialities of every-day life at home—to find them suddenly showered in that land of want was, I must confess, very exciting. The zest with which we dined that night was not greed, nor was it hunger, it was something between the two, and, believe me, something very pleasant, and it left a feeling that there was nothing we would not do in years to come for the donor of all this bounty. I now thoroughly know and appreciate the feelings of a child at a school-feast, and in future shall look on these jam scrambles through perfectly different eyes and with more sympathetic feelings. Nor did the good deeds of this marvellous man of many things end here. A chair for one to sleep in, a cork mattress for another, a blanket for a third, till you went to sleep dreaming of him as a mixture between a first-class conjurer and a modern Santa Claus.

The rafters were still glowing, and we were all prepared for the roof falling in,

but everything seemed all right—we had dined well.

Monday, 22nd. In the early morning we had our last breakfast at Benin. Mr. Wright was taken round, shown all the principal places of interest, which he sketched, and at 8.30 the long line of sailors, marines, and carriers was formed, and marched off cheering the Houssa officers and men, who returned it heartily. Glad we were to leave Benin, but sorry enough to say good-bye to the friends we had so recently made, and whose friendship the expedition had so speedily cemented; —good luck go with them, and may England always have such men to hold her rights for her in any part of the world where sudden trouble may arise! Their work for the next few months will not exactly be a bed of roses up in Benin, holding the place till the Beni come in and settle down. Treacherous though they are, it is unlikely they will try and recapture the place after the lessons received from the Maxims and breech-loaders of our troops. Their Juju is broken, their fetich places burned; the King's House is the Palace of the White Chief, and their own Palava House

the assembly place where they will be dictated to as to terms of surrender and their future behaviour. The crucifixion trees have disappeared, and they cannot fail to see that peace and the good rule of the white man mean happiness, contentment, and security. Of course, as long as the Juju priests remain at large they will form centres of discontent, and the unemployed soldiery may turn into brigands; but these are small matters compared to the general resumption of trade through the country, and the main population settling down under English rule. In time, no doubt, as things develop, the same system of native council as is in vogue with the Jakris will be instituted, and a national council formed under the English Resident to settle their domestic affairs, but such a change cannot be made in a day. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that no man could be chosen more capable of dealing with men and matters, more implicitly believed in by his subordinates, and more likely to inspire confidence in the natives than the present Consul-General, Mr. R. Moor; and he is lucky in having so able an assistant and

so excellent a linguist as Mr. Turner, the future Resident.

Good-bye, Benin, your character must indeed be bad if the longing of seven hundred men to see you is in three days changed to a fervent desire never to look upon your red walls again.

CHAPTER IX

SAPOBAR AND GWATO

SO far, the operations at Gwato and Sapobar have been merely referred to, but no details mentioned. This was not from any idea that the work at these two places was not equal in every way to anything done by the main column, but merely for the sake of clearness of narrative. But having now done with the active life of the main column, we are better able to record the operations at these two places.

The reason for occupying these places was threefold. First, to keep the armies and villages at the two extremities of the kingdom well employed in local defence and attack, and therefore preventing what would otherwise have been unemployed natives from swelling the Benin army. Secondly, to prevent as much as possible the escape of important fugitives by these two

main roads; and thirdly, to harass and destroy towns and villages while the main operations lasted, and so increase the punishment inflicted on the nation.

To carry out these attacks, the *Philomel*, *Barrosa*, and *Widgeon*, with six canoes half-manned with Jakris, were detailed off for Gwato Creek; and the *Phœbe*, *Alecto*, and *Magpie* for similar duties up the Jamieson River at Sapobar.

The 9th of February was the day fixed for commencing operations, that being the day that the main column left the ships, and three days before the taking of Ologbo. So that there was time for news of attack at Sapobar and Gwato to reach Benin, and for the withdrawal of a portion of the Ologbo army before the advance of the column up country. For the Beni at Ologbo had no means of ascertaining the numbers or movements of our men at Ceri, being, as we were, the other side of the water, and in what was practically friendly country. In fact, up to the day before the taking of Ologbo, women were seen bathing at the beach, which showed that they anticipated no immediate attack.

The orders for the Gwato column were to destroy all towns on the Benin side up to Gwato. At first this duty was extended as far as Eketti and Icaro, two towns well up the Icaro Creek, but subsequently the distance from Icaro to Benin was considered too close for so small a number of men to be independently employed, necessarily a long way from their base. The range of their work was, therefore, limited to Gwato.

Although this wholesale destruction of buildings—the Beni side of the creek—entailed burning several Jakri trading settlements, still the Jakri chiefs decided there was no harm in that, as all the Jakris and Ijos had crossed to the western side of the creek; therefore there was no chance of loss of friendly life, and the value of the huts was inappreciable. The Beni towns were not easily got at; Gilli-Gilli and Gwato were fairly close to the shore, the others were inland, and so could not be well attacked, and therefore the efforts of this Division were directed mainly against Gilli-Gilli and Gwato—the two chief towns on the riverside; Gwato being, of course, the one of greater importance, as guarding the main road

to Benin, the road taken by poor Phillips and his unfortunate expedition.

The Gwato force left Warrigi on the 8th, and the *Philomel* anchored off the entrance of the Gwato Creek the same afternoon. The six canoes arrived on the 9th, when an advance was made up the creek in the canoes and *Philomel's* boats with the *Barrosa* ahead. Progress was slow, and the boats got up as far as a large island, called for distinction Barrosa Island.

On the 10th, having reconnoitred Gilli-Gilli in the morning, Captain O'Callaghan and his men left in the boats of all three ships at 11.30 a.m. and occupied Gilli-Gilli, meeting with no opposition, burned all the huts and cut down the banana trees, and then left at 3 p.m. for Gwato landing-place. Having fired volleys and the 6-pounder Q.F. guns from the boats to clear the bush, he landed with forty seamen and forty marines and marched up the path to Gwato. This path ended in a defile not unlike the water path at Benin, at the end of which was a rough wooden ladder leading to the town of Gwato. Climbing up this, they found the town apparently

deserted, but, not trusting to such peaceful appearances, the bush was well searched with volleys. To these there was no response; the party marched through the town, and the Kroomen were set to work to cut down the banana trees; while doing so they fell back, saying that there were Beni in the bush. More volleys were fired, and this time the fire was returned, the natives cheering loudly. The men were formed in three sides of a square, the marines on the right, so that the bush ahead and on each flank was well covered by the fire. A large body of natives tried to get round the right flank, but exposing themselves in so doing to the fire of the marines, they suffered considerably, and gave up the attempt. For an hour a warm fire was kept up, then the cheering and firing ceased, and the enemy retired. The remaining huts were then set fire to, and two of the largest blown up with gun-cotton. All firing having ceased, the party marched back to their boats unmolested at 6.30 p.m. The casualties were three severely and three slightly wounded, among whom was Lieutenant Hunt, shot through the chest.

Information of the burning of Gwato was sent off immediately to the Admiral, who fully recognised the importance of holding Gwato and so employing the army there; but fearing that the attack on the place might have caused additional troops to be sent there, he did not consider Captain O'Callaghan's force sufficient to reoccupy and hold the place with safety, consequently, orders were issued for him to reoccupy Gilli Gilli and also Gwato when reinforced. Lieutenant Charrington was sent with a rocket-tube from the main force, Lieutenant Frazer with C Company from the *St. George*, and fifty carriers from Chief Du-Du were the reinforcements ordered; they arrived on the 15th.

On the 12th Gilli-Gilli had been reoccupied without opposition, and on the 16th the whole force proceeded to Gwato at 8 a.m. This time the path above the defile was used, and not the defile itself, the latter being far too dangerous as long as there was another route. A wall was immediately commenced round the town, and the four Maxims and the rocket-tube placed in position. At 10 a.m. fire was opened from

the bush and kept up all day, which, in addition to wounding several, kept our men the whole time exposed to a tropical sun. For the next two days the enemy made repeated attacks, but after the 19th all opposition ceased, this being the day after the capture of Benin, and was a healthy sign of the disorganisation ensuing on the loss of the city. Captain O'Callaghan had orders to remain till the 27th, to hold this base till two companies of Houssas under Captain Gallwey had cleared the road from Benin, and opened up communication to Sapele by this route. On the 25th the Houssas arrived, having met with no opposition on the road, in fact the villagers were friendly, and offered them food, which again was a very healthy sign.

Many of the men suffered acutely from the sun, exposure to which during the whole of three consecutive days was most trying to officers and men. Commander Startin of the *Barrosa*, having been sent from charge of the pioneers of the main column, arrived in time to be of the greatest assistance in the work of the twelve days at Gwato. Mr. Facey was the surgeon of the

party, and had his hands unfortunately only too well filled. The command of the marines fell to Serjeant Burrill, and most ably he carried out his important duties during the whole time. The work of patrolling the creeks fell to Lieutenant Hill of the *Barrosa*.

In the actual fall of Benin one is apt to forget the solid work done at Gwato and Sapobar, the successive days' fighting, and the daily exposure to a broiling sun; but the effectual fighting done at these two places possibly eased to a very great extent the work of the main column, and saved many of the lives of those who marched to Benin.

The operations at Sapobar were of rather a different character. The object in sending men there was the same, with the addition that Sapobar was supposed to control the road from Benin to Ugugu and thence to the Sobo country, but the exact distance of Sapobar from the Ugugu-Benin Road was not known. The map at the end of the book shows roughly the position of the places near Sapobar.

The Jamieson River is navigable as far as Sapobar, but does not end there, a swampy

stream continuing as far as Boko, about ten hours' march away. This deflects the Ugugu Road, which runs round the head of the swamp at Boko before going to Benin. After leaving Boko, the road runs through a village called Oboqua, about three and a half miles from the Sapobar-Boko Road. It was therefore proposed to hold Oboqua, and so cut off communication between Benin and the country behind.

On the 9th of February, Captain M'Gill left Sapele with sixty-five bluejackets and marines, Lieutenant Pritchard of the *Alecto*, Lieutenants Kennedy and Buckland, Doctors Levinge and Darcy-Irvine, and Mr. Bretten, with rations for ten days. At 4 p.m. they arrived at Sapobar, a small island with channel to the mainland only about forty feet broad. The steam-cutter having come up also with four canoes with half crews of Jakri men, the party landed on the north shore, made a zareba, and slept the night.

The following morning the expedition pushed on to the branch of the road to Oboqua, and here made a zareba, and then started in the direction of this village. The path was very bad and

little used, and the bush dense, making carrying very difficult; after marching for three and a half hours without reaching any village, the party were forced to turn back to make for the zareba before night. They arrived at 4 p.m. with no water, and much done up after a total march of nine and a half hours. Here they slept undisturbed for the night.

Next morning Captain M'Gill and Mr. Buckland left for Sapobar with carriers and the men who were to form part of the 2nd Division of the main column, leaving Lieutenant Pritchard in command with twenty-two rifles and a Maxim. The carriers were to return with Mr. Buckland to the zareba with the remainder of the provisions; water was plentiful.

The men left behind proceeded to build a stockade, and while doing so were attacked by the natives from the bush. Poor Pritchard was shot, and died immediately, as also Cheverill, A.B., shot through the heart. The enemy then attacked in force. Dr. Levinge, taking charge, sent Lieutenant Pritchard's servant back with the news to Captain M'Gill at Sapobar, and luckily caught him just as he was leaving for Warrigi. On receipt of the

news he at once determined to return with all the men, and on arrival found the attack had ceased, having lasted two and a half hours, and the enemy had apparently retired. During the fight, Tiddy, a P.O., 1st class, was shot through the shoulder while firing his Maxim; he, however, continued to work it the whole time, and was largely instrumental in warding off the attack.

That afternoon they buried poor Pritchard and Cheverill, hiding their graves, and covering them with leaves.

As the force at Captain M'Gill's disposal was too small to divide with safety, he determined to evacuate the zareba and defend Sapobar until he had orders to retain the men belonging to the 2nd Division.

On the 14th the enemy approached Sapobar, but did not attack. On the 16th the column again left for the stockade, where they found the enemy had made a strong camp. Under cover of the skirmishers, they at once set to work to improve the stockade, which, when finished, was a very fair protection. Shots were fired every day, but no attack in force made till the 20th.

On this day a column of carriers had been sent to Sapobar as usual to bring up provisions and ammunition. They had got within about three-quarters of a mile of the stockade when they were attacked; one marine was killed and two wounded. On this occasion they had not fired a precautionary volley for twenty minutes, which fully accounted for the surprise. At the same time the stockade was attacked in force, and the firing continued for two or three hours. This was the last effort made by the enemy, for after this all opposition ceased. On the 24th the column left for Warrigi, leaving behind them the graves of four of their comrades.

Of this portion of the campaign there is little more to be said. A lot of hard work and close shooting characterised it, much the same as the other two points of attack. At one time the position of the force was most critical, and but for the determined stand of Dr. Levinge and the men under him, might have had a serious ending. One anecdote is told of an Irish stoker who had climbed up into the higher portions of the stockade which had been built for marksmen only, and was firing with much zest at the natives as they showed.

Being asked by a suspecting officer if he were a marksman, and told, if not, to come down and make room for a man who was, he indignantly exclaimed, "I don't know about being a marksman, but I shot that beggar," pointing to a Beni at the edge of the bush. This was considered evidence of marksmanship.

The Beni's gun was found to contain six drams of powder and four pistol bullets.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

THE march back from Benin to Warrigi was uneventful, but slow on account of the wounded. The first night was spent at Awoko, the next day we camped at Cross Roads, and the day following pushed on to Warrigi, where the men embarked in the branch boats, and the Admiral took up his quarters on board the *Ivy*, which had been put at his disposal by the Consul-General. We here heard of the sad death of Dr. Way from sunstroke. Gradually all the stores were reshipped, and the last of the men embarked, the only casualty being the loss of a marine belonging to the *Forte*, who fell overboard and was drowned.

Captain O'Callaghan had been ordered to remain at Gwato to hold this base until Captain Gallwey arrived there from Benin. Runners were

sent first down the road to report on its state, and these reports being satisfactory, two companies of Houssas under Captain Gallwey were sent down to Gwato. The road was quite clear of the enemy, and the villagers friendly, which pieces of news were very reassuring, and pointed to a speedy settling down of the country. The distance of twenty-five miles was accomplished in two days without trouble, the path being very fairly good, and much more used than that to Ologbo. This in future will be used as the main road, being more convenient than any of the others, and communication kept up by water between Gwato, New Benin, and Sapele.

Time will show the effect of our possession of Benin. On the trade of the Benin River it cannot fail to be beneficial. The removal of trade Jujus, and increased security to travellers of all sorts, must not only bring the products of the country itself to European markets, but also increase the passage of trade from the interior. Moreover, the capture of the ancient city, at nearly the same time as the destruction of the power of Beda, farther inland, will greatly increase the prestige of

the white man, and make him safer and more respected in his travels through the neighbouring countries.

On our arrival at Warrigi the first telegram from Her Majesty the Queen was received, and the pleasure it caused everyone is difficult to describe, showing as it did such interest and sympathy towards the whole Force. On the arrival of the second royal message this pleasure was more than doubled, all feeling that these kind and gracious actions had fully compensated them for whatever privations they had had, or pain they had endured.

As we expected, the troubles of many were far from over, for malarial fever was bound to make its appearance. The *Phœbe's* crew were already suffering badly, as she had been on this part of the coast for some months previous to the expedition, and no sooner were the crews of the ships embarked than the fever quickly appeared. The sick list of the five ships at Brass soon rose to three hundred and ninety-three cases. The fever could hardly be considered dangerous except in the cases of men much pulled down by previous

exhaustion. As a rule, the temperatures of the patients rose rapidly to 105° or 106°, but fell under a quinine and antipyrine treatment. It is not an uncommon thing in that part of the world for a man to be apparently quite well, and two hours after for his temperature to be 106°, and in two days' time to be practically well again.

The chief preventives of the fever appear to be quinine and good feeding, but the latter is the very requisite it is impossible to get on that part of the coast. Tinned food must form a large portion of the rations, and fresh meat is almost unknown. Now that the country is opened up to the interior it may be hoped that cattle will be kept inland and driven to the sea, which will make a vast difference in the sickness. It can hardly, however, be hoped that the bush country will ever be healthy for Europeans, whose lives depend to a large extent on spending every alternate year recruiting in England; the majority of those who do not do so find early graves at the settlements. The saying is common that each of our possessions abroad has been bought, acre by acre, with English blood. True, quite true, but equally true is it

that many of those possessions are kept year by year by the increasing graveyards, growing out of all proportion to a normal death-rate. It is to be hoped that Benin City, situated as it is in more open country at a higher level, and well away from the river, may form a sanatorium for the fever-smitten people of the creeks and rivers.

Smallpox was fairly prevalent among the carriers, as many as seventy cases being under treatment at one time, but, as is always the case, the black man's smallpox did not attack the whites, who were perfectly free from this horrid complaint, nor were any of the Houssas attacked by it.

A few words about the Houssas will not perhaps be out of place. Strictly speaking, the majority of the black troops of the Protectorate are not Houssas but Yoribas, a race not nearly so warlike as the proper Houssa, who is well in his element when fighting, but still capable of considerable military training. During the expedition these troops did a lot of hard work, had a considerable amount of the fighting, and reflected much credit on themselves and their officers. Naturally the sun and climate generally did not affect them so

much as the white men, but their mental capacity and traditions are so inferior to those of the English that it would be too much to expect that under privations or in sudden emergencies they would exhibit the same amount of *esprit de corps* and discipline. But comparisons between the two are not necessary, sufficient for us to say that the expedition owed a great debt to the hard work and the fighting of the Houssas.

The map of the chief places given at the end is only roughly correct, and until further astronomic observations have been taken, the latitudes and longitudes can only be looked on as approximate. Triangulation is out of the question, nor is it necessary except for scientific purposes. The creeks will in due time be explored, but there is but little chance of any water communication with Benin nearer than Icaro being available.

An attempt was made to push up the Ologbo Creek, but after a few miles it was found to be impassable, both from its narrowness and the trees that had fallen across it. So that the question of how this joins the Ikpoba Creek is still unsolved.

Little more need be said. At the moment of

writing everything seems peaceful and going well in the country. The squadron has dispersed to other waters on varied work, and the Protectorate Force is gradually returning to its ordinary duties. Many are still ill with fever, and a good time will have to elapse before some will have thoroughly shaken the malaria out of their system.

The tale is finished, and the few last notes scribbled in, and it is with a shudder rather than any other emotion that the pen is laid aside, as the memory of those red walls with their dead horrors within and without floats even in the dimness of memory across the mind.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Table Showing Allowances to Various Grades of Officers

	Name of Officer.	Rank.	Ship.	Domestics.	Interpreters.	Orderlies.	Buglers.	Seamen.	Signalmen.	Kroomen.	Total Whites.	Carrier Column. Officers' Kits.	Men's Kits.	Lean-to.	Packed Provisions.	Lime Juice&Sugar.	Rice and Onions.	Kettles.	Officers' Mess.	Water.	Total Carriers.
Commander-in-Chief	Rawson	Rear-Admiral	*St. George*	3	4	2	1	2	1			3									
Chief of the Staff	Egerton	Captain				1	1	1	1			2									
Secretary	Rowe	Secretary				1						1									
Flag-Lieutenant	England	Lieutenant				1						1									
Staff Officer	Nicholson	Lieutenant				1				2	51	1	8	2	2	1	1	4	12	5	
A.D.C. to Commander-in-Chief	Blane	Midshipman										1									
A.D.C. to Chief of Staff	Llewellyn	Midshipman										1									
Clerk to Chief of Staff	Haves	Assistant-Paymaster										1									
Clerk to Secretary	Measham	Assistant-Paymaster										1									
C.O. Royal Marines	Roche	Major R.M.L.I.							1			1									
Chief of Intelligence Department	Bacon	Commander	*Theseus*			1						1									
A.D.C. to Chief of do.	Gregory	Sub-Lieutenant										1									
Chief Commissariat Officer	Stokes-Rees	Commander	*St. George*			1		1				1									
A.D.C. to do.	Straubenzie	Midshipman										1									
Chief Medical Officer	Fitzgerald	Fleet-Surgeon				1						1									
Chief Accountant Officer	Trew	Fleet-Paymaster										1									
1.						1						2									
2.						1						1									
3.						1						1									
4.						1															
			Totals	3	4	15		4	3	2	51	20	8	2	2	1	1	4	12	5	55

APPENDIX II

KITS

Four kits are stowed in a seaman's painted canvas bag—weight, 55 to 56 lbs.

Each bag should be marked thus :—

..... Division.

..... Company.

No. .....

If time permits, it would be advisable to paint the bag the Divisional colour.

SEAMEN'S KIT

In wear.	*Spare.*
1 Hat.	1 Blanket.
1 Handkerchief.	1 Waterproof sheet.
1 Knife and lanyard.	1 Towel.
1 Flannel.	2 Flannels.
1 Cholera belt.	1 Cholera belt.
1 Serge jumper.	1 Serge jumper.
1 Pair of trousers (serge).	1 Pair of drawers (optional).
1 Pair of drawers.	1 Pair of serge trousers.
1 Pair of socks or stockings.	1 Pair of socks or stockings.
1 Pair of boots.	1 Cap.

MARINES' KIT

In wear.	*Spare.*
1 Helmet.	1 Cap
1 Serge tunic.	1 Serge tunic.
1 Flannel shirt.	2 Flannel shirts.
1 Cholera belt.	1 Cholera belt.
1 Pair of tweed trousers.	1 Pair of serge trousers.
1 Pair of drawers (optional).	1 Pair of drawers (optional).
1 Pair of stockings.	1 Pair of socks or stockings.
1 Pair of boots.	1 Waterproof sheet.
	1 Blanket.
	1 Towel.

Each man armed with a rifle will carry 100 rounds of ammunition in his pouch.

L.-M. M.						MAXIM.		
			Boxes.				Belts and Boxes.	
Division.	Company.	Rifles.	Company Carriers.	Supply Column.	Total Rounds.	Guns.	Company Carriers.	Supply Column.
1st.	A	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	B	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	C	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	Marines	66	8	16	11,880	1	4	5
Carrier Column.	A	49	6	12	8820	2	8	10
	B	49	6	12	8820	...	...	...
	Marines	66	8	16	11,880	2	8	10
2nd.	A	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	B	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	C	50	6	12	9000	1	4	5
	Marines	78	10	12	14,040	1	4	5
Marine	Battalion	100	12	24	18,000	2	8	10
		708	86	172	127,440	14	56	70
	100 rounds per man in pouches				70,800			
					198,240			

L.-M. M. equipment, with water-bottle full, ½ lb. biscuit, and 100 rounds, but without blanket, weighs 25½ lbs. A long Maxim belt holds 334 rounds. Weight of box complete=49½ lbs.

Pistols.—Each officer and man armed with a pistol is to carry 36 rounds of ammunition. No spare ammunition will be carried by the 1st or 2nd Divisions, but the Supply Column will take 6 boxes. One box contains 768 rounds and weighs 38½ lbs.

APPENDIX III

PROVISIONS

(1) Rations for 24 men for 1 day are stowed in a tin box, which forms one load, 56 lbs. in weight.

The scale of rations is as follows :—

	1 Man for one day.	24 Men for 1 day.
Biscuit	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	12 lbs.
Preserved meat . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb.	12 lbs.
Sugar	$\frac{1}{8}$ lb.	3 lbs.
Chocolate	$\frac{1}{16}$ lb.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Tea	$\frac{1}{64}$ lb.	$\frac{3}{8}$ lb.
Coffee	$\frac{1}{16}$ lb.	$1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs.
Sugar for ditto . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ oz.	$\frac{3}{4}$ lb.
Rum	$\frac{1}{8}$ pt.	3 pts.
Lime juice	$\frac{3}{32}$ lb.	*$2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.
Sugar for ditto . . .	$\frac{3}{32}$ lb.	*$2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.
Rice	$\frac{1}{8}$ lb.	*3 lbs.
Onions	$\frac{1}{4}$ lb.	*6 lbs.
Salt.		
Pepper.		
Mustard.		
Curry powder.		
Also candles and 2 boxes matches.		

With the exception of the articles marked (*) all these are stowed in one box, called Packed Ration Box, and all are numbered consecutively from 1.

Note.—Each man will be paraded on landing with one day's emergency rations, which are not to be used without express authority to do so from the officer commanding the Division; ½ lb. of biscuit will also be carried in haversacks; one day's rations in boxes are carried with each company, and 9 days' supply with the Carrier Column.

(2) A commissariat officer is attached to each Division and the Carrier Column. He will superintend the issue of the full boxes in exchange for the empty ones, which, with their bags and tins, are to be returned to the Carrier Column, who will make the necessary arrangements for passing them on to the base.

(3) The companies, etc., are organised in multiples of twelve, so that in some cases a box will last two days. For example:—There are sixty men in a company—they will be given three boxes one day and two boxes the next and will carry the ullage box with them. Rations for the officers of companies, etc., are included in the boxes on the same scale as the men's. Officers of companies are to see that the rum contained in the boxes is not drunk until the evening, and that discretion is used in its issue.

(4) In the Marine Battalion one of its own officers will perform the duties of commissariat officer.

(5) A barricoe of lime juice, a box of sugar, bags of onions, and rice are carried by each Division, and a reserve for replenishing is carried by the Carrier Column. The supply of lime juice admits of three issues daily, and may be served out at such times as the officers commanding Divisions, etc., may decide. The commissariat officer will attend to the issue of provisions.

Accounting for officers and men victualled from boxes.—(6) The provisions packed in boxes are all supplied from the flagship; and the accountant officer of each ship having officers and men victualled from these boxes is to furnish the fleet paymaster of the flagship with the total number victualled under these conditions for the whole period, immediately on the return of the expedition, when

supply and receipt vouchers will be passed for the quantities of provisions used.

Accounting for provisions issued to officers and men in ships other than those to which they belong.—(7) Officers and men victualled in any other ship than that to which they belong are not to be shown on the books, but supply and receipt vouchers are to be passed between the respective accountant officers for the quantities of provisions issued.

WATER

Water to be boiled.—(1) Nothing but boiled water is to be used for drinking purposes.

(2) It is presumed that water will always be within reach; water for cocoa, coffee, and tea need not therefore be considered, as the water must be boiled to make them.

Quantity carried.—(3) A quart of water per man is carried by company carriers, which is more than sufficient to serve out three rations of lime juice per man, the daily allowance, and to mix with the allowance of rum per man at night.

(4) Immediately the evening meal is over, the kettles should be cleaned out and filled with water and boiled; this is to be continued until all the water-cans are replenished and the kettles are full of boiled water, which is then to be emptied into a seaman's painted canvas bag, two of which are to be carried by each company's stretcher-bearers, and marked "Drinking Water." The process is to be continued until sufficient water to fill all the water-bottles the next morning is made, the kettles are then to be refilled and left ready for cooking the breakfast in the morning.

(5) If this can be done each day, the company water supply should be sufficient; but in case it cannot be done, two days' water supply, at the rate of $\frac{5}{8}$ of a gallon per man, are carried by the Carrier Column, and may be drawn upon by a written order from the Chief of the Staff.

SCALE OF KETTLES AND LAMPS

Ships will provide their own kettles and lamps on the following scale :—

	Lamps.					Kettles.										Loads.				
						Small.					Large.									
	1st Division.	2nd Division.	Carrier Column.	Headquarters.	Marine Battalion.	1st Div.	2nd Div.	Ca'rier Col'n.	Headqrtrs.	Mar. Batt.	1st Div.	2nd Div.	Ca'rier Col'n.	Headqrtrs.	Mar. Batt.	1st Division.	2nd Division.	Carrier Column.	Headquarters.	Marine Battalion.
Staff . . .	3	3	3	15		1	1	1	3		1	1	1	3		1	1	1	4	
A Company . .	6	6	6			1	1	1			3	3	3			2	2	2		
B do. . .	6	6	5			1	1	2			3	3	2			2	2	2		
C do. . .	6	6				1	1				3	3				2	2			
Marines. . .	7	8	7			2	2	2			4	5	4			3	3	3		
Demolition and Medical, etc. .	4	4				1	1				1	1				1	1			
Field Battery. .	4	4				1	1				2	2				2	2			
Demolition, Medical and Carrier Superintenders . .			8					1					2					2		
Marine Battalion .					11					4					6					4
	36	37	29	15	11	8	8	7	3	4	17	18	12	3	6	13	13	10	4	4

	Lamps.	Kettles.		Loads.
		Small.	Large.	
1st Division . .	36	8	17	13
2nd Division . .	37	8	18	13
Carrier Column .	29	7	12	10
Marine Battalion .	11	4	6	4
Headquarters Staff.	15	3	3	4
	128	30	56	44

A hand lantern weighs 7 lbs.
A large kettle holds 5 gallons, and weighs 16 lbs.
A small kettle holds 22 pints, and weighs 10 lbs.
A small kettle without a top, inside a large kettle, weighs 24 lbs.

MEDICAL STORES

The West Coast senior officers' medical chest is to be completed with stores, and to be handed over to H.M.S. *Theseus* for use with the 1st Division, and should be painted the Divisional colour, and marked "Field chest, 1st Division." Field chests for each of the

other Divisions will be provided by the flagship. Boxes to be painted the Divisional colour and marked with the Geneva cross.

CONTENTS

Nos. 1, 3, 5, and 7

Article.	Quantity.
Brandy	2 bottles
Extract of Beef	4 tins
Milk	3 tins
Liebig's Extract	3 tins
Bovril	3 tins
Cocoatina	1 lb. tin
Chicken Broth	2 lbs.
Arrowroot	2 lbs.
Corkscrew	1
Tin Opener	1
Quinine Pills	3272
Quinine (bulk)	5 oz.
Acid Sulphuric (concentrated)	1 oz.
Candles' (ships)	3

Total weight of each case, 50 lbs. Provided by Flagship.

Nos. 2, 4, 6, and 8

Article.	Quantity.
Triangular Bandages	4
Gauze Bandages	12
Calico Bandages	12
Flannel Bandages (broad)	2
Boracic Lint	1 lb.
Lint	1 lb.
Hydrag. Perchlor. Soloido	50
Permanganate of Potass Tabloids	25
Iodoform	1 oz.
Tin Basin	1
Sponge	2 oz.
Alimbroth Wool	1 lb.
Cotton Wool (absorption)	2 lbs.
Eucalyptus Oil, ½ lb. bottles	2
Tow	1 lb.
Liquid Ammonia, 2 oz. flasks	2
Carbolic Acid	1 lb.
Proctor's Measure, 1 oz.	1

Total weight of each case, 45 lbs. Provided by Flagship.

No. 9.—For Use of Field Hospital

Article.	Quantity.
Milk	12 tins
Brandy	2 bottles
Fowl	6 1-lb. tins
Mutton Broth	6 1-lb. tins
Chicken Broth	6 1-lb. tins
Extract of Beef	6 ½-lb. tins
Cocoatina	3 lbs.
Corkscrew	1
Tin Opener	1

Provided by Flagship.

No. 10.—For Use of Field Hospital

Article.	Quantity.
Iodoform	2 oz.
Basin	2
Sponge	4 oz.
Splints	12 one complete set
Thermometers (clinical)	2
Tow	1 lb.
Chloroform	1 lb.
Carbolic Acid	1 lb.
Triangular Bandages	4
Gauze Bandages	12
Calico Bandages	12
Flannel Bandages	2
Boracic Lint	1 lb.
Alimbroth Wool	2 lbs.
Cotton Wool (absorption)	2 lbs.

Provided by Flagship.

Lists of instruments to be provided by other ships.—Medical officers of Carrier Column and Marine Battalion are to provide the following instruments :—

Capital case complete.
Hypodermic apparatus complete.
Pocket case complete.
Catheters.
Esmarch's apparatus for bloodless operations.
Field tourniquets 2 in. wide.
Wells' pressure forceps (2 in. wide if possible).
Scales, set 1 in. wide.
Waterproof sheeting and towel.

Each sick berth rating to carry a haversack with "first aid" appliance.

APPENDIX IV

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

KILLED

Lieutenant-Commander Pritchard	*Alecto*	Sapobar.
Surgeon C. J. Fyffe	*St. George*	Benin.
Sydney Ansell, C.P.O.	*St. George*	Benin.
E. Howlett, R.M.A.	*Malacca*	Benin.
M. Varndell, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Benin.
A. W. Cheverill, A.B.	*Alecto*	Sapobar.
Frank Stentiford, R.M.L.I.	*Phœbe*	Sapobar.
Three Native Levies		Benin.

WOUNDED

Captain O'Callaghan	*Philomel*	Gwato.
Lieutenant E. Hunt	*Magpie*	Gwato.
Captain G. Byrne, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Benin.
Captain L. C. Koe	N.C.P.F.	Ologbo.
Lieutenant Daniels	N.C.P.F.	Ologbo.
Gunner (T.) W. Johnston	*Philomel*	Benin.
Daniel Halloran	*Widgeon*	Gwato.
G. Benerton, A.B.	*Widgeon*	Gwato.
H. E. Baker, A.B.	*Widgeon*	Gwato.
Robert Dye, A.B.	*St. George*	Awoko.
W. Simester, R.M.A.	*Malacca*	Benin.

H. E. Targett, R.M.A.	*Malacca*	Benin.
T. Samels, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Benin.
G. Hooper, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Benin.
H. Grant, P.O. 2 C.	*St. George*	Benin.
George Green, A.B.	*St. George*	Benin.
George Smith, A.B.	*St. George*	Benin.
S. Denman, R.M.A.	*Malacca*	Benin.
T. H. Jones, R.M.A.	*Malacca*	Benin.
E. Palmer, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Benin.
— Sedgwick, A.B.	*St. George*	Benin.
Richard Titty, P.O. 1 C.	*Alecto*	Sapobar.
William M'Carthy, A.B.	*Barrosa*	Gwato.
John Corcoran, R.M.L.I.	*Phœbe*	Sapobar.
William Scott, R.M.L.I.	*Phœbe*	Sapobar.
W. F. Armstrong, R.M.L.I.	*Barrosa*	Gwato.
W. Baser, L.S.	*Philomel*	Gwato.
Twenty Native Levies	Died from climate during operations.	Ologbo to Benin.
R. H. Way, Staff Surgeon		Warrigi.
W. Mill, R.M.L.I.	*Theseus*	Ceri.
H. Caste, A.B.	*Alecto*	Sapobar.
H. Cook, A.B.	*Alecto*	Sapobar.
Thomas Baker, R.M.L.I.	*Malacca*	Ceri.

APPENDIX V

LIST OF OFFICERS TAKING PART IN SHORE OPERATIONS

*Allman, Principal Medical Officer, N.C.P.F.
*Bacon, Commander, Head of Intelligence Department.
*Beamish, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Beaumont, Captain, R.M.L.I.
Blane, Midshipman.
Bridges, Lieutenant, R.M.L.I.
***Britten, Assistant Paymaster.
**Brown, Gunner, R.N.
***Buckland, Lieutenant, R.N.R.
*Burrows, Captain, N.C.P.F.
*Byrne, Captain, R.M.L.I.
*Campbell, Captain, R.N., commanding 1st Division.
*Carter, Captain, N.C.P.F.
**Charrington, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Chelds, Lieutenant, N.C.P.F.
Clayton, Surgeon.
*Cockburn Captain, N.C.P.F.
*Cowan, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Daniels, Lieutenant, N.C.P.F.
*Dimsey, Staff Surgeon.
*Egerton, Captain, R.N., Chief of the Staff.
Elliott, Paymaster.
*England, Flag Lieutenant.
*Erskine, Lieutenant, in command of the Scouts.
**Facey, Staff Surgeon.
Fitzgerald, Fleet Surgeon, P.M.O.
Foote, Captain, R.N., commanding 2nd Division.
*Fyffe, Surgeon.
*Fyler, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Gallwey, Captain, D.S.O., N.C.P.F.
Gilbert, Midshipman.
Girty, Assistant Paymaster.
Gladstone, Sub-Lieut., R.N.
Good, Midshipman.
Goolden, Midshipman.
Grant, Surgeon.
*Gregory, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Gregory, Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.
Griffiths, Lieutenant, R.N.
Hadley, Paymaster, R.N.
Hale, Captain, R.M.L.I.
*Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonel, in command of Advance Guard.
*Harrold, Lieutenant, R.N.
Heaslop, Chaplain.

*Benin Column. **Gwato. ***Sapobar.

**Hunt, Lieutenant and Commander.
***Irvine, Darcy, Medical Officer, N.C.P.F.
Jeans, Gunner, R.N.
*Johnson, Gunner, R.N.
***Kennedy, Lieutenant, R.N.
Koe, Captain, N.C.P.F.
*Landon, Major, A.S.C.
*Leonard, Major, A.S.C.
***Levinge, Surgeon.
Livingstone, Midshipman.
Llewellyn, Midshipman.
Locksley, Lieutenant, R.N.
Macaulay, Lieutenant, R.N.
M'Lean, Sub-Lieutenant, R.N.
M'Cullagh, Midshipman.
M'Gregor, Surgeon.
***M'Gill, Captain, R.N., in command at Sapobar.
Main, Engineer, R.N.
*Martin, Staff Surgeon.
Martin, Boatswain.
May, Midshipman.
Measham, Clerk.
Mobbs, Boatswain.
Moor, K.C.M.G., Consul-Gen.
*Moorshead, Assistant Paymaster.
**O'Callaghan, Captain, R.N., in command at Gwato.
O'Farrell, Secretary to Consul-General.
*O'Shee, Lieutenant, R.E., Special Service.
*Phibbs, Sub-Lieutenant.
*Phillpotts, Lieutenant, R.N.
Piggott, Midshipman.
Prendergast, Gunner.
*Pears, Lieutenant, R.N., in charge of Carriers.
***Pritchard, Lieutenant and Commander.
*Rawson, Rear-Admiral Commander-in-Chief.
*Richardson, Midshipman.
*Ringer, Captain, N.C.P.F.
*Roche, Major, R.M.L.I.
*Roth, Medical Officer, N.C.P.F.
Rowe, Secretary to Commander-in-Chief.
*Searle, Major, N.C.P.F.
Seath, Assistant Clerk.
Smith, Engineer, R.N.
*Stephenson, Midshipman.
**Startin, Commander.
Stokes-Rees, Commander Commissariat Officer.
Stovin, Staff Paymaster.
Trew, Fleet Paymaster.
*Turner, Commissioner for Benin District.
Unwin, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Vyvyan, Lieutenant, R.N.
*Walker, Capt., Special Service.
Way, Surgeon.

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