

# The Cameroon Diary of Arthur Lees

## 1914 – 1915

An account of the beginning of the Mora campaign  
from the British side

Transcribed with additional notes by Dan Robinson

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## **Introduction**

## The Cameroon Diary of Arthur Lees 1914 – 1915

At the beginning of the First World War Arthur Lees was serving as a lieutenant in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion Nigeria Regiment under Captain R. W. Fox, part of the British column which entered the northern part of the German colony of Kamerun and which took part in the operations around the German defensive position at Mora. While on campaign he kept a diary covering the period from August 1914 to April 1915. It is hoped that publication of the following transcription will prove to be useful for its insight into the military operations of this largely forgotten campaign, and also as a contemporary source of information about the local peoples who were unwillingly caught up in the conflict.



Lt. ACLD Lees at Mora 1915

The diary was found amongst her father's papers by Rachel Lees, his youngest daughter, who still lives in the family home at Hinstock in Shropshire. The author's special thanks are due to her for giving permission for the publication of this transcription, and also for her patient help in deciphering her father's writing - although, as will be seen, on some occasions he has defeated us both. Only a few other mementoes of Arthur Lees' service in West Africa have survived at his home; a number of stuffed animal heads, a handful of photographs of which only one can be definitely assigned to the Cameroon campaign (above), a copy of the New York Tribune from 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1916 which describes the final surrender of Mora, and, most surprisingly, a letter from the German commander Hauptmann von Raben which is discussed elsewhere on Mandaras Publishing (Robinson 2010).

The attempts by the British and their French allies to dislodge von Raben and his small German force from the Mora Mountain in the autumn of 1914 are described in Moberly's account (Moberly 1931) where Lieutenant Lees' name can be found in connection with a failed assault on the German position which took place on the 30th October (p 172). A parallel account exists from the other side written by Fritz Damis who served with von Raben in the Mora garrison (Damis 2010), and this mentions many of the incidents described by Lees. Since Moberly's book is the official British history of the Cameroon campaign it is not surprising to find that the conduct of the British troops is portrayed in it as being thoroughly professional, but to read Lees' eyewitness account is to get a very different picture. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the British forces attacking Mora were overconfident, ill trained and poorly disciplined, nor were their askaris as reliable as their German counterparts. Lees summed up the situation from personal experience when describing another failed attack on 26/27<sup>th</sup> August; he wrote that the "Germans did the right thing every time and their men are quite steady. They 'know war' which we don't.....".

Although his diary does not reveal any particular curiosity about the local people or interest in their culture, Lees was clearly concerned and upset about the brutal treatment which was summarily meted out to them by the British on some occasions, and which he was ordered to inflict. For example, he writes on 16<sup>th</sup> January 1915 after 2 local men were executed, 'I do hate this business and one feels one has blood on one's hands'. He often refers to the locals as 'pagans', a term which was commonly used at this period for those who were non-Muslims. Their position must indeed have been unenviable. Not only did they have to suffer a fluid war in their own land where British or German soldiers might appear at any time without warning demanding their allegiance, they were also subjected to raids on their food stores and livestock by the besieged Germans on Mora Mountain, who were themselves desperate for supplies. To make matters worse it appears from Lees' diary that once a stalemate in hostilities had been reached towards the end of November 1914 the British were prepared to shoot any domestic animal they came across on sight, thereby denying it to the Germans but in the process robbing its local owner.

In his diary Lees makes critical comments about his own side, for example he refers with resignation to the indiscipline of the mounted infantry, and the criticism sometimes extends to the conduct of his superior officer, Captain Fox, and also to the French commanders. There is one passage on 10<sup>th</sup> December where he seems to have been giving full vent to his frustration before thinking better of it and vigorously crossing out what he had written. The phrase 'Getting more and more fed up with [*Capitaine*] Brisset....' remains legible. This is dangerous stuff for a junior officer to be writing on campaign and if the diary had been picked up by one of his superiors it is likely that Lees would have been in serious trouble.

His frankness and lack of discretion about criticising his leaders makes it more surprising that he makes scarcely any mention in his diary of another delicate subject, his meetings with Hauptmann von Raben (see Robinson 2010). Their Christmas truce of December 1914 is scarcely touched on, and Damis gives

hints of other truces in which Lees must have been closely involved since he was Fox's ADC, and indeed he may have been the go-between on the British side. As an example, the German account of this period refers to a British envoy being cleverly manoeuvred into revealing the allied dispositions (Damis 2010 p 63) - but of course this revelation may have been intentional, for the leaked information could equally be interpreted as the British attempting to unnerve the Germans by convincing them that they were outnumbered and that their position was becoming hopeless. We know from Damis that the envoy was not Fox, so Lees is the next most likely candidate for such a mission if this is what really happened. There was clearly a greater level of contact between the British and Germans than we might guess from Lees' diary; all he gives us in addition to the Christmas truce - itself barely mentioned - is the exasperatingly terse "Had hours truce & saw von Raben" which he wrote on January 11<sup>th</sup> 1915.

I am grateful to Gerhard Muller-Kosack for directing me to a most unlikely reference to Lees which offers another clue to there being some contact between the British and Germans at this period. It occurs in a volume of the Kolonial-Bücherei, a series of slim paperbacks with colourful covers celebrating heroic incidents and acts of daring-do in Germany's colonial past, which was published by the National Socialist government in the early 1940s. Volume 60 of the series is entitled 'Die Brunnen vergiftet' (a reference to German allegations that the British and French had fought a 'dirty' war by poisoning the wells around Mora) and in it the following passage appears on page 8:-

*"On the night of 14/15 October Lees' force travelled back to their camp at Sava. He had lost one dead and three wounded and had no news of the position of Rémond's company. Nonetheless he demonstrated typical English stoicism about the Allies' misfortune by commenting that they had " certainly fought under the best possible circumstances."*

The questions this short paragraph raise are how did the unknown German author know Lees' name, and how did he know what Lees thought about the debacle on 14/15<sup>th</sup> October? The answer must surely be from conversations between Lees and von Raben at the Christmas truce or at another meeting around this time - but there is not a hint in the diary.

The diary was written on campaign in difficult and sometimes dangerous conditions, and with a few exceptions it has clearly been written in haste. Add that Lees was ill for a significant amount of time on this campaign, and it will come as no surprise to find that the diary contains only a few passages that we could call a narrative and it is often laconic to a fault, at least for the needs of a modern historical researcher. It is illustrated with a number of sketch maps of the area surrounding the German position at Mora, and photographs of these have been reproduced here so as to replicate their original position in the text. Lees refers to other officers only by their surnames, but some of them can be identified from the appendices in Gorges' "The Great War in West Africa (Gorges 2004).

Two appendices have been added in order to help with the identification of the many place names: Appendix A has two maps by Lt-Col. Jean Ferrandi (Ferrandi 1928) showing the location of Mora and other settlements in northern Cameroon, a

third showing the immediate environs of Mora, and a panoramic view of the German position as seen from the village of Sava. Appendix B gives a list of the names of towns and villages mentioned by Lees correlated with the modern spelling and that used by Ferrandi. The list also includes the correct spelling and meaning of titles and ethnic names which appear in the diary.

The original diary has been lodged with the Imperial War Museum (Department of Documents ref: Lees Major ACLD 91/22/1).

### Biographical details

**Arthur Compton Lethbridge Dumville Lees** was born in 1887, the fifth child of George and Anne Lees of Woodhill, near Oswestry in Shropshire. He joined the King's Shropshire Light Infantry in 1905 and in the same year went up to New College, Oxford.

In September 1913 newspaper notices record that "Lieutenant ACLD Lees. 1<sup>st</sup> Shropshire Light Infantry has been appointed for duty with the Northern Nigerian Regt." Arthur Lees became engaged to Brenda Cicely Loder of High Beeches in West Sussex in October of the same year. In July 1914 she records in her diary, "My Arthur ought to be at Maidugeri now after six weeks journey from Lokosa."

After leaving West Africa in late 1915 Lees returned to England and was married in London on January 15th, 1916. After a year of holding staff appointments in the War Office made necessary by poor health brought on by his time in Africa, including the long-term effects of the leg wound recorded in the diary, he was back on active service in France in 1917. The *History of the KSLI in the Great War* notes that "Capt ACL Lees joined and took over command of A company of the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion in the front line, and in early 1918 he was in the Ypres Salient." (Wood 1925)

In 1919 Lees was posted to Gallipoli by the War Graves Registration Unit. (His letters to his wife, written from May to December that year, have been deposited with the Imperial War Museum). By now an Acting Major, his work there was recognized by mention in dispatches in May 1920. Later that year he was posted to Ireland, to headquarters at the Curragh with the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of the KSLI.

On retiring from the army he settled at Hinstock Court in north-east Shropshire with his wife and three children. While living there he involved himself with local politics and promoting the National Playing Fields Association. In 1940 at the age of 53 he joined the RAFVR with the rank of Pilot Officer and worked throughout the war as an intelligence officer, being demobbed in 1945 with the rank of Acting Flight Lieutenant. He died in 1961.

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## **The Diary**

*Every attempt has been made to replicate Lees' spellings, punctuation etc as closely as possible. Uncertain readings are indicated by red. Editor's comments appear in italics*



# Cameroons Diary 1914 – 1915

By Lieutenant A.C.L.D. Lees

(The Nigeria Regiment ex Shropshire Light Infantry)

## August 7<sup>th</sup>

Left Maidugeri. Paraded 11am slight rain. Did not start till 3 as carriers did not turn up. Carriers very bad ..... road lame footsore & starved reached Delvo 6pm and camped. Fine.

## August 8<sup>th</sup>

Started Delvo 5am and marched to Malan where we had breakfast. Found we were on wrong road (which I had already suspected) arrived at Limanti 2:15pm. Found orders awaiting us not to go to Dikoa or to take offensive but to march to frontier and stay there. Only incident on road beating of Shebu's ½ brother who accompanied expedition as guide and agent to the Sheikh of Dikoa and who was responsible for our taking the Konduga road. Fine and cool. Shot berewa for chop in evening.

## August 9<sup>th</sup>

Marched to Konduga. Breakfasted by wayside. Fox unluckily missed road and did not get any chop till nearly 11. Arrived Konduga about 1pm. Fine and cool. Distance about 15 miles

## August 10<sup>th</sup>

Stayed Konduga. Went out early to see the country. Fox & self shot 8 marabouts and self shot 8 green pigeons found the doctor had been out and got 1 goose one wishi wishi and 2 green pigeons. Spent most of day doing outposts with soldiers. Wightwick came in and came to dinner. Heard news of 200 soldiers being at Mora but authority not very good. Fine and cool. (mosquitoes) mail arrived in evening.

## August 11<sup>th</sup>

Decided to move into more secure position self spent all morning digging a trench rather difficult as none of the men had ever dug up one before mercifully soil easy doctor shot two wishi wishi in the morning. Fine but hotter.

Went out in evening and got 1 wishi and 1 knob nosed sow saw plenty but shot badly doctor got 2 wishi & a spurwing.

### August 12<sup>th</sup>

Woke up with bad cold in head went out and shot 2 wishis 2 lesser bustards and one green pigeon. At 11 am heard authentic news German force intended spending night at BAMA only 18 miles away. Spent rest of day improving fortifications. Elias the trader (Syrian) came in in evening from Mandara said news all nonsense very few Germans in Mandara and those no use all lame and otherwise incompetent & in addition 4 days ago they had no news of war. This also confirmed by Moma Warikin who returned from Oolari & said no news whatever. Slept inside square.

### August 13<sup>th</sup>

Cold not much better. Rain began 6 am. Herman Hodge came in at 5:30 am dead beat having got from Geidam to Madugeri in 3 days and thence on without a rest leaving M at 11pm. Went down to Wightwick in town and persuaded the doctor into opening two bottles "medical comforts", both flat! Lane and 25 M.I. arrived soaked and beat at 11:30am doctor gave him dry clothes. Sat down 7 to dinner as c/sergt also arrived in course of afternoon. French Reuter came in in evening announcing German defeat Liege and sinking of English ship Amphytia can't quite believe Liege seems incredible also English landing cannot understand how Russia declared war last thought they began it. Shot 7 pigeons and 6 green 1 (blue) in afternoon. Fox shot berewa in morning and doctor got 2 green pigeon and one blue. very wet till 2pm

### August 14<sup>th</sup>

Cold a bit better thank goodness. Built new trenched camp in morning and revetted in afternoon. Shot 9 green pigeons and one blue. Heard news that we were to move to Oolari and M.I. to patrol towards Mora.

### August 15<sup>th</sup>

Moved Oolari covered by Lane. Arrived there 3:30 pm. Lane's patrols and spy reported that 50 men left Mora for Kusseri and 50 stayed behind. Shot 1 wishi wishi after several attempts. Camp close to river no good place for defence.

### August 16<sup>th</sup>

Stayed at Oolari and did nothing. Shot 3 guinea fowl and 1 bush fowl and 1 wishi in morning. Heard news that 100 Germans had left Mora for Kusseri leaving only 10 behind. That they had taken 50 scaliwags and made them into temporary soldiers and had with them occupied position on a hill after evacuating fort. Later in evening heard that French had occupied Dikoa but news of doubtful source. Strange incident occurred last night, a robber tried to take a sentry's rifle who did not shoot him, by

order of corporal in charge of group, the men clearly have not yet grasped that any serious war is on. Cold much better

### August 17<sup>th</sup>

Pouring rain from breakfast till 11am. Foulkes (T.O. to M.I.) arrived 11.30. Lambert and Austin and rest of M.I. came in about 1:30pm, Lane sent in message to say one of his patrols had got to Mora and that the Kusseri garrison had returned to Mora 45 mounted **men** in all, he captured German doqari with message from von Raben to one sergt Haussman addressed Bama but no one could read it!! Doqari confirmed news of evacuation of Mora and of the taking up of a position on hill in rear (M.I. officers do not inspire much confidence or their soldiers either) MacDonnell expected hourly.

### 18th

Message arrived saying French had sent a patrol to Dikoa to get into touch. M.I. left for BAMA early with orders not to go more than 10 miles into German territory but to get into touch with Lane. Heard news in evening of first shots being fired, apparently the German patrol at Dikoa has not been withdrawn for one of them fired 4 shots at M.I. (Bama) and was pursued towards Dikoa result unknown. Went out in evening to get chop got 2 duiker a goose (on a tree) and a green pigeon

### 19th

Still at Oolari and still no news of MacDonnell. Had message from Lane in the morning. That German soldiers were deserting and feeling strongly in favour of English among natives. Still feeling the effects of cold and feel very old aches all over. Very heavy thunder in afternoon one flash very close. German soldier at BAMA not captured.

### 20th

Moved camp a short distance away in morning. At 2:30 pm message arrived from BAMA enclosing Lane's messages. He has apparently been right into Mora and sends sketches. Reports advanced to within 200 yds of their position when they opened fire one out of three maxims being turned on to him. No one was hurt! They must be very bad shots. Fox decided to go to BAMA and push on on Mora. As we got near MORA we met Lane and Lambert and heard from them details of Lane's adventure truly marvellous. On reaching BAMA Austin came out and reported that two out of four men sent to convoy Adashi and Abacha Baqueri to GARUA had been attacked on road and one killed by 15 German soldiers with whiteman. Austin sent out in pursuit but seemed very feeble and came back 10 pm. In course of day soldier spy Momadu

Kabiri came in from MORA where he had been employed as cabman said Lane had killed at least one German soldier Heard French from Dikoa had gone to Maidugeri.

Aug 21<sup>st</sup>

Moved to BOOLONGA about 10 miles. Heard on way that Germans proposed to execute Serakin Sarandara for helping us. Lane sent off 2pm to try and intercept Sgt Haussman. Heard from Ruxton that wire was hopelessly down and we could expect no more news also not from Fitzpatrick (Resident ..... ) saying that MacDonnell had been recalled and sent on other column and regretting that he had not sent on information before he ought to be shot at once as an obstructionist. Early on one section M.I. was sent to arrest Sheku Sandi at Dikoa (under Austin).

22<sup>nd</sup>

Left BOOLONGA 6.10 am and arrived in MENUMKWA 4.20 a very long and tiring march. Very hot. About 22 miles on the way three mounted scouts of enemy were chased by M.I. flankers. One man and two horses captured. Could not extract any information from man. Heard from Lane in evening 500 French reached a point 20 miles from MORA last night he did not catch German patrol. Self appointed O.C. "A" coy and Law made staff officer. Don't like the idea of commanding coy too much responsibility.

23rd

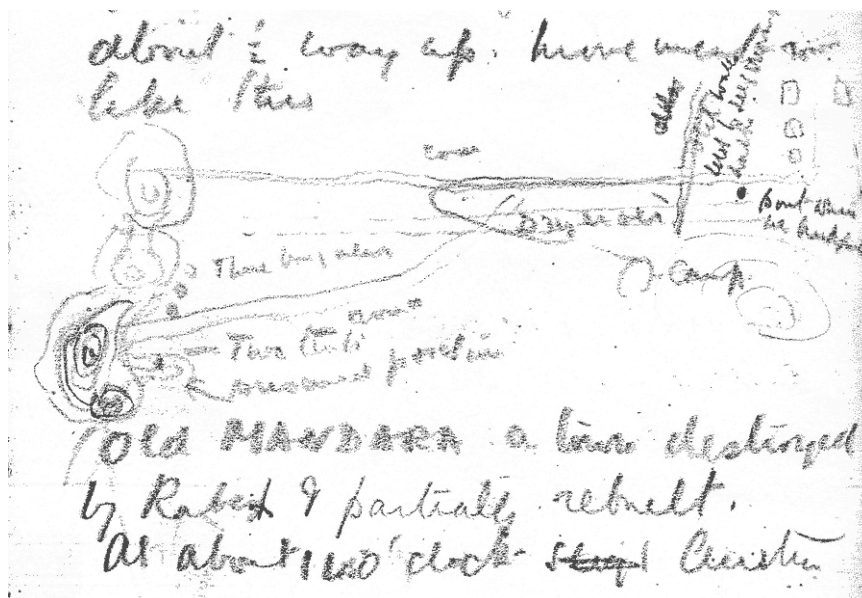
Left MENUMKWA 6 am arrived point 3 miles from MORA 2 am another tiring march. Several shots fired on road but believe mostly at harmless natives. However 2 alleged doqaris captured. Heard news that French were one day behind.

Heard fairly authentic information that Germans have about 300 men of all sorts on top of hill also French quite close. Lane came in in course of afternoon, very wet in evening.

24<sup>th</sup>

Left camp 6.30 reached "old" Mandara 8.30. Here we "captured" a Syrian whom the M.I. robbed of £200. He turned out to be English subject & already been robbed by the Germans of all his provisions and £98 for which they gave him a paper receipt. The M.I. are the limit: [*next section crossed out*]. Whilst at breakfast note arrived from Maidugari announcing fact arrival French tirailleurs and stating French unable to advance for a month. French tirailleurs expected evening 25<sup>th</sup> here. A bandolier containing German ammunition about 320 [*footnote correction* "afterwards found to be "Lebal" French 315"] was dropped by German native and picked up by scout.

After breakfast advanced along road and saw German position left wheeled and retired to bottom of hill near town. Camped there. Heard heavy firing in front presume Lambert and advanced M.I. scouts. Self had great difficulty in getting advanced and flank **guns in** and got temporally lost in bush looking for them. Camp about 3000 yards from Mora 3 bungalows visible at foot of hill and 2 tents about half way up. Move men like this

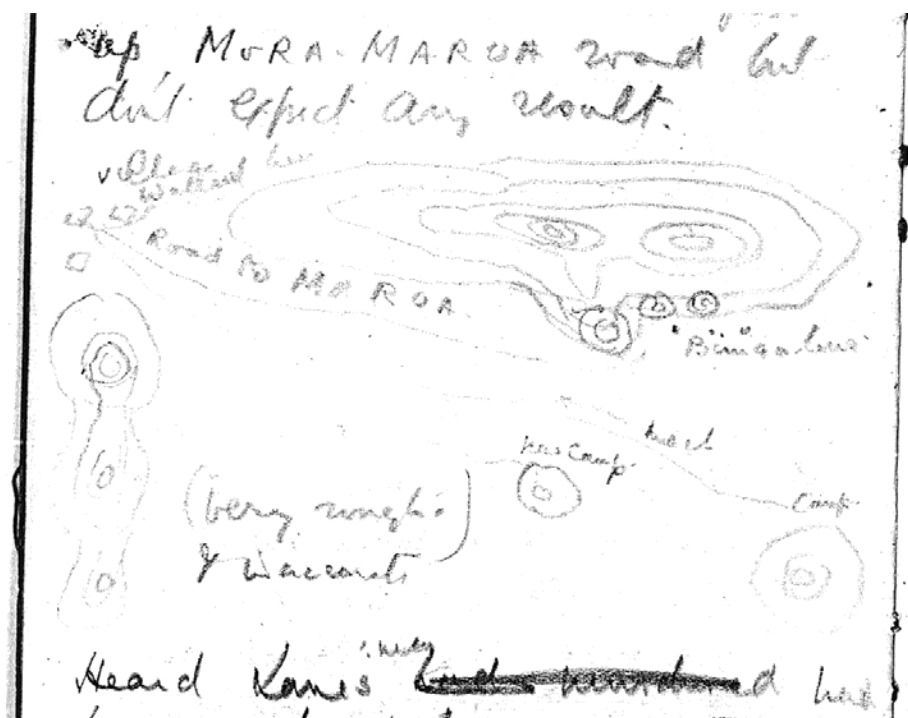


Old MANDARA a town destroyed by Rabeh and partially rebuilt. At about 11 o'clock Austin arrived with Sheku Sanda from Dikoa

25<sup>th</sup>

Rather a disappointing day. Had orders for night attack and was sitting reading a 2 months old M. Post when Fox came up and told me to get 1/2 coy ready at once to support M.I. Extraordinary how one cannot find things in a hurry. Doki boy watering pony boy washing clothes. However got ready in about 5 minutes. Apparently a rumour had been received that Germans were moving off hill and retiring on MARUA and we were trying to intercept them. Heard heavy firing and simply sprinted for about a mile to get up but found nothing. After about 1 1/2 hours found Lane with one section and eventually found Law last with remaining M.I. as usual watering his ponies in a most hopeless place not at foot of hill where he was told to go but round the spur. Mail followed us in. Could not get Lambert to do anything though we heard news von Raben was returning from Marua either that day or on the morrow. Tried to get L. to send patrol towards MARUA but quite impossible. Returned new camp after dark nearly losing the way several times as Lambert had

taken the guide and galloped on ahead. Sent out other ½ coy to endeavour to catch von R. to place where we sat down and a section further up, MORA-MARUA road but don't expect any results



Heard Lane's men had murdered two more natives one with a gun also that an M.I. had looted bungalows again and had been shot at by maxim.

26th

Rested in morning. Captain Ferandi & 15 tirailleurs came in in evening we started for night attack 8pm

1<sup>st</sup> Battle of Mora 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup>

A period of disaster. After the hardest march I have ever experienced through dawa pagan villages and terraced slopes we reached a point above German position at 4:45 am, 1400 ft above the point where we started from by my aneroid. We had a consultation as to range which was almost impossible to judge owing to intervening valley. The guesses varied from 600\* to 1600\*. We could see about 9 tents and some lights. As soon as dawn broke clearly we opened fire at 700\* and for a time elicited no response. The reply came after about 10 minutes from about 10 rifles and two maxims one in far distance. We repeatedly changed our ranges but could see no results and so I personally fired but little about 10 shots per man at ranges varying from 700 to 1500. After about an hour the mist came on and as we were doing no good Fox retired though personally I thought it a good opportunity for an attack but

probably he was right. We returned back through the hills and we were fired at at first by a few men. I went back and formed some kind of a rearguard and answered with apparent success. When we got to the steepest part of the descent where the road runs under high cliff I found Lambert and Austin sitting down I asked where Fox was and they said he was getting a guide so we waited about ½ hour and then saw Fox's and most of men down below, as firing got hotter (though we neither saw nor heard bullets) I got down the slope as quickly as possible forbidding my men as far as possible to shoot, at the bottom I collected what men I could and retired in as good order as I could but was rather disappointed with behaviour of some of men. But it is distinctly difficult to be dignified when shot at even though the aim is not good. When I got back to camp heard terrible news. The c/sgt who was with maxim and c/sgt of M.I. who was with reserve [*footnote*: "This bit is wrong I beg his pardon"] ammunition instead of obeying orders & coming up hill when they heard **firing** moved straight onto the enemy's position & one of the maxim gunners shot a white man. When the mist came down they found themselves surrounded by about 2 secs of soldiers in red caps; the idiot of a c/s ordered his party not to shoot under impression they were French. They advanced to about 60 yds & then opened fire wounding Adami **Katagua** & killing **Abacha** Baginmia even then the infatuated c/sgt tried to stop firing by waving his cap. However all eventually ran into guinea corn. During day a few stragglers came in from this party two carriers both wounded 2 MGCs 3 maxim gunmen 1 man of escort & Adami **Katagua** (wounded). A sorry show brought about by the gross stupidity & deliberate disobedience of orders of c/sgt. Fear worst for three white men very sorry for doctor & c/sgt whom I liked very much but could never trust with show of his men too young & self opinionated. Total casualties as far as known, killed L/cpl **Abacha** Baginmia wounded Pte Adami **Katagua** & Sgt Lali (latter hit in bottom during retirement our only casualty\*)[\**footnote* Found another man was missing from his sec. presumably shot & not seen somewhere on hill. Pte Musa ZARIA killed at bottom of hill] & two carriers, missing Doctor 2 c/s gts 3 men of maxim gun 5 MGCs 10 men No 6 squad (escort to MG) & 10 carriers with doctor. Found new doctor Pearson & vet Owen on arrival in camp. Moved to securer position on hill close to old camp.

Lessons learnt:

- (1) It takes an extraordinary amount of bullets to hit a man at long range (Germans must have fired at least 3000 at us)

(2) Behaved personally under fire much better than I expected some came quite close but they didn't seem to worry one a bit. Rather disappointed with some of men but others are real bricks especially **Moma Warikin**

Germans did the right thing every time & their men are quite steady. They "know war" which we don't. Expect French perhaps tomorrow thank goodness!

27<sup>th</sup>

Stayed in camp all day and improved position. C/sgt Studley came in in the morning he had hidden on the slope of the hill and got down in the morning. Apparently he had got to the top of the hill after all but I think he was mostly to blame for the disaster. Several other men came in during the day reducing the casualties to the doctor c/sgt Taylor and 6 soldiers (**5** of No 3 sec the escort to MG and one of No 1 sec unaccounted for and presumably hit coming down the mountain) missing presumably dead, & one known to be dead whilst two are wounded. Of course the only two of the machine gunners missing are the only two worth a damn the c/sgt was most disgusted with his men most of them would not stand at any price. All the old soldiers all right but new ones hopeless. In my opinion the harm is not very far to seek, it is entirely due to the new-fangled training and pampering, as long as a man has plenty of steady drill is taught to shoot and keep himself clean he wants nothing else provided the discipline is absolutely iron. Flogging out here at any rate is absolutely essential and if the spirit of the men is right need rarely be used. It is the "hum bugging about" the men get from people who don't understand them the giving of small sentences of **CB** for small offences, the establishment of unnecessary guards, fads in dress, puerile **musketry** such things as standard tests etc which spoil the men as soldiers as they interfere with the most important part of the soldiers' training i.e. the parade drill. Self beginning to feel effects of day before yesterday a bit. Heard news from native sources 5 German whitemen laid out but don't believe it though they have the story of our misfortunes right no news of French yet from Fort Lamy. The Germans massacred the pagans on the hill in revenge for showing us the way.

28<sup>th</sup>

Stayed in position and did nothing. Men very sluggish.

29<sup>th</sup>

still on position and still no news of French.



30<sup>th</sup>

still here. In morning a spy was detected and shot. Seraku Mandara came in and ditto Mama sent a message to say he would do all we wanted. Went out in evening and shot 4 guinea fowl.

31<sup>st</sup>

Caught German deserter. Says Germans have moved further up the hill. Shot 3 guinea fowls in evening.

1<sup>st</sup> Sept

Evening reported moving downhill but M.I. patrol sent out reported them in old position.

2<sup>nd</sup> Sept

Ferandi and Lane went off to Fort Lamy. Note arrived from von Raben but unluckily in German and only partially understood but it is now clear doctor is dead and c/sgt Taylor a prisoner.

3<sup>rd</sup> Sept

sat on hill and did nothing.

4<sup>th</sup> Sept

Ditto. Mandara arrested and brought in.

5<sup>th</sup>

Ditto. Guyse arrived. Heard Reuter announce destruction German fleet. Self and Owen left at night to make reconnaissance. Guide took us miles to far to left. Slept (?) in bush but mosquitoes were awful. Started at dawn. Found out very little information except that Germans were at top of hill and had evacuated old position. Five brave men who got lost actually getting close to their camp. Austin demonstrated in front and got some information. Came back and saw very pathetic letter from Herman Hodge trust he is all right but sounds very bad. Also saw news of repulse at Garua I wish they would send names of officers killed.

6<sup>th</sup>

Woke up feeling very old and seedy every little scratch turns septic got strong tonic from doctor but not feeling a bit well and have not done so for several days. How I wish we could get off this beastly hill.

7<sup>th</sup>

Feeling a bit better today thanks to doctor's tonic. Two parties went out to "snipe" Germans in evening. Mail arrived but still no war news.

8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>

Did nothing all morning at 7.30 word arrived that two Germans & 12 soldiers had come down & were endeavouring to escape. Lambert had already gone out with ½ coy M.I. to a place near Marua after another party. Fox and self with 70 soldiers started at 8pm the worst managed show I have ever been on – True history - Ready at 8 found guide lame & had to be mounted. Fox's original idea was to “march down main Marua road and then get **into** hills”, quite impossible as Germans had at least 3 hours start. Foulkes and self at last persuaded him to go to where guide had seen them last. Obvious course push on as fast as possible with small advance guard. At 8.15 started at 10 Fox asked where village was and got reply "**kussa kussa**" he was going to add "**bissa duchi**" but was not allowed to and was sent out with 4 men to explore this took 2½ hours and resulted in nothing meanwhile we were even alive by mosquitoes. We went on another hour and again halted for information, only 2 hours this time still no results. He asked me if road over hills practical from personal experience said it was not as I really did not think it was and I was not feeling fit enough to travel it on a complete fool's errand. Tried lower road and got hopelessly lost in guinea corn. At 4 arrived very nice pagan village (**Manichorin**) spotlessly clean & people most obliging great contrast to **Ka...** towns. Fox admitted feeling seedy and said we would return camp in morning. Made some cocoa and went to sleep in comfort in a clean hut with pouring rain outside. Fox felt all right in morning and said we must do something. self greatly disappointed as I knew it meant nothing except getting beastly tired and when one has been seedy for some days it is just recovering one does not want to overdo it. First proposal to go up to German position, seconded by me as we really ought to do some little good by locating camp and would not be very far from our own, all arranged. Questioned headman in village and found Germans had taken hill road to Marua. Fox decided to go down Marua road. Why heaven knows. We were 12 hours behind, soldiers tired & wet and selves neither really well. Protested uselessly got guide from village to take us to main road. Found ourselves within ½ hour of our camp persuaded Fox into sending back for our beds and some chop almost first sensible move since we started. Started towards Marua self hardly able to control anger at first afterwards got beyond all anger but hopeless state. Road very bad. Met some M.I. who had been sent by Austin to wrong place sent back again all but 4. After about 3 hours march Fox decided to return idea being warmly approved. Got back about 2. Foulkes gave us lunch and by great luck met carriers with our beds and

chop on road. Went to sleep 3.30 and did not wake till 8. During afternoon Sgt Abdu who had been left at foot of hill with order to annoy Germans during night and to prevent them escaping came in he had been up hill by day instead of night and had got however some little information. A fine day

10<sup>th</sup>

not feeling as ill as I had expected. Lambert sent in £12000 in German silver taken at Marua (Distributed about £400 to troops & declared rest\*) went out in evening to help to post piquet (\* not officially)

11<sup>th</sup>

Had a rotten night wet the whole time. However came back feeling all right. Guyse went to Marua with 12 M.I. in case Germans moved up

Started at 1 am. Original intention to try & rush a piquet Sgt Studley had seen in morning in the hopes there might be a white man & maxim. Piquet supposed to be on smallest of three hills. Fox was to take two secs & go up onto old German position self & Studley to rush the piquet from rear with 1 & 4 secs. Found 2 & 3 only comprised of 14 men so all went together to big hill. Difficulty at start & Belo fleeing from Fox destroyed rods of (my) mosquito net. Got on top of old German position about 11 nearly capturing a put which bolted into darkness. Sat down till dawn. Old German position very weak if we had either something on top of hill on 26<sup>th</sup> or attacked they would not have had an earthly chance defences looked very amateurish. Fox fired three shots to draw Germans but got no response till almost 6.30 when a brute put two bullets unexpectedly close to F & me; decided to retire after burning all the German rympers. Men very slow at getting down. Came under heavy fire from long range but surprisingly accurate one brute will shoot at me. Got back camp 8.30 all tired. Cpl Kasse missing but turned up in evening having hidden in the guinea corn for some reason unknown. Learnt a good deal about country & German position.

13<sup>th</sup>

Note arrived from Vivian from near MULGUE & answer sent summoning him to come at once hope he arrives before French & we can do without them. Soldier arrived back, saying guide did not know road sent off again. 10 intelligence men came for instructions also 2 boys from German Camp one belonging Ca...forte one to Herr Schmidt clerk. Say German flour finished

14<sup>th</sup>

Fox & Owen left for Madigali at 3 am 4 signallers arrived from **Loleoga one** & the **doqaris** who accompanied them had committed criminal robbery on road

15<sup>th</sup>

German impressed soldier came in saying 30 men left for Marua for ammunition & that there are 60 men & 5 whites on top of hill probably lying. Note arrived from Vivian saying he was proceeding slowly to Marua not here

16<sup>th</sup>

Stayed up hill & did nothing shot 2 guinea fowls

17<sup>th</sup>

Note arrived from FFH - Yola - saying commandant had arrived also variety of Europeans on way to join us also that Vivian was to be under Fox's orders. Letter [footnote: This letter really came evening 16<sup>th</sup>] came from Lane from Fort Lamy saying French have 560 men there & 3 guns they were to attack Kusseri on 12<sup>th</sup> & then after 5 days rest go down the Lagone to snuff out **Bowno** which several small German garrisons had concentrated which had captured French post at Lai

18<sup>th</sup>

stayed on hill. Fox came in from Madigali says it is splendid country brought in 15 horses self shot 1 guineafowl.

19<sup>th</sup>

nothing. Mail came in ? till 8<sup>th</sup> Aug Letter arrived from Lane say French not going to attack Kusseri till 21<sup>st</sup>

20<sup>th</sup>

Sgt Studly left for Womaga to try & intercept any stragglers from Kusseri.

Guys letter came in. He was told by **Serakin Zamai** 5 German soldiers & 1 white man were in his town. **Seraku** obvious liar & luckily suspected 5 **men** turned out to be escort sent with letter to Vivian. they had posted no sentry & were nearly exterminated by Guys who fires 3 shots **lucky not ...ing hut**. **Serakin Zamari** sent in. Fox decided to use **S. Zamai** as guide to **in** turn & wanted to start 2.30. **Seraku Shamabwa** from **Marua** arrived saying 2 German soldiers & a lot of cash were **sitting** down 4 days off. Fox changed his mind and determined to go after them. Luckily letter arrived via Maidugari from Yola. Heard sad news **Puckle** Maclean **Aubin** & Stuart killed. Fox decided not to go as letters took so long to decipher. Self very glad

sick of chasing wild geese by night. Wire from Carter tendering his movements by not reporting

21<sup>st</sup>

nothing in morning. After lunch Fox & 1 sec inf & 1 sec M.I. started to go & support post in hills as news arrived Germans were preparing to attack it nothing doing however. Lambert & M.I. returned about 6 pm. During the night had an alarm. Letter from Vivian arrived afternoon

22<sup>nd</sup>

Fox returned about 10 having had bad diarrhoea all night & in bad temper & very seedy.

Letter arrived from Vivian saying that he could not move till he had authority from Yola but hoped to start 23<sup>rd</sup>

23<sup>rd</sup>

Fox much better but Austin very seedy sorry for himself doctor wants to send him home. Adamu Kataqua died & was buried. Wire arrived from Lagos saying Dobell was out & was going on overseas expedition presumably Duala. Shot two guinea fowls.

Lane arrived from Fort Lamy. Says French lost 4 officers killed at Kusseri also that they are going to make fresh assault on 24<sup>th</sup> from what he said of plan \*should imagine it would be impossible for them to succeed except with great loss they seem to have even less sense than ourselves. French very despondent at news from Europe rightly so in my estimation

\*see subsequent account .....

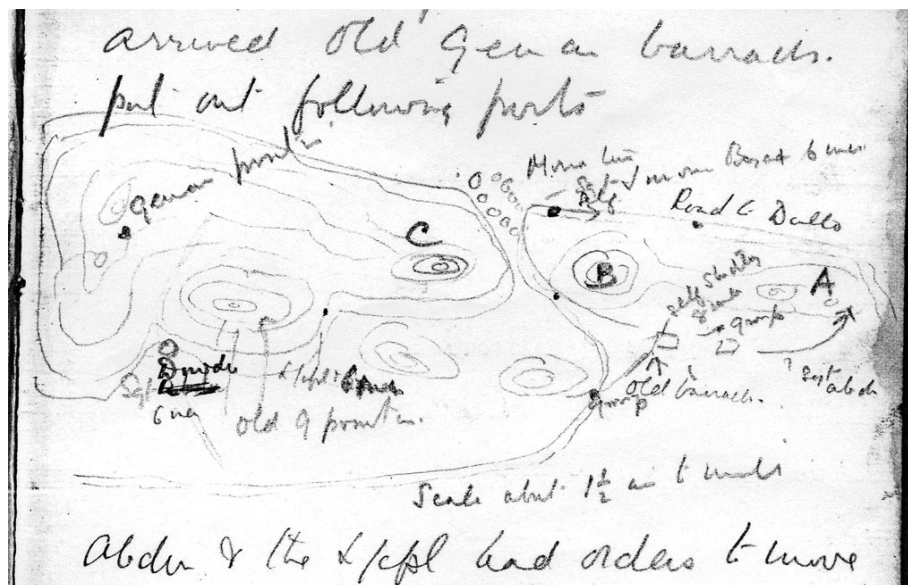
24<sup>th</sup>

nothing. Heard rumours fall Kusseri. Studley returned

25<sup>th</sup> & 26<sup>th</sup>

An exciting day at last. At 8.30 news came in German Garrison from Kusseri had camped night 24<sup>th</sup> 14 miles from here [Kangali] (The French had bombarded K for 2 days with slight success as was only to be expected. All it did was to give them warning of an attack. When they attacked they found nothing as Germans knowing all the familiar roads were blocked escaped by night very cleverly) Lambert Sgt Studly & I started to intercept Germans at 9.15 with 2 secs inf & 1 sec M.I. (25) we set out towards Kangali where they were camped. After going about 7 miles L came galloping back with a pagan with news Germans had taken bush path. So he set off

with guide through bush self following fearfully to rear on his track. Almost 2.30 found L on top of small hill he had seen Germans in bush they must have been close to me. Tried to get a move on him but we wasted 15 all important minutes instead of going after them with M.I. at once & eventually started myself with inf a fairly hopeless task I extended widely with scouts in front. M.I. scouts soon came through **line** & I heard firing in front to which we instantly went. Found M.I. scouts had come up with Germans & had opened fire on whitemen. Germans returned fire & then scattered. M.I. wanted to go back & report I drove the on with volleys of abuse as they undoubtedly ruined the show by not pursuing closely, always same. Found heaps of loads scattered in bush watches, clothes ammunition letters etc & caught one black soldier up a tree. Heard more fire, in front but again arrived too late. M.I. as usual stopped to loot. At about 4.30 reached main road again & decided to go back & sit down round German position in an endeavour to stop earths as near home as possible. At 8.30 arrived old German barracks put out following posts



Abdu & the L/cpl had orders to move to main road at dawn as I was a little nervous about them. At about 5.30 heard heavy firing from direction Mora. Started off with all the men I could find but was somewhat delayed by the arrival Sgt Abdu with 14 men whom we mistook for Germans. Note arrived from Fox telling me to stay out till 12 noon. Sent Sgt Abdu with his party to go in direction firing to right of hill A. Self & Studly went to left about 1 mile from Mora town found footsteps of two German whitemen & several of our cartridge cases quite close but no Sgt Imoru. Patrolled guinea corn but found nothing. Decided to go to **Olona** town & see what was there. At

the approach to the town saw two mounted men who promptly went back into guinea corn obviously German & m...saquies. Had a look at the town & went to call on Seraki to try & get some food for men. Saw about 4 Germans on top of hill seized a rifle put sights at 900 & missed my man a trifle low. Put sights 1000 & almost had him. Decided to get out of it as quickly as possible made mistake of retiring under hill B. Saw German flag evidently to attract fugitives on top of hill & could not resist temptation of a shot put sights 1700 & made a truly marvellous shot. Hit top of rock on which he was standing flag fell one way man other soldiers say he was hit by ricochet natives say same. Came under very hot fire both from top of c & from someone much nearer. Fire very accurate & many narrow escapes. Saw it was no good staying where we were so we all ran for our lives self fortunately down main road. They all seemed to confine their attention to us & I was actually touched on the shoulder once. Simply could not rally men & saw someone afterwards identified as Momadu Kaberi deliberately point in opposite direction No 4 sec is hopeless & usually as bad. Got back to camp about 12.30 very tired indeed having had little to eat or drink for 30 hours except condensed milk & brandy. On arrival found Dowdu had come in without orders had been sent back by Fox. Also that Imoru Baqui had left his post & whilst retiring towards Dullo had met 2 whitemen & 8 soldiers. The Germans asked them if they were English & the two leading soldiers at once fired wounding one of whitemen in arm. Sgt Baqui & one man at once ran away but the others fired, the Germans dispersed into bush. A great chance missed owing to cowardice & misconduct of sgt. Fear whiteman got away but don't think more than two or three soldiers got in so fairly successful on whole. We got 7 prisoners altogether & one at least was killed.

Saw a good many German rockets during night evidently for purpose of recalling fugitives. Heard full details Garua must have been terrible Wickham & Sherlock also dead. Brown Macdowell Scott-Macconnell Sequari badly wounded & Lock slightly very sad when one knows them nearly all. Troops seem to have behaved very badly but there seems to have been gross mismanagement everywhere.

27<sup>th</sup>

Had a day of reckoning with coy. Sgt Dowdu reduced ranks sgt Imaru Baqui & Immadu Karberi for court martial & I hope 3 others for same.

French arrived 8.20 am 2 officers 2 NCOs & 40 soldiers only 24 hours too late! They are the limit. Full of entente & had to try & talk French nearly all day.



On 26<sup>th</sup> a wire had arrived from **Carter** at Yola ordering us there at once. Fox decided to **delay** which was obviously right course as otherwise we would be letting French down badly & in addition to handing the unfortunate natives over to tender mercies of Germans.

Mercifully telegram arrived 27<sup>th</sup> cancelling this & ordering us to return if we had already started.

28<sup>th</sup>

French left early. Otherwise nothing.

Lambert left with Owen & about 40 M.I. on a raiding expedition which will probably last a fortnight to **Moda** etc. At about 7 pm heard news that Germans were driving pagans from top of hill presumably preparatory to departure. Self ordered to start at 3 am with one sec & investigate.

29<sup>th</sup>

Started at 3 am & marched completely round hill getting in 2 pm, found a certain amount of information & saw the famous road to Garua. Germans killed all cattle etc. a week ago all pagans were off top. Only one white man & one or two soldiers from Kusseri got on top 21 soldiers from Garua came in a few days ago the man I shot at with flag was a white man & was killed, if true an infernal fluke. Germans burnt rest of Mora town **during morning**. Powell with medical loads came in evening his escort **for** Bama B coy. 1 N R had committed usual robbery on road. Also heard of 2 German soldiers in village days march off. Heard news von Raben had left top of rock & had gone to village 11 miles off 2 days ago. In evening saw smoke presumably villages burnt by Germans. Went to bed very tired indeed

30<sup>th</sup>

Guays came in the morning. Three men sent out by Lane to secure two Germans reported by Powell, returned in evening having killed them in a hut. Lane & Guays left to put a post behind German position at point where the road I found joins Garua road\* consisting of No 4 sec. 2 N R which they were to pick up at Marua

[\*No! some wild place miles off]

31<sup>st</sup>

Mail arrived but no news of English victory. Had court martial on 1<sup>st</sup> Batt prisoners in morning

1<sup>st</sup>

Nothing



2<sup>nd</sup>

Pollard arrived & 3 deserters came in with him

3<sup>rd</sup>

Was washed at 5 am to get ready in one hour & go on usual goose chase. Was delayed at start as I had to give evidence against Imoru Baqai. Started at 7. At Dullo met man who said he had seen 10 Germans & thought they had put all their loads at a spot called RUYEY up a hill sounded probable as it is in direct line of retreat & close to MAKDELE where von Raben is supposed to have gone. Had a terrible march got to foot of hill at 6 pm & made exhaustive enquiries could get no information but decided to go on guide hopeless at 10 reached point where road ascended hill. Still unable to get information questioned guide closely & found that the 10 Germans whom he had seen 2 days ago were cpl BOASSI Torkly & Shetivo whom he had seen on 26<sup>th</sup> so much for pagan information! Sat down in village for night KUSEREHAY

4<sup>th</sup>

Spent day trying to get information; patrol to Rucy produced nothing men up mountain nothing. At about 4 pagans came in saying some Germans had come to a neighbouring village yesterday. Sent them back to get more information & determined to spend night & if nothing happened to move to KEREWAWA in morning.

Saw a man whose right hand & left foot had been cut off by Ser MANDARA for theft in old days & right eye

5<sup>th</sup>

Pagan failed to come so moved to Kerewa at 7 very hot on road no news whatsoever

6<sup>th</sup>

Left Kerewa very much delayed by the time it takes to get chop ready. Cannot understand why it should take so long. Arrived Sava almost 9 pm in pouring rain road very much longer than I expected & pouring rain from Dolo saw last of Austin at Dolo he will be quite a loss in camp. Found Fox had left ...(hurrah!)

7<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Foulkes & Fox went out in afternoon to choose artillery position sent SM & 10 men to try & catch a German prisoner as I heard they had been getting units (?) in Mora town. Several letters arrived from Lane & a most interesting proclamation from Germans to Seraku Buide. Owen arrived in morning

8<sup>th</sup>

Sent to Marua with 25 men to intercept Germans usual goose chase I suppose. Just ready to start when order cancelled. Letter from French saying they would arrive 13<sup>th</sup>

9<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

10<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Shot a guinea fowl in evening

11<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Fox went off 4 pm to meet French **Bulongoa**

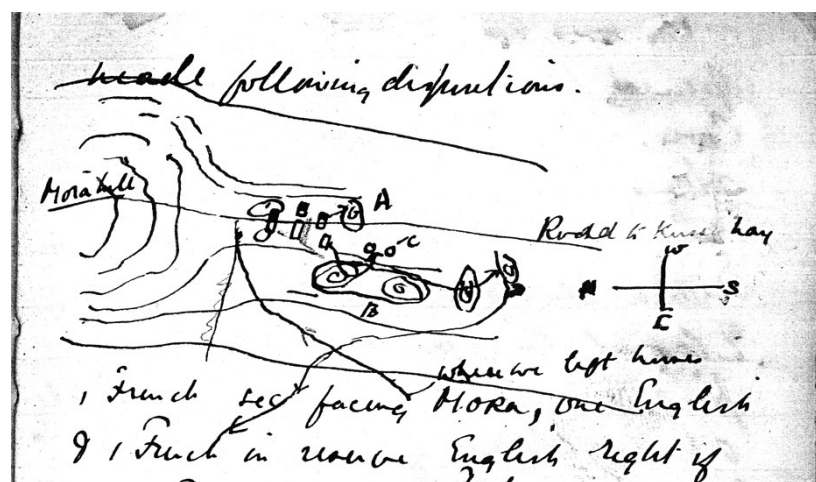
12<sup>th</sup>

Mail arrived

13<sup>th</sup> & 14<sup>th</sup>

French came in 6 am. 246 men & 2 guns & six officers including Ferandi & Opie whom we knew before. At 12 midnight was aroused by messenger to say 70 Germans & 2 whitemen were at Kusserehay. Self with 2 secs (60 men) & French captain Raymond with 106 sent to intercept them. We started 3 am.

Raymond an extremely nice man & a thorough soldier. Most of the dispositions were left to me as I knew the country which he did not & I based my calculations on the time they would take to march in. The guide proved hopeless as usual but we managed to get to top of hill about 8 am. Here we met pagan who said he had seen with his own eyes 40 Germans come down from hill & go to Kusserehay & return midnight 13<sup>th</sup>. However we decided to make reconnaissance of road towards Kusserehay. At about 9.30 we cut into the road & halted at the place at which I had originally intended to intercept Germans. Here we halted & Raymond made following dispositions



1 French sec facing MORA, one English & 1 French in reserve. English right of road, 1 French left, one French sec facing K on right 1 English left. Raymond took me forward to hill A to reconnoitre. We at once saw Germans advancing from K & ordered one French sec up to A & told me to send back & bring one sec up to right of road. French sec came up all right but to my horror saw one sec going to hill B owing to messenger being too intelligent. Went back myself & posted sec on small hillocks marked C but before I got there French had opened fire & Germans had taken cover. Although the German fire at us was quite hot we were quite unable to see a single enemy. Aruma Yola was shot through the arm & leg at this point. Wasted **here** perhaps one hour firing occasionally at the stubs of French bullets & at various supposed Germans. Ordered Sgt Sali & other sec up to prolong to right & further out flank enemy. French sec arrived & brought note saying they were to surround Germans & drive them from their holes. Ordered Sali to advance & did not see that section again. French went on to south & I & No 1 sec followed under heavy fire most of the time. After going about ½ a mile & having fired a certain amount came up with French engaged with some Germans on a hill almost 300 yds. They had then had 2 killed & 3 wounded. Had just given orders to out flank this hill when I heard heavy firing from Germans in rear showing that they had come down from the mountain behind. Thought it best to retire on Raymond but did not know where he was. By this time most of us were utterly exhausted. French sous-officier showed me note from Raymond telling him to retire to place where he left horses so started to do so. Missed road & came down water course right under German position & came under very heavy long-range fire. Self Studly & almost 10 men kept straight on too exhausted even to run. (Time 3 pm) about 5 men with Sgt Abdu & two or three French ran straight away & rejoined later & I did not see the rest of the French again. Made our way slowly & painfully to **Dullo** which was reached at 7 pm. Here we got a whole calabash of milk which was all the food we had had since dinner the night before & Studly ate some eggs self tried to but was too done to eat more than two. Waited here two hours & Sgt Sali & 10 men came in reporting that Baho **Sopoto** had been killed & two more slightly wounded. Got some horses & got back to camp at 11 pm & reported Col Brisset. Heard Fox & Ferandi had gone out with 46 men to reconnoitre same ground where fight had taken place.

14<sup>th</sup>

Raymond with French & rest of our men came in early total casualties French killed 4 wounded 4 English killed 1 wounded 3 Company Thebault sent out to entrench at point where the fight took place. Two mysterious whitemen reported in village turned out to be Powell by himself sketching. Self very done up, practically reduced to milk & not feeling up to eating anything & return of old complaint.

15<sup>th</sup>

Fox & Ferandi came in early having had few adventures except with guide

16<sup>th</sup>

Did nothing & felt slightly recovered. Capt **Summet** arrived in evening having marched from Wadaivangua 27 miles for 22 days. Ordered by Col Bisset to go to PADDIKO on night of 17<sup>th</sup> with one sec subsequently increased to two. One French sec sent to DEME and another to Vamy to [*sic; should be "so"*] the Germans will now be well shut in.

17<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup>

Left for Paddiko almost 9 pm arrived top of hill almost 2 am path being difficult. Sat down for rest of night at what seemed a good place but when day dawned found it miles from anywhere.

At about 8 am found the old **Serakis** private **store** which the Germans had visited on 16<sup>th</sup> & to which it was rumoured they were going to return on 18<sup>th</sup>. Place exceedingly strong by nature about 2000 yds from German position & had been slighted by pagans. Sat down here. Sent out one patrol in evening to possible artillery position in front but they found it was impossible to see German camp. However they got within 500 yds if [*sic*] a post & saw two whitemen there.

20<sup>th</sup>

Stayed in camp during day. Sent Sgt **Sali** & six men out at dusk to explore peak to right of road & if possible snipe the enemy they returned during night & reported having **met** post of enemy & killed two

21<sup>st</sup>

Several messages & 4 signallers arrived from **Sava** had to try & make sketch for Colonel Brisset which I fear proved rather strain on my powers. Men sent to fetch in

No 4 came back having failed to find them. Went out and had a **nearer** look at German position's **wire fencing**. Sniped a sentry **from long range**

22<sup>nd</sup>

Sent out party to arrest Seraku WUGILLA as I had heard he had supplied Germans with provisions & he had refused to bring water to me. After arresting him soldiers attacked by pagans attempting to rescue him. I fear several murders were committed. How I hate this sort of thing! Seraki brought in & I let him go under promise to bring in water etc. Suppose I was wrong but one cannot help pitying the poor things if only I had gone myself to fetch him doubtless many atrocities would have been averted. I wish I had another whiteman here. Poor old Seraki almost a cripple.

Foulkes came in in evening just prior to his arrival saw German**s** on top of rock looking towards Dullo evidently as it turned out waiting for Foulkes luckily sent out No 2 sec to snipe them & so **diverted** their attention.

Foulkes approved WUGILLA about which I was rather nervous

23<sup>rd</sup>

Wugilla came in in morning with flour, eggs & two cows said 3 pagans killed. Foulkes sent message to Windelmire telling them to come in. Strange incident in afternoon. Sentry in unloading rifle left bullet in breech so put another cartridge in to blow it out! Burst rifle & frightened us all badly. Had message from Fox saying Lambert had been sent back Maidugari fear there has been **trouble**.

24<sup>th</sup>

Various other pagans came in so perhaps lesson 22<sup>nd</sup> did some good. Note arrived from Fox sayings Simmons was going to establish himself on top of hill & ordered me to be ready to support him if he was attacked. Went out at about 11 pm & sat down close to German hill till 3.30 but heard nothing. Men very nervous. A patrol I sent out declared they saw a German sentry but personally don't believe it.

25<sup>th</sup>

Did nothing. Foulkes left about 12. Ogier & De Fürst came in about 8 gave them some **sort** of a meal

26<sup>th</sup>

De Furst left at 5.30 to see artillery position whilst Ogier made a sketch. Both left 8.30. No 4 section came in much to my relief at 9 am Sgt Maman Segga had sent a patrol to get into touch with M.I. & was waiting for it to come back. They report having trouble with **Maktele** pagans & having killed 10 posted his section on a hill to

the right nearer road. PUJAS & 2 NCOs arrived about 3 pm at almost 5 we went out to explore but found the position too steep had rather a tiring march poor PUJAS very tired

27<sup>th</sup>

Pollard arrived about 7 am with medical loads. Sniped Germans from Sato's hill range 1300

28<sup>th</sup>

Went out for a reconnaissance. Pagan took us to Vama under highest peak instead of where I wanted to go i.e. top of hill. Found it nearly impossible to get any information as natives evidently terrorised by Germans. Could not find **wall** to top & pagans refused to show it. Captured a pagan & brought him home. Sent Sgt Lali to try & snipe Germans but he was unable to see any. Returned almost 12.30 pm.

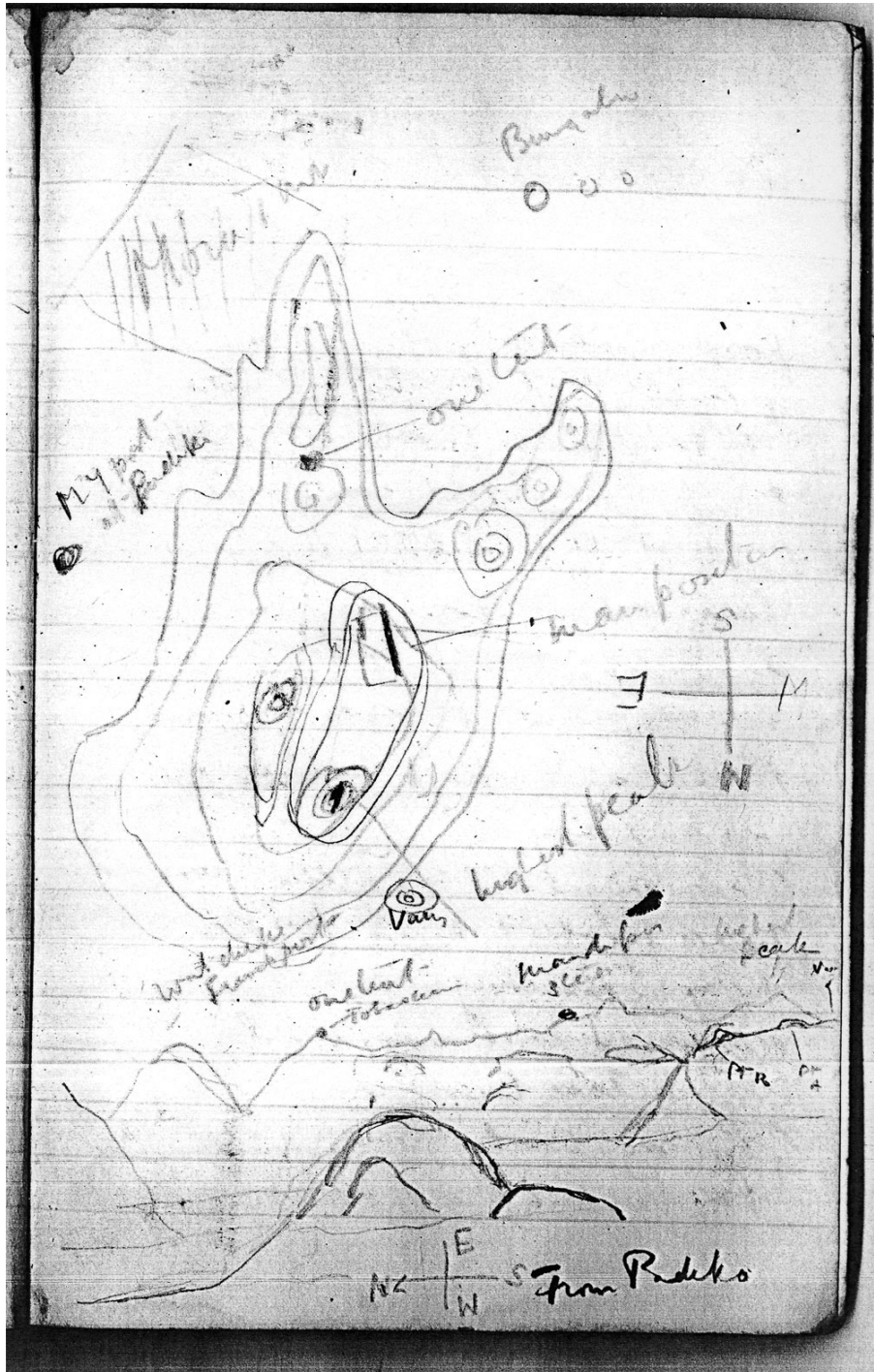
29<sup>th</sup>

Pagan at first refused to give any information but finally after several interviews agreed! Said 100 Germans & 7 whitemen in 3 posts; main position had a stone wall & **a ditch on end**. a maxim on top of highest hill. At first he did not want to go back to his town but preferred staying evidently being afraid. At about 1.30 pm his fellow townsmen came in to make obeisance with usual presents & he said he would go back with them. Think I deserve gold medals in pacifying pagans! Sent S. Mayor & No 1 sec to snipe in evening they report they got up to within 500 yds of a sentry smoking a cigarette & fired several shots at him whilst another party bombarded the tents but no reply came from the Germans.

30<sup>th</sup> & 31<sup>st</sup>

Received orders from Fox to move with all the men I could collect to top of hill overlooking one tent position of enemy, meeting him near MORA and to ascend together. Met all right in river. Fox told us Col Brisset's plan was to attack Tobascum (where one tent is) at 2 am with Thibault on left. We started at 10 am and I think went to wrong place too near main position. When we started No 1 in front a disgraceful scene took place. Section ran away before a shot fired. Section collected & new advance made. A shot was fired & section ran away to right again.





Fox went to look for section & ordered me to advance with No 2 managed to get them to move forward slowly got within 50 yds of German position when fire was opened & a man hit. Found myself with 4 men within 50 yds of Germans. Sent back for No 4 (with doctor) but took a long time before I could find a man to go. No 4 at last came up very well & we got close to Germans. No 1 now came up having got right ... (?) on the German position on right but Fox found himself only followed by 7 men & got out of a difficult situation skilfully. **Dan Fulaus** was hit & one German indubitably killed. Fox then gave orders to advance & we captured German position without further loss

(only about 6 men there). We then tried to take another German position in front but were met by terrific fire & Fox found the position impossible a high wall on top of a cliff. When we were about 50 yds off a bullet through back of bugler Sibberne Yola & then into my knee. As the bugler was groaning I went out & tried to tie him up but another bullet came & splashed us both severely. Whereupon bugler fled! Fox gave order to retire & I found I could get along all right & my orderly was magnificent. Had a painful descent to bottom of hill under some fire & heaps of rocks & precipices. Retired to Padiko found casualties 4 prisoners 12 wounded & 30 with cuts & abrasions. Only 3 wounds serious mainly splash. I also had a narrow escape from a bad wound. Went too far south but saw nothing of Thibault and heard nothing.

Sgt Studly & Vincent (. . . . .) came in in afternoon also Quays. Knee very painful but Pollard says it has missed bone only grazed it.

Missing men turned up 2 having fled Mora one to French [Brisset said "too central" *written at bottom of page*] a hopelessly mismanaged show from start to finish. No reconnaissance of any sort whatsoever. Awful! So on the whole got out of it fairly lightly. Captured one German rifle.

#### 1<sup>st</sup> Nov

Spent day on my back knee still painful and unable to bend leg very nearly fainted after breakfast after moving it. Letter arrived Col Brisset saying we had Tobascum still our objective. Also French C....rs quite close. Can not help thinking if it had been commanded by an Englishman it would have helped. Remarks about firing at night quite right.

#### 2<sup>nd</sup>

Moved into Rymper outside fort more comfortable but do not like it from military point of view

#### 3<sup>rd</sup>

Knee better carried into Sava rather unpleasant journey down hill started 5 pm got in 10.45

#### 4<sup>th</sup>

Apparently reliable report 40 Germans coming to Mora from Garua also news 400 on road up. French company Thibault to attack Tobascum Lane & Owen with 25 M.I. sent to reinforce Padiko



5<sup>th</sup>

Heard French had taken Tabascum with slight loss. Message arrived Yola saying Garua reinforced, and 200 Germans on way to take up position between Garua and Mora. O.C. Yola proposes moving **off/to (?)** Marua to cut them off.

6<sup>th</sup>

Heard news French had been driven out of Tabascum with severe loss on morning of 4<sup>th</sup> but didn't know quite casualties. Knee much better

7<sup>th</sup>

Heard French had taken Tabascum but had had to retire casualties 11 R & F & white sergt killed 25 wounded. They saw 17 dead German soldiers & 2 Europeans and another European was wounded by shell. News that 200 Germans had got to Gaswar 3 marches off. Foulkes sent to take charge Tobascum Whitwick sent to Marua to collect information. Knee better

8<sup>th</sup>

Foulkes returned in evening nothing else. Knee nearly all right

9<sup>th</sup>

Did nothing all day. Word came in in evening to say Germans strength unknown were quite close

10<sup>th</sup>

Last night's report turned out false as usual

11<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

12<sup>th</sup>

Lane sent to Marua with about 40 M.I. as Whitwick reported a party of Germans about 200 in all had executed two Serakis Mulbi & Kulfu and were coming with *[next line crossed out; written underneath is "hump incident" (?)]*

13<sup>th</sup>

Got up in uniform. Received orders in evening to go to Padiko & take charge to start 2 am. Note arrived 5.30 pm saying French had found position overlooking enemy's camp at a distance of 900 yds and ordering Sgt Studly & maxim to go there. As Fox was away sent necessary orders to him.

14<sup>th</sup>

Got to Padiko 7 am & found Studly had returned having lost his way. Ordered him to go back as soon as he had had some food and rest, he never can find his way. At 9 got

orders to bring company back to Sava leaving Quays and one section behind. Got back about 2 found news that Germans were at Mama and had been skirmishing with outposts near there. Also found Peel M... Percival M.I. volunteer Evans volunteer infantry and Waterson c/sgt M.I.

15<sup>th</sup>

Peel and other M.I. sent out to Dewe whither M.I. had retired as it watched all roads. Fox went with them. Orders from Col Brisset to be ready to move at once in case Germans attacked. M.I. patrol found nothing. Seraku Mama came in. French wounded moved onto rock. Heard from Studly in evening he found French but had not got into position

16<sup>th</sup>

Nothing of note

17<sup>th</sup>

News came in in evening Peel & Percival had been killed on Marua road. Started out at 6 pm 2 coys French less 1 sec 3 secs 2 N.R. Reached Dolber almost 2 am tiring march found news true about Peel & Percival also 2 sgts & 2 R & F killed & 2 wounded. Met Lane at Dolber. Difficult to get at truth but apparently Peel met German patrol on road pursued and tried to rush a bullet with bayonet obvious result

18<sup>th</sup>

Reached Gayae 1½ miles from Marua halted in village worst place I have ever seen for defence. Attacked by bees in morning self stung three times. Lane & M.I. nearly cut off. Went to occupy outskirts of Marua & only his good sense & watchfulness saved him. French the most casual lot about orders I have ever met. Lane's mission both useless & dangerous in extreme.

19<sup>th</sup>

Spent dangerous night in wholly indefensible position. Started on Fox's urgent representations putting place in some sort of state of defence in morning. Had alarm about 10 am. Guns sent in from Sava (18<sup>th</sup>) Brisset intending to bombard position

20<sup>th</sup>

Ferandi went out at night (19<sup>th</sup>) but could not find position for anything. Guns arrived also 2 maxims. Enemy skirmished to within 800 yds of position but would not attack. Guns sent back. Saw swarm of locusts in evening

21<sup>st</sup>

Started back for Sava at 6.30 pm halted 3 hours at Dolber a very cold & tiring march

22<sup>nd</sup>

Got decent night in pyjamas at last. Heard heavy firing at foot of mountain in evening reported de Fürst and all his section except 3 had been killed trying to ambush Germans over water. Turned out true. News arrived Germans from Mama close to Sava, about 5 miles off. Self & Evans sent off in hurry with 50 men to support action at S of Mora arrived 5.30 pm.

24<sup>th</sup>

Sent to support French section at Vamy about 800 yds from highest point Mora mountain orders to annoy enemy. Shot at a camel & several soldiers & apparently did annoy them as they turned on two maxims without result

25<sup>th</sup>

Sniped solitary sentry

26<sup>th</sup>

ditto by aid of glasses established great **visual** superiority & think hit sentry

27<sup>th</sup>

ditto also camel

28<sup>th</sup>

saw two cows

29<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

30<sup>th</sup>

Germans started putting up dummies but soon detected. Mail arrived.

1<sup>st</sup>

Evans & ten men recalled Sava

2<sup>nd</sup>

Nothing. Vamy pagans the limit. Cretien has them under no control & they refuse to bring in anything

3<sup>rd</sup>

Nothing

4<sup>th</sup>

Very heavy firing to west both guns & several maxims in early morning desultory firing rest of day late evening when it began again

5<sup>th</sup>

Mail came in. Night very cold. Nothing by day

6<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Sent note Foulkes re artillery position

7<sup>th</sup>

Nothing in morning sent out party to wait over well on left. Party of pagans came down about midnight to get water. Post fired several shots & caught a woman. According to my instructions, they also caught Feroko owner of this **house/horse** paying visit to top of mountain (always thought he was a knave) forwarded prisoners to Chretien who sent them in to Brisset

8<sup>th</sup>

16 men of No 1 sec came in in evening but told to send 6 back. Germans much more active failed to **spot** sentries who shot at pagans all day evidently annoyed about water.

9<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Germans quiet

10<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Germans very quiet. Received 11 more men from Sava early in response to earnest request. Fox said had great difficulty in persuading Brisset to let them go. *[sentences crossed out here. Appears to be a criticism of Brisset; begins "Getting more and more fed up with Brisset....."]*

11<sup>th</sup>

Quite an exciting day. Had a good shot at sentry early on. Received cipher message from Fox saying Pt B was to be released at 9 pm & Evans was to go there instead of **carb.....** Turned out about 20 men to shoot at 2 camels & 2 men at about 2 pm one camel reported slain. In evening well post was attacked by pagans with stones pagans driven off no loss. Sat up till after 10 pm but saw nothing. Pagans made a beastly noise all night at Vamy ..... **debacle** I wish they would learn a new tune these 6 notes get **monotonous**

13<sup>th</sup>

Frantic note arrived about 7 from Fox saying Evans and No 4 sec lost. Eventually found at point "B" heaven knows how they got there. Helio from Foulkes saying Germans had left Mama and seraki was to return tonight under escort

14<sup>th</sup>

Germans v. quiet. Fox came in in evening. No news

15<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Mail came in in evening.

16<sup>th</sup>

Mail very bad reading everyone I know seems to be killed.

17<sup>th</sup>

Saw several cows but did not hit any. German sentries very spiteful must have fired hundreds of rounds

18<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Whitwick came to dinner

19<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Mail arrived [*written to one side of the main entry*; “Garuba Saichi Sunday reprimanded”]

20<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Suspect fever coming on

21<sup>st</sup>

Nothing in morning. Heard rumour highest peak had been abandoned went out in evening to try & find path up attacked by pagans. Pte Luisa hit on head by stone retired didn't fancy pagans in the dark.

22<sup>nd</sup>

Very bad headache all day feeling rotten. Unexpected mail arrived lunchtime

23<sup>rd</sup>

Sick all night

24<sup>th</sup>

Had truce in afternoon to enable Christmas box to be sent to Sgt Taylor. Carriers forgot blankets had to send them in morning. Saw Sgt Studly Vincent & Evans at post A & B and gave box myself. Have lost a day somehow. Sgt Moma Warikin reduced to cpl Mura Bau.... promoted

25<sup>th</sup>

Sort of informal truce all day. Whitwick came to dinner

26<sup>th</sup>

G's being quiet in morning but woke up at nine. Things for Taylor arrived at night M. Warikin reduced private

27<sup>th</sup>

Germans doing a lot of shooting early on but of course stopped whilst things were sent Taylor. Rest of day peaceful

28<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

29<sup>th</sup>

Two very heavy bursts of firing but saw nothing but two cows I shot at personally neither hit

29<sup>th</sup>

Nothing [ *note: there are TWO 29<sup>th</sup>s*]

30<sup>th</sup>

Saw a donkey & had some shots at it. Had orders to punish pagans who had attacked me & wounded horse. I do hate this sort of thing it is too much like murder. Ordered 7 men to attack place at dawn. They started too soon about **2 AM** (no one here has a watch) pagans offered stout resistance when men got back 3 had been hit by stones & they said 20 pagans were killed [*“Poor things” crossed out*] Local pagans say only 4 killed [*crossed out sentence*; “Glad it was not more...guilty than sick of this &.....pagans in the... most hateful...of all” *legible*]

31<sup>st</sup>

Shot at a camel otherwise nothing

1<sup>st</sup> Jan

Nothing

2<sup>nd</sup>

Nothing. Whitwick came to dinner

3<sup>rd</sup>

Nothing

4<sup>th</sup>

Post came

5<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

6<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

7<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Went to for CM. Mail arrived

8<sup>th</sup>

Remond came to look round

9<sup>th</sup>

Remond left; Powell came

10<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

11<sup>th</sup>

Went to PT B & A saw Evans etc. Had hours truce & saw von Raben. Stayed & had dinner with Evans & after losing way several times got back about 11 pm. Found Powell building walls

12<sup>th</sup>

Powell murdered pagan v good shot at 700 yds fired at some goats which ran down hill & we captured several. Had sundry shots at a camel. Whitwick came to dinner.

13<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. No 2 sec sent to Sava

14<sup>th</sup>

Powell left in evening (Thursday)

15<sup>th</sup>

Nothing except had a few shots at a donkey pair of boots came thank goodness

16<sup>th</sup>

Ordered to arrest 2 pagans. Caught two both tried to escape & got shot. In course of affray M Samanni got shot in hand. I do hate this business one feels one has blood on ones hands

17<sup>th</sup>

Foulkes & Whitwick arrived

18<sup>th</sup>

A lot of firing all day. Shot at least one cow

19<sup>th</sup>

Nothing; Evans shot in **nose** in evening

20<sup>th</sup>

Foulkes left for pt B, Whitwick for Sava

21<sup>st</sup>

Nothing. No 2 sec returned from Sava

22<sup>nd</sup>

Nothing. Wyse (German capt) doki boy came Sava

23<sup>rd</sup>

Mail came in

24<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. C/sgt reports killed whiteman

25<sup>th</sup>

Lane left for home, invalided

26<sup>th</sup>

Whiteflag up. Nothing materialised

27<sup>th</sup>

Nothing

28<sup>th</sup>

Nothing except **report** wild wire from Lagos saying G's had got convoy in to Mora.

Two pagans slightly wounded

29<sup>th</sup>

Sent to Padiko

30<sup>th</sup>

Waited at Padiko. Had a go of fever felt rotten

31<sup>st</sup>

Nothing; better but still rather seedy. Sat up for leopard saw nothing

1<sup>st</sup> Feb

Fox & Badshaw came

2<sup>nd</sup>

F & B stayed Kilkelly came to lunch mail arrived

3<sup>rd</sup>

F & B left for pt B

4<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Shot 4 g fowls

5<sup>th</sup>

shot 2 g fowls in morning & gun went wrong

6<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Bitterly cold



7<sup>th</sup>

Nothing. Heard 13 g's had gone to Sava during night & fired 100 shots into place

8<sup>th</sup>

Studly came down to examine position for M gun on **Manichu** Range. Spent morning climbing about it found it much further from Tabascum than we expected. In evening had orders to go to Vame with No 1 sec. Found Quays there with strong rumour of attack. Stayed up all night but nothing happened.

*[From this point on the diary entries are all run together and become less intelligible, and the dates are muddled. Here I have replicated them & the format as closely as possible. DJR]*

9<sup>th</sup>

Guays left 10<sup>th</sup> Nothing. Mail arrived

11, 12, 13, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> Mail arrived

17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> *[word crossed out]* failure 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> Foulkes & Fox

left for circular tour. Badham went to Mama

heavy firing at pts A & B 2 men hit one badly

21<sup>st</sup> went out shooting early got 5 guinea fowls &

one duiker 22<sup>nd</sup> Nothing 23<sup>rd</sup> Nothing 24<sup>th</sup> went

shooting got 5 g fowls 1 bustard 1 berewa

**24<sup>th</sup>** shot 2 g fowls & a sand grouse, ...

Hammond came 13<sup>th</sup> Hammond left for pt A

24<sup>th</sup> shot 3 g fowls 27<sup>th</sup> Hammond

taken on & sent to pt B Evans sent Sava to

leave for England on 2<sup>nd</sup> April

1<sup>st</sup> April shot berewa & 2 g fowls

10<sup>th</sup> Fox returned 13<sup>th</sup> Message to Germans

intercepted 14<sup>th</sup> **Mardara** arrested thank

goodness 17<sup>th</sup> M sent Mdgri 18<sup>th</sup> Fox

came to see me 19<sup>th</sup> **Feser** & Mackay arrived

**Feser** to stop Mackay to go pt A 27<sup>th</sup> went

to Sava say good bye Fox 28<sup>th</sup> Fox left for Garua

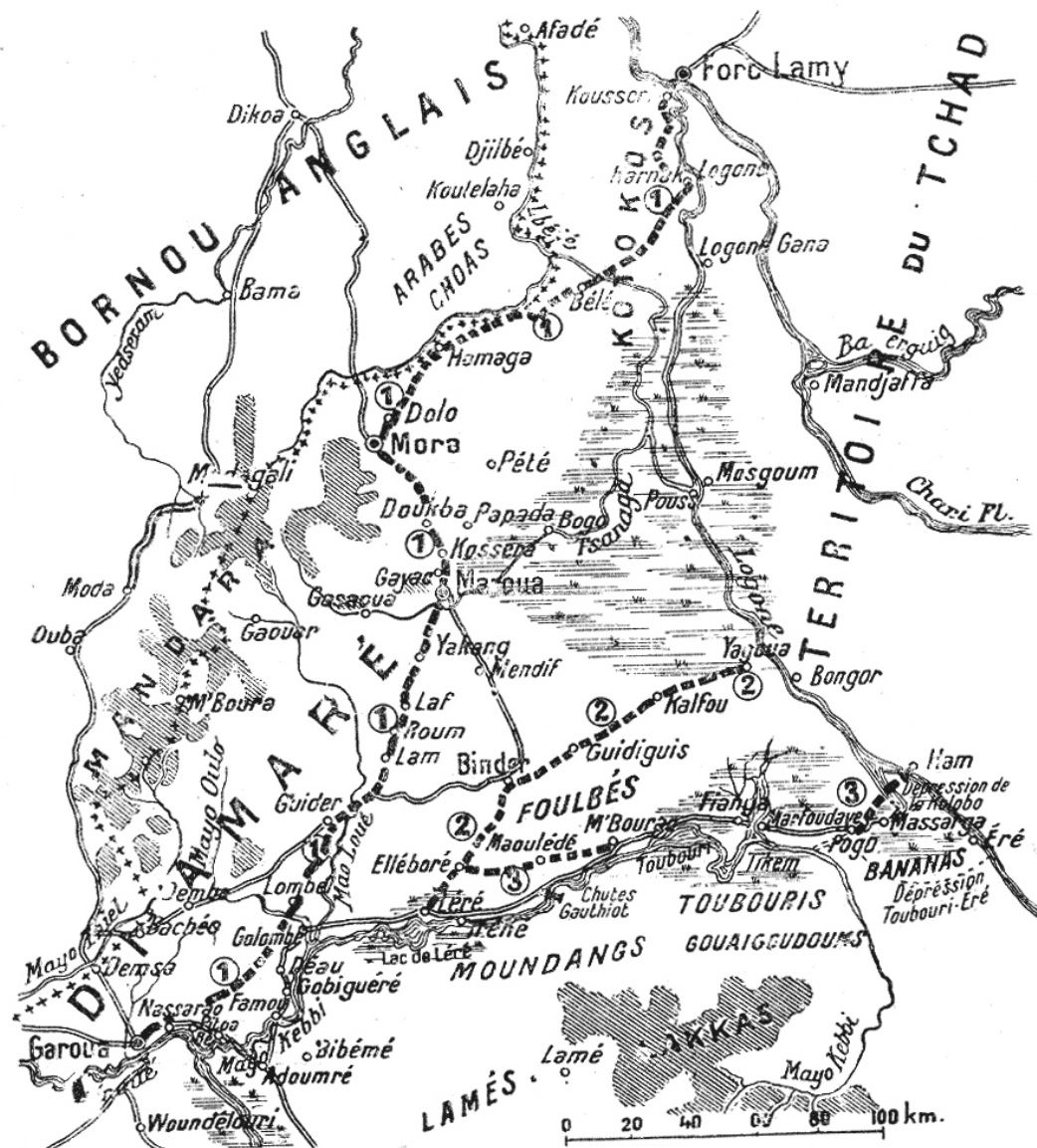
Self returned

## **Appendices**

**Appendix A** Illustrations from Lt-Col. Jean Ferrandi (1928: pp183,24,127,53). Two regional maps of northern Cameroon, a map of the German position at Mora and its surroundings, and a panoramic sketch of the German positions as seen from Sava

**Croquis au 1/2.000.000<sup>e</sup> des routes françaises de Garoua à Fort-Lamy.**

- 1<sup>o</sup> Route directe par Guider, Maroua, Karnak Logone.
- 2<sup>o</sup> Route mixte par Léré, Binder, Kalfou, Yagoua (portage sur le tronçon Léré-Yagoua.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Route fluviale par Léré, le Toubouri, Pogo et Ham (portage réduit au tronçon Léré-M'Bourao).

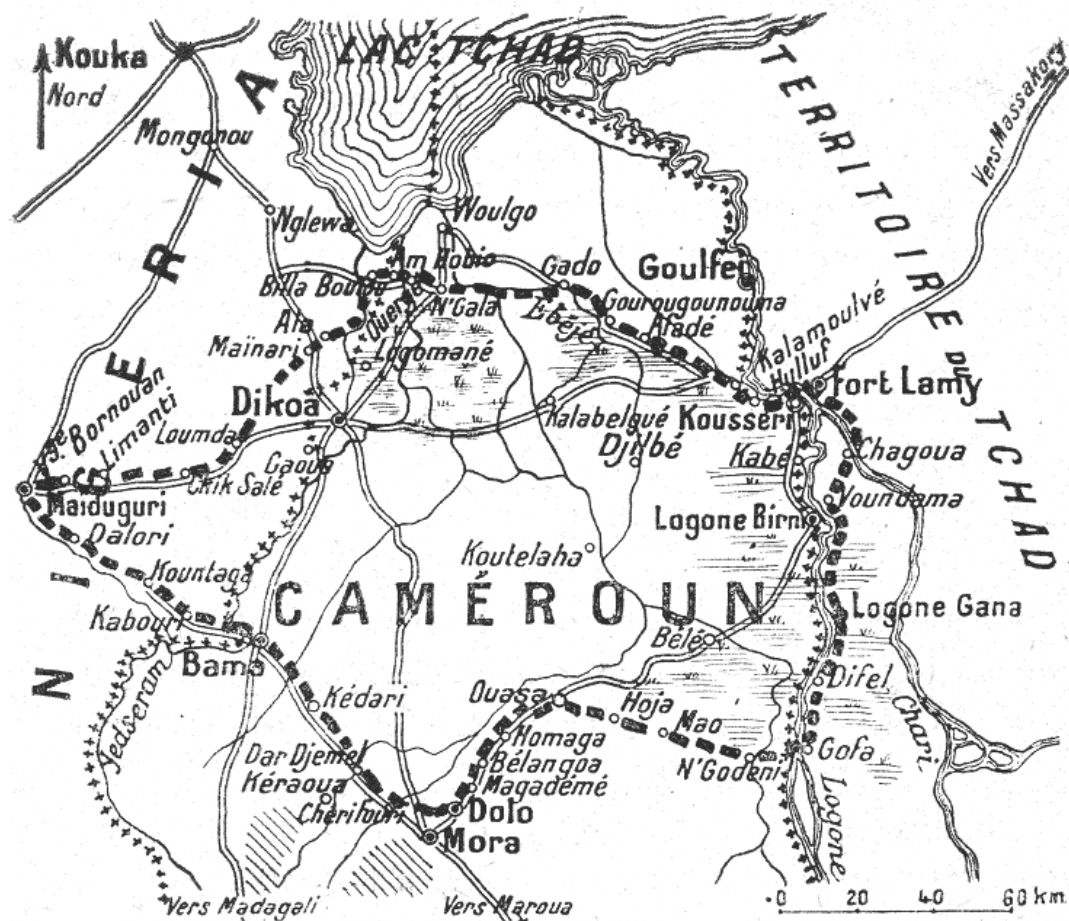


**ORTHOGRAPHE DES NOMS GÉOGRAPHIQUES :** Homaga, Papada, Doukba, Madagali, Ouba, Mayo Thiel, Woundépouri, Adoumri, Lombel, Maoulédé, Marfoudaye, Yagoua, Roum, Famou.

## Le Cameroun Nord.

(Sultanats de Dikoa et de Logone Birni).

(Le trait hachuré indique mon itinéraire.)



Fort-Lamy.

Dikoa.

Maïduguri.

Bama.

Dolo.

Mora.

Koutlaha.

Logone Birni.

Kousséri.

Goulféi.

Kouka.

Logone Gana.

Mongonou.

Nglewa.

Billaboutou.

Ala.

Mainari.

Loumda.

Chik Salé.

Limanti

Village Bornouan.

Dalori.

Kountaga.

N'Godéni.

Gofa.

Chagoua.

Kalamoulvé.

Kabouri.

Kédari.

Dar Djemel.

Kéraoua.

Chéri Fouri.

Magadémé.

Bélangoa.

Homaga.

Ouasa.

Hoja.

Mao.

Difel.

Voundama.

Yaré.

Hulluf.

Afadé.

Gourougounouma.

Gado.

Woulgo.

Am Hobio.

N'Gala.

Ouergué.

Logomané.

Gaoua.

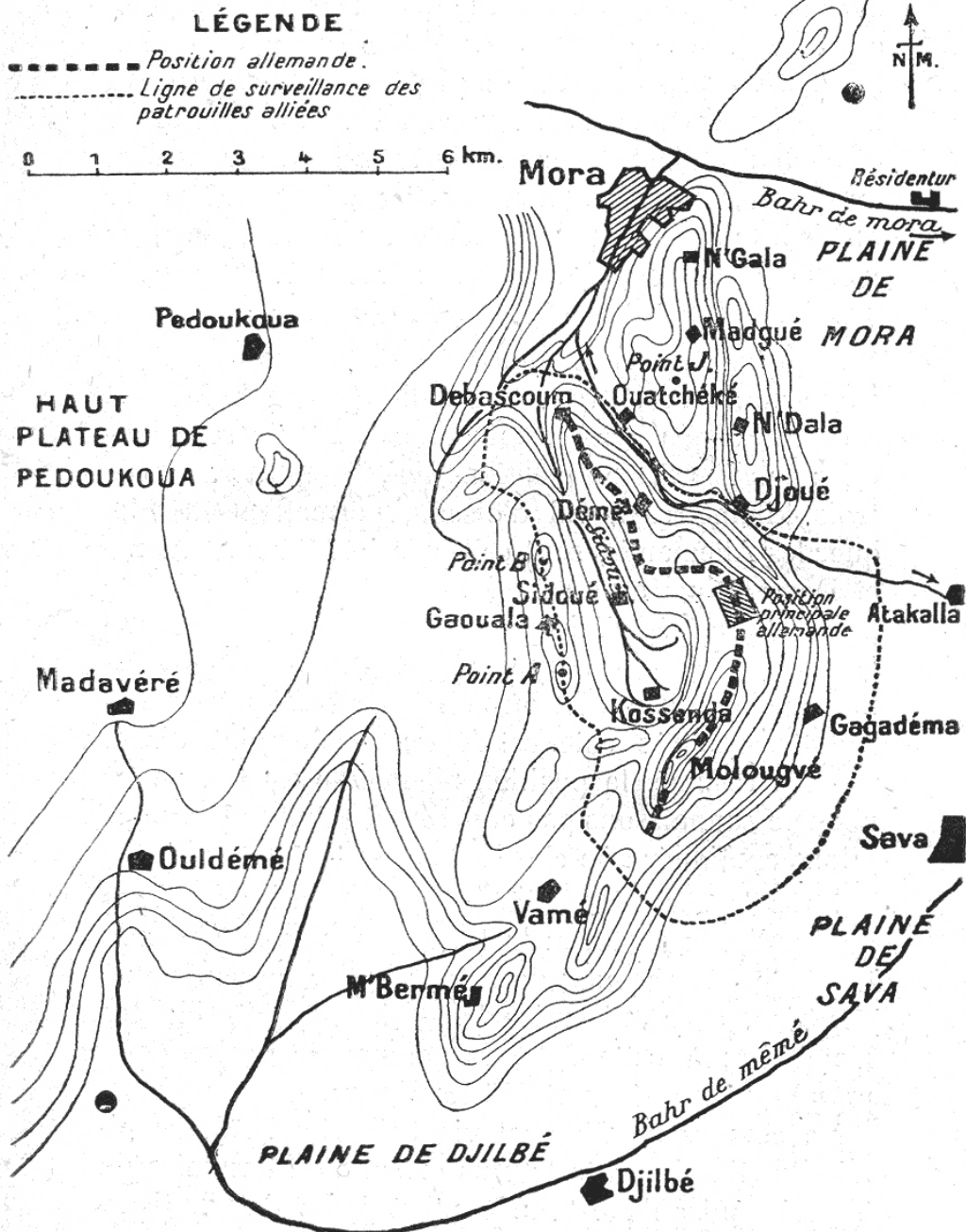
Kalabelgué.

Djilbé.

Bélé.

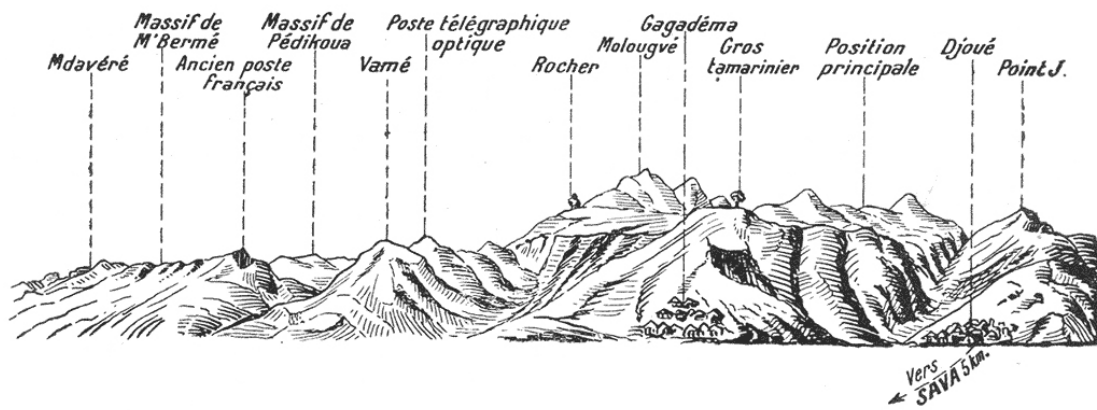
# Attaque et blocus de la montagne de Mora.

(Croquis établi d'après les levés des officiers de la colonne. — Équidistance des courbes : 20 mètres.



ORTHOGRAPHE DES NOMS GÉOGRAPHIQUES : Mora, N'Gala, Madgué, Debascoum, Ouatchéke, Djilbé, Madavéré, Bahr de Mémé, N'Dala, Dème, Djoué, Atakalla, Gaouala, Sidoué, M'Bermé, Kossenda, Gagadéma, Molougvé, Vamé, Sava, Pedoukoua, Ouldémé.

La position allemande de Mora.



Vue perspective prise de Sava (face allemande Est).

Croquis du lieutenant DE FURST.

NOMS GÉOGRAPHIQUES : Madavéré, M'Bermé, Pédikoua, Vamé, Molougvé, Gagadéma, Djoué, Sava.

**Appendix B**     *Table and glossary of spelling conventions*

<b>Lees' spelling of titles</b>	<b>Modern spelling</b>	<b>Meaning/Role</b>
Seraku; Sarakin; Seraki; Serakis	Sarki (Hausa)	Emir; local chief; headman
Shebu; Sheku;	Shehu	Sheikh
Sheku Sanda	Shehu Sanda	Emir of Dikwa
<b>Lees' spelling of place names</b>	<b>Modern spelling</b>	<b>Ferrandi's spelling</b>
Bama	Bama	Bama
Boolonga, Bulongua		
Bowno		
Delvo		
Dewe		
Dikoa	Dikwa	Dikoa
Dolber		
Dullo; Dolo	Doulo	Dolo
Garua	Garoua	
Gaswar		
Gayae	Gayak (Cameroon)	Gayac
Geidam	Geidam (Nigeria)	
Kangali		
Kerewa	Kirawa, Kéraoua	Kéraoua
Konduga	Konduga (Nigeria)	
Kusseri, Kusserehay	Kousseri	Kousseri
Lai	? Lai	
Limanti	Limani	Limanti
Loleoga (?)		
Madigali	Madagali	Madagali
Maidugari, Maidugeri	Maiduguri	Maiduguri
Malan		
Mama		
Manichu, Manichorin		
Marua	Maroua	Maroua
Menukwa		
Moda		
Mora	Mora	Mora
Olona town		
Oolari		
Rucy		
Ruyey		
Sava	Sava	Sava
Tobascum		Debasoum
Yola	Yola	Yola
Wadaiavangua		
Womaga		
<b>Lees' spelling of ethnic names</b>	<b>Modern spelling</b>	<b>Ferrandi's spelling</b>
Deme	Ouldémé	? Ouldémé
Maktele; Makdele	Muktélé	
Mandara; Mardara	Mandara, Wandala	Mandara
Mulgue	Molgwo	Molougwe
Padeko; Padiko; Paddiko	Podoko	Pédikoua; Pedoukoua
Vama; Vamy	Vamé	Vamé

