



THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD'S BENIN 1897 COLLECTIONS: AN INTERIM REPORT

**DAN HICKS
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0. Executive Summary

This interim report introduces the 145 objects taken during the Benin Expedition of 1897 that are currently held by the University of Oxford as accessioned objects (n=100) and on loan (n=45). It identifies 15 further objects which may or may not be from the 1897 Expedition. The Report also separately discusses related categories of object, including a) those taken during related military expeditions in what is today Nigeria; b) a range of other items taken from Benin City in the 20th century (including royal and religious objects of 19th-century date); and c) more recent artworks exported from Nigeria.

The Report sets out a series of principles for provenance research into Benin 1897 material. Among these is the importance of transparency. Such is the nature of collections management and provenance research that further objects may be identified in the future, and more will be learned about the objects described here. Omissions and even the possibility of mistakes are an inevitable part of this kind of provenance work, where there is always more to learn. But we are committed to as much transparency as possible about these collections, even though there is always further research to be done. There will always be the curatorial inclination to delay putting our current understanding in the public domain, holding back until a definitive account can be given. Running against that tendency or habit, this document is offered as a summary of the current knowledge we have been able to build. Comments and corrections are welcome to dan.hicks@prm.ox.ac.uk between 17 November 2021 and 1 April 2022, after which the Report will be formally published.

Research of this kind is about excavating the storerooms, databases and accession registers rather than just describing what is on display. Accordingly, some of the objects discussed are presented with only fuzzy catalogue record shots or with no photograph at all, rather than with high-quality professional photography. The choice has been made for transparency while research is in process rather than waiting for some more polished or complete account at some later date – a later date that, the risk of course is, will simply continue to recede while demands for returns and for accountability and honesty are repeated, and repeated, across generations of curators. Thankfully this choice is not an isolated one, since so many Euro-American researchers and museums are now starting to embrace the importance of transparency about looted African collections.

Decisions about deaccessioning and returns lie with trustee bodies not individual curators such as myself, but this document has been researched and written in the firm belief that the work of restitution begins in part with the sharing of knowledge, and in the professional conviction that practical progress in the restitution of African cultural heritage is of the utmost importance in the 2020s.

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Dan Hicks November 2021

1. Introduction

1.1 Principles for Provenance Research for Benin 1897 Collections

The chaotic theft of royal and sacred artworks and other items by perhaps up to two hundred soldiers, sailors and administrators during the sacking of Benin City in the British naval expedition of 1897 is one of the most well-known examples of the widespread practice of military looting by European troops in the later 19th and early 20th centuries.

It is also one of the most iconic examples of longstanding demands for the restitution of material culture taken under regimes of corporate extractive colonialism, in Edo State, in Nigeria and the Nigerian diaspora, across the continent of Africa, and around the world.

The first restitutions were made in 1938 when coral-work crowns and a coral-bead robe that had been on long-term loan to the British Museum were returned to Akenzua II (Hicks 2020: 195). As the 125th anniversary of the attack approaches in 2022, more and more commitments to returning what was looted are being made by museums around the world. So little is known about these collections that even a definitive list of which institutions hold material that was looted is not available, although in November 2020 the new paperback edition of *The British Museums: the Benin Bronzes, colonial violence and cultural restitution* (Hicks 2020) included a new provisional list of 165 museums around the world, and the work of the Digital Benin project continues to try to build a global database.¹

This document represents a first step to research, define and describe the collections of one of the most significant global collections of Benin 1897 material, that of the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum and Ashmolean Museum. A number of key principles guide this research, and may guide that of other institutions with 1897 collections:

- a) **Transparency and Open Review.** The responsibility to undertake detailed and transparent provenance work into Benin collections, and to resource this work and undertake it at pace, lies with those institutions that hold material from Benin. It is in the nature of such research that there is always more that can be found out, and the risk that mistakes or omissions in the archives are reproduced in what we understand today is ever-present. Nonetheless, going ahead and publishing the interim results of what we know, so that a public process of open peer review can proceed, and the collective knowledge of collections histories can be developed across institutions and researchers, is crucial. Therefore this document is issued as an Interim Report, open for comments between 17 November 2021 and 1 April 2022, with the view to formally publishing the report with further information and corrections later in 2022.
- b) **Geographical Scope.** As research for this document has proceeded, it has become increasingly clear that some objects that are clearly documented as taken during the Punitive Expedition on February 1897 were taken from beyond the immediate environs of the Royal Palace of Benin. This is to be expected, seeing as the military operation took place across a vast area, and looting is well documented

¹ <https://digital-benin.org/>

from other expeditions far away from the Palace. The 1897 attack involved three flying column advances across an area of some 5,000 square kilometres: a main column starting at Warrigi and pushing north-west to Benin City, another working along Gwato Creek pushing east to Benin City, and a third starting at Sapoba and pushing west (Hicks 2020: 110-111). The naval nature of the expedition and the burning of towns and villages in what is today Delta State as well as Edo State means that some of what was taken was from far away from the Palace. Looting was a widespread and a conscious military strategy designed to destroy sovereignty, to diminish traditional religion, and to effect a devastating wider and enduring cultural dispossession, and one that was practiced in a range of different contexts. This means that, for example, as well as Edo objects there is a small number of items of Itsekiri material culture (including that taken by Ling-Roth and Walker, discussed in sections **1.2**, **2.7** and **2.22** below) that were taken during the punitive expedition.

- c) **Criteria.** A set of criteria for inclusion in the list of items believed to have been looted in 1897 has been developed in researching and writing this document. The strict application of these criteria means that some Benin objects are listed only as possibly taken in 1897, while a host of other categories of object — such as 20th-century collections from Benin City, or material from the many other military expeditions across what is today Nigeria — are described. This precision is essential, and the judgements made here are placed in the public domain in the hope that further documentation and evidence will be forthcoming through comparison with other collections and connections with other archival sources. Therefore two lists of material is presented:
- A list of those objects believed to have been taken in 1897 which either i) have direct documented connections naval officers and others closely associated with the attack, or ii) which have significant but incomplete provenance histories associating them with 1897, but are clearly pre-20th-century in date (Section **2**).
 - A second list of objects that may have been taken in the Benin 1897 attack, but where this remains uncertain (Section **3**, and discussion in Section **1.2**).
- d) **Pre-20th-Century Benin material.** An important principle is the assumption that pre-20th-century Benin material in museum collections in Europe and North America derives from the looting of 1897. Where there is clear evidence of form and style that identifies the items as pre-20th-century in date, this must therefore be taken into account alongside documentary evidence. It is important here to correct the mistaken claim made by Nigel Barley (2010:33) that there are “well-documented cases of Obas casually removing [Benin brassworks] from altars to present to passing European visitors as souvenirs.” That is certainly not the case. Benin works in copper alloy and other materials were unknown outside the sacred royal palace apart from a very few exceptions. It is helpful here to clarify that those exceptions relate — perhaps exclusively — to the traders and administrators involved in securing the 1892 Treaty with Oba Ovonramwen Nogbaisi (Overami):
- The only clearly-documented example of a Benin Bronze being taken from the Palace before the attack of 1897 is the case of an equestrian statue given to the trader John Swainson of the Liverpool-based company Pinnocks as a gift by the Oba in 1892 as a wedding gift. A descendant of Swainson, Peter Karpinski, inherited the statue and sold it to Merseyside Museum in 1978

(Karpinski 1984, Nevadomsky 2006, 46), and it is now in Liverpool World Museum.² Newspaper reports described this object being shown at a meeting of the Liverpool Geographical Society on 20 January 1897, which included speeches by James Pinnock and J. Auchterlonie, and a photograph of it was printed in *The Graphic* on 20 February, with a caption describing it as 'was presented by the King of Benin to Mr Swainson, the agent of Mr James Pinnock, of Liverpool, when on a visit to the King' (Karpinski 1984, 62).³

- At least one ivory tusk was also given to those involved in the 1892 negotiations by the Oba — to Captain Henry Galway (Hicks 2020: 138).
- The fact that the Oba was making formal exchanges with Liverpool traders who visited in the early 1890s is corroborated by a replica silver-plated Benin "eben" ceremonial sword commissioned in England by Liverpool trader Cyril Punch, which he gave to or exchanged with the Oba. This replica was looted in 1897 and is now in the Pitt Rivers collections discussed here (see 2.2. below).

Apart from these examples from the very specific context of the 1892 treaty, there are no well-documented examples of Benin works leaving the city before 1897.⁴ Because there is virtually no evidence for Benin sacred royal objects being taken from Benin City before the looting of 1897, it is an important point of departure for provenance research that pre-20th-century Benin collections in museums around the world will have left the city through looting during the sacking 1897 and its immediate aftermath, unless there is clear evidence to show otherwise.

- e) **20th-century collections.** The separate question of the removal of items during the 20th century — whether sacred or royal objects taken under British colonial rule, or items exported without proper paperwork from the 1960s onwards — also needs to be addressed. This is discussed in the introductory scoping sections of this document, but the examples of this category of objects are not listed in full here. In many cases Benin material taken by anthropologists, administrators and others during the 20th century comprised everyday objects like tools. In other cases, however, there are items related to traditional religion and to the sovereignty of the Royal Court, and so these collections are deserving of further research.
- f) **Restitution.** This Report is not an official statement by the University of Oxford, but a research paper written by a curator. Although any decisions about deaccessioning and returns lie with the trustees of the University rather than with curators, certain points of principle appear clear to the author as a researcher. First, that acceding to longstanding demands for the return of looted artworks and sacred royal material culture has a strong basis in contemporary professional ethical practice in museum curation. Second, that the work of

² <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/commemorative-altar-sculpture>

³ *Liverpool Courier* 21 Jan 1897; *Liverpool Daily Post* 21 Jan 1897, p. 7; *The Graphic* 20 Feb 1897, p. 218.

⁴ A fragment of a bronze plaque purchased by Luschan in London 1899 was said to have been in the possession of the dealer since 1879 (Luschan 1900, 306), but Gisela Völger (2007: 218) has rightly questioned whether this plaque had actually been taken to Europe prior to 1897. Staffan Lundén (2016: 153) also notes the reports of the gift to the trader Eugen Fischer of a cast head in the early 1880s by the Amapetu of Mahin (Curnow 2007, 178, 181, fig. 9.) and discusses a wooden figure of a chicken possibly acquired by the Ethnographic museum in Leipzig by 1884 (Plankensteiner 2007a, 412, no. 188).

restitution must begin with the transparent sharing of information, as with this report, in all its complexity by curators. Third, that restitution involves a careful case-by-case approach, where decisions about which party should eventually retain a returned object may vary from item to item, for example if we compare the royal Benin Bronzes and the Itsekiri wooden paddles taken during the 1897 attack described below. In my view, these decisions need to be led by Nigerian-based actors, with Euro-American museums removing themselves from the process rather than acting as arbiter, judge or jury.

1.2 *Oxford's Benin 1897 Material in the Context of the Wider Collections*

This report summarises our current understanding of the 145 objects currently in the Pitt Rivers Museum of the University of Oxford (including three items on long-term loan from the University's Ashmolean Museum) that can be shown to have been looted during the Benin Punitive Expedition of 1897. It also introduces 15 further items that may derive from this Expedition, and the associated materials including photographs, archives, and watercolour paintings. These collections need to be understood in the context of the Museum's wider collections of Nigerian material culture.

The early collections currently held by the Pitt Rivers Museum from what is today Nigeria document decades of British colonial expeditions, including violence, cultural destructions, confiscations, thefts, trophies of war and military looting. They reach back into the eighteenth century, for example with a ceremonial sword with a steel blade with perforated and incised decoration and an ivory handle taken from Old Calabar by the Liverpoolian slave trader Captain James Irving (1759-1791) (1884.24.12).

From the mid 19th century there is a spear and a bag made from plaited palm leaf recorded as taken by William Balfour Baikie on Macgregor Laird's Niger Expedition of 1854, which was backed by the British Government (1886.1.556; 1887.1.152). From the 1864 River Niger Expedition by the gunboat HMS Investigator, there is a leather quiver with thirty-two arrows taken by the expedition's commander, Admiral Sir Charles Knowles (1922.56.19.1-33). And there is also a knife (1913.48.99) and two gunpowder flasks made from a hide-covered bottle-gourd (1913.48.122-123). recorded as taken during a military expedition at Ikorodu, which is today in Lagos State, in 1884 by Sir John Smalman Smith (1847-1913), who later became Chief Justice of the Colony of Lagos.

Closer in time and space to the 1897 sacking of Benin City, there are two bronze spears retained as trophies of war by Admiral Ralph Denham Rayment Moor — who later played a key role in the Benin Expedition in his role as Commissioner and Consul-General for the Niger Coast Protectorate — during the Cross River Expedition of 1895, and donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Captain George Chardin Denton in 1901 (1901.32.4, 1901.32.5).

There are also two Itsekiri ceremonial wooden paddles acquired by Admiral Ralph Moor (1860–1909) during his service on the Niger River before his involvement in the Benin Expedition (1901.32.8, 1901.32.9), and two further Itsekiri ceremonial wooden paddles donated by Captain George Chardin Denton in 1899, after he had served in the Benin Expedition (1899.50.5, 1899.50.6). There are also two spears taken by

Denton from the massacre at Ilorin in January 1897, which was part of the wider Royal Niger Company/Niger Coast Protectorate military operations that accompanied the sacking of Benin City (1899.50.3, 1899.50.4). In 1901, Denton also donated a spear on which is written: "CHIEF UPITAN'S SPEAR MABORO VILLAGE, IJO COUNTRY, W. AFRICA" (1901.32.3), and two bronze ceremonial sceptres recorded as "EGBA CHIEF'S BATON ABEOKUTA, W. AFRICA", taken from what is today Ogun State, Nigeria (1901.32.10-11). Further items donated by Denton are recorded as from Lagos (e.g. 1917.2.17).

There are also four coral necklaces (1966.1.636-639) taken by Admiral Frederick George Denham Bedford during the Aro Expedition of 1901 in what is today Abia State — during which the cities of Arochuku and Bende were attacked, the Eze (King) Kanu Okoro was deposed and eventually captured, and the Ibini Ukpabi shrine was blown up.

Moving on to the early 20th century, from the Kontagora (Zaria Relief) Expedition of 1902 in what it today north-west Niger State, the following items are recorded as having been acquired from a collection made by Surgeon-Major J.A. Raye:

- four iron spears (1904.59.15-18); a wooden bow (1904.59.19); a side-blast antelope-horn signalling-trumpet (1938.34.268); a skin sandal recorded as 'a raw-hide sandal from battlefield of Maska' (1904.59.20).

The following items in the Pitt Rivers Museum collection are recorded as having been taken during the Kano Punitive Expedition of 1903 (in what it today Kano State in Northern Nigeria):

- two spears (1904.59.17-18) purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms in October 1904 and recorded as 'from Maiguchera, N. Nigeria Kano-Sokoto exped. 1903; collected by Surgeon Major J. Raye';
- another spear (1929.84.4) bought by the Museum from James Thomas Hooper in 1929 and recorded as "taken in the Kano & Sokoto expedition 1903 (native rising)";
- a tin arm ornament (1914.1.2) donated to the Pitt Rivers by Major Henry Noel Kempthorne (1878-1922) and recorded as "looted during the Kano punitive expedition of 1903. Collected by himself";
- a chain mail shirt (1904.54.15) and a sword with a leather sheath (1904.54.15) recorded as from Kano were purchased from 'E.F. Martin' in 1904, may also derive from the expedition.

A number of later British military expeditions in Nigeria are also represented in the Pitt Rivers collections. To give some examples, there are:

- a carved painted wooden Mumuye masquerade mask with a long pendant fringe of fibre (1913.39.1) is recorded as ‘captured in 1907 at Yakoko, Yola Province, N. Nigeria, during expedition against the Mumyi pagan tribe at Yakoko in Yola Province’ (today in Adamawa State in north-eastern Nigeria) and was acquired by Henry Mountifort Dillon (1881-1918).⁵
- a Hausa dance drum (1918.9.25) is also recorded as taken during an expedition near Hadejia (which is today in eastern Jigawa State, northern Nigeria), and retained by Major Henry Noel Kempthorne. The documentation reads: “This drum was captured by one of my mounted patrols on an expedition near Hadejia, who was sent out to locate some infernal dies [sic] in the distance, though I suspect that it was harmless dancing party: needless to say his native NCO I/C of his patrol gave a more highly coloured story of his prowess on this particular occasion”⁶
- two objects recorded as taken during the Adubi War (Egba Uprising) of 1918, in what is today Kogi State. These comprise a necklace strung with beads and carved wooden human heads (1935.25.36) recorded as “taken from a dead man’s neck after a punitive expedition in 1918 at Egbe and a brass-hilted knife (1935.25.8) recorded as ‘taken from body of a dead man after a punitive expedition in 1918’.

As well as these collections, the Pitt Rivers Museum holds an important body of material taken from Benin City in the years after 1897, including some pre-1897 material. The status of these objects, and the circumstances in which they were taken, demands further research and discussion. Examples of Benin collections in this category include:

- an early 20th-century terracotta head (1967.45.1) that was acquired by Hugh Nevin Nevins (1888-1968), who was a colonial administrator in the Nigerian Administrative Service between 1914-1928, and was District Officer for Benin. The object was recorded as made for the shrine of the ancestors of the Chief of the Brassworkers, and was purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1967 from Nevins’ family, along with a range of primary archival materials, papers and correspondence (see photograph in Appendix 3).
- A collection of 36 objects (1909.67.1-36) purchased from Northcote Whitridge Thomas (1868-1936) in 1909, which includes tools and everyday material culture but also items of religious or royal significance such as two brass leg-rings (*elomo*) recorded as worn by the Oba’s wives and daughters (1909.67.25-26), a cast brass armband recorded as ‘used in worship’ (1909.67.22), a brass lamp recorded as made in 1890 and used in the Royal Palace (1909.67.33), ‘a child’s neck-cord with various charms, kept since 1840’ (1909.67.35) and another such neck cord recorded in 1909 as being ‘sixty years old’ (1909.67.36) (see photographs in Appendix 3).

There are also examples of 20th-century objects from Benin City. In some cases, the circumstances of their importation to the UK are not clearly documented in museum records. These include:

⁵ See Richard Fardon 2019. Negative spaces of Mumuye figure sculpture—style and ethnicity. *Afriques: Débats, méthodes et terrains d’histoire*, note 29. <http://journals.openedition.org/afriques/2586>

⁶ Major Kempthorne to Henry Balfour, 24 November 1917. Pitt Rivers Museum archives.

- In 1991, the Pitt Rivers received a bronze cast (1991.16.1) of a bronze pendant mask made in 1957-1959 for Helen C. Harper (b. 1914) after she sold the object to the British Museum (see photograph in Appendix 3).⁷
- a 20th-century brass figure of an Oba received in 1992 as a donation from Eunice Maie Redmayne Tattersall (1919-2005) (1992.20.1; see photograph in Appendix 3) . The figure is recorded in museum documentation as having been received by ‘Reverend Canon H.O. Mohammed MBE’ as a retirement gift following his service as the Director of Nurse Education at the Institute of Health at Ahmadu Bello University. This is probably a reference to Hallel Omar Mohammed, who received the MBE in the New Year’s Honours of 1959, and was then recorded as ‘Registrar of the Zaria Judicial Division, Northern Region, Nigeria’.⁸ Museum documentation indicates that Mohammed was later Commissioner for Police Affairs in the Code of Conduct Bureau in Abuja. The figure is recorded as exported from Nigeria in 1979 (see photograph in Appendix 3).
- a 20th-century bronze Benin figure of a man wearing a cap and holding a staff (1995.1.2), received by the Pitt Rivers Museum as a donation from Sir John B. Johnston GCMG, KCVO (1918-2005). Johnston was a significant figure in the post-war British colonial civil service.⁹ It is recorded as having been received as a gift from an unknown party by Johnston when he was the British High Commissioner in Sierra Leone, between 1961 and 1963. The Museum has no record of any paperwork that accompanied its exportation from Nigeria at some point between 1963 and 1995 (see photograph in Appendix 3).
- a 20th-century bronze head (2011.21.1) was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Joan Shore Gallagher in 2011. It was recorded as having been donated in the 1930s by the Oba of Benin to her father Robert Henry Gallagher (1896-1962), a colonial administrator. The Museum has no record of any paperwork that accompanied its exportation from Nigeria (see photograph in Appendix 3).

As this survey indicates, the Benin 1897 collections presented here form part of a wider body of material looted during other military expeditions elsewhere in what is today Nigeria, and of other Benin material brought to Oxford in the 20th-century under a wide variety of circumstances.

While this is far from exhaustive list of objects taken as loot during British military operations from what is today Nigeria that is now in the Pitt Rivers. Much primary research into the provenance histories of the museum’s Nigerian collections remains to be done. However, by far the largest number of objects from any single military expedition in Nigeria come from the Benin Punitive Expedition of February 1897.

⁷ British Museum accession number BM Af1957,29.1

⁸ New Year’s Honours. *Supplement to the London Gazette*, 1 January 1959, p. 25.

⁹ Mackie, C. 2014. *A Directory of British Diplomats (Part 1 of 4)*. London: Foreign, Commonwealth and Development Office, p. 269.
https://issuu.com/fcohistorians/docs/bdd_part_1_with_covers

1.3 The Structure of this Report

This interim report details the 145 objects identified as taken during the sacking of Benin City in 1897 and its immediate aftermath (Section 2 below), and a further 15 objects that may derive from the Benin Expedition (Section 3). Details of the University's archival and photographic collections are given in Section 4. Brief conclusions are drawn in Section 5.

A full list of the 145 objects described in Section 2 is provided in order of accession number in **Appendix 1** (University of Oxford Collections) and **Appendix 2** (loans from Dumas-Egerton Trust and Mark Walker Collections).

Primary documentation of those 'Second Collection' (ie General Pitt-Rivers' personal museum in Dorset) Benin 1897 objects sold off on the open market but purchased by the 'First Collection' (ie Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum) is presented in **Appendix 3** (cf. discussion in Section 2.7).

Photographs of the objects described in Section 2 and listed in **Appendices 1 and 2** are presented in **Appendix 4** (listed in order of ascending accession number).

Photographs of objects discussed in Section 3 and some photographs of objects discussed in Section 1 are presented in **Appendix 5** (listed in order of ascending accession number).

A selection of the Benin 1897 photographs held by the Pitt Rivers Museum are presented in **Appendix 6**, and three watercolours made by Egerton during the sacking of Benin City are presented in **Appendix 7**.

2. Objects from the Benin Punitive Expedition currently held by the University of Oxford

2.1 Overview and Rationale

Provenance research undertaken for this report has identified that the Pitt Rivers Museum currently holds 145 of the more than 10,000 objects that were looted during the British sacking of Benin City — now in Edo State, Nigeria — in February 1897 and its aftermath.

In five cases the Museum obtained objects directly from Special Service Officers and Protectorate soldiers who took part in the Expedition, or their descendants: George Le Clerc Egerton (see **2.2** below), the brothers Henry Ling Roth and Felix Norman Roth (see **2.13** below) Lieutenant Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon (see **2.12** below), Reginald Kerr Granville of the Niger Coast Protectorate Force (see **2.20** and **4** below), and Herbert Walker (see **2.22** and **4** below). Another significant part of the collection came from Mary Kingsley (see **2.3** below), and there is also a potential Benin 1897 object collected by E.F. Martin of the Royal Niger Company discussed in the next section (**3.3** below).

The acquisitions took place over a ninety-year period, with the first object acquired by the Pitt Rivers from Benin Expedition was a brass powder flask purchased from Henry Ling Roth in 1898, while most recently acquired were two wooden combs purchased at Christie's Auctioneers in 1988. An increased interest in Benin material at the Pitt Rivers came from 1963, when Bernard Fagg assumed the position of Curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum.¹⁰

Of the 145 objects, 43 are on loan from the Dumas-Egerton Trust, 2 are on loan from Mark Walker, and 100 are owned by the University of Oxford: three in the collections of the Ashmolean Museum, and 97 in the collections of the Pitt Rivers Museum. There are examples of brass plaques, bronze/brass figures and hip ornaments, carved ivory tusks, and wooden, ceramic and coralwork items. The provenance is discussed in Sections **2.2-2.22** below. Lists of the objects are provided in **Appendix 2** (University of Oxford collections) and **Appendix 3** (Dumas-Egerton Trust and Walker collection), and photographs of the objects are provided in **Appendix 4**.

Some objects have a clearly-documented connection to one of the officers or administrators involved in the sacking of Benin City. Others are well documented as appearing through dealers and auction rooms which received loot in the months and years after the attack, including Webster and Stevens.

The 145 objects looted in the Benin Expedition of 1897 came to the Pitt Rivers from 20 or 21 different sources, which are summarised in **Table 1** below. In sections **2.2** to **2.22** below, the provenance for each of these objects is outlined.

¹⁰ Fagg had lived in Nigeria from 1927 to 1929 and then from 1939 to 1963. After working as a colonial administrator at Jos, Fagg conducted the famous excavations at Nok and Taruga, was appointed Assistant Surveyor of Antiquities for the Nigerian Department of Antiquities in 1947, founded the National Museum in Jos in 1957 (the first public museum in Nigeria), and was Director of the Nigerian Department of Antiquities from 1957 to 1963. Fagg curated the temporary exhibition *Art from the Guinea Coast* at the Pitt Rivers Museum from 26 November 1965 until 1969/1970 (Coote and Morton 2000).

Table 1: Summary of Objects clearly from the Benin Punitive Expedition currently held by the University of Oxford

PROVENANCE	NUMBER OF OBJECTS	ACCESSION NUMBERS
Admiral Sir George Le Clerc Egerton	43	On loan from Dumas-Egerton Trust; 1991.13.1-44; <i>See discussion in Section 2.2</i>
Mary Henrietta Kingsley	28	1900.39.1-26; 1900.39.1.27.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>
Stevens Auction Rooms	19	1899.86.12-13; 1900.1.4-5; 1901.53.2-11; 1901.54.1-2; 1901.56.1-2; 1908.65.1; <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>
William Downing Webster	9	1899.78.4.1-8; 1932.88.863; <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>
William John Ansorge	7	1909.61.1-7; <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>
Pitt-Rivers Museum	7	1900.32.4; 1965.9.1 B; 1966.13.1; 1975.7.1-2; 1988.11.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustrations in Appendix 3</i>
Henry Nilus Thompson	6	1908.41.1-4; 1909.1.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>
Cranmore Ethnographical Museum	4	1941.2.117-119; 1941.2.124; <i>See discussion in Section 2.9</i>
George Fabian Lawrence	4	1899.70.2; 1900.74.1-3; <i>See discussion in Section 2.10</i>
Harold Mordley Douglas	3	1983.25.1-3; <i>See discussion in Section 2.11</i>
Lieutenant Colonel Frederick W.B. Landon	2	1909.11.1.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.12</i>
Felix Norman Roth	2	1898.26.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.13</i>
Beatrice Braithwaite Batty	2	1917.38.1-2; <i>See discussion in Section 2.14</i>
Henry Balfour	1	1932.88.864; <i>See discussion in Section 2.15</i>
Thomas Francis Embury	1	1907.66.1; <i>See discussion in Section 2.16</i>
Sir George Chardin Denton	1	1917.2.13; <i>See discussion in Section 2.17</i>
Thomas William Taphouse	1	1938.34.94; <i>See discussion in Section 2.18</i>
Mervyn David Waldegrave Jeffreys	1	1946.6.80; <i>See discussion in Section 2.19</i>
Reginald Kerr Granville	1	1979.8.1; <i>See discussion in Section 2.20</i>
Unknown	1	1980.19.1; <i>See discussion in Section 2.21</i>
Herbert Sutherland Walker	2	On loan since 2019 from Mark Walker; <i>See discussion in Section 2.22</i>
TOTAL	145	

2.2 *Admiral Sir George Le Clerc Egerton*

The largest single body of material is the 43 items that were looted in the 1897 expedition by Admiral Sir George Le Clerc Egerton (1852-1940), and are on loan to the Pitt Rivers from the Dumas-Egerton Trust (1991.13.1-44). Egerton was Chief of Staff for the Benin Expedition. Items from his collection are also in the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum in New York.¹¹

The ivory objects, some of which have inlaid bronze decoration, comprise two carved ivory tusks, one of which was burned in the fire set to destroy the Royal Palace (1991.13.1-2), an ivory ladle (1991.13.4), an ivory commemorative head (1991.13.5), an ivory pedestal bowl (1991.13.6), an ivory container lid (1991.13.7), an ivory carved figure, probably broken from a ceremonial staff or flywhisk (1991.13.9), three ivory armlets (1991.13.16, 1991.12.26-27), and two side-blown ivory trumpets (1991.13.20, 1991.13.28).

Copper alloy (bronze or brass) objects comprise a relief plaque (1991.13.8), an altarpiece with figures of the Queen Mother with her attendants (1991.13.25), an altarpiece base (1991.13.11), eight armlets, one of which is gilded and one of which is inset with coral (1991.13.12-15, 1991.13.32-35), four gilded cone-shaped hip ornaments (1991.13.21-24), and a container with a lid (1991.13.10.1-2)

There are four wooden objects: a painted altarpiece *igbile* mask with a canework base (1991.13.36), a wooden weaving sword (1991.13.37), a wooden lid covered with decorated bronze sheet (1991.13.38), and a carved wooden staff with a string of shells attached (1991.13.39).

There are three ceremonial *ada* swords (1991.13.17.1, 1991.13.18-19), one of which has a coralwork sheath (1991.13.17.2).

There is also a replica silver-plated *eben* ceremonial sword made by the British firm Mappin and Webb for the Liverpoolian trader Cyril Punch circa 1892, and given by him to Oba Overami, probably in 1892 (1991.13.3). Finally, there are five perforated agate beads (1991.13.40-44).

2.3 *Mary Henrietta Kingsley*

There are 28 objects looted in 1897 that were acquired by Mary Kingsley (1862-1900), the colonialist explorer-ethnographer of West Africa. 'It was only a question of ways and means that deterred the Protectorate officials from smashing up the place several years ago,' Kingsley wrote in her 1899 book *West African Studies* (Hicks 2020: 128). The Pitt Rivers received twenty-eight looted Benin objects from the estate of Mary Kingsley after her death in Simon's Town in the Western Cape during the Boer War in 1900 (1900.39.1-26; 1900.39.1.27.1-2).

Of the material received in 1900, the copper alloy (bronze or brass) objects comprise: two relief plaques (1900.39.1-2), a sculpture in the form of a helmet (1900.39.3), a ceremonial casket (1900.39.4), a staff with a figure of a bird (1900.39.5), four hip ornament masks (1900.39.6-9), two

¹¹ Ivory double gong, BM Af1963,04.1; ivory bracelet Met 1978.412.340.

bells (1900.39.10-11), five armlets (1900.39.12-16), a ceremonial fan (1900.39.22) and a small cone-shaped object which is possibly a hip-ornament (1900.39.18). There are also three iron armlets (1900.39.17, 1900.39.27.1, 1900.39.27.2).

The ivory objects comprise an armlet (1900.39.19), a hip ornament mask depicting a leopard (1900.39.20), and a door bolt from the Royal Palace (1900.39.21). There are two wooden objects: a lidded bowl or casket (1900.39.23) and an equestrian figure (1900.39.24). There are also two carved coconut vessels (1900.39.25-26).

2.4 Stevens Auction Rooms

There are 19 Benin objects that were purchased by the Pitt Rivers from sales at Stevens Auction Rooms over the course of the decade after the 1897 attack, during which looted items started to come onto the market. These sales were on 4 December 1899, 13 February 1900, 12 February 1901, and 8 September 1908. The objects, in order of acquisition, comprise a bronze relief plaque (1899.86.12), a bronze foot broken from a figure (1899.86.13), two Benin musical instruments (1900.1.4-5), two bronze arm or leg rings (1901.53.2-3), two ground stone axe altarpieces (1901.51.1, 1901.54.1), a spheroid bronze object (1901.54.2), two bronze 'thunderbolt' altar-pieces (1901.56.1-2), eight pellet bells (1901.53.4-11), and another bronze relief plaque (1908.65.1).

2.5 William Downing Webster

In October 1899 the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased eight Benin objects from William Downing Webster (1868-1913), who was based in Bicester near Oxford, and was one of the most prolific dealers in looted Benin material after the 1897 sacking. These comprise eight palm wood items of weaving apparatus (1899.78.4.1-8). Four of the items of weaving equipment appear to match that offered for sale as lots 189, 190, 192 and 198 of Webster's Catalogue Number 21. It's notable that weaving equipment also formed part of what was looted from Abomey by General Dodds in 1892 and returned to the Republic of Benin in November 2021.¹² In 1901 a ninth object — a brass lamp documented as 'taken at the capture of Benin City' — was purchased from Webster (1932.88.863). As well as these nine objects, three further objects purchased from Webster (1965.9.1 B, 1966.13.1, 1975.5.1) are discussed in Section 2.7 below.

2.6 William John Ansorge

In 1909 the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased seven bronze 'thunderbolt' altar-pieces (imitations of polished stone axes made through the *cire perdue* process) from Dr William John Ansorge (1850-1913) (1909.61.1-7). Born in Bengal, India, and graduate of Pembroke College,

¹² <https://www.quaibrantly.fr/fr/collections/vie-des-collections/actualites/restitution-de-26-oeuvres-a-la-republique-du-benin/>

Cambridge, Ansonge was a Professor at the Royal College, Mauritius between 1872 and 1886 before taking up the role of District Medical Officer of the Niger Coast Protectorate.¹³ After 1897 Ansonge took up the role of Medical Officer to Her Majesty's Government in Uganda, receiving medals with clasps for military services in Uganda in 1898 and the Aro Expedition in Nigeria in 1901-1902. Ansonge was the author of *Under the African Sun: a description of the native races of Uganda, sporting adventures, and other experiences* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co, 1899), and also made extensive natural history collections, some of which are held at the Natural History Museum at Tring.

2.7 Pitt-Rivers Museum

Between 1897 and 1900, General Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900) acquired arguably the most significant single collection of looted Benin objects in the world – in his second museum (known as the Pitt-Rivers Museum, with a hyphen to distinguish it from the slightly earlier Oxford foundation). The 'second collection' was gradually dispersed by his descendants over the course of the twentieth century, sold off at auction — including the 263 looted Benin objects that the General had assembled.

Seven Benin 1897 objects from the second collection are now present in the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford. The entries and watercolour drawings for these objects from the Manuscript Catalogue (Cambridge University Libraries (Add.9455) are presented in **Appendix 3**.

The first object — a necklace of 35 agate cylindrical beads, possibly originally part of a ceremonial fly-whisk — came in a small donation to the Pitt Rivers in Oxford after General Pitt-Rivers died, overseen by the General's assistant Harold St George Gray (1900.32.4). It the beads are a good match with an object (Figure 1) recorded in both the manuscript and published catalogue of General Pitt-Rivers' Benin collection as 'necklace of agate cylindrical beads', which consists of two strings of 42 and 52 beads respectively (Pitt-Rivers 1900: Figure 229). It is probable that in selecting the small collection of objects to give to the first collection from his second collection after his death, Pitt-Rivers split 35 of the 94 beads from this object. Locating the other beads/necklace, which may have been sold off with the rest of the collection in the 20th century, would be one way of confirming this.

Between 1965 and 1988 Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum purchased six further Benin 1897 objects from the second collection as these came up at auction.

The first was a brass leopard mask with spots and pupils of the eyes and spots rendered in riveted copper studs (1965.9.1 B). It was purchased by Augustus Pitt-Rivers on 13 August 1898 from William Downing Webster for £1-1-0 (see **Appendix 3**; cf. **2.5** above). Photographs of the mask were reproduced as Figures 62 (frontal) and 63 (left three-quarters profile) in plate X of *Antique Works of Art from Benin, West Africa Collected by Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers* with the caption "leopard's head in brass, the spots and pupils of eyes in copper. This appears to have been attached with a leather thong to the dress" (Pitt-Rivers 1900: 20). The mask is recorded as having been sent from the second Pitt-

¹³ Ansonge, William John, *Who Was Who* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U183212>

Rivers Museum “with a number of others” to New York to be sold through the Parke Bernet Galleries in New York, but was purchased on 19 May 1964 by William Buller Fagg of the British Museum (elder brother of Bernard, the Pitt Rivers Museum’s director) for the Pitt Rivers for the sum of £304-11-10.¹⁴

The next object to be acquired was a 16th-century brass head (1966.13.1), recorded as purchased from Webster for the relatively high sum of £19 by Augustus Pitt-Rivers on 13 August 1898 (*Appendix 3*). Photographs of the head were reproduced as Figures 149 (right profile) and 150 (frontal) in plate XXIV of *Antique Works of Art from Benin, West Africa Collected by Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers* (Pitt-Rivers 1900: 49). The head was purchased by Charles Ratton at a Sotheby’s sale on 15 November 1965 for £2,800 (Lot 137) in the name of dealer K.J. Hewett. In an appeal to the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art on 31 Jan 1966, its export to Paris was authorised. Following negotiations, it was purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from Charles Ratton. On stylistic grounds, Fagg’s brother William Fagg (of the British Museum) dated the head to the 17th or 18th centuries, and interpreted it as probably made at the town of Udo, twenty-four miles to the west of Benin City. In December 1966, the head was drilled around the right ear to take a bronze sample for metallurgical analysis, and a sample of the interior clay for thermoluminescence analysis.¹⁵

In 1975, two further Benin objects formerly in the second Pitt-Rivers Museum, and bought through the Parke Bernet Galleries in New York in 1964 – a small brass figure of an acrobat removed from a plaque or pendant (1975.5.1), and a brass flask (1975.7.2) — were after a decade of being on loan formally purchased by the Pitt Rivers from William Fagg, for the round sum of £1,000. Half of this sum was covered by a grant from the British Government’s Purchase Grant Fund administered by the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The acrobat figure (1975.5.1) had been purchased by General Pitt-Rivers from Webster on 13 August 1898 for the sum of £6-13-0 (**Appendix 3**). Photographs of the figure were reproduced as Figures 145 (frontal) and 146 (left profile), plate XXIV of *Antique Works of Art from Benin, West Africa Collected by Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers* (Pitt-Rivers 1900: 49).

The brass flask or powder flask (1975.7.2) is ornamented with three longitudinal rows of ox skulls in relief and incised human faces. It had been purchased for General Pitt-Rivers at a sale at Stevens Auction Rooms on 7th November 1899 for the sum of £2-10-0 (**Appendix 3**). A photograph of the flask was reproduced as Figure 385, plate XLIX of *Antique Works of Art from Benin, West Africa Collected by Lieutenant-General Pitt Rivers* (Pitt-Rivers 1900: 49).

In 1988, the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased two Itsekiri wooden combs collected by Felix Norman Roth, and presented to General Pitt-Rivers by Roth’s elder brother Henry Ling Roth in May 1898, with a note that they were from ‘Sobo County, Benin’ (1988.11.1-2) (**Appendix 3**; see also Section 2.11 below). They were purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Christie’s auction house in London.

¹⁴ Purchase order for the University of Oxford to reimburse William Fagg on file Pitt Rivers RDF for 1965.9.1B.

¹⁵ Fleming, S.J. and B E.B. Fagg, 1977. Thermoluminescent Dating of the Udo Bronze Head. *Archaeometry* 19(1): 86-88.

2.8 Henry Nilus Thompson

In 1908 four pre-20th-century Benin bronze plaques (1908.41.1-4), and ivory staff mount (1909.1.1) and a bronze ceremonial staff (1909.1.2) were donated by colonial administrator Henry Nilus Thompson (1867-1938), who was at that time Conservator of Forests in Southern Nigeria.¹⁶ Thompson also donated four brass plaques and a leopard head to the British Museum in the same year.¹⁷

2.9 Cranmore Ethnographical Museum

There are four pre-20th-century Benin objects that were formerly in the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum, a private museum in Chislehurst, south-east London created by Harry Beasley (1882-1939). After his death, it closed in 1941 and with the dispersal of his collection the Pitt Rivers Museum received many objects. Among these were three copper alloy Benin bells, all clearly 19th-century or earlier in date (1941.2.117-119), and a wooden ceremonial rattle staff (1941.2.12).

Beasley had purchased one of the bells (1941.2.117) from F.L. Goodman, per the anthropologist Thomas Athol Joyce on 14 August 1928. He had purchased another of the bells (1941.2.118) from a dealer in Newbury on 16 Feb 1932. The third bell (1941.2.119) was purchased by Beasley at Stevens Auction Rooms on 31 May 1935.

2.10 George Fabian Lawrence

Four objects recorded as from Benin came to the Pitt Rivers Museum from the antiquary and dealer George Fabian Lawrence (1838-1922) in 1899 and 1900: a bronze powder flask (1900.74.1), two bronze armlets (1900.74.2-3) and a tortoise shell drum with a canework loop (1899.70.2).

2.11 Harold Mordley Douglas

Three brass hip-ornament masks (1983.25.1-3) came to the University of Oxford as part of a larger bequest to the Ashmolean Museum from Gerald Roberts Reitlinger made in in 1978 (Ashmolean accession numbers EA1978.2624-2626). Since 1983 they have been on long-term loan to the Pitt Rivers Museum from the Ashmolean Museum, both of which are departments of the University. The masks are recorded in museum

¹⁶ See the discussion by Paul Basu 2015. N.W. Thomas and colonial anthropology in British West Africa: reappraising a cautionary tale. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Society* 22: 84-107, p. 95.

¹⁷ BM af1908,1205.1, af1908,1205.3-6.

documentation as ‘originally in the possession of Harold Moseley [sic] Douglas, appointed Governor of Benin City after the punitive expedition of 1897’.

This is a reference to Harold Mordley Douglas (1875-1926), who had joined the Colonial Service in 1894. He was appointed Assistant District Commissioner for Niger Coast Protectorate in January 1898.¹⁸ He received the Africa General Service Medal with clasps for the Aro Campaign (1901-2), and the Southern Nigeria Campaigns of 1902, 1904 and 1905-6.¹⁹ Douglas died at the Kapara Estate, Fort Jameson, in the North-East Rhodesia Protectorate (now Chipata, Zambia) on 24 May 1926, and was survived by his wife Ruby. A typescript record in the Ashmolean’s Reitlinger files states that these three items (numbered by Reitlinger MISC4-6) was ‘bought 1948 from Mrs Joan Osiakowski to whom it came by inheritance from her great-uncle, Harold Morley [sic] Douglas, appointed Governor of Benin City in 1897 after the expedition’.²⁰

2.12 Lieutenant Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon

In 1909 a carved wooden box and a wooden lid, which had been looted by Special Service Officer Captain Frederick Bainbridge Landon of the Army Service Corps, an alumnus of Magdalen College, came to the Pitt Rivers through Mrs H.K. Eden (1909.11.1.1, 1909.11.1.2). Landon was awarded the Ashantee Medal with Benin 1897 Clasp for his service in the Expedition.²¹

2.13 Felix Norman Roth and Henry Norman Roth

Two objects —a brass cylinder or powder flask (1898.26.1) and cover (1898.26.2) — were the first objects acquired by the Pitt Rivers Museum from the Benin Expedition, in 1898. They came to the Pitt Rivers Museum from Henry Ling Roth (1855-1925), and were recorded as having been looted by his younger brother Felix Norman Roth (1857-1921) during the Benin Expedition. Henry Ling Roth was curator of the Bankfield Museum in Halifax, West Yorkshire. Felix Norman Roth was appointed District Medical Officer of the Niger Coast Protectorate at Warri from 1892, and saw service during the previous Benin River expedition, and in the operations against Nana (McDougall 2008; Hicks 2020: 160-161). He was Acting Vice-Consul of the Protectorate in 1894 and was the Advance Surgeon for the 1897 Benin Expedition. Henry Ling Roth was an anthropologist, curator of the Bankfield Museum in Halifax, Yorkshire, and author of *Great Benin; Its Customs, Art and Horrors* (1903).

¹⁸ *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* 24 January 1898.

¹⁹ This medal was sold at auction in December 2017 by Dix Noonan Webb, London. https://www.dnw.co.uk/auction-archive/special-collections/lot.php?specialcollection_id=758&lot_uid=302952

²⁰ I am grateful to Alessandra Cereda (Collections Manager, Department of Eastern Art, Ashmolean Museum) for this information.

²¹ National Archives WO 100/76.

2.14 *Beatrice Braithwaite Batty*

In 1917, the novelist and collector Beatrice Braithwaite Batty (1833-1933) donated two pre-20th-century Benin brass bells to the Pitt Rivers (1917.38.1-2).

2.15 *Henry Balfour*

In 1932 a large brass tray lamp recorded as 'obtained by the punitive expedition of 1897' was formally accessioned into the Pitt Rivers collections (1932.88.864). It had been acquired 'by exchange' with an unspecified party by the museum's curator, Henry Balfour, in 1900, and therefore had effectively been part of the museum collections from that date.

2.16 *Thomas Francis Embury*

On 20 Feb 1907, the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased a brass Benin relief plaque (1907.66.1) from someone recorded as 'F. Embury Esq 'Aboko', Derby Road, Bournemouth'. The accession register records the object as 'Very fine plaque of bronze cast by the cire perdue process from Benin city, W. Africa. It was hidden away from our soldiers after the capture of Benin on the punitive expedition of 1897, and was brought to Lagos by a native trading woman from whom it was obtained by Mr Embury. Paid by cheque £5-0-0'. This refers to Thomas Francis Embury (1864-1932), an engineer who was born and worked in Oxford before becoming Clerk of Works for an architect in South Africa, and then Principal of the Hussey Institute and Superintendent of Industrial Education in Lagos from 1895 to 1902. Returning to oversee street improvement in the UK, in 1907 he took up the position of Superintendent of the Industrial School at Karur, South India.²² Embury's timeline fits well with the acquisition of the plaque in Lagos before 1902 and its sale when departing for a new life in India in 1907.

2.17 *Sir George Chardin Denton*

In 1917 a brass hip-ornament mask (1917.2.13) was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Captain George Chardin Denton (1851-1928) of the 57th Regiment. Denton was Colonial Secretary of Lagos, and then from 1900 to 1911 held the Governorship of the Gambia (and is buried in the churchyard of St Clements, Oxford).

²² Institution of Mechanical Engineers 1912. *Mechanical Institute Engineer Records*, pp. 491-2

2.18 Thomas William Taphouse, Mayor of Oxford

In 1905, the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased a carved side-blown trumpet (1938.34.94) from the estate of Mayor of Oxford, Thomas Henry Taphouse (1838-1905). Taphouse is recorded by Philip Dark (1982: xxi-xxii) as the purchaser of looted Benin objects from Webster's Catalogue 21 in 1900 (lot 103, a bell, and lot 155, a drum).

2.19 Mervyn David Waldegrave Jeffreys

In 1946, a pre-20th-century bronze Benin bell (1946.6.80) was donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1946 by Mervyn David Waldegrave Jeffreys (1890-1975). Jeffreys was born in Johannesburg and, and received a PhD from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London in 1934, writing his thesis on *The Divine Umundri Kings of Igboland*. After SOAS he went on to take up positions as District Officer at Bamenda, Cameroon²³, and then as a colonial administrator in Nigeria in the late 1930s²⁴. He later taught at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa.

2.20 Reginald Kerr Granville

A carved wooden stool looted from Benin City by Lieutenant Reginald Kerr Granville (1874-1912), who was an officer who served on the expedition, was donated by a grandson of Granville's in 1979 (1979.8.1). Granville is also probably the photographer of the album of 89 prints of the sacking of Benin donated to the Pitt Rivers in 1968 (1998.335). Reginald Kerr Granville died at sea on 21 July 1912.

2.21 Unknown

A bronze figure of a hippo, probably broken from a staff (1980.19.1) is recorded as having been 'found unentered' in the museum collections in 1980. On stylistic grounds, the figure is clearly a pre-20th-century Benin bronze, and quite probably derived from the material acquired by Balfour from Stevens Auction House Auction Rooms as described in Section 2.4 above.

²³ 'Memorial tower in Nigeria' Points from Letters, *The Times* 30 April 1937, p. 12; Prof M D W Jeffreys. British Museum website: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG124904>

²⁴ 'L.E.L.' Points from Letters, *The Times* 19 October 1938, p. 8; *South Africa Biographical Index 1825-2005* (online database), p. 321.

2.22 *Herbert Sutherland Walker*

Two Itsekiri wooden ceremonial paddles brought back by Captain Herbert Walker during the 1897 Benin Expedition are currently on loan to the Pitt Rivers Museum, in order to fulfil the desire of his grandson Mark Walker to see these returned to Nigeria. Mark Walker returned two bronze items to the Royal Court of Benin in 2014 (Hicks 2020). Part of the significance of these well-documented objects is to show that although the vast majority of items brought back by the British and Germans from the 1897 expedition came from the Royal Court of Benin, some came from the wider landscape across which the expedition's activities operated during February-March 1897.

3 Objects Possibly Taken during the Benin Punitive Expedition currently held by the University of Oxford

3.1 Overview

The list of 145 objects presented in Section 2 above does not include objects that may derive from the 1897 attack but where the current state of knowledge does not currently present a clear or convincing connection to the Expedition. Further research may reveal more about these objects, which are presented in sections 3.2-3.9 below.

Table 2: Summary of Objects Possibly Taken during the Benin Punitive Expedition currently held by the University of Oxford

PROVENANCE	NUMBER OF OBJECTS	DESCRIPTION	ACCESSION NUMBERS
Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek	5	three packs of palm leaf cards (144 cards in total) and two wooden models of gun-boats	1900.1.1, 1900.1.6, 1900.1.6.7; <i>See discussion in Section 3.2</i>
E.F. Martin	1	wooden crossbow stock	1902.52.1; <i>See discussion in Section 3.3</i>
William Fingland	1	wooden comb	1908.18.13; <i>See discussion in Section 3.4</i>
Percy Amaury Talbot	2	wooden crossbow and Portuguese rapier	1922.67.1, 1923.2.1; <i>See discussion in Section 3.5</i>
A.G.C. Somerhough	1	palm wood weaving sword	1934.46.3; <i>See discussion in Section 3.6</i>
James Thomas Hooper	1	ivory side-blown trumpet	1938.31.27; <i>See discussion in Section 3.7</i>
Sotheby's	1	wooden head of an Oba	1970.16.1; <i>See discussion in Section 3.8</i>
Bernard Fagg	3	Three casts of Benin relief plaques	2012.103.11, 2012.103.12, 2012.103.13; <i>See discussion in Section 3.9</i>
TOTAL NUMBER OF OBJECTS	15		

3.2 Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek

Three packs of palm leaf playing cards, comprising a total of 144 cards (1900.1.1; listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/28 - RO/30) and two models of gun boats (1900.1.6-7), received by the Pitt Rivers Museum from Sir Cuthbert Edgar Peek in 1900. While recorded as from Benin, no further details of provenance have been identified yet.

3.3 *E.F. Martin*

In 1902, the Pitt Rivers Museum received as a donation from E.F. Martin a wooden crossbow stock (1902.52.1). The weapon is recorded as 'from Oboru-Kitty, circa 14 miles from the Niger River, 30-40 miles east of Benin City'. According to the Pitt Rivers accession register, Martin was a colonial administrator in northern Nigeria. He was the author of a letter written in 1902 and summarised as 'Notes on the Ethnology of Nigeria' in the journal *Man*, where he was described as 'local correspondent of the Anthropological Institute' stationed at Lokoja (Martin 1903). In 1904 extracts of a letter written by him to the Anthropological Institute were published in *Man* under the title 'Notes on Some Native Objects from Northern Nigeria' (Martin 1904). In 1909, an article bearing the title 'How we Captured the Rebel Chief' in *The Wide World Magazine*, Vol. 22, No. 132, March, 1909, and described how the author had led a military expedition from Asaba with troops of the Niger Protectorate Force in July 1898, against a chief named 'Ozuma Munyi' (Martin 1909). The article describes Martin as 'late of the Royal Niger Company's Service'. Further research may reveal more about Martin's service for the Royal Niger Company, and the precise circumstances under which he acquired this weapon, but the location given would clearly fall within the area of military operations during the 1897 attack on Benin City.

3.4 *William Fingland*

A wooden comb recorded as from Benin, Nigeria, was purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1908 from William Fingland of 61 Rodney St, Liverpool (1908.18.13). Fingland (1851-1918) was a physican and surgeon²⁵ who had joined the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1879.²⁶ His obituary in *The Lancet* described bin as an honorary consulting anaesthetist at the Liverpool Royal Infirmary.²⁷

3.5 *Percy Amaury Talbot*

In 1922 Percy Amaury Talbot (1877-1945) donated a wooden crossbow with a split stock trigger mechanism (1922.67.1) and a Portuguese rapier of 16th- or 17th-century date (1923.2.1).²⁸ Both objects were recorded as from Benin. Talbot was a soldier and colonial administrator who worked his way up from Assistant District Commissioner for Southern Nigeria in 1905 to be District Commissioner of Southern Nigeria from 1911, and Resident from 1921 to 1931.²⁹ Talbot was the author of among many texts about southern Nigeria including *In the Shadow of the Bush* (1912) and *The peoples of Southern Nigeria : a sketch of their history, ethnology and languages, with an abstract of the 1921 census* (published for the Crown Agents for the Colonies by Oxford University Press in 1926). His anthropometric studies in Southern Nigeria were published posthumously as *The Physical Anthropology of Southern Nigeria* with H. Mulhall (Cambridge University Press 1962).

²⁵ *England and Wales Probate Calendar for 1918*, p. 251.

²⁶ New members. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for the year 1878*, p. 120.

²⁷ *The Lancet* 195: 4955 (17 August 1918), p. 217.

²⁸ listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/4.

²⁹ Talbot, Percy Amaury. *Who Was Who* <https://doi.org/10.1093/ww/9780199540884.013.U232464>

3.6 A.G.C. Somerhough

A palm wood weaving sword from Benin City, purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from A.G.C. Somerhough in 1934 (1934.46.3). This is a reference to Flight Lieutenant Anthony George Carl Somerhough OBE, QC (1906-1960), who served as Deputy Judge Advocate General the RAF.

3.7 James Thomas Hooper

An ivory side-blown trumpet recorded as from Benin City, was purchased from collector James Thomas Hooper (1897-1971) in 1938 (1938.31.27). Hooper later founded the short-lived private Totems Museum in Arundel, Sussex, which operated between 1957 and 1963.

3.8 Sotheby's

In 1970, the Pitt Rivers Museum purchased a wooden Benin head at a sale at Sotheby's in London (1970.16.1). The auctioneer's copy held at the British Library records the Pitt Rivers paid £75 for the item (Lot 18), which was described as 'A Benin wood head of an Oba with deep coral choker and two side loops, a feather projecting from the left side of the head, the whole partially overlaid with metal sheeting'.³⁰ The provenance and precise date of this object is currently unclear.

3.9 Bernard Fagg

In 2012 the Pitt Rivers received three casts of Benin plaques commissioned by former museum director Bernard Fagg; these are reproductions of two plaques depicting fish: one from the Kingsley collection with the accession number PRM 1900.39.2 (2012.103.11; see Section **2.3** above), and one from the Thompson collection with the accession number PRM 1908.41.1 (2012.103.12; see Section **2.8** above).

The third cast is of an unidentified plaque, and is not one from the Pitt Rivers Museum's collections (2012.103.13).

³⁰ British Library General Reference Collection: Sale Catalogues. The auctioneers' copies, mounted and with MS. notes and prices (BLL01003444921).

4 University of Oxford Manuscript and Photographic Collections related to Benin 1897

The University of Oxford holds a number of primary manuscript and photographic archives that relate to the Benin 1897 Expedition. These are summarised in the table below, and comprise Cyril Punch's manuscript journal *A Visit to the King of Benin in 1889*, the Diary of Captain Herbert Walker (including photographs, donated 2019), an album of 89 prints of the sacking of Benin (donated by Hugh Nevin Nevins in 1968, and the notebook of Chief of Staff George Le Clerc Egerton and three watercolours painted by him at Benin City (Appendix 7). A selection of the photographs is presented in Appendix 6.

Table 3: University of Oxford Archives and Photographs Relating to Benin 1897

Accession Number/Archive	Description
Pitt Rivers Egerton Mss	Notebook of George Le Clerc Egerton recording his participation in the Punitive Expedition of 1897
Pitt Rivers 1991.13.31	Watercolour painted by George Le Clerc Egerton during the sacking of Benin City, inscribed "Sacrificial Altar Benin 1897"
Pitt Rivers 1991.13.29	Watercolour painted by George Le Clerc Egerton during the sacking of Benin City, inscribed "King's Palace, Benin 1897 G le CE"
Pitt Rivers 1991.13.30	Watercolour painted by George Le Clerc Egerton during the sacking of Benin City, inscribed "Ju-Ju Compound Benin 1897"
Pitt Rivers 1998.335	Album of 89 prints of the sacking of Benin, photographs probably taken by Reginald Kerr Granville. Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1968 by Hugh Nevin Nevins
Pitt Rivers 2019.32.1	Diary of Captain Herbert Walker, recording his participation in the Punitive Expedition of 1897, including photographs
Bodleian MSS.Afr.s.1913	Cyril Punch's manuscript journal <i>A Visit to the King of Benin in 1889</i> .

5 Conclusions

The collection of 145 objects currently in the care of the Pitt Rivers Museum identified in this interim report as looted in the 1897 Benin Expedition represents less than 1.5% of the more than 10,000 objects that were taken in the attack. Putting this information in the public domain, along with the list of 15 further objects possibly from Benin 1897 (Section 3 above), and with the discussion of material from other military expeditions and from 20th-century collecting of various kinds (Section 1.2 above), will, it is hoped, contribute to advancing understanding of what was taken, as commitments to make returns from institutions around the world gather pace.

To conclude, let me underline that the nature of collections management and provenance research of this kind is such that further objects may be identified in the future. The risk of mistakes and omissions is an inevitable part of this kind of work, where there is always more to learn. But while the work of African cultural restitution demands detailed expert provenance work, it also demands that this work happens at pace where claims are put forward, and that there is as much transparency as possible at every stage. By putting the research in this interim report in the public domain, alongside the ongoing integrative work of the Digital Benin project, it is hoped that further details of provenance will be gathered, alongside any additions and corrections to the research that may be possible, in advance of full publication in 2022.

There are certain immediate factual questions, such as identifying the brass plaque of which object 2012.103.13 is a cast, but there are also necessary discussions of how we classify objects such as those 19th-century items collected in 1909 by Northcote Whitridge Thomas (see 1.2 above and photograph in Appendix 3). To what extent were the enduring conditions in the aftermath of 1897 circumstances in which dispossessions took place? And how can we start to address the many other smaller and less iconic but still significant military expeditions in which looting took place across what is now Nigeria? How also to address for example the cases of Itsekiri material culture that was brought back to Britain during the 1897 Punitive Expedition? How might such detail and complexity inform the next steps for restitution demands?

Comments and corrections are welcome to dan.hicks@prm.ox.ac.uk between 17 November 2021 and 1 April 2022, after which the Report will be formally published.

Research of this kind is about excavating the storerooms, databases and accession registers rather than just describing what is on display. Accordingly, some of the objects discussed are presented with only fuzzy catalogue record shots or with no photograph at all, rather than with high-quality professional photography. The choice has been made for transparency now rather than waiting for some more polished account later, but new photography for the collections may be possible before the final report is published.

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Dan Hicks 17 November 2021

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APPENDIX 1: BENIN 1897 COLLECTIONS OWNED BY THE UNIVERISITY OF OXFORD

	Accession Number	Description	Provenance	Provenance Detail	Publications
1	1898.26.1.1	Brass powder cylinder	Felix Norman Roth	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from Henry Ling Roth, brother of Felix. See <i>discussion in Section 2.13</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/56
2	1898.26.1.2	Brass powder cylinder cover	Felix Norman Roth	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from Henry Ling Roth, brother of Felix. See <i>discussion in Section 2.13</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/56
3	1899.70.2	Tortoise-shell drum with a canework loop	George Fabian Lawrence	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from George Fabian Lawrence in 1899 <i>See discussion in Section 2.10</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/12
4	1899.78.4.1	Wooden weaving sword	William Downing Webster	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
5	1899.78.4.2	Wooden weaving sword	William Downing Webster	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
6	1899.78.4.3	Wooden shuttle needle	William Downing Webster	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
7	1899.78.4.4	Wooden shuttle needle	William Downing Webster	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
8	1899.78.4.5	Wooden weaving spacer	William Downing Webster	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
9	1899.78.4.6	Wooden weaving spacer	William Downing Webster	Purchased from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
10	1899.78.4.7	Wooden weaving rod	William Downing Webster	Purchased from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27

11	1899.78.4.8	Wooden weaving rod	William Downing Webster	Purchased from William Downing Webster in 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/20 - RO/27
12	1899.86.12	Bronze plaque with the image of a serpent	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Stevens Auction Rooms 4 Dec 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/67 Listed in Gunsch 2018, page 227
13	1899.86.13	Bronze foot broken from a figure	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Stevens Auction Rooms 4 Dec 1899. <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	
14	1900.1.4	Wooden sansa-type musical instrument	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased by Cuthbert Edgar Peek at Stevens Auction Rooms 13 February 1900 and donated by him to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1900. <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Indexed in Dark 1982 as B9/25
15	1900.1.5	Wooden sansa-type musical instrument	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased by Cuthbert Edgar Peek at Stevens Auction Rooms 13 February 1900 and donated by him to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1900. <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Indexed in Dark 1982 as B9/26
16	1900.32.4	String of cylindrical coral beads, possibly from a ceremonial fly-whisk	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Donated per Harold St George Gray in September 1900, after General Pitt-Rivers' death. Probably split from a necklace recorded as figure 229 in Pitt-Rivers 1900. <i>See discussion in Section 2.7</i>	Probably shown in Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, p. 1741 Probably reproduced in Pitt-Rivers 1900: Figure 229
17	1900.39.1	Brass relief plaque depicting a human figure	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/68 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227

18	1900.39.2	Brass relief plaque depicting a fish	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/62 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
19	1900.39.3	Brass sculpture or altar-piece in the form of a morion-shaped helmet	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/45
20	1900.39.4	Brass ceremonial casket with a cover and chain for suspension with relief decoration and chased work	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was looted by Felix Ling Roth during the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling Roth 1903, pp. 227-28, figures 264, 265 and 266 Reproduced in von Luschan 1919, p. 421, figure 655 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/69 Reproduced in Mowat 1991 on p. 22 as figure 20
21	1900.39.5	Brass staff with the figure of a bird	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/16
22	1900.39.6	Bronze hip-ornament mask	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/72 Reproduced in Mowat 1991 on p. 14 as figure 7
23	1900.39.7	Bronze hip-ornament mask depicting a ram's head	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack.	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/74

				<i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	
24	1900.39.8	Bronze hip-ornament mask depicting a crocodile's head	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/71 and reproduced as figure 49
25	1900.39.9	Bronze hip-ornament mask depicting a crocodile's head	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.28 as B5/56
26	1900.39.10	Bronze bell	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/7
27	1900.39.11	Bronze bell	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.134 as B9/30 (recorded as "Hunter-style")
28	1900.39.12	Bronze armlet with open-work decoration	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.33 as figure 45 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/2
29	1900.39.13	Bronze armlet with open-work decoration	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.33 as figure 46 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/1
30	1900.39.14	Copper armlet with bronze decoration depicting two faces	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.29 as figure 30 Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on p. 407 as figure 628 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/37

31	1900.39.15	Bronze penannular leg-ring or armlet	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.28 as figure 21 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/69
32	1900.39.16	Copper armlet	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.30 as figure 31 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/39
33	1900.39.17	Iron armlet	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.29 as figure 27 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/44
34	1900.39.18	Bronze cone-shaped object, possibly a hip-ornament	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/55
35	1900.39.19	Ivory armlet	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/69
36	1900.39.20	Ivory hip-ornament mask depicting a leopard	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.198 as figure 215 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/77
37	1900.39.21	Ivory door-bolt from the Royal Palace	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/13 Reproduced in Plankensteiner 2007 on

					page 290 as Cat 21, with a descriptive text by Joseph Nevadomsky
38	1900.39.22	Brass ceremonial fan with repoussé decoration	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/11
39	1900.39.23	Wooden lidded bowl or casket overlaid with brass, in the form of an animal's head	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.213 as figure 243 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/75
40	1900.39.24	Wooden figure of a horse-rider, probably broken from a staff	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903 on p.213 as figure 242 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.23 as B1/70
41	1900.39.25	Carved coconut vessel with incised guilloché decoration	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Dark 1973, figure, 200, plate 79; and discussed on p. 109
42	1900.39.26	Carved coconut vessel with incised guilloché decoration	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Reproduced in Dark 1973, figure, 200, plate 79; and discussed on p. 109
43	1900.39.27.1	Iron armband containing jingling pellets	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/13

44	1900.39.27.2	Iron armlet containing jingling pellets	Mary Henrietta Kingsley	Bequeathed to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mary Henrietta Kingsley (1862-1900), who recorded it was taken in the 1897 attack. <i>See discussion in Section 2.3</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/14
45	1900.74.1	Brass vessel	George Fabian Lawrence	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from George Fabian Lawrence in 1900. <i>See discussion in Section 2.10</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/52
46	1900.74.2	Brass armlet with openwork decoration	George Fabian Lawrence	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from George Fabian Lawrence in 1900 <i>See discussion in Section 2.10</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
47	1900.74.3	Bronze bracelet	George Fabian Lawrence	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from George Fabian Lawrence in 1900 <i>See discussion in Section 2.10</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
48	1901.53.2	Bronze arm-ring	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
49	1901.53.3	Bronze arm-ring	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
50	1901.53.4	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
51	1901.53.5	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
52	1901.53.6	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39

53	1901.53.7	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
54	1901.53.8	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
55	1901.53.9	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
56	1901.53.10	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
57	1901.53.11	Bronze pellet bell	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 by George Fabian Lawrence for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.34 as RO/34-RO/39
58	1901.54.1	Ground stone axe mounted in bronze	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/51
59	1901.54.2	Bronze weight	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/57
60	1901.56.1	Bronze pendant from a ceremonial necklace in the form of a polished stone axe	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 for the Pitt Rivers Museum (Lot 130) <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/67
61	1901.56.2	Bronze pendant from a ceremonial necklace in the form of a polished stone axe	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 12 1901 for the Pitt Rivers Museum (Lot 130) <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/72

62	1907.66.1	Brass plaque with relief decoration depicting three human figures	Thomas Francis Embury	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from "F. Embury" in 1907. Recorded as having been "hidden away from our soldiers after the capture of Benin on the punitive expedition of 1897, and brought to Lagos by a native trading woman from whom it was obtained by Mr Embury" <i>See discussion in Section 2.16</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.31 as B8/60 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227 and reproduced in Figure 6.61 as 2A
63	1908.41.1	Brass plaque with with relief decoration depicting fish	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1908 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/63 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
64	1908.41.2	Brass plaque with with relief decoration depicting fish	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1908 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/64 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
65	1908.41.3	Brass plaque with with relief decoration depicting a serpent	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1908 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.31 as B8/61 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
66	1908.41.4	Brass plaque with with relief decoration depicting a crocodile's head	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1908 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/65 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
67	1908.65.1	Brass plaque with relief decoration depicting a leopard skin	Stevens Auction Rooms	Purchased at Stevens Auction Rooms on Feb 8 1908 for the Pitt Rivers Museum <i>See discussion in Section 2.4</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/66 Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227

68	1909.1.1	Ivory mount from a ceremonial staff depicting a horse-man	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1909 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/76
69	1909.1.2	Bronze staff with double human figures at either end, recorded by Phil Dark as “a wand for the Oba’s messenger”	Henry Nilus Thompson	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in December 1909 by Henry Nilus Thompson. <i>See discussion in Section 2.8</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/14
70	1909.11.1.1	Wooden box	Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mrs H.K. Eden in 1909. Recorded by her as having been looted by Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon in the 1897 attack <i>See discussion in Section 2.12</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/9
71	1909.11.1.2	Wooden lid with carved decoration	Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum by Mrs H.K. Eden in 1909. Recorded by her as having been looted by Colonel Frederick William Bainbridge Landon in the 1897 attack <i>See discussion in Section 2.12</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as RO/9
72	1909.61.1	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/49
73	1909.61.2	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79
74	1909.61.3	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79
75	1909.61.4	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79

				recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	
76	1909.61.5	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79
77	1909.61.6	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79
78	1909.61.7	Bronze imitation of a polished stone axe	William John Ansorge	Purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from William Downing Webster in 1908, and recorded as from a collection made by Dr William John Ansorge. <i>See discussion in Section 2.6</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.79 as G4/74-G4/79
79	1917.2.13	Bronze hip-ornament mask	Sir George Chardin Denton	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1917 by Sir George Chardin Denton, who had been Colonial Secretary of the Colony of Lagos from 1889 to 1900, then Administrator (renamed in 1901 Governor) of the Gambia until 1911. <i>See discussion in Section 2.17</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B8/73
80	1917.38.1	Bronze bell	Beatrice Braithwaite Batty	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1917 by Beatrice Braithwaite Batty. <i>See discussion in Section 2.14</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/8
81	1917.38.2	Bronze bell	Beatrice Braithwaite Batty	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1917 by Beatrice Braithwaite Batty. <i>See discussion in Section 2.14</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/9
82	1932.88.863	Bronze lamp	William Downing Webster	Purchased from William Downing Webster in 1901 by Henry Balfour, and accessioned into	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/4

				the Pitt Rivers Museum collections by Balfour in 1932. <i>See discussion in Section 2.5</i>	
83	1932.88.864	Bronze lamp	Henry Balfour	Obtained in 1900 by Henry Balfour “by exchange”, and accessioned into the Pitt Rivers Museum collections by Balfour in 1932 <i>See discussion in Section 2.15</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/3
84	1938.34.94	Ivory side-blast trumpet	Thomas William Taphouse	Purchased from Thomas William Taphouse 1905 by Henry Balfour, and accessioned into the Pitt Rivers Museum collections by Balfour in 1938. <i>See discussion in Section 2.18</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/66
85	1941.2.117	Bronze Bell	Cranmore Ethnological Museum	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1941 from Harry Geoffrey Beasley's Cranmore Ethnological Museum when it closed. Beasley had purchased it from F.L. Goodman, per Thomas Athol Joyce on 14 August 1928. <i>See discussion in Section 2.9</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/28
86	1941.2.118	Bronze Bell	Cranmore Ethnological Museum	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1941 from Harry Geoffrey Beasley's Cranmore Ethnological Museum when it closed. Beasley had purchased it from a dealer in Newbury on 16 Feb 1932. <i>See discussion in Section 2.9</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/29
87	1941.2.119	Bronze Bell	Cranmore Ethnological Museum	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1941 from Harry Geoffrey Beasley's Cranmore Ethnological Museum when it closed. Beasley had purchased it at Stevens Auction Rooms on 31 May 1935. <i>See discussion in Section 2.9</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/27
88	1941.2.124	Wooden rattle staff	Cranmore Ethnological Museum	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1941 from Harry Geoffrey Beasley's Cranmore Ethnological Museum when it closed.	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.33 as B9/46

				<i>See discussion in Section 2.9</i>	
89	1946.6.80	Bronze bell	Dr Mervyn David Waldegrave Jeffreys	Donated to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1946 by Dr Mervyn David Waldegrave Jeffreys of the University of Witwatersrand. <i>See discussion in Section 2.19</i>	Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.32 as B9/10
90	1965.9.1 B	Brass hip ornament mask	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Purchased by Pitt-Rivers for his second museum on 11 May 1898, from William Downing Webster. Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family through the Parke-Benet Galleries in New York City, and bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum from the gallery <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustration in Appendix 3</i>	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue volume 5 page 1593 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.1 as 0/34 Reproduced in Pitt-Rivers 1900 on p. 20 as figures 62 and 63
91	1966.13.1	Bronze head	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Purchased by Augustus Pitt-Rivers for £19- for his second museum on 13 August 1898, from William Downing Webster. Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family at Sotheby's on 15 Nov 1965 and purchased by K.J. Hewett for £2,800. <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustration in Appendix 3</i> In an appeal to the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art on 31 Jan 1965, its export to Paris was authorised. Following negotiations it was purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford) from Charles Ratton	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue volume 5, page 1699 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.3 as 1/1
92	1975.7.1	Bronze figure of a man wearing a rope harness	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Purchased by Augustus Pitt-Rivers for his second museum on 13 August 1898, from William Downing Webster. Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family through the Parke-Benet Galleries in New York City, and	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, page 1711 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.3 as 0/79

				bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum from the gallery <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustrations in Appendix 3</i>	
93	1975.7.2	Bronze cylindrical vessel with decoration depicting animal and human heads	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Purchased by Augustus Pitt-Rivers for his second museum on 7 Nov 1899 at Stevens' Auction Rooms. Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family through the Parke-Benet Galleries in New York City, and bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum from the gallery <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustrations in Appendix 3</i>	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 6, p. 1991 Listed in Dark 1982 on p. 2.1.6 as 2/38
94	1979.8.1	Wooden stool with carved decoration depicting human figures	Reginald Kerr Granville	Looted by Reginald Kerr Granville in 1897; purchased by the Pitt Rivers Museum from his grandson John Granville in June 1979 <i>See discussion in Section 2.20</i>	unpublished
95	1980.19.1	Bronze figure of a hippo, probably broken from a staff	Unknown	Recorded on the museum database as "found unentered in 1980" <i>See discussion in Section 2.21</i>	unpublished
96	1983.25.1	Brass hip-ornament mask	Harold Mordley Douglas	Part of the Reitlinger Gift to the University of Oxford in 1983, and currently on long-term loan from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum Purchased by Gerald Roberts Reitlinger in 1978 and recorded as being "originally in the possession of Harold Moseley Douglas [sic], appointed Governor of Benin City after the punitive expedition of 1897". This is a reference to Harold Mordley Douglas who was appointed Assistant District Commissioner for Niger Coast Protectorate in January 1898. <i>See discussion in Section 2.11</i>	unpublished

97	1983.25.2	Brass hip-ornament mask	Harold Mordley Douglas	<p>Part of the Reitlinger Gift to the University of Oxford in 1983, and currently on long-term loan from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum</p> <p>Purchased by Gerald Roberts Reitlinger in 1978 and recorded as being "originally in the possession of Harold Moseley Douglas [sic], appointed Governor of Benin City after the punitive expedition of 1897". This is a reference to Harold Mordley Douglas who was appointed Assistant District Commissioner for Niger Coast Protectorate in January 1898. <i>See discussion in Section 2.11</i></p>	unpublished
98	1983.25.3	Brass hip-ornament mask	Harold Mordley Douglas	<p>Part of the Reitlinger Gift to the University of Oxford in 1983, and currently on long-term loan from the Ashmolean Museum to the Pitt Rivers Museum</p> <p>Purchased by Gerald Roberts Reitlinger in 1978 and recorded as being "originally in the possession of Harold Moseley Douglas [sic], appointed Governor of Benin City after the punitive expedition of 1897". This is a reference to Harold Mordley Douglas who was appointed Assistant District Commissioner for Niger Coast Protectorate in January 1898. <i>See discussion in Section 2.11</i></p>	unpublished
99	1988.11.1	Wooden comb	Pitt-Rivers Museum	Donated to Augustus Pitt-Rivers from Henry Ling Roth for his second museum in May 1898.	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, p. 1681

				<p>Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family at some point and bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Christie's in 1988 <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustrations in Appendix 3</i></p>	
100	1988.11.2	Wooden comb	Pitt-Rivers Museum	<p>Donated to Augustus Pitt-Rivers from Henry Ling Roth for his second museum in May 1898. Sold off by the Pitt-Rivers family at some point and bought by the Pitt Rivers Museum at Christie's in 1988 <i>See discussion in Section 2.7 and illustrations in Appendix 3</i></p>	Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, p. 1681

APPENDIX 2: BENIN 1897 COLLECTIONS ON LOAN TO OXFORD UNIVERSITY FROM THE EGERTON-DUMAS TRUST AND FROM MARK WALKER

NB The Egerton material is discussed in Section 2.2 above, and the Walker paddles in Section 2.22.

	Accession Number	Description	Publications
101	1991.13.1	Carved ivory tusk burnt in the fires during the desecration of Benin city	unpublished
102	1991.13.2	Carved ivory tusk	unpublished
103	1991.13.3	Silver-plated ceremonial sword (<i>eben</i>) stamped as made by the British firm of Mappin & Webb. Probably the sword made for the Oba by the trader Cyril Punch in circa 1892	Described in a quotation from Punch reproduced in Ling-Roth 1903, page
104	1991.13.4	Ivory ladle with inlaid bronze and a bronze human figure on the handle	unpublished
105	1991.13.5	Ivory commemorative head with eyes inlaid with bronze	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 476 as figure 804
106	1991.13.6	Ivory pedestal bowl inlaid with bronze	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 487 as figures 839 and 841
107	1991.13.7	Ivory lid with five projections	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 487 as figure 838
108	1991.13.8	Brass relief plaque depicting three figures, the central on holding a ceremonial box	Listed in Gunsch 2018, p. 227
109	1991.13.9	Ivory carved figure, probably broken from a ceremonial staff or flywhisk	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 414 as figure 639
110	1991.13.10.1	Bronze ring-shaped container with incised decoration depicting a fish	unpublished
111	1991.13.10.2	Bronze lid for container (1991.13.10.2)	unpublished
112	1991.13.11	Bronze altar-piece base	unpublished
113	1991.13.12	Bronze armlet	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 395 as figure 592
114	1991.13.13	Bronze armlet	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 396 as figure 596
115	1991.13.14	Gilded bronze armlet	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 395 as figure 593

116	1991.13.15	Bronze armlet	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 395 as figure 594
117	1991.13.16	Ivory armlet with inlaid bronze	unpublished
118	1991.13.17.1	Ceremonial sword (<i>ada</i>)	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 442 as figure 704a Reproduced in Girshick Ben-Amos 1995 on page 24 as plate 13
119	1991.13.17.2	Coralwork sheath for ceremonial sword (1991.13.17.1)	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 442 as figure 704a Reproduced in Girshick Ben-Amos 1995 on page 24 as plate 13
120	1991.13.18	Ceremonial sword (<i>ada</i>)	unpublished
121	1991.13.19	Ceremonial sword (<i>ada</i>)	unpublished
122	1991.13.20	Side-blown ivory trumpet	unpublished
123	1991.13.21	Gilded bronze cone-shaped hip ornament	unpublished
124	1991.13.22	Gilded bronze cone-shaped hip ornament	unpublished
125	1991.13.23	Gilded bronze cone-shaped hip ornament	unpublished
126	1991.13.24	Gilded bronze cone-shaped hip ornament	unpublished
127	1991.13.25	Bronze altarpiece with figures of the Queen Mother with six attendants	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 314 as figure 459
128	1991.13.26	Ivory armlet inlaid with brass	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 400 as figure 609
129	1991.13.27.1 and 1991.13.27.2	Ivory double armlet with carved openwork decoration	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 405 as figure 624
130	1991.13.28	Ivory side-blown trumpet (fragment)	unpublished
131	1991.13.32	Bronze armlet	unpublished
132	1991.13.33	Bronze armlet	unpublished
133	1991.13.34	Bronze armlet	unpublished
134	1991.13.35	Bronze armlet with inset coral	unpublished
135	1991.13.36	Wooden painted altar-piece <i>igbile</i> mask with a canework base	Reproduced in Fagg 1963 as Plate 107
136	1991.13.37	Wooden weaving sword	unpublished

137	1991.13.38	Wooden lid covered with decorated bronze sheet	Reproduced in von Luschan 1919 on page 435 as figure 686
138	1991.13.39	Carved wooden staff with a string of shells attached	unpublished
139	1991.13.40	Perforated agate bead	unpublished
140	1991.13.41	Perforated agate bead	unpublished
141	1991.13.42	Perforated agate bead	unpublished
142	1991.13.43	Perforated agate bead	unpublished
143	1991.13.44	Perforated agate bead	unpublished
144	On loan from Mark Walker	Itsekiri ceremonial wooden paddle	unpublished
145	On loan from Mark Walker	Itsekiri ceremonial wooden paddle	unpublished

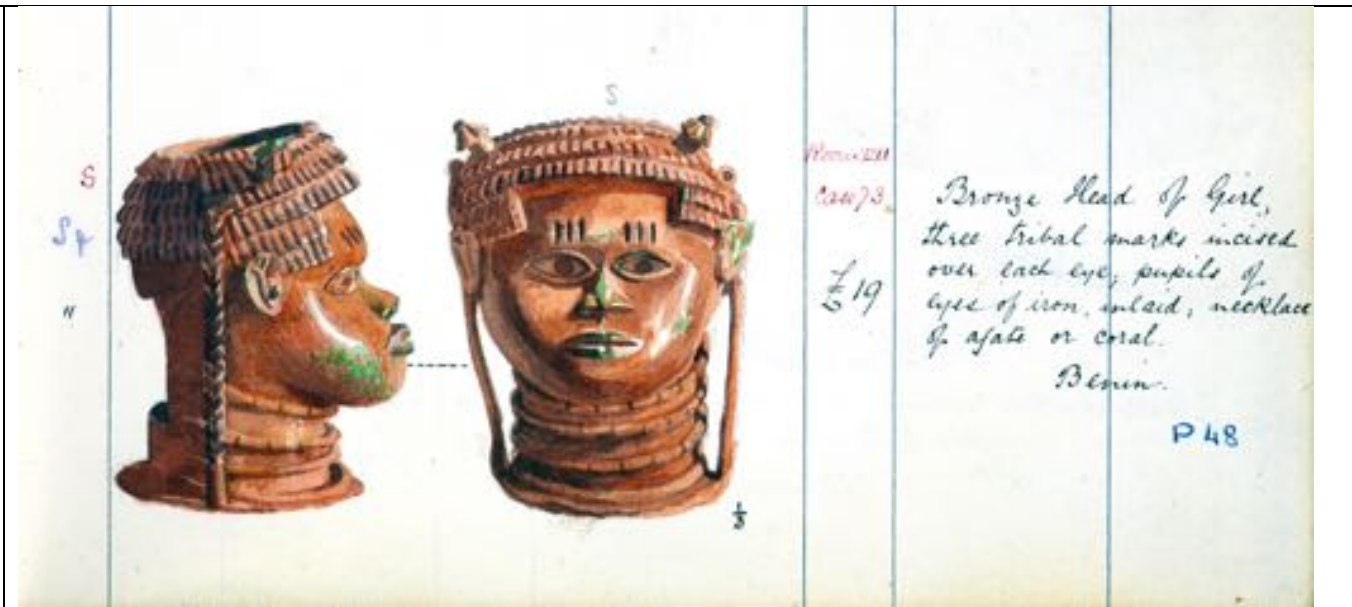
APPENDIX 3: DOCUMENTATION OF BENIN OBJECTS FROM THE PITT-RIVERS MUSEUM ('SECOND COLLECTION') NOW IN THE PITT RIVERS MUSEUM IN OXFORD

<p>An illustration probably representing 1900.32.4 (later disassembled)</p> <p>Probably shown in Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, p. 1741</p> <p>See discussion in Section 2.7</p>	<p>Agate Necklace, Benin.</p>
<p>1965.9.1 B</p> <p>Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue volume 5 page 1593</p> <p>See discussion in Section 2.7</p>	<p>Leopard's Mask Head of brass, the pupils of the eyes represented by a copper-band. A band of copper inlaid along the nose and forehead. A bearded figure on each cheek. Benin.</p>

1966.13.1

Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue volume 5, page 1699

See discussion in Section 2.7



1975.7.1

Pitt-Rivers Second Collection catalogue vol 5, page 1711

See discussion in Section 2.7



1975.7.2

Pitt-Rivers Second Collection
catalogue vol 6, p. 1991

See discussion in Section 2.7



Room 121
S & case 75
S &

Benin, metal bar, cylindrical
in form, ornamented with three longi-
tudinal rows of ap skulls in relief
& incised human faces.

B. Stearns Sale
Price £2.10.0

1988.11.1-2

Pitt-Rivers Second Collection
catalogue vol 5, p. 1681

See discussion in Section 2.7

1898.

May.

S+

Presented by N. Long Roth Esq., 32 Prescott St.,
Halifax.

3 carved
wooden
combs from
the Toba
country,
Benin,
W. Africa.



Presented

Room 7 case 69

APPENDIX 4: PHOTOGRAPHS OF BENIN 1897 OBJECTS LISTED IN APPENDIX 2 & APPENDIX 3

1898.26.1.1 and
1898.26.1.1
*See discussion in
Section 2.13*



1899.70.2
*See discussion
in Section 2.10*

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

<p>1899.78.4.1 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.2 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.3 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.4 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.5 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.6 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.7 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			
<p>1899.78.4.8 See discussion in Section 2.5</p>			

1899.86.12
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



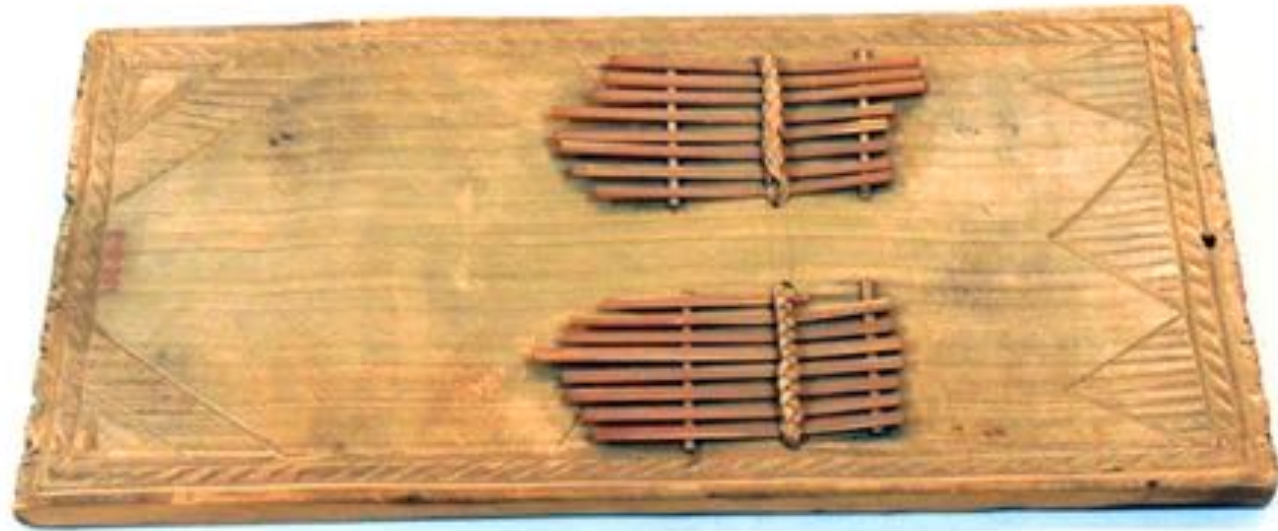
1899.86.13
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1900.1.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1900.1.5
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1900.32.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.7



1900.39.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.5
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.6
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.7
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.8
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.9
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.10
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.11
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.12
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.13
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.14
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.15
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.16
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.17
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.18
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.19
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.20
See
discussion in
Section 2.3

200mm



1900.39.21
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.22
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.23
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.24
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.25
See
discussion in
Section 2.3

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

1900.39.26
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.39.27.1
and
1900.39.27.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.3



1900.74.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.10



1900.74.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.10



1900.74.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.10



1901.53.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.53.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.53.4



1901.53.5
See
discussion in
Section 2.4

NO IMAGE

1901.53.6
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.53.7
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.53.8-
1901.53.11
See
discussion in
Section 2.4

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

1901.54.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.54.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1901.56.1



1901.56.2



1907.66.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.16



1908.41.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1908.41.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1908.41.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1908.41.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1908.65.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.4



1909.1.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1909.1.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.8



1909.11.1.1
and
1909.11.1.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.12



1909.61.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.5
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.6
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1909.61.7
See
discussion in
Section 2.6



1917.2.13
See
discussion in
Section 2.17



1917.38.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.14



1917.38.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.14



1932.88.863
See
discussion in
Section 2.5



1932.88.864
See
discussion in
Section 2.15



1938.34.94

See
discussion in
Section **2.18**



1941.2.117
See
discussion in
Section 2.9



1941.2.118
See
discussion in
Section 2.9



1941.2.119
See
discussion in
Section 2.9



1941.2.124
See
discussion in
Section 2.9



1946.6.80
See
discussion in
Section 2.19



1965.9.1 B
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustration in
Appendix 3



1966.13.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustrations in
Appendix 3



1975.7.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustrations in
Appendix 3



1975.7.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustrations in
Appendix 3



1979.8.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.20



1980.19.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.21



1983.25.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.11



1983.25.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.11



1983.25.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.11



190mm

1988.11.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustrations in
Appendix 3



1988.11.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.7
and
illustrations in
Appendix 3



1991.13.1
See
*discussion in
Section 2.2*



1991.13.2
See
*discussion in
Section 2.2*



1991.13.3
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.4
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.5
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



270mm

1991.13.6
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.7
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.8
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.9
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.10.1
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.10.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.11
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.12
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.13
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.14
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.15
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.16
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.17.1
and
1991.13.17.2
See
*discussion in
Section 2.2*



1991.13.18
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.19
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.20
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.21
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.22
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.23
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.24
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.25
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.26
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.27.1
and
1991.13.27.2
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.28
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.32
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.33
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.34
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.35
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.36
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.37
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.38
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.39
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.40
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.41
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.42
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



1991.13.43
See
discussion in
Section 2.2



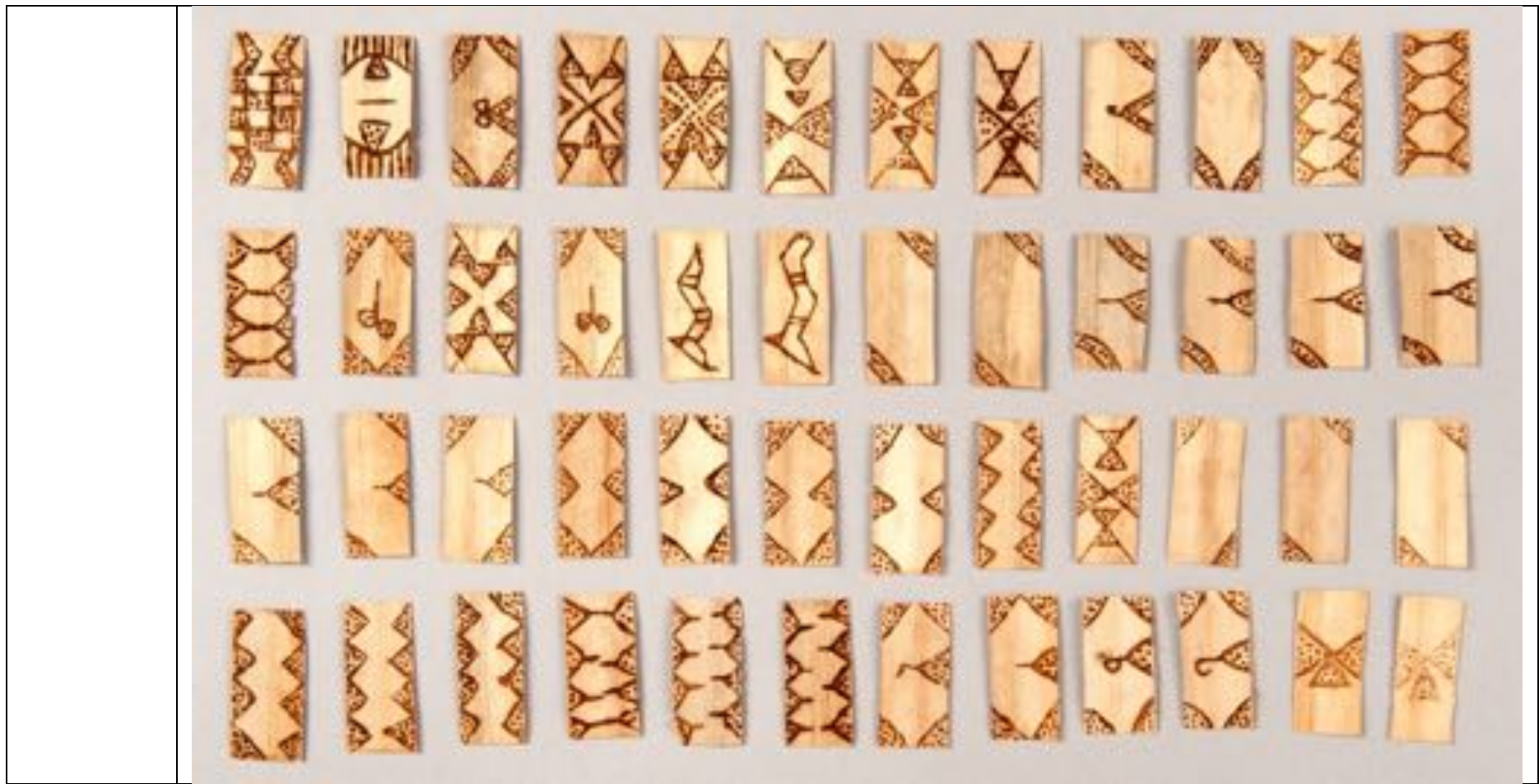
Mark Walker
loan of
Itsekiri
wooden
paddles

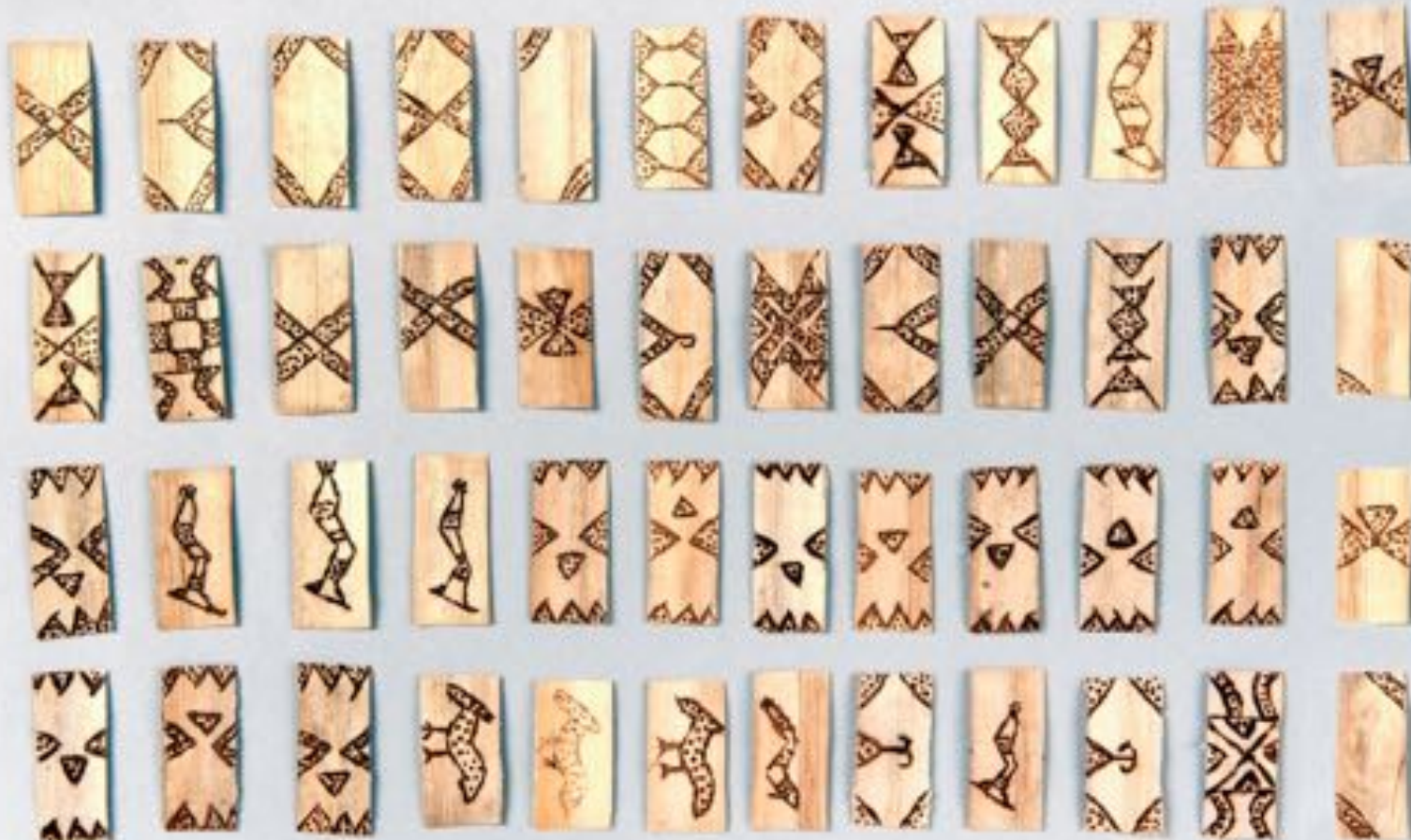


APPENDIX 5: PHOTOGRAPHS OF OBJECTS DISCUSSED IN SECTIONS 1 AND 3

1900.1.1
See
discussion in
Section 3.2







1900.1.6
See
discussion in
Section 3.2

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

1900.1.7
See
discussion in
Section 3.2



1902.52.1
See
discussion in
Section 3.3



1908.18.13
See
discussion in
Section 3.4

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

1909.67.22
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1909.67.25,
1909.67.26
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1909.67.33
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1909.67.35
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1909.67.36
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1922.67.1
See
discussion in
Section 3.5



1923.2.1
See
discussion in
Section 3.5



1934.46.3
See
discussion in
Section 3.6



1938.31.27
See
discussion in
Section 3.7

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

1967.45.1
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1970.16.1
See
discussion in
Section 3.8



642mm

1991.16.1
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1992.20.1
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



1995.1.2
See
discussion in
Section 1.2



2011.21.1
See
discussion in
Section 1.2

NO IMAGE CURRENTLY AVAILABLE

2012.103.11
See
discussion in
Section 3.9



2012.103.12
See
discussion in
Section 3.9



2012.103.13
See
discussion in
Section 3.9



APPENDIX 6: SELECTED PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE BENIN 1897 EXPEDITION IN THE PITT RIVERS COLLECTIONS

















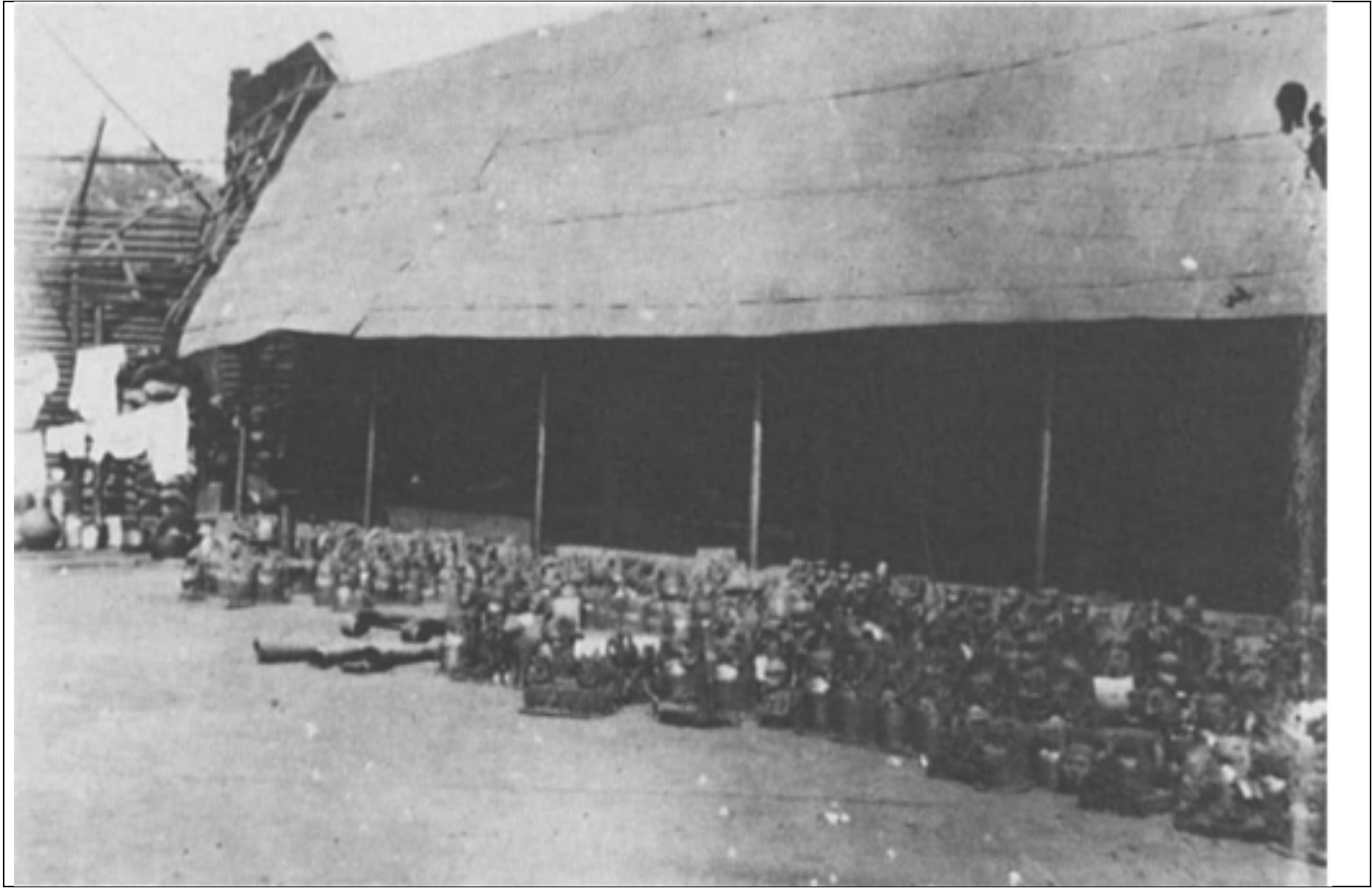


















Benin 1897 Photographs taken by Reginald Kerr Granville Pitt Rivers Collections



¹⁴ Wall of the Kings compound where the carriers were encamped.



12. One of the doors in the King's compound Size about
made of wood covered with hammered Brass. 15ft x 8ft.



10. Where the attack was made from.
The big cotton tree is where the King was to be hanged.



9.

The Temporary Residency



4. Turners compound.
Child

Turner.





















APPENDIX 7: THE EGERTON WATERCOLOURS

1991.13.29



1991.13.30



1991.13.31

