A voyage to Africa: including a narrative of an embassy to one of the interior kingdoms in the year 1820. With remarks on the course and termination of the Niger, and other principal rivers in that country / By William Hutton. Illus. with maps and plates.

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Publication/Creation

London : Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1821.

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Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1821.

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VOYAGE TO AFRICA:

INCLUDING

A

NARRATIVE OF AN EMBASSY

TO

ONE OF THE INTERIOR KINGDOMS,

IN THE YEAR 1820;

WITH

REMARKS ON THE COURSE AND TERMINATION OF THE NIGER,

AND OTHER

PRINCIPAL RIVERS IN THAT COUNTRY.

BY

WILLIAM HUTTON

LATE ACTING CONSUL FOR ASHANTEE, AND AN OFFICER IN THE AFRICAN COMPANY'S SERVICE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

SIMPLEX VERI SIGILLUM.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1821.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

EARL BATHURST, K.G.

HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARY OF STATE

FOR

THE COLONIAL DEPARTMENT.

My Lord,

It is no small gratification to me, after my return from arduous duties abroad, to find myself distinguished by the kind patronage of Your Lordship; the more especially, when I reflect that I did not apply to any friend to solicit this protection, but that Your Lordship was

pleased to extend it to me, merely from your knowledge of my services, from the communications which I have had the honour of addressing to Your Lordship, at different periods, during the last nine years.

Such an instance of Your Lordship's indulgence and impartiality, will convince the world how ready you are to encourage every individual, whose conduct may appear to merit attention.

My gratitude, therefore, indulges itself in the honour of dedicating this small Volume to Your Lordship.

May Your Lordship long continue in the high office you now hold, in the full enjoyment of health and happiness, that you may always have the power

of extending protection to those who endeavour to deserve it.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's much obliged,
and very humble servant,
WILLIAM HUTTON.

London, 15*th Oct.* 1821.

London, Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, Paternoster Row, Oct 1st 1821.
Engraved by Sidt Hall, Bury St Bloomsb.

INTRODUCTION.

It is neither my wish nor my intention to make the usual every-day apologies for publishing, although I am sensible how much I stand in need of them, and of that indulgence which I hope will be extended to this humble production, written not with the most distant view of establishing literary pretensions, but from the conviction that any observations made during a period of eleven years, and particularly on a journey into the interior of Africa, could not fail to be interesting. Notwithstanding that such is my conviction, I should not have presumed to submit these observations to public inspection had I not been flattered by some respected friends into a belief that they were of sufficient importance to deserve publicity. Those scruples, therefore, which I at first entertain-

ed, I was the more encouraged to overcome from the interest Mr. Henry Mackenzie took in reading an extract from some of my papers before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and the consideration that I was performing a duty which every traveller owes to his country.

In claiming the indulgence of the Reader for any inaccuracies I may have fallen into, I confidently rely upon that liberal sentiment so justly expressed in the Quarterly Review of October, 1816, in the following words: "When we find "Englishmen exposing themselves with "their eyes open to all the inconveniencies "and hardships of painful and perilous "journies, to the effects of bad climates "and pestilential diseases, not merely out "of idle curiosity, but for the sake of see-"ing with their own eyes, hearing with "their own ears, and of obtaining that in-"formation, and receiving those impres-"sions, which books alone can never give, "we ought to be proud of this national "trait peculiarly characteristic, we believe, "of British youth; and so far from visit-"ing their literary omissions with critical

" severity, we should consider their com-
" munications entitled to every indul-
" gence."

To this extract I shall only add, that, although an account of the former Mission to Ashantee is before the public, the particulars of this second mission to that country, it is hoped, may not be without interest; but as Mr. Bowdich has entered very fully into the history and constitution, superstitions, and customs, &c. of the Ashantees, it would be superfluous in me to repeat what that gentleman has said upon these subjects. I shall therefore confine myself as much as possible to our proceedings at the capital, and to such facts as have come within my own observation; and as they have been the result of several years' experience, if it shall be considered that I have contributed in the smallest degree to the entertainment or information of the public, my utmost wish will be gratified.

My grateful acknowledgements are due to many respected friends for the assistance and encouragement I have received upon this occasion; and in particular to Sir Charles Mac Carthy, the Governor of

Sierra Leone, Mr. Hutcheson, the Judge-Advocate for Scotland, and Mr. Henry Mackenzie of the Exchequer, whose works are so well known, and so universally admired.

London, 13*th September*, 1821.

Route from Cape Coast to Coomassie.

To Paintrey or Doonqua,	19 *direct miles.*	1 *day's journey.*
Mansue,	14	1
Abandou,	$15\frac{1}{2}$	1
Acomfodie,	$19\frac{1}{2}$	1
Kirkiwhiri,	12	1
Ansah,	$9\frac{1}{2}$	1
Akrofroom,	6	
Doompassie	13	1
Dachasou,	5	1
Amafoo,	$8\frac{3}{4}$	
Sirassou,	$12\frac{1}{4}$	1
Coomassie,	6	
	$140\frac{1}{2}$	9

It is nine good days' journey from Cape Coast to Coomassie. We were, however, twelve days in performing the distance, which was in consequence of being detained at Ansah and other places to pay our respects to the Cabboceers. Messrs. Bowdich and Hutchison, as well as Mr. Dupuis, were ten days in returning to Cape Coast, but I was only six. The Ashantee traders and messengers consider it expeditious travelling if they perform the journey in twelve days.

A

VOYAGE TO AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

So much has been written upon Africa, and upon the various travels in, and voyages to that country, it would be tedious and unnecessary to consume the time of the reader by a minute detail of all the trifling incidents which happened during four voyages to the Gold Coast. I shall, therefore, confine myself briefly to the principal occurrences.

We sailed from the Downs in the ship Brixtone, Capt. London, in July, 1816, with a fine breeze, and soon passed the South Foreland and Beachy Head, but

as the wind became unfavourable, we did not see the Isle of Wight until the third day, nor the island of Guernsey until the fifth, when it bore S.W., Alderney at the same time bearing S.E. by E.

In the morning of the 4th of August, a pilot came on board, which afforded us the opportunity of going ashore in his boat; and, on landing, we regaled ourselves at a farmer's house with an excellent breakfast. During breakfast, horses were provided to convey us to the town of Guernsey, and we had a delightful ride of nearly five miles, having landed at a distant part of the island. Guernsey is a beautiful and romantic little island, abounding with the choicest fruits and the best wines; but as the object of these pages is to describe more distant countries, I shall only add that we left that island on the 8th of August, after taking on board Captains Birch, Vaughan, Lemon, and eight other officers of the African corps, with four ladies.

We now sailed with a breeze from the S.S.W., and in a few days we passed the Bay of Biscay, though not without expe-

riencing a little rough weather, particularly off Cape Finisterre.

On the 22d, at daylight, we saw Porto Santo; and on the 23d we anchored, after a tedious, though rather a pleasant passage, in Funchall Roads, for the purpose of taking on board several pipes of Madeira wine.

We had not been long at anchor before we went ashore, and it is perhaps time I should mention who my companions were. I have already mentioned the officers of the African corps, and four ladies, whom we took on board at Guernsey. My other companions were Messrs. Fountaine, Wetherall, Sutherland, Nelson, and Price, and Drs. Hall and Henley, with Mrs. Henley. Dr. Hall was going out to Goree, to join Major Peddie's expedition, to explore the Niger; and Dr. Henley was to join the staff at Sierra Leone.

On going ashore, we divided ourselves into two parties: one party dined at the British consul's (Mr. Veiteh's), and the other at Mr. Keir's. Mr. Keir, however, was at that time in England, but Mr. Carpenter (to whom I take this opportunity of

expressing my thanks for his hospitality and attention) made ample amends for Mr. Keir's absence.

During our stay at Madeira, we put up at the British hotel, but we found a wide difference between this house and that which we left at Guernsey. Every thing here appeared dirty and uncomfortable; the rooms large and unfurnished, and the people uncleanly and miserable. The town of Funchall is a wretched dirty hole; the streets are narrow, but paved; and the inhabitants (Portuguese) are, generally speaking, so filthy, that they destroy the vermin in their heads publicly in the streets. The market contains abundance of fruit and vegetables of all descriptions, and in particular the finest grapes and apricots; of the latter I purchased nearly a hundred for a pistoreen (value 10*d.*), and of the former I ate as many as I thought proper in the vineyards for 6*d.* As you walk through the vineyards, the grape-vines form a beautiful arbour, with large bunches of grapes clustering round your head as you pass.

The day after our arrival at Madeira, we rode up the mountains to the country-seat

of Mr. Gordon, a noble mansion, most delightfully situated. The enchanting valleys and stupendous precipices, with waterfalls in different directions, added to the grandeur of the scenery. On our return, some of my companions, who were not very good horsemen, were obliged to dismount, and I believe I was the only person in company, besides Mr. Wetherall, who rode down the mountains. In riding out here, the man from whom you hire the horse attends it while you are riding, and holding the tail (which is long) in one hand, and a stick with a sharp nail in the top of it in the other, runs close behind, and occasionally pricking your horse, makes it rather unpleasant to a timid rider. To speak of the well-known salubrity of the climate, the wines that are produced here, the churches, the convents, and other interesting particulars, is not necessary, as they have already been so well described by a contemporary; such descriptions are not the object of these pages; and the observations I have presumed to offer have merely been made *en passant*.

On the 25th, we returned on board, and sailed for Teneriffe. On the 27th we saw the peak, which is the highest land in this part of the world, and it is said can be seen in clear weather at the distance of 100 miles. It is situated in 28° 10′ north, and 21° 10′ west.

On the 26th we arrived at Port Oratavio, and anchored close to the shore, when the health-boat came alongside. As I did not go on shore, I am unable to give any description of this island, further than that it belongs to the Spaniards, who supply vessels with considerable quantities of wine; and it will ever be remembered, that it was here the immortal Nelson unfortunately lost his eye.

Having taken on board fourteen pipes of wine, we sailed for Goree; and being fortunately favoured with a strong north-east trade-wind, we passed Senegal on the 4th of September. The weather this day was unusually warm, the thermometer being as high as 85°. We had light airs of wind inclining to calms, and in consequence of not hauling more to the eastward off

Senegal, we were for some time unable to shape our course for Goree, the wind blowing directly off the shore. This wind, however, (from the E. S. E.) is very uncommon here, and only lasted a few hours, when it again shifted to the N. E., which enabled us to anchor within a mile of Goree on the following day.

Here we all went ashore, and paid our respects to the then governor, Major Mackenzie, and afterwards took up our quarters at the house of a Mrs. Martin, a fine Mulatto woman, who treated us with great hospitality and attention. In the evening, it blew a tornado, with considerable lightning, thunder, and rain, which lasted nearly two hours, a circumstance hardly ever known before, as tornadoes seldom last more than twenty minutes or half-an-hour. Considerable damage was done to the shipping; some bowsprits and foremasts were carried away, and one or two vessels were driven on shore, and completely wrecked. The Brixtone drove from her anchorage, was thrown on her beam-ends, and lost her boat. The fort was struck with the lightning, and, in consequence,

the flag-staff was split in pieces, and one of the bastions nearly destroyed; but no lives were lost.

Major Peddie was at Goree at the time of our arrival, and I had the pleasure of being introduced to him by Mr. Joseph Davies, His Majesty's consul at the Cape de Verd Islands, and by this gentleman was recommended to the Major, as likely to answer his views, he having expressed a wish for a person to accompany the expedition to explore the Niger, in the capacity of secretary. Accordingly, as I offered my services, the Major was pleased to accept of them, and immediately advanced me 200*l.* to fit myself out for the journey; and promised, on seeing Captain Campbell at Senegal, (where he was then going,) to send me a written document to pay me 300*l.* a year salary, and, in the event of my being so fortunate as to return, it was agreed that I should be recommended to Lord Bathurst, to receive the sum of 2000*l.* as a further reward for risking my life for the public good, should our exertions to discover the course and termination of the Niger be successful.

With these prospects, therefore, I relinquished my appointment in the African Company's service, and joined the expedition of Major Peddie, who, after leaving me at Goree three weeks, returned from Senegal, and requested me to accompany him thither, which I did. On our passage, we were both so tired of the boat, having experienced contrary winds for several days, that we at last proposed to the sailors to land us about forty miles from Senegal, which they agreed to do; and, after being pretty well ducked and nearly drowned in the heavy surf, we got on shore in safety; but as we had no provisions or fresh water, we regretted having left the boat, particularly as night came on, when, being worn out with fatigue, we lay down on the open beach, quite exhausted for the want of refreshment. Fortunately I had with me a box-coat, which we spread on the beach, and this was all our bed. We had not, however, lain long, before we were agreeably disturbed by some Arabs passing with a herd of cattle, who kindly gave us a bottle of milk, which greatly refreshed us, and we once more re-

tired to rest. During the night, as we did not sleep very soundly, we occasionally heard the roaring of the lion and the wolf, which infest this part of Africa, and are said to seek for food in company, like the shark and pilot fish. Lions are so common, that three and four at a time have been seen on the banks of the Senegal. For myself, I can say, that I only saw one during my stay here.

At daylight in the morning we proceeded on our journey, and passing the salt-pans, where the natives were making salt, we reached the outpost of Senegal, which is about seven miles distant, when we made the signal for two horses. In the mean time, we refreshed ourselves with some fried fish from the Senegal river, and might, if Major Peddie had thought proper, have had a comfortable breakfast at Colonel Brereton's country-house, which was close at hand. As the Colonel happened then to be there for the benefit of his health, he politely sent his compliments, and requested our company; but as Major Peddie was not on very good terms

with His Excellency, he declined the invitation.

Having waited about an hour for the horses, they arrived, and Major Peddie mounting one and I the other, we soon reached Senegal.

On the following day I was confined to my bed with a fever, from the exposure to the heavy dews on the preceding night, and did not recover for some days.

During our stay at Senegal, every preparation was made to forward our departure for the interior as early as possible. The Moors who visited Senegal, which they frequently did, with the finest horses for sale, were daily examined as to the best route to be pursued in getting to the Niger. Various were the routes recommended, but the one Major Peddie determined upon pursuing, was suggested by a Moor named *Amadah Dhiob*, who strongly recommended the route through the Foulah country, from Kakundy, in the Rio Nunez, on account of the safety in travelling, and because there are only the Kings of Foulah and Sego in the way to contend with.

This man stated, that the north bank of the Niger was the best to travel on, the south bank being impeded by inlets; but he added, that there were no Moors on the south side. He also said, that the Moors leave the banks of the Niger during the rains, and recommended our going down this river after the commencement of the rains in June, when he said the negroes would be all we should have to contend with.

On questioning him respecting the unfortunate Parke, he said that a chief of the Moors beyond Sego, named *Boordaau*, killed him. The only difference between this man's account of the price of articles on the Niger, and that given by Parke, was as to the value of dollars, which he stated to be 2000 couries for each dollar.

Another Moor, named *Bonama*, stated that either side of the Niger might be travelled in safety. This man spoke of libraries at Timbuctoo, and of salt being obtained in the desert three feet below the surface of the earth. He also added, that caravans travel during the rains, and at all times, between Timbuctoo and Morocco. The other Moors gave similar inform-

ation; but I was much inclined to suspect Amadah Dhiob's earnest recommendations on this subject. Jackson, indeed, in his account of Morocco, says, that any person acquainted with these people will believe the reverse of what they advise, and from their ill treatment of the unfortunate Parke, and the dread he appeared to have in meeting them upon all occasions, I have always had a bad opinion of their character, which my late acquaintance with them at Ashantee has not at all tended to remove.

The number of horses purchased by Major Peddie amounted nearly to fifty, and the asses to a hundred, besides several camels; the officers and men exceeded a hundred; and the property purchased for the use of the expedition, the presents, and all expenses, could not have cost less than 50,000*l.*; so that the little good (if any) which has resulted from this expedition, must plainly show the bad policy of fitting out such large and expensive missions to explore Africa; for what Chief would let such a formidable expedition pass through his territory? The

King of Ashantee, and all the African chiefs that I have ever been acquainted with, would object to it from the fear alone of such a strong party joining their enemies. It was, therefore, not at all to be wondered at that the king of the Foulahs would not allow the expedition to pass through his territory. Besides, Major Peddie did a very impolitic thing at Senegal, in trying in public how the horses would carry the two field-pieces, which were intended for the boats after getting to the Niger, as the Moors who were at Senegal, must have noticed it, and, it was most probable, would send word of the fact to the king of Sego and other chiefs in the interior. But as the fate and particulars of this expedition were long ago known, I shall only add that Major Peddie lost his life at Kakundy, in the Rio Nunez; and Captain Campbell, who succeeded him in the command, advanced into the Foulah country, where his haughty conduct obstructed his further progress, and constrained him, amidst a thousand difficulties, to retrace his steps to Kakundy, where the fever prevented the execution of a plot formed by his

soldiers to assassinate him. Lieutenant Stokoe, of the Inconstant frigate, then succeeded to the command; and there was a gentleman of the name of Dochard, a surgeon, who was the next officer to Stokoe, and who, I believe, is now in England; but what became of Lieutenant Stokoe I have never heard. Upon the subject of this expedition, experience has convinced me that such formidable missions will never succeed in exploring Africa, as the natives are too jealous and too much alarmed at such a force. My humble opinion is, that we must either have no appearance of force at all, or else such a force as will surmount every obstacle.

But I now come to the painful task of explaining the cause of my leaving Major Peddie — painful only because, as that gentleman is dead, a delicacy obliges me to withhold certain facts, which I should not hesitate to state were he alive; and,

De mortuis nil nisi bonum.

Major Peddie, I believe, was a most liberal-minded man; and had he not been, in a great measure, controlled by Captain

Campbell, nothing but his death would have separated us; but it is a duty which I owe to myself, to state the fact which caused our separation, and which I cannot do better, than in the words of my affidavit, made before the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, on the 17th of February, 1817, a copy of which was laid before Lord Bathurst shortly after. The following is an extract from that document:

"About a month after the deponent's "verbal agreement with Major Peddie, as "particularly applicable to the 2000*l.* which "he was to receive in the event of his re-"turn from the interior of Africa, this "deponent (being then at Senegal in the "execution of his office as secretary, and "on the eve of departure for the interior), "again called on Major Peddie for his sig-"nature to the agreement, in the same "words as were previously submitted to "him at Goree, and specifying the precise "sums before mentioned and approved; "whereupon the said Major Peddie de-"clared there was no such sum as 2000*l.* "mentioned; and after much conversation "on both sides, and a meeting on the sub-

" ject the next day, he, the said Major " Peddie, suggested the propriety of the " deponent giving up the idea of accompa- " nying him on the expedition, pledging " himself, —

" To get the deponent restored to his " rank in the African Company's service:

" To pay his passage from Senegal to " Cape Coast:

" To write a letter to Governor Dawson, " at Cape Coast, exonerating the deponent " from all blame:

" And as to the money which had been " advanced to this deponent for his outfit, " it was agreed that nothing should be said " upon the subject, such sum being con- " sidered an equivalent for the deponent's " detention and loss of time: which terms " and conditions the deponent declared " himself satisfied with; and, a few days " after, the deponent left Senegal (hav- " ing received the permission of Major " Peddie so to do, by letter bearing date " 29th October, 1816), and arrived at Cape " Coast on or about the 19th of January " following. But in consequence of such

" detention as aforesaid, the deponent " had been placed at the bottom of the " Rank List in the African Company's " service."

It is here, however, proper to observe, that although the Governor and Council most unjustly placed me at the bottom of the Rank List, the African Committee ordered me to be restored to my former rank in the service, and approved of my conduct, as will appear from the following extract from their dispatches.

" We observe by Mr. William Hutton's " letter to Mr. Dawson, of the 25th " September, that, at the solicitation of " Major Peddie, he had agreed to accom- " pany that gentleman, in the capacity of " secretary, on his interesting mission into " the Interior; and though we applaud " his conduct therein, we cannot, consist- " ently with the rules of the service, per- " mit him to retain either his rank or pay, " until he shall arrive at Cape Coast Castle, " and enter upon his duty."

Having then explained, as briefly as possible, the cause of my leaving Major

Peddie, (various autograph letters in support of which I could submit, were it necessary), I shall now say a few words of Senegal and Goree, and then proceed with my voyage to the Gold Coast.

CHAP. II.

The island of Senegal, or St. Louis, lies in lat. 16° 3′ N., and long. 16° 10′ W., is well situated for trade, being only three weeks' sail from England, and has many mercantile advantages, the most essential of which is its noble and commanding river, being navigable for small vessels, which may cross the bar, and load and unload close to the warehouses of the merchants, without the trouble and expence of boats or canoes. This river is about half a mile broad, and extends nearly north and south from its mouth for about seventy miles, when it takes an easterly direction. Its source has lately been determined by M. Mollien to be between the parallels of 10° and 11° N. lat., and 11° and 12° W. long. near Labbe and Timbo, from whence it takes a direction to the S. and afterwards W. and N. W.

to the cataract of Felou, where it runs to the westward as far as Galem, which is a great trading place belonging to the French, who have a fort here, called St. Joseph, and is, at least, 600 miles from the entrance of the river. From Galem it runs nearly N. W. to Podor, another settlement, about three degrees from its mouth; from Podor, it continues its course westward, to Serinpale, and from thence falls into the sea in 15° 56′ N. and 16° 13′ W., passing through an extent of country of nearly 1200 miles in the very centre of N. W. Africa. On entering this river, the bar or sand-bank, which extends across its mouth, causes a considerable agitation of the waves, and there is some little danger in crossing it, but accidents seldom occur. Several persons however have been lost here, and in particular a captain of the navy and one or two sailors were drowned about ten years ago. The land on both sides of the river, on entering, is low and sandy; the western bank is a narrow neck of land which separates the river from the sea, and is called Barbary point. The town of Senegal is situ-

ated eight miles north from the mouth of the river, and is about one mile and a half long, and two-thirds of a mile broad. It is one of the finest towns in this part of Africa; but as the streets are not paved, the sand is sometimes unpleasant to the feet, the island being nothing but a sand-bank, which is completely surrounded by the river, affording amusement to those who are fond of aquatic and shooting excursions; and there are many good horses, and a fine piece of ground at the north point, where the inhabitants usually ride in the evening. There is also a good billiard-table; and, when the English had possession of Senegal, there was no want of society. The houses are well built of stone, very commodious, and comfortable; the streets are broad, cleanly, and well arranged, and the inhabitants are daily refreshed with land and sea breezes.

A considerable trade is carried on here in gum, which is collected in the forests from the Acacia-tree, and is conveyed on camels by the Moors to the marts, (called *Escales*,) which are situated on the bank of

the river, some distance up the country. I have frequently seen pieces of gum as large as an ostrich egg, and quite transparent. Great quantities of hides, wax, elephants' teeth, and other articles, are also exchanged for blue bafts and other cloths, which are exported from Europe, besides guns, powder, iron, lead, and various British manufactures; bullocks, sheep, hogs, and poultry, are abundant; horses, camels, and asses, are brought from the interior by the Moors. The vegetables and fruits usually found in tropical climates are daily sold in the market, besides eggs, milk, and millet, of which the *kous kous* is made: crabs, lobsters, mullet, soles, and various other fish are plentiful. Lions, wolves, tigers, elephants, and other wild beasts abound. Crocodiles and hippopotami are frequently seen on the banks of the river, and ostriches and camelions are to be found here. But I fear I am too minute, and shall therefore only add that this settlement now belongs to the French, to whom it was ceded by the British government in 1816.

One hundred and twenty miles from Se-

negal is the island of Goree, which is a low narrow piece of land, about a mile in circumference; but although small, it is a desirable settlement in many points of view, particularly as it is the most healthy situation in this part of Africa. A considerable trade is carried on here in wax, hides, elephants' teeth, and other articles. The fort is built on a steep hill, at the foot of which is the town, where there are several well-built houses. There is a market daily for beef and other articles, and abundance of fish of almost all descriptions, as well as vegetables and fruits, which either grow on the island, or are brought from the continent. It is bounded on the south by the Atlantic Ocean, and on the north by Cape Verd; the air is cool and temperate, and the nights and days (as at most of our settlements in Africa,) are nearly equal; but this island was also given up to the French at the same time as Senegal.

Proceeding in a south easterly direction, one hundred miles from Goree, the next place of commercial importance is the

settlement of St. Mary's in the river Gambia, but the situation is low and unhealthy. It was from Pissania, in this river, that the unfortunate Park set out on his first mission to the interior of Africa. A late traveller, M. Mollien, has determined its source to be about ten miles to the N.W. of Labbe, between the parallels of 10° and 11° north latitude, and 11° and 12° west longitude. It passes through the interior of North West Africa, for a distance of 1200 miles; is about three leagues broad at its mouth; and is navigable by large vessels. I sailed up this river in a vessel of 300 tons, in the year 1816. The soil is rich, and the country on its banks has a beautiful appearance; but the locusts are sometimes extremely troublesome, although the natives (Mandingoes) have a very effectual plan of getting rid of these unpleasant visitors, by eating them! The river being lined with mangroves, it is common here, as in many other parts of Africa, to gather the oysters from the roots and branches of the trees. Bosman and Adanson, both mention the same fact. The natives, have

little trouble in tilling or cultivating the ground. By digging a few holes, and strewing some grains of millet or corn, and covering it over, they are sure to have a good crop in due season. Blessed with a climate suited to their own constitutions, and abundantly provided for by nature, both by land and by sea, they are happy in their present ignorant state; and the slave-trade once entirely abolished, they would no doubt be a happy and flourishing people.

About 200 miles from the Gambia is the Rio Grande, which I have good reason to recollect, having been nearly wrecked at its mouth, owing to the stupidity of the captain with whom I sailed. In consequence of not keeping sufficiently to the westward, we were nearly lost on the island of Canabac, and certainly should have been, had not the break of day fortunately exposed to us the awfulness of our situation in time to let go an anchor at the mouth of the river, until the wind and tide shifted, when we once more got out to sea. This river is navigable by vessels of small

tonnage upwards of a hundred miles, and extends 350 miles into the interior. Its source has lately been determined by M. Mollien to be close to the source of the Gambia, from whence it runs N.N.E., and at some leagues distance, it changes its course, and runs to the west into the Atlantic. The Portuguese have settlements on the banks of this river, and carry on a considerable trade.

From the Rio Grande we sailed in a south-easterly direction, for about 200 miles, and arrived off Sierra Leone.

This colony, and its noble and commanding river, are so well known, that a particular description is here unnecessary. The following observations, however, may not be uninteresting.

The settlement of Free Town is situated seven miles up the river, with an excellent harbour, where a fleet might ride in safety; neither is there any danger on sailing into it, if you keep well over on the south side, taking care to avoid the Carpenter's Rock. From the great breadth of this river, vessels sometimes sail boldly into it, when

they have in consequence got on the middle ground, and been wrecked. This should, therefore, be avoided; and during the day it is prevented by the pilot or harbour-master going out to pilot vessels into the harbour. The river is more than ten miles wide at its mouth, but does not extend so far into the country as the Gambia or Senegal. It divides into three branches, which are navigable from fifty to seventy miles. About a degree to the north, there are several rivers navigable by vessels of small tonnage, and others also to the southward, which afford the greatest facility to commercial intercourse in the interior countries; although, in this point of view, the Sierra Leone will not bear a comparison with the Gambia, Senegal, Volta, Lagos, Formosa, and other rivers on the coast of Africa.

Both Great Britain and Africa are much indebted to Sir Charles MacCarthy, the governor of this colony, for the many excellent improvements which have been carried on under his direction.

During my stay at Sierra Leone, I wit-

nessed His Excellency's great attention to the discharge of his various public duties; and, on one occasion, I had the honour of riding into the country, as far as Regent's Town, in company with His Excellency, to lay the foundation-stone of one of the public buildings there. Among other improvements in this colony, may be mentioned, the markets, the prison, the court-house, the police, the hospital and the establishment of a gazette.

But these improvements are trifling in comparison with the education of so many of the natives. In riding up the mountains, I met nearly 200 children, and was highly gratified to see them so neatly dressed, and so correct in demeanour. The inhabitants daily solicit admission for their children into the schools. Many hundreds are annually instructed to read and write; and the girls are taught to sew. The eldest boys are instructed in mechanics, during certain hours in the day, which do not interfere with their scholastic duties.

The streets are broad and well arranged, but the houses, generally, are built of wood, and raised about half a foot or

more from the ground, so as to let the water, during the rainy season, pass under them. These houses, indeed, differ in one particular from any others that I have seen, in being moveable from one part of the town to the other; and I was surprised when I first saw about 300 men, all in a body, moving along with a house upon their heads and shoulders. These men were principally Krew men, (inhabitants of Settra Krew) who go to Sierra Leone and other places for work, although their own country is at least 400 or 500 miles distant, and will be spoken of more fully hereafter. Those who are fortunate enough to get stone houses must pay very dear for them, as there are only a few; as much as 300*l.* and 400*l.* a year for a good house is paid by several of the inhabitants.

After passing six weeks at Sierra Leone, I sailed to the Isles des Los, where I was under the necessity of making a barter with an American captain, to the amount of 500*l.*, to induce him to dispatch a schooner with me to Cape Coast, which he did; and thus I procured a direct passage to our head-quarters on the Gold Coast,

which I had waited for so long, in vain, at Sierra Leone.

The Isles des Los are situated about seventy miles N. of Sierra Leone, and afforded great facilities to contraband traffic with American and other vessels, which were not allowed to trade at that colony. These islands are healthy and pleasantly situated, and carry on a considerable trade.

From the Isles des Los I sailed for Cape Coast, the latter end of December, and proceeding down the coast, a tornado from the eastward burst upon us so suddenly, that we had scarcely time to take in our sails, before we were driven with the greatest velocity under bare poles; but the fury of this tempest did not last long, although, while it did last, the rain came down in torrents, and the thunder and lightning were terrific.

Having passed the shoals of St. Ann, several canoes came off to us, but the people would not come on board from the fear of being kidnapped and carried off the coast, which fear evidently arose from some of their countrymen having been served this trick. In justice, however, to the British flag, I

must observe, that, although I had sailed repeatedly along this coast in British vessels, I never knew the natives refuse to come on board before. Whether, therefore, it was the American flag that alarmed them I will not positively say, but it certainly looks very like it. This kidnapping was one of the cruelties, among others, practised during the slave trade; another instance of which I shall mention hereafter, when speaking of the island of Anna Bona.

The first land we made, after passing St. Ann's shoals, was Cape Mount, where the coast is low, but the mountain, which appears to have given rise to the name of this place, is remarkably high land, and is seen at a long way off at sea. The capital of the kingdom is Couseea, which is situated about a degree inland, and is said to contain as many inhabitants as the capital of Ashantee (about 15,000). There are several rivers on this part of the coast, which afford great facilities to trade, being navigable for small vessels a considerable distance into the interior. The articles of traffic consist chiefly in cam-wood, ivory, and rice; of the latter, the natives could supply

large quantities, if the trade were encouraged, and as the people are industrious and harmless, and the country eminently calculated to produce abundance of cotton, rice, and other articles of trade, it might be an essential advantage to Great Britain to have a small establishment here, especially as it is so near Sierra Leone, and would be of service in keeping up a direct communication between that colony and our settlements on the Gold Coast.

The land also is abundantly supplied with water; and there are plenty of cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and poultry. The extent of the kingdom of Cape Mount is 160 miles, from west to east, and about 100 miles inland.

The dexterity of the negroes in swimming between this part of the coast and Cape Palmas is surprising; they are not at all afraid of the shark, and it is incredible the time they will remain under water. If a pipe, or the most trifling article be thrown overboard, they will dive and bring it up again, though it be sunk a hundred feet below the surface of the water. In short, I have seen twenty and thirty at a

time jump overboard, and swim for a mile after their canoes, and they appear as much in their element in water as on land.

Sanguin is the next kingdom to the eastward of Cape Mount, and extends about fifty miles coastwise. The character and dispositions of the inhabitants are so assimilated to those of Cape Mount, that any additional remarks are unnecessary, and the principal articles of trade are the same with the addition of palm-oil. Sailing along the coast to the eastward, the next place particularly deserving notice, is Settra Croo, where the people are remarkably industrious, and are well known to Europeans all over the coast, and particularly at Sierra Leone, and on board merchant vessels. They would be of great advantage either in establishing a new colony, or in composing a force to march into the interior, should it hereafter be deemed necessary to explore Africa by such means; particularly as they speak English, and are happy to be employed as labourers, sailors, or in any other capacity. Indeed, they frequently make voyages to England and back again, and have great

confidence in the English. Mr. Robertson says, " that, to the indelible honour of these " people, they have never been known to " enslave each other, even for criminal of- " fences of the most aggravated nature."

About a degree and a half from Settra Croo or Coroo is Cape Palmas, which is so justly described by Robertson, in his notes on Africa, that I cannot do better than quote that gentleman's words upon this occasion: " Cape Palmas has always appeared to me to be one of the most desirable situations for an European colony on the west coast of Africa. Its commanding situation must render it valuable as a link of connexion between Sierra Leone and the British possessions on the Gold Coast, as it is equidistant from those places, and the harbour that is formed by the reef off Cape Palmas, is the only sheltered one of consequence on this part of the Coast, Tacoradee excepted. It being so near the equator, either the East India or Brazil packets might call there with little loss of time. The advantages of Cape Palmas therefore cannot be doubted. The harbour is spacious and perfectly secured. The soil

is good, and the spontaneous productions numerous; and in fact the inhabitants are almost provided with the necessaries of life without labour. The people, too, being harmless and docile, they would afford all the assistance in their power to promote the establishment of a colony."—Notes on Africa, p. 47.

I have quoted Robertson thus fully, not only to show the advantages which would result to the commercial interests of Great Britain from the establishment of a colony at this place, for the reasons pointed out by that gentleman, but also in confirmation of an opinion I have long entertained of its expediency in another point of view.

This opinion is, to establish a settlement either here or at Cape Lahou, 140 miles to the eastward of Cape Palmas, for the purpose of opening a communication with the Buntakoos, a large and powerful nation to the N.W. of Ashantee, by which means we should be able, at any time, to prevent the king of Ashantee from disturbing the tranquillity of our settlements on the Gold Coast, as he is now in the constant practice

of doing; and also have it in our power to command a free communication with the interior of Africa through Ashantee; which would open greater sources of wealth to the British merchants in Africa than any they have ever yet possessed in this country, and at the same time enable us to pass that barrier, (the power of the King of Ashantee,) which has hitherto opposed itself to our penetrating further into the interior from Cape Coast than Coomassie.

To establish a settlement therefore at Cape Palmas or Cape Lahou, would doubtless be of the first importance in every point of view. I have some doubt as to which of these situations would be the most desirable, but am inclined to determine in favour of Cape Lahou, *on account of the river, which large craft may enter with safety during the rains, and the natives say it is a branch of a great river in the interior;* so that, if a colony were established here, small vessels, and particularly steamboats, might be employed to great advantage in transporting merchandise into the country. A considerable trade in gold and ivory is carried on at this place by our merchant

vessels. The government is republican, and the people are pagans, but they are industrious and well-disposed.

Robertson gives the following account of their religious observances: "The inhabitants keep every sixth day sacred, and cannot be induced, even in cases of necessity, to deviate from the custom. The reason they give for its origin is, that a canoe upset and some of the people were drowned, which is very uncommon, as they can all swim well; on the sixth day afterwards, a similar accident took place, which induced them to consult the Flamen, who was of opinion that the sea was offended at their doing wrong."

About 27 leagues to the eastward of Cape Lahou is the river Assinee, which may be considered the commencement of the Gold Coast. At Assinee, there was formerly a good gold trade, but it is now very circumscribed, owing to the wars in which this people have been engaged. In the evening, however, we observed a fire on the beach, which the natives make at night as a signal to captains of vessels of their being a commercial people.

Sailing along the coast from Assinee, we arrived off Appollonia, which is about twenty-five miles to the eastward, where we had very lately a small fort, but it is now, much to the credit of government, abandoned as an useless burthen to the nation, affording no real protection to trade, and the landing here is so bad, that, although I have passed this place several times, I never attempted to go on shore; indeed, no person in their senses would attempt it, without a cork-jacket, unless an extreme case obliged them to do so, as canoes are frequently upset. The country in the neighbourhood of Appollonia is pleasant and fertile, and there is a lake at the back of the town that supplies the inhabitants with plenty of fish. The king's name is Yansaka, who bears but an indifferent character. The stool or throne is hereditary. The king is subject to Ashantee, and pays tribute annually to that nation. There is a good trade in gold and ivory, which is just as well carried on by our merchants without the fort as with it.

About five miles to the eastward of Ap-

pollonia is the river Ancobra, a few miles east of which there is a fine fort belonging to the Dutch, called Axim, or St. Anthony, and is the seat of their vice-president, being the second best fort in this country belonging to Holland. This fort would be a great acquisition to the British, in the event of its being abandoned by the Dutch, as it is a respectable fortification, the landing good, and the situation desirable from its contiguity to the Ancobra river, where there are considerable quantities of gold; the country is also well cultivated, and the people industrious. The Ancobra, or Cobre, was partly explored by Colonel Straenburg during the government of General Daendels, in 1817, has twelve feet water at its mouth, and is navigable a considerable distance by small vessels.

Between Axim and Dixcove there were two other settlements, belonging to the Dutch; but they are now abandoned.

To the eastward of Cape Threepoints is the settlement of Dixcove, where we have a fort superior to the generality of our out-forts on the Gold Coast. Small craft

can anchor in the cove, under the guns of the fort, which is situated on the summit of a hill, at the foot of which stands the town, containing about 1200 inhabitants, who are quiet and well-disposed. They worship the crocodile; and any person going ashore here, may see one of these animals at the expense of a fowl and a bottle of liquor, which is given to the fetish man, (Tando Cudjoe,) who obliged me with a sight of it in the following manner. This fetish man, or priest, took a white fowl (which colour, it appears, the fowl must be, as the natives have most faith in it), and on arriving at the pond near the fort, it was placed on the ground, Tando Cudjoe making a little noise with his mouth, when the crocodile instantly made its appearance on the opposite side of the pond, and, plunging through the water, came very near the spot where we were standing; but as the fowl made its escape into the bush, or forest, the crocodile, instead of following it, pursued me and my companion, Captain Leavens, so closely for a short distance, that had not a small dog been behind me, which it laid

hold of, and was thus satisfied, the animal would, in another minute, most probably have taken a fancy to one of my legs! The path being narrow, and Captain Leavens before me, I could neither run so fast as I wished, nor turn to the right hand or to the left, on account of the thick underwood which prevailed on both sides of the path.

At the back of Dixcove Fort is a good garden, which produces a plentiful supply of vegetables and fruits for the governor's table. Oranges, pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, and other fruits, are also abundant. The natives have generally good crops of Indian corn, and other articles, which the soil produces without any trouble to the husbandman. Nature here, as at all other places on the coast, does every thing for the inhabitants, and there is seldom a scarcity.

Passing Dixcove, we arrived off Boutry, or Boutrou, a Dutch settlement four miles to the eastward. The fort stands on a hill, in a commanding situation, but is now abandoned.

About ten miles from Boutry we passed another Dutch settlement, called Tacorary, or Tacoradee, off which place there are some dangerous reefs, where vessels are sometimes wrecked. I have, however, only known one accident of this nature during the last eleven years. The reef, although dangerous to pass in the night by persons unacquainted with the coast, is of great value in forming a safe harbour for vessels; and, as this settlement is now abandoned by the Dutch, as well as the next settlement at Succondee, if it were thought desirable to increase the number of our establishments on the Gold Coast, this would be a favourable situation to take possession of. As we have no protected harbour on the Gold Coast for vessels, it may be wise to abandon Dixcove and Annamaboe, and take possession of Tacorary and Dutch Succondee Fort, as the guns of the latter command the harbour of the former, and would effectually protect our shipping at any future period in the event of war; and thus we should have possession of one of the strongest and most desirable situations on the coast, particularly as there

is also a sheltered harbour for vessels immediately under the Dutch fort at Succondee. These, however, are not the only advantages to be derived from the possession of these settlements as there are others equally important. I allude to the capitals of Warsaw and Ashantee, being immediately in the interior of these forts; and, consequently, the greater part of the trade could soon be brought down to this part of the coast, if extensive factories were once established here. Indeed, Succondee has always been considered a good situation for trade, particularly in gold, from its contiguity to Warsaw, or Wassa, a considerable trading nation in the interior, tributary to Ashantee. Another advantage is, that boats can land goods in safety, which cannot be done either at Cape Coast, Annamaboe, or Accra.

It is also well adapted for agricultural pursuits; and since Mr. Smith's government, considerable quantities of Indian corn have been grown here, and shipped for Madeira and other places.

In support of the opinion I now advance, I will quote Robertson's Notes on Africa

(page 127). He observes, that " should any European state, seriously determine on using endeavours to introduce agricultural pursuits here, and possess itself of the harbour of Succondee, where merchandise could be shipped in safety, and a lucrative coasting-trade be established from thence to the adjacent places of trade on this coast, the advantages would be great; as from its being the only sheltered harbour from thence to Cape Palmas, it could protect both its trade and connexions."

Mr. Robertson, however, is wrong in this last observation, that Succondee is the only sheltered harbour, as the next settlement possesses the same advantage. This is not the only error he has fallen into from writing too fast to allow himself time to reflect on what he had written. For example; his assertion that the town of Elmena is built of mud; that canoes come from Timbuctoo to Lagos in three days; and that all the names of persons mentioned by Park appear to have been feigned to deceive him; besides several other of his statements, must have been written without reflection.

But with all this gentleman's errors, there can be only one opinion as to the merit of his work, which I must confess I have read with very sincere pleasure; and indeed he has described the coast of Africa so correctly, that he has left very little for me to say upon the subject. I shall therefore only briefly add a few remarks upon the other settlements. Leaving Tacorary, the next settlement to the eastward is Succondee, where both the English and Dutch had forts; but they are now abandoned. A melancholy instance of the great mortality amongst Europeans on this coast, occurred here in 1810. The Governor, his wife, and two daughters, (one of them an interesting and amiable girl about fourteen years of age,) all died shortly after their arrival from Holland. Thus a whole family was soon cut off; the death of one most probably hastening the death of the others.

A few miles further is Chama, another Dutch settlement, where there is a small fort, which is also abandoned. Here there is a large river, called Chamah, which empties itself into the sea, and is the same which is called the Boosempra, on the route

to Ashantee. This river was also partly explored by Colonel Straenburg in 1817, and is navigable a long way up the country by small craft. It has eight feet water at its mouth. The inhabitants are very industrious in the cultivation of corn, yams, &c., which is principally managed by the women in the interior, while the men attend to the fishing on the coast; and this observation applies to many other places.

About ten miles from Chama is Commenda, where there was a British and Dutch fort for many years, within half a mile of each other; but both these forts are now abandoned.

The town of English Commenda contains about 2500 inhabitants, and is divided into what is called the Trade and Fish town; one part of the inhabitants carrying on the trade in gold, ivory, and canoes, and the other part attend to the fishing. These people sometimes divide, and fight against each other, although living in one town; and at other times they unite and fight against the Dutch town. During my residence here, I saw them engaged in two or three actions; but they are poor warriors, and

are soon defeated. They are a troublesome and bad-disposed people, although I lived very quietly with them for seven months. It will be seen in the sequel, that these were the people who gave great offence to the king of Ashantee, in turning his messengers out of the town without allowing them a draught of water.

Before the abolition of the slave-trade, and for several years after, until it was put a stop to by the Hon. Captain Irby, of the Amelia frigate, the governors of the British fort made a trade of the large canoes which are to be procured here, with which they supplied the captains of Portuguese vessels, who made a point of calling for them on their way to Popo, Whydah, and other places on the leeward coast, where they traded in slaves. These canoes were generally paid for with Portuguese tobacco, which the governors of Commenda sold at a great price to the Warsaws, who, as well as the Ashantees, are immoderately fond of it. I have known, at times of great scarcity, one roll of Portuguese tobacco, about 80*lbs.* weight, sell for 1*oz.* 8 *ackies* of gold (6*l.*) and upwards.

The Dutch fort was besieged, and the exterior walls and batteries destroyed by the British, during the American war; a governor was afterwards appointed, who kept possession of it for several years, but he was obliged to fly from his post in the year 1810, in consequence of the Warsaw army attacking the town, which they burnt, and afterwards took possession of the fort, and completely destroyed the only apartments which were at all habitable. The inhabitants fled for protection to Elmina, where they joined the natives of that place, and in their turn, sometime after, attacked the Warsaw army, at Ampaney (a small village between Commenda and Elmina), on which occasion they completely routed the Warsaws, who retreated to Commenda, and ultimately returned to their own country, without accomplishing any object worthy of notice, excepting what has been already mentioned.

The retreat of the Warsaws was attributed to their having been taken by surprise during the time they were at dinner at Ampaney, where they were encamped for several weeks, for the purpose of block-

ading the Dutch town of Elmina, on the western side, while the Cape Coast natives and Fantees blockaded it on the northward and eastward. Both the Fantees and Warsaws suffered considerably, and having lost many men, killed and wounded, were obliged to raise the siege.

The cause of this war was, that the Elminas had pointed out to the Ashantee army, in 1806, some of the Annamaboe people, who had escaped from that town during the invasion of Fantee by the Ashantees. In consequence of this, the Fantees swore to destroy the Elminas, and the Warsaws joined them, but with what success has been already shewn.

The Elminas upon this occasion behaved well, and defeated their enemies, although double their numbers. The bold and intrepid manner in which they advanced, and pursued the Warsaws within reach of the guns of the British fort at Commenda, was highly creditable, and afforded a pleasing specimen of their warlike skill.. They kept up a steady fire upon the enemy, and their flags and banners were displayed

in all directions. The Warsaws, however, retreated in good order.

Riding out a few miles, during the continuance of the blockade, I was met by one of the foraging parties, who surrounded me in an instant, with all the earnestness and appearance of attacking me, pointing their guns and brandishing their knives; but on finding who I was, they allowed me to pass unmolested.

Intefoe and Attobrah commanded the Warsaw army upon this occasion. Intefoe is the king of Warsaw, and is a handsome shrewd-looking man, thirty-five years of age, and about the middle stature. Attobrah was the general, a good-looking person, about the same age as Intefoe, but corpulent. Both of them visited the governor of the fort, not only to pay their respects, but also to demand payment for two men whose lives had been humanely saved by the then second of the fort, Mr. Blenkarne, who, on passing Ampaney the morning after the destruction of that town by the Warsaws, saw these men clinging to the rocks in the sea, and took them into his canoe. Having

saved their lives, and sent them to Elmina, the king of Warsaw demanded two slaves, or their value in goods. But this demand the governor, at first, refused to listen to, stating that Mr. Blenkarne did no more than his duty, and what every Christian was bound to do; adding, at the same time, that if the two men had been Warsaws instead of Ampaneys, Mr. Blenkarne would have saved their lives in like manner. The king of Warsaw rejoined, that he was aware the governor's argument was just, and that Mr. Blenkarne did right in saving the lives of the people. "This," said he, "is what I do not complain of; for had you kept these men in your fort as slaves, until the war was over, and then sent them back to their own country, I should have had no cause to feel aggrieved; but instead of doing so, you sent them to Elmina to join my enemies, in attacking me at Ampaney, and thereby gave them two strong men to fight against me, after I had once destroyed them by driving them into the sea, where they must inevitably have perished, had not your second saved them. I therefore

now demand two men from you, to fight against those two you sent to Elmina."

The governor seeing that if he did not comply with this demand, it would involve the fort in a war with the Warsaw army, paid the value of two slaves, which, at that time, was 40*l.*

The next settlement to the eastward of Commenda, is Elmina, where the Dutch have a fine fortification, and which is the only one on the coast that is protected by a deep ditch. It is also further strengthened by a small fort, called St. Jago, which is built on a hill that commands both the town and the castle, and is called the key to the latter. The Dutch are so jealous regarding St. Jago, that, even in time of peace, they will not allow the English to be admitted into it.

Great credit is due to the Dutch for the improvements which they have carried on here. Besides a harbour for small vessels, there are piers, wharfs, and cranes, for landing goods. The country also is better cultivated than at any other part of the coast; nearly two miles at the back of the town

are well laid out in beds of ground-nuts, and Mr. Neiser has made a fine plantation with 35,000 cotton trees, about two miles from the castle, and cut a road to it, at least thirty feet broad, at his own expence. I rode into the country with this gentleman, when I was last at Elmina, and was astonished at the improvements he had made. He then informed me that he had eighty men employed in making a coffee plantation; and it is to be hoped many others in Africa will follow Mr. Neiser's example, which is the most effectual way to cultivate the country, and civilize the natives. The gardens at Elmina, containing oranges, pine-apples, sour soups, and other tropical fruits, besides vegetables of all descriptions, do great credit to the Dutch, and the English at our head-quarters are frequently obliged to them for a supply of these articles. Mr. Neiser's hospitality deserves to be particularly mentioned.

The town of Elmina is the only one on the coast which is built with stone, and also the only one that is paved. There is one broad street before the fort, but the town is badly laid out, the houses being all

built close together, without more than sufficient space to walk between them.

The number of inhabitants may amount to eight thousand ; and, like most of the natives residing on the coast, they fish with the cast-net regularly every morning, excepting on their fetish days.

Although Elmina belongs to Warsaw, the king does not prevent the inhabitants from exercising municipal authority.

These people were guilty of an act some years ago, which can never be forgotten. The governor, Hoogenboom, having given them some cause of offence, they beset him one evening at the billiard-table, and murdered him in the most inhuman manner.

Elmina is the easternmost maritime town in the kingdom of Warsaw, and Chama the most western. I have already stated that this country is tributary to Ashantee, and have described the various towns on the coast which I have been at ; but never having been in the interior of this kingdom, I will not attempt a description of it.

The Warsaws carry on a considerable trade with Europeans, in gold and ivory, and are more remarkable for honesty than their neighbours the Fantees.

If they have any palaver (dispute), the Pynins and Cabboceers * assemble to hear the parties, which sometimes occupies them a whole day, as they are extremely clever in argument, and will frequently speak for hours together. When the Pynins cannot decide to the satisfaction of the parties in town, they assemble in the fort, and submit the case to the decision of the governor.

* Pynins and Cabboceers signify the magistrates or head men of the town, the chiefs.

CHAPTER III.

About a mile to the eastward of Elmina, is a small river which runs into the sea, and is the western boundary of Fantee *, which extends eastward nearly as far as Accra.

Proceeding seven miles further in an easterly direction, is Cape Coast Castle, the British head-quarters, which is a large and commodious building, containing comfortable apartments for the officers, and good barracks for the privates, besides many excellent warehouses, where the property of our merchants is lodged in the event of war with the natives; and even in time of peace, one or two of the warehouses are made use of for this purpose. There are also excellent tanks for the supply of water in the dry season, or when blockaded; and great credit is due to the present chief governor for the improvements he has made; and

* Affetue (or Fettu), as well as Braffoo and Assecaoma, are districts of Fantee; in the first of which Cape Coast is situated.

it is but justice to this gentleman to say, that the castle never was in such condition before. The guns, which amount to between sixty and seventy, are kept in good order, and well mounted. The bastions have been well paved, and the whole of the castle wonderfully improved. It is built on a rock close to the sea, and is triangular. The garrison amounts to about 30 officers (civil and military), and 120 privates, who are natives.

A redoubt is now nearly built about a quarter of a mile from the town, which, when completed, will add greatly to the strength of the castle, and secure the inhabitants from invasion by the Ashantees.

The town of Cape Coast is situated behind the castle. It is not laid out upon any regular plan like Sierra Leone and Senegal, but the houses, which are built of swish, or mud, are huddled together much in the same manner as those at Elmina. There is a square or parade in front of the castle-gate, which might be made a respectable place, if an old fetish* tree and a large

* Fetish signifies any thing sacred, a charm or deity; and is applied to those men and women who devote their lives wholly to the religious customs of the country.

rock were levelled, and gravel thrown over the surface. This I am surprised the present governor does not order to be done. I am aware the natives would make an objection to have their fetish-tree removed; but I can see no sufficient reason why the improvement of the town should be prevented by a fetish-tree, when the natives have so many other places to worship their wooden gods.

The officers and merchants at Cape Coast have built some comfortable houses with stone in the town, and also a few neat cottages, a short distance in the country, which have a pleasing effect, and are considered more healthy to reside in than the castle.

The governor has also made several improvements in the town. Some of the old houses have been taken down, and the road from the castle-gate improved. The country in the vicinity has been cleared of those impenetrable thickets, which have been so much complained of, as having tended, in a great measure, to increase the mortality among Europeans in this part of Africa. And the public garden, about five miles

from Cape Coast, deserves to be mentioned; but instead of seven acres of land, which it has been represented to contain, I do not believe there are more than three acres cultivated. The house, which the present governor began building some years ago, is not yet finished, which is much to be regretted, as this would be a desirable situation for convalescent officers to retire to, until their health was re-established. It is therefore to be hoped that the garden-house will be finished and devoted to this purpose. The produce of the garden should also be more frequently divided among the officers, who, in consideration of the benefits to be derived, should occasionally attend to the improvements that might be carried on. The soil is black and good, and there are few things that it would not produce, if properly cultivated. Radishes, cucumbers, cabbages, and other vegetables, as well as oranges, sour-soups, and other fruits, are already procured in great abundance.

The society at Cape Coast is very confined, but, generally speaking, both the officers and merchants are extremely hospitable.

A library has been established by subscription, and there is also a billiard table; in other respects, Cape Coast is barren of amusements.

There is a scarcity of horses and bullocks, not only here, but at most of our settlements on the Gold Coast. Potatoes are also seldom to be procured, and there is no fresh butter, veal, or European fruits.

Poultry, sheep, goats, and hogs, are plentiful, and the usual tropical fruits, such as pine-apples, guavas, &c. grow spontaneously.

The governor is almost the only person at Cape Coast who has any bullocks, and the number he has does not exceed thirty. The cows here give so little milk, that the inhabitants depend chiefly upon the goats, which are plentiful, and a good goat will frequently give half a pint of milk, night and morning. I kept a cow for some time, and had it milked regularly for the purpose of ascertaining what quantity of milk it would give; but I had a goat which always supplied me with a much larger quantity, although it cost only 10*s.*, whereas the cow cost 8*l.*

It is somewhat singular, that all attempts to keep horses at Cape Coast have hitherto failed. Some have been sent from the Cape de Verd islands, and others from Sierra Leone and the leeward coast, but they have all died, so that the governor is now almost the only person who will run the risk of giving 30*l.* or 40*l.* for a horse. I have twice attempted to keep this useful animal at Cape Coast; one I purchased for 40*l.* from a man who brought it from Whydah, and the other was given to me by Mr. Dupuis, who received it from the king of Ashantee; but they both died within a few months. The cause of this mortality in the horse is supposed to be from eating a particular sort of bearded grass, which affects the intestines, and causes a swelling under the belly of the animal, which always makes its appearance two or three weeks before its death, when it begins to droop, and look dull and sleepy. This is a sure sign of its approaching dissolution; but some persons suppose it to be caused by drinking bad and dirty water. The bearded grass, however, or some

poisonous herb, I think the more probable cause.

Credit is due to Mr. Bowdich for the information he has given the public, from time to time, on the subject of our affairs in Africa; but as that gentleman, in a late publication, has stated, that he was "the *first* who unmasked the pernicious system of a trading government, and says, that the late measure of government has acknowledged his second service to his country, in exposing the disguised system, which perverted the uses of her valuable settlements on the Gold Coast;" it is but justice to others, as well as to myself, to explain, that Sir James Yeo, Mr. C. Hutton, and Mr. Robertson, if I am not much mistaken, unmasked the pernicious system of a trading government on the coast of Africa, long before Mr. Bowdich thought of it, and I rather think, even long before that gentleman visited Africa. At all events, it will evidently appear on reference to Sir James Yeo's letters, as well as those of Vidi *,

* The letters of Vidi were written by Mr. Robertson, at Liverpool, in 1816.

(which are so well known by persons connected with Africa,) that these letters were published years before Mr. Bowdich's Pamphlet on the African Committee made its appearance. And the following extract from a statement, addressed by me to Lord Bathurst in June 1818, will prove, that I also had something to say upon the subject, long before that pamphlet was published. This paper will at the same time shew, that the suggestions, which I then took the liberty to offer, were almost immediately and implicitly followed;—*Appollonia, Succondee, Commenda, and Tantum were abandoned; a redoubt built; the governors of forts received orders in future to swear to their accounts; and finally, the African Committee ceased to exist!* All which, it will be seen from the following statement, was strenuously urged by me to Lord Bathurst in June 1818, as well as upon other occasions.

"By the 5th section of the act 23 Geo. 3. c. 65., every officer, or other person, employed by the African Committee on the coast of Africa, to whom any of the goods and stores purchased and sent out by the

Committee are delivered, is required to transmit annually an account of the disposal and application of all such goods and stores, "having first made oath to the truth "of such account before such person as "shall be authorized by His Majesty, his "heirs and successors, to administer the "same."

And the 6th section of the said statute enacts, that to prevent any misapplication of the sums granted by parliament for the support and maintenance of the forts and settlements upon the coast of Africa, or embezzlement of the goods and stores by the servants of the said Committee, they shall annually lay before parliament, and deliver to one of His Majesty's principal secretaries of state, an account of the disposal and application of those goods and stores attested upon oath, in like manner as the accounts rendered by them under the act 23 Geo. 3. c. 31.

The reason given for these sections not being complied with, is stated by Mr. Cock to be the want of a person duly authorized to administer the oath required.

But that gentleman was perhaps not

aware, at the time of writing to Mr. Arbuthnot upon this subject, that not only the governor-in-chief, but also the out-fort governors, have constantly been in the habit of administering an oath to any of His Majesty's subjects who have wished to be sworn.

What, then, we shall be glad to learn, was to prevent a compliance with that part of the statute just adverted to?

The chief governor can administer an oath to the deputy-governors, and *vice versâ*; or, what might still be better, a captain of a man-of-war can administer the oath, as was done by Captain Irby, of the Amelia, to Mr. White, when he swore that he had nothing to do with the slave-trade.

The most probable, and only cause to be assigned for the 5th and 6th sections of the act not being complied with, seems to be the incontrovertible fact, that all the governors of our forts and settlements on the Gold Coast have been in the habit, from time immemorial, of swelling out what is called a *day-book*, or, *their six months' accounts*, which are sent in twice a-year to the chief governor, to be audited.

In these accounts are a variety of unjust charges; and it is a notorious fact, that some of these governors have left their six months' accounts entirely to the accountants to make out, they being, as is generally supposed, more capable of increasing the amount of these day-books by such charges; and as the chief governors are generally persons who have had a share in this sort of peculation, it is not to be supposed that they would be very nice in auditing the accounts of the deputy-governor.

In order, therefore, to put a stop to this system, it is suggested, that officers holding the command of forts should comply with the act, as already mentioned, or be allowed a certain salary, so as to enable them to pay all incidental expenses out of such allowance; which we are convinced will be far more agreeable to their feelings, than if they retained their present privilege of keeping an unjust account against the public.

On conversing with one of the Committee's servants on this subject, we were told that the sum of 200*l.* per annum was

too small for any governor of an out-fort, and that therefore those charges or over-charges were allowed.

We answer, however, that 200*l.* a-year, with the privilege of an exclusive trade (which they at present enjoy), with the conveniences and advantages which those forts afford, is no contemptible thing; although we will not assert that 200*l.* a-year would be a sufficient salary to enable them to pay out of such sum any incidental expenses. We wish to be as liberal towards the officers as we think they deserve, considering the unhealthy climate they have to contend with. And they must not suppose we have any enmity towards them, in stating these facts for the public good; on the contrary, we shall propose that a provision be made for them, which we have no doubt will fully compensate for any loss they may sustain from these observations.

On reference to the books in the African Office for many years past, we find charges which are altogether unjust; and if this point is disputed, let the *affidavits* of the parties contradict us, *if they can be pro-*

cured; let the 5th section of the act 23 G. 3. c. 65. be complied with.

There is yet time to do this, by calling upon any of the senior officers in the service for their affidavits on this subject; and if such affidavits deny what we now assert, we will allow these our humble exertions, to effect a change in the present system, to fall to the ground.

But we are too well assured of the fact to apprehend a contradiction *upon oath.* For example, we find charges for *soldiers*, which were never employed! Charges for *salutes*, which were never fired!! and many more such unjust and unwarrantable charges, too numerous to particularize.

We will however endeavour to give our readers some idea of these extraordinary day-books, which are kept against the public, at all our miserable settlements.

These day-books contain charges under the following heads:

White men's salaries.

Black men's pay.

Castle slaves.

Free canoe-men and labourers' hire.

Customary presents.

Extraordinary presents.
Salutes.
Fire-wood for forts' use.
Lights for forts' use.
Charges for canoes. And,
Sick, wounded and dead!

From a statement contained in the Report on African Forts, the amount of charges in the Cape Coast books alone, amounted, for the year 1814, to 3492*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.** Of course the odd penny was put down, to shew how particularly nice the African governors are in making out their accounts; and we will venture to assert, that the charges for any year since that period, have rather increased than otherwise; and if the books in the African office are referred to, we are assured that for the last year, 1817, the charges for Cape Coast Castle will not be much less than 7000*l.*, exclusive of white men's salaries, &c. which will increase the expenses of Cape Coast Castle, for this

* If the amount of white men's pay, castle slaves, &c. is added to 3492*l.* 1*s.* 1*d.*, the expense of Cape Coast for the year 1814 will be upwards of 15,000*l.* Company's pay, which is about the annual expense of this settlement.

last year, to the enormous amount of 17,000*l.*! And the other seven insignificant settlements will be found to be proportionably expensive to the country.

It would, however, be illiberal to say that all the charges made by the committee's servants, are without foundation; on the contrary, we believe the major part to be correct.

Our object in writing these pages is to expose the present bad system, by stating such facts as have come to our knowledge, and we are determined to state nothing but what can be proved by the books in the African office, and by the evidence of the accountants at Cape Coast, and the senior officers in the service.

Should, therefore, our information be disputed, let the accountants at Cape Coast, as well as the warehousekeepers, be put on their oaths to answer such questions as may be put to them, touching the matter now before us.

It is not because our statements are for a moment unsupported by evidence, that our authority is to be questioned or invalidated, while we point out those steps

to be pursued, which will either prove or disprove the truth of our assertions.

We have no desire to swell this plain statement of facts with hyperbole, and we wish it to be equally exempt from the imputation of invidiousness.

From our knowledge of the country, and from all the opinions we have heard on the subject of still retaining a part of our territories on the Gold Coast, we are induced to recommend to the consideration of His Majesty's Government the following, as being not only most likely to answer their views as to retrenchment, but also as regards the improvement of the country, and the more effectual protection of our commercial interests.

Cape Coast Castle

To be retained; with the same number of castle officers as at present, excepting the deputies of the secretary, accountant, and surveyor.

The factors and writers to be reduced from the present number of *twenty-eight* to *four*. These, with two clerks, are quite sufficient to do the duties in the accountant's office, which only require their attendance about three months in the year.

The present large establishment, therefore, might be thus reduced with the greatest propriety, and without injury to the public.

The surgeons might also, with equal propriety, be reduced from the present number of five to two; especially if our minor forts are abandoned. A judge, chaplain, and teacher, will be highly necessary; and the Governor should be vested with full powers of life and death.

One hundred soldiers, besides the Company's slaves and castle officers, are sufficient to compose the garrison of Cape Coast; but we strongly deprecate the practice of the chief governors being allowed to enlist *their own slaves*, who merely receive a miserable subsistence of a few shillings per month, while these governors, of course, pocket their pay, amounting to 27*l.* or 13*l.* 10*s.* * per annum, besides bounty-money every five years allowed to each soldier by the public! This is a species of slavery more lucrative than sending the poor wretches to the West Indies; and we are assured, from good authority, that this has been the constant practice since the abolition.

* Some of the soldiers only receive 13*l.* 10*s.* per annum.

In order to make Cape Coast Castle a fortification of greater security, we recommend a redoubt being built on Phipps' Hill, as formerly; which might be done at a trifling expense with the materials of any of the abandoned forts.

Annamaboe

Establishment to be reduced, being so contiguous to Cape Coast, as Mr. Hutton observed, in his evidence before the Select Committee, that it is of little or no utility to trade.

But as the fortification is good, and the situation, in a commercial point of view, desirable, we would by no means recommend the *total abandonment* of this settlement; for although, while we are in possession of Cape Coast, we have no occasion for Annamaboe, yet, if we abandoned it entirely, the Dutch, or some other power, might take possession of it, which would considerably annoy our trade at the Cape.

For these reasons, a serjeant and two soldiers should be stationed here, in order to keep the British flag flying; which would be quite sufficient for all the objects

in view; and by these means there would be a saving to the public, at this fort alone, of the present unnecessary expenditure of nearly 4000*l.* Company's pay, annually.

Tantum

To be abandoned; being of no use, except as a convenience to travellers between Accra and Cape Coast, and as regards the lime it supplies; but as sufficient lime can be procured at Dixcove and other places, as well as at Tantum, without the fort, we see no reason for its being retained at the present expense to the public. It may, however, be desirable to keep a serjeant here, to hold possession of the situation in the event of its becoming of more importance hereafter.

Accra

To be retained; being a desirable station in many points of view. The country is delightful; a fine fertile open plain, extending several miles, and abounding, as it does, with deer, hares, and other game, makes Accra the most agreeable residence on the Gold Coast, especially when there

is a good trade, as there was formerly, and, no doubt, will be again at some future period; the paths from Accra to Ashantee being open and pleasant to the traders of that nation. Accra is also considered the most healthy situation on the Gold Coast; and we perfectly agree with Sir James Yeo in his description of this place.

We therefore recommend the fort to be put into a good state of defence, both towards the sea and land, which might be done at a trifling expense; and we would also recommend the present number of soldiers to be increased to twenty-five.

Besides the advantages of retaining Accra, we must not omit to mention the river Sokoom, so facetiously noticed by Vidi, which is only a few miles from the fort, and which, with a little expense, may hereafter be brought down to the sea-side with considerable advantage to the mercantile interests.

Succondee

To be abandoned; being merely a thatched house, "more a laughing-stock," to use Mr. Hutton's expression, than any thing

else. The trade, which is considerable, could be done by the free traders and merchant-vessels. We would, however, recommend the notes being continued to the native chiefs; and it may be deemed prudent to station a serjeant here, as at Tantum.

Commenda

To be abandoned; being of little consequence, excepting the canoes it supplies, which, however, the natives would readily convey for sale to Cape Coast; whereas the governors have made a trade of them for many years.

Appollonia

To be abandoned; as the fort affords no real protection to trade, which is considerable; but the same observation may apply here, as we have made regarding Succondee.

Dixcove

To be retained; being a good situation, and the landing good; in addition to which the fort is also respectable, and has a good garden attached to it, and the neighbourhood supplies a considerable quantity

of lime, and a superior sort of wood, approaching very near to Mahogany. There is also a river near the fort, which supplies fresh water during the rainy season, April, May, and June, as well as in the after rains in September and October.

By pursuing the plan of retrenchment we have now recommended, there would be the following saving to the nation *annually*:

Cape Coast - -	£4,500 0 0
Annamaboe - -	4,000 0 0
Tantum - - -	1,200 0 0
Succondee - -	1,000 0 0
Commenda - -	1,000 0 0
Appollonia - -	1,300 0 0
	£13,000 0 0

Hence then it appears, there would be a saving to the nation of 13,000*l.* company's pay every year. We must, however, not omit to observe, that 13,000*l.* company's pay is only equal to 7142*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.* sterling, that is after a deduction of 82*l.* per cent., the rate at which the committee usually issue the goods for the payment of the officers' salaries.

To the above 7142*l.* may be added a further saving to the nation of upwards of 2000*l.* annually, if the African committee were not employed, as will appear from a statement of expenses incurred in 1815; and should the alterations now suggested take place, there will be a saving to the nation of nearly 10,000*l.* *annually*, which will enable his Majesty's government in future to reduce the present annual parliamentary grant for the support of our settlements on the Gold Coast, to 18 instead of 28,000*l.*, as at present allowed.

In another place, we have been induced to recommend the direction of our affairs on the Gold Coast to be left to Mr. Cock, and we beg to observe, that we do so on account of his well-known ability and long experience in these matters, and as he now chiefly directs those affairs, we cannot see why he might not be employed more immediately under the control of the board of trade or secretary of state, as well without nine committee-men as with them; for it cannot be expected that men possessing the property most of the African committee do, will devote much of their attention, or

be otherwise than indifferent to any public matters brought before them, when it is considered that their salaries are only 100*l.* a-year, besides the patronage we have already alluded to. But even this patronage, valuable as it may be to those who have a long train of relatives and friends to supply with situations in the service, is of little or no consideration to the other members, some of whom we have been informed do not even take the trouble of sending to the African office for their salaries.

We are therefore decidedly against the existence of such a committee, not only on account of the unnecessary expense to the nation, but also as injurious in other respects to the interests of the public. And we conceive that Mr. Cock, or some other person well acquainted with our African affairs, might be employed, under certain restrictions, with great advantage to the public, provided such person be placed immediately under the control of the board of trade, or His Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department, in whom the patronage should in future be vested.

Should government determine upon

adopting the measures now suggested, we would recommend a small duty being imposed on all persons trading at those settlements, which may be retained at the public expense, in order that such expense may be defrayed by those persons benefitting from the protection of such forts, the same as at Sierra Leone, Hudson's Bay, and other places.

In conclusion, we shall only observe that we have spoken of men only in their public capacities, and even the African committee must do us the justice to admit the truth of what has been stated. Should they conceive themselves to have been spoken of with too little respect, we can sincerely declare we have the highest respect for every member of the board, and in particular for their able secretary, Mr. Cock, and can assure them, that we have not been influenced by malice or prejudice against any individual, either in the committee or in the service.

Thus much, therefore, we conceive we owe to ourselves, and as a proof that what has been stated proceeds from a sincere conviction of the necessity of a speedy and radical change in the present system.

CHAPTER IV.

I WILL not detain the reader by a more particular detail, regarding our settlements on the coast of Africa, but confine myself to a few general remarks on this part of the country, and then proceed with an account of my journey to the interior.

Fantee or Fantyn is a republic, bounded on the west by a small rivulet, seven miles to the westward of Cape Coast; on the east by Accra, which, although tributary to Ashantee, I will include in the following observations; on the north by Assin; and on the south by the Atlantic. It extends along the coast from west to east, nearly ninety miles; and, according to Robertson, is seventy miles square, and contains about 40,000 inhabitants.

As I have already described Cape Coast, and shall be more minute in my account of one of the interior Fantee towns on my

journey to Ashantee, the following brief remarks, in this place, only appear to be necessary.

The natives in this part of Africa are Pagans. It is true they have fetish men or priests, but these ignorant wretches do more harm than good, frequently practising the most shameful excesses upon their still more ignorant and superstitious followers, who are silly enough to have faith in what these priests profess. They appear, however, to have some idea of a Supreme Being, whom they call *Yaung Coompon;* and when they hear thunder they will sometimes remark, that it is Yaung Coompon riding in his carriage. Their usual method of offering sacrifices is to break eggs, and leave them on the ground, which they consecrate to the Fetish; some tie a piece of string round a stone, and leave it on the public path; others cut out a small wooden image and fasten it to their doors, which they daily worship; and having, on one occasion, inadvertently kicked one of these wooden gods before me, the fetish man demanded a penalty of a bottle of rum for having done so, which he said was neces-

sary to appease the Fetish; but, as I considered it would only encourage these Fetishmen to practise similar impositions upon others, I would not pay the demand, which appeared to give great offence. They have no regular mosques, but little places are erected, sometimes with mud, but more frequently with sticks and leaves, in the form of a small arbour, where they leave eggs, stones, and earthen pots; and in supplicating the Sooman, they make a most dismal noise, calling out upon their father (*Majeh*), or their mother (*Minnah*).

I have already stated, that at Dixcove, in Ahanta, the natives worship the crocodile; at Accra, the hyena, and vultures all over the coast. A gentleman (I believe Mr. F. L. Swanzy) having killed a hyena at Accra, was obliged to pay one piece of cloth and a case of liquor as a penalty. At Dahomey the snake is revered; and a party of Englishmen destroying one of these animals were in consequence all put to death.

At some of our settlements on the coast, human sacrifices have frequently been made on the death of a person of distinc-

tion. On one occasion, in 1809, when I lived at Commenda, which is twenty miles from Cape Coast, a poor woman was sacrificed to "water the grave," as it is called; but the manner in which it was done was humane, in comparison with the method which is sometimes practised in torturing the victim. This woman's head was severed from her body, by one blow with a sort of bill, and the executioner was immediately taken upon men's shoulders, and carried round the town in triumph, for not having mangled the body.

Another instance, of the same kind, happened at Dixcove, in 1816, on the death of Tando Cudjoe, a cabboceer there, when a poor girl was sacrificed; and a man would, at the same time, have lost his life, had not Mr. Hutcheson, much to his credit, humanely interfered and prevented it.

This practice of sacrificing human victims, on the death of a person of distinction, is not confined to one part of the coast; it being carried on, at other places, to a much greater extent, and even with more savage barbarity.

At Ashantee hundreds, sometimes thousands, are sacrificed on the death of a person of distinction, or on the commencement of the yam season; at Dahomey, in like manner, at the beginning of the harvest, sixty-five human beings have been known to be butchered! And these horrid customs are repeated annually, and sometimes oftener. Similar barbarous customs also prevail at other parts of the coast. In Appollonia, (if we may believe Bosman,) the tenth child is always buried alive; in the Benin country, if twins are born, not only the mother but the children also are destroyed; and, if the father should happen to be a priest, he must destroy his own children.

In the same country, "A vestal female is frequently impaled, as a sacrifice to improve the navigation of the river and extend the trade. The ceremony is performed with the most barbarous brutality, by pressing the body on a sharp stake, the extremities being fastened to two adjoining posts; in this state the victim is left to expire. The bustards, which are very nu-

merous here, sometimes attack the body before life is extinct." (Robertson's Notes, p. 293.)

But as the introduction of the customs of other countries may not be exactly correct in speaking of those of Fantee, we will now return to our remarks on that country. When a person dies, the corpse is kept for several days, and dressed in a silk or cloth robe and cap; and, being put in an erect posture, the family and friends all assemble round it — some of them howling for days and nights in the most dismal manner; but the firing of guns and drinking, on such an occasion, make it appear more like a day of rejoicing than that of mourning. The gold ornaments and silks of the deceased are put in the coffin and buried with the corpse, in the house of the family.

A custom prevails here which is called *brandeeing*, and which is done by the parties in dispute "*staking property to abide the issue of a dispute*;" so that if a poor person is injured, and cannot bring forward as much property as the person who injures him, he can get no redress, and the aggressor

escapes with impunity. When a palaver occurs, the pynins and cabboceers assemble to hear the parties, and decide by the majority. If a person is suspected of theft, or any criminal act, the pynins have recourse to administering *doom*, which is a poisonous bark procured from Appollonia, and is administered in the following manner:

Early in the evening preceding the day of trial, the accused person goes to bed, and if he be a man, he is not allowed to have his wife to sleep with him that night, as he must refrain from women, liquor, and every thing upon such an occasion. The next morning, at five o'clock, he washes himself, and chews about one-eighth of an ounce of this bark, called doom; as soon as he has chewed the bark, a calabash, or bowl of fresh water is brought, which he drinks, and also one or two more calabashes of water in like manner, when, if he vomits what he has taken, he is pronounced "innocent." But if the bark remain on the stomach after drinking three or four calabashes of water, then (to use the words of the person who explained this custom to me) "the palaver ketches him."

The accused is thereupon pronounced guilty, when some human dung is put into his mouth, which causes him to vomit immediately, and he is then liable to whatever punishment the pynins or chiefs decide upon inflicting, whether he be really guilty or innocent.

Property is hereditary, but it is so in a singular manner, the same as the stool or throne at Ashantee, as it descends to the children of the sister, on account of the uncertainty as to the fidelity of the brother's wife. For example; "if two brothers and a sister be born by the same mother, the eldest son of the sister is heir to his uncle's property, and takes charge of their families at their death, and they look to him for protection in the same manner as they did to their parents during their lives."

Polygamy is allowed; and even Europeans shamefully degrade themselves by keeping two or three women at a time. Their method of obtaining these poor girls from their mothers is by giving cloth, liquor, tobacco, and pipes, to the amount of 15*l.* or 20*l.* on the day of *marriage*, and

as long as these girls *behave well* they receive an allowance of 15*s.* per month!

Marriages are not attended with any religious ceremony. The parents or family of the female receive a certain sum, depending on the rank and wealth of the husband, a few pipes and tobacco, and some liquor, with which they make merry: and the bride, being dressed in costly silks, and richly ornamented with gold, parades through the town with her friends for several days, to show herself and make her marriage known. Adultery is punished with slavery; but in general one, two, or more slaves, are paid to the injured husband. In this country, as in all others, there is no want of prostitutes.

The natives are the greatest thieves I ever met with. This is their general character, but I can speak from experience. My own servants have frequently plundered me of my linen and other articles, and particularly of dessert knives, which they make use of to shave their heads.

On one occasion, while I was sleeping at my cottage in the country, a servant whom I had left in charge of my house in

town, procured a false key to my secretaire, where I kept my gold and the keys of my warehouses, when he and his companions modestly carried away 15 ounces of gold (60*l.*), and goods to the amount of about 150*l.* more.

Having detected them, I lodged them in the fort, and the governor recovered the gold for me; but the other property I lost entirely, and the thieves, after a short imprisonment, were liberated, the governor and council at Cape Coast not having the power of life and death, which, for the good of Europeans in this country, ought certainly to be vested in them.

Although the Ashantees are great thieves, many of them are industrious, and work hard. They follow the occupations of fishing, trade, and agriculture; others are employed by the Europeans in various capacities, such as gold-takers, hammock-men, canoe-men, messengers, &c. The cast-net is commonly used all over the coast, and there are plenty of fish of almost all descriptions. In the month of September, the natives of Winnebah, Accra, and other places, go about twenty miles out to sea,

to the Porguis Bank, where they are sure of loading their canoes every day (excepting their fetish day) with porguis, which is a fine fish as large as the cod, and almost as delicate. These fish they get in such large quantities, that they spread them over the towns to dry, so that, during the porguis season, it is almost difficult to walk at Accra and other places, without treading upon them, and they have a most disagreeable smell. The porguis make excellent soup, and as the natives of Accra and Winnebah cannot consume one-half of what they take, they sell considerable quantities to their neighbours. I accompanied a small fishing-party on one occasion to the Porguis Bank, where we caught the fish as fast as we could throw out the hook.

The dress of the Fantee men is very simple, consisting merely of a cloth which they fasten round their waist, under which they wear a girdle; but when carrying a hammock, or otherwise at work, they usually take off the cloth. *

* The costume of the higher orders of Fantees, as well as Ashantees, is given in the plate of Prince Adoom.

W. Hutton del.ᵗ

I. Clarke sculp.ᵗ

A Mulatto Woman of the Gold Coast.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1821.

The women work very hard, and are generally great slaves to the men; they are extremely cleanly, but I cannot say so much for their delicacy, having seen hundreds of them at a time in a state of nudity, at the sea-side, at Cape Coast, washing themselves, which they do every morning early; after which they use a little oil, to make their skins shine.

The superior black women and mulattoes dress very modestly. They wear a cloth either of silk or cotton, which they fasten round their waist with a handkerchief, from which is suspended in front a large bunch of silver keys, about thirty-two in number. Under their cloth they wear a girdle that goes several times round their loins, and forms into a large pad behind, just at the small of their backs, which is called a cankey, and on which they carry their children. This cankey, which has a very unseemly appearance, possesses the advantage of keeping the cloth loose, and thus prevents their shape from being exposed. The young girls in general are proud of showing their bosoms, but the mulatto women conceal theirs by wearing a linen shirt. As

their dress is curious, I have given an engraving of one of them.

The natives on the coast have a strange custom when a woman first becomes pregnant, which is, to take her to the sea-side and wash her; on her way thither a number of children assemble, and pelt her with mud and filth of all descriptions.

I have frequently seen this custom carried into practice: the woman crying all the way, is dragged along by one or two of her friends until she arrives on the beach, when she is plunged into the sea and washed. The reason for doing this, it is said, is to prevent the death of the mother or child at its birth. Children are named after the day of the week on which they are born, and by that name they are commonly called, although, as they grow up, they have various other names conferred upon them, in like manner as titles are conferred upon men in England, for their good and great deeds; for example, if a man kills a great enemy in battle, he gets an additional name in consequence, which is called his great or strong name.

Circumcision is only practised at Accra,

where females as well as males undergo the operation.

Menstruous women are considered unclean, and are at such times separated from their husbands.

It is difficult to define the religion, laws, and customs of a barbarous people, whose language you are unacquainted with, and who either wilfully evade your questions, or are unable to give you satisfactory answers; but what has already been said, it is hoped, will convey to the reader some idea of the Fantees; and the following account of the yam custom, which I witnessed at Accra on the 15th of August 1814, may not be uninteresting. All the men from the towns of Dutch and Danish Accra, which are both within two and a half miles of British Accra, meet at the latter, where they assemble near the house of the head pynin, named Quow, who keeps the stool. This stool or crown is carried before the head pynin in battle, by one of his confidential slaves, and is considered a great prize if captured. When the natives of the three towns (English, Dutch, and Danish Accra,)

amounting to about 5000 effective men, are all assembled at Quow's house, they are entertained with plenty of liquor and palm-wine; and it is not a little that serves them, as they are immoderately fond of rum, and in their eagerness to get the calabash or bowl from one another, they frequently spill more than they drink.

Being all met at Quow's house, armed and accoutred, they proceed in the following order to the salt-pond, which is about half a mile from the town.

The stool-bearer goes first with the stool upon his head. Quow, preceded by large drums which are constantly beaten, immediately follows, attended by his slaves and soldiers. Next in the procession are the slaves and soldiers of the principal persons at English Accra, namely, Mr. Sackey, Mr. Mill, the Governor, Mr. Bannerman, and Mr. Hansen.* These are followed by the soldiers from the Dutch town, and those from Danish Accra bring up the rear.

* Since the above was written, Mr. A. C. Hutton has become one of the principal merchants at Accra.

On their arrival at the salt-pond, Quow sprinkles water upon the stool three times. Then two of Quow's people fire one gun each. After this a glass of rum is sprinkled on the stool, when they all return to the British fort, which the stool-bearer enters first, followed by a number of women who join the procession on its return. Quow then enters the fort, leaving the drums at the gate, which are continually beaten. On entering the spur, Quow dances before the stool, throwing himself into the most extravagant and ridiculous attitudes, the stool-bearer dancing at the same time. This being over, all the pynins, headed by Quow, enter the hall to pay their respects to the governor, when the stool-bearer empties a glass of rum into his hand, part of which he sprinkles over the people and part over the stool; which is then supplied with two fathoms of bonny blue, (a coarse cotton cloth,) given by the governor, who also makes the pynins a small present of liquor, when they leave the fort, and return to Quow's house, where they all spend the day in rejoicing and indulging in every excess, which concludes the custom.

It is proper to mention, that upon this occasion, Quow killed a bullock, which he distributed on the following morning to the pynins of the different towns, the governors and principal inhabitants of English, Dutch, and Danish Accra.

Quow told me the next day, that if he neglected this custom, he could not eat yams during the season.

Similar customs are practised throughout South West Africa on the commencement of the harvest and yam season.

The law most universally recognized by the Fantees, and I believe by most of the other nations in this part of Africa, is, that every man and boy capable of carrying a musket, must provide himself with one at his own expense, and be ready at a moment's notice to take the field against an enemy. I have seen the natives on several occasions go to battle, when there has not been a single male left in the town. The females, on such occasions, chalk their bodies all over, dress in white clothes, and assemble together to dance, when they are extremely immodest in the motions of their bodies, throwing themselves into the most lascivious attitudes.

The husbandman in Fantee, as well as at all the other countries which I have visited in this part of the world, has very little trouble to procure the fruits of the earth, many of which grow spontaneously. The hoe is the chief, and almost the only implement of husbandry. The land is so rich and productive, that cultivation is not required. All that the inhabitants have to do, is to cut down the underwood, dry it in the sun, and set fire to it; and having planted the seed, nature does every thing else. In some parts of the country they have two crops in the year; they plant their seed before the rainy season commences, which it generally does about the beginning of June, and continues till August, during which the country is inundated, and houses are frequently washed down by the torrents. Natives, as well as Europeans, confine themselves chiefly to their own homes. The harvest follows in September, during which and October, there is frequently rain, which is called the after-rains. Vegetation is incredibly rapid and luxuriant, and "nature breaks forth in all her excess of abundance."

Indian corn, yams, kasada, plantains, &c. are cultivated, and abundant crops are always produced. I never knew a scarcity but once, which was in 1816, just after the Ashantee army had a second time invaded this country. The wretched inhabitants of Cape Coast and other towns were then starving, when Mr. Dawson, who at that time was chief-governor, and the officers under him, subscribed a considerable sum to purchase corn, which was distributed every morning among those who were most distressed. An officer attended to its fair distribution, and as I was one who had to officiate in this duty, I had an opportunity of observing the miseries of this wretched people, which were such as I hope never to witness again.

Mr. Dawson's conduct upon this and upon other occasions, during his government, will ever endear his name to the natives of Cape Coast. This worthy man, after devoting nearly thirty years of the prime of his life to the public service, was most unjustly removed from the chief government, and is now even without the smallest pension.

Indian corn, within the last few years, has been cultivated to a great extent. Many vessels have been loaded with it for Madeira and other places, which is a strong proof that if the slave-trade were once entirely abolished, and the attention of the natives directed to agricultural pursuits, they would soon become a very superior people. The country would be better cultivated, and the natives civilized. The former is blessed with a fine climate, and the latter with intellectual capacity, little inferior to our own.

The general appearance of the country is beautiful, many parts resembling a gentleman's park; deer, hares, partridges, wild ducks, pigeons, &c. abound; sheep, goats, pigs, and poultry, are also plentiful.

The natives on the coast live commonly upon cankey and fish; the latter they procure in great abundance from the sea, and the former is the black's bread, and is an excellent substitute for European bread when flour is scarce. It is made from the Indian corn by the women, who dilute it, and then rub it upon a large stone, after which they allow it to remain until sour; it is then

made into small loaves, and either baked or boiled.

Palm wine is drank all over the coast, the method of procuring which will be explained hereafter; rum, however, is preferred. The natives on the coast, as well as those in the interior, manufacture pots and other vessels, which they cook their victuals in, and make use of in carrying palm-oil and water. I have seen them made at Commenda, and other places, from a sort of clay in the neighbourhood. After they are well baked, they bear the fire extremely well: they are commonly baked in the sun.

As regards the general character of the Fantees, I cannot speak very favourably. I have already mentioned that they are great thieves. In a few words, I consider them badly disposed; and the atrocious murders of Messrs. Hoogenboom, Meredith *, and Vanderpois, and the ill treatment of other Europeans, can never be forgotten.

* A particular account of Mr. Meredith's death will be found in the Appendix.

CHAPTER V.

In the map which is prefixed to this part of the work, is shewn the different places in Africa which I have visited during the last eleven years; from Senegal, which lies in 16° 3′ N. lat., and 16° 10′ W. long., to the island of Anna Bona, in 1° 32′ S., and 6° 5′ E.

To have entered into a minute description of all these places would have far exceeded the limits of this work; and I have to regret the omission of some remarks on various parts of the country to leeward of Cape Coast. I cannot, however, omit saying a few words on the islands of Anna Bona, St. Thomas, Princes, and Fernando Po. These islands all lie within a few days' sail of each other in the Gulf of Guinea, and afford great facilities to the slave-dealers. On passing Anna Bona, on my voyage to England some months ago, we observed a large ship lying at anchor with

patriot colours (blue, white, and blue), carrying 20 guns, and having on board a cargo of slaves. When we stood in for the anchorage, we expected, from our vessel's warlike appearance, that the patriot would have fled; but she boldly remained at anchor, as we presumed, from a determination to fight with us, had we been a ship of war; from which it would appear that these slave-dealers now go so well manned and armed, as to bid defiance to our war-vessels. This, at least, they have more than once asserted. How far they would keep their words, remains to be proved when any of our sloops of war meet with them. Many canoes came alongside our vessel; one of which conveyed the padria, or governor, who, on coming on board, informed us that the ship in the roads had kidnapped many of the inhabitants, and that three men were shot in their canoe, in endeavouring to make their escape from the vessel. The governor, and the people with him, declared that it was the wish of the inhabitants to be under the protection of the British government, and requested the captain of our ship to take possession

of the island. In short, there can be no doubt, as these people have been so ill treated, and so long neglected by the parent state, that they would gladly place themselves under the protection of Great Britain; so that we have now an excellent opportunity of taking possession of this island, which would be of incalculable advantage to us in many points of view, and in particular, as regards the more effectual abolition of the slave-trade. Robertson, in his notes on Africa, says, that from its situation, it is little less valuable than St. Helena. The high land in the interior of the anchorage might be made next to impregnable, at a trivial expense. In short, he calls it "a little Eden," and adds, that "if the temple of Hygeia is to be erected any where in these latitudes, here ought to be its site."

The canoes, which came off to our vessel, supplied us with great quantities of excellent oranges, pine-apples, paupas, cocoa-nuts, plantains, sweet potatoes, &c., for which they received in payment old jackets, waistcoats, and shirts.

The inhabitants are catholics, and

sold us some cassava bread. There are plenty of pigs, sheep, and goats on the island; but the people live chiefly upon fish, which they daily procure in large quantities.

The salubrity of the climate, and the island being well supplied with most excellent water, would make it doubly valuable to Great Britain. It is therefore to be hoped that His Majesty's government will comply with the wishes of the inhabitants, and order the island to be taken possession of in the name of His Britannic Majesty, especially as this might be done without any expense to the nation, as one of the ex-governors and soldiers from our abandoned forts, on the Gold Coast, might be conveyed here by any of His Majesty's cruisers on the African station.

The expenses of the establishment might be defrayed by levying a small duty on all our vessels calling at the island for water and provisions; which they would willingly pay, rather than be subject to the heavy harbour dues at Prince's and Saint Thomas' Island, amounting to 24*l.*,

which, if they anchor only for a few hours, they are obliged to pay.

Saint Thomas is immediately on the equator; and the inhabitants, who are catholics, are under the Portuguese government. They appeared very unhealthy when I was there; but the island is the largest and the finest of all the islands in this part of Africa. There are two or three churches, a bishop, and several catholic priests here. Fruits and vegetables are abundant; and St. Thomas appears to want nothing to make it as desirable a residence as any settlement in Africa. It has also an excellent harbour, which is protected by batteries; and the anchorage, in standing in from the south-east, is under a round, barren, red hill, the top covered with herbage to leeward of the high land. In the map, I have given a sketch of the island as it appeared at the distance of four leagues.

Prince's is more remarkable for its fine harbour than any thing else, which is completely land-locked, and well protected with batteries. It is a dirty hole, but supplies vessels with excellent

water, fruits, and vegetables. The governor and fiscal, who are the principal men in the island, are miserable-looking creatures, in comparison with our governors on the Gold Coast. The principal merchant is a Mr. J. Schevere, who is a good-looking man, and much resembles the English, both in appearance and hospitality. The inhabitants are catholics, and nearly the same observations may apply to this island as have been made on the others.

To expatiate on the great facilities these islands afford to the slave-dealers is unnecessary, as they are already so well known; but to counteract these evils is the duty of every man who has the cause of humanity at heart.

I am therefore induced to point out the advantages which would result to Great Britain from the possession of Fernando Po, and Anna Bona, not only in a commercial point of view, but also as it would be the means of effectually checking the slave-trade, which is at present carried on to so great an extent in these latitudes by the Portuguese and Spaniards.

The advantages to be derived from the possession of Anna Bona, I have already described; but they will not bear a comparison to those which would result from the possession of Fernando Po. In a commercial point of view, I know of no settlement on the coast of Africa so valuable and important to Great Britain. It commands the entrance of all the rivers that flow into the Gulf of Guinea, and which are supposed to have a communication with the Niger. But upon this subject both Robertson and Macqueen have expatiated so fully, that I shall only add my regret that Mr. Robertson's vessels were captured in the laudable attempt made by that gentleman, in 1819, to colonize this island.

The river Gaboon, which is only two or three days' sail from the island of Fernando Po, deserves to be particularly mentioned. It is situated in from 15 to 30 miles north latitude, and 8° 50′ east longitude, and is 740 miles S. E. of our head-quarters on the Gold Coast. The river is about fifteen miles broad at its mouth, but does not extend far into the country. It is navi-

gable for large vessels, which may enter it with safety, keeping well over towards Cape Clara. The vessel I was on board, kept too near Sandy Point, where she got on shore at five o'clock P. M., and did not get off again until two A. M., during which time, considerable apprehensions were entertained for our safety; and it was fortunate for us that the vessel grounded on a sand-bank, or, most likely, we should not have escaped so well as we did.

About twenty-five miles up the river lie Parrot and Konig islands, each of which may be about two miles in circumference; but one only is inhabited. There are several creeks in the river, which enable the slave-dealers to carry on the trade in safety. I much regret the loss of a survey of the Gaboon, which was given to me by Captain Nannings, and which is the only one of this river I ever saw.

Gaboon is well known for the quantity of red wood and ebony it supplies; and there are other articles of trade, such as ivory, bees' wax, gum, &c.

There is also a vegetable butter here, used by the natives, which much resembles

the " Ashantee grease," used by the natives of Accra and other places on the Gold Coast. Vide Bowdich's Mission, p. 447.

As it may be interesting to the reader to know the price of ebony in this part of the world, the following assortment of goods is given for 200 pieces, each weighing about 20 *lbs.*

Four bottles of powder.
Four Jeboo cloths.
Two pieces long-cloth.
Two doz. small common looking-glasses.
Two doz. Dutch knives.
Two doz. pipes.
One iron bar;

the value of which, in Africa, is about 8*l.*, or half this sum in Europe.

Red-wood is only half the price of ebony, and 125 billets of red-wood are about equal to one ton. If the billets are small, two are always reckoned equal to one.

The natives are, in general, well-disposed. At every village they have a chief, to whom they give the title of king or prince.

For example; on entering the river, we were visited by King Qua Ben and his

people; then by Prince Will, and next by Prince Jack. The principal man on this river is *Tom Lawson*, in whom traders place the greatest confidence, from his having uniformly behaved well; but Prince Jack, who supplied our vessel with the best wood, is a man I should have great confidence in if ever I make a voyage to Gaboon again. Prince Will appears a great rogue; he speaks both French and English tolerably well, having made one or two voyages to France.

These chiefs have a strange custom, which is to take their wives on board vessels, as soon as they arrive, and leave them with the captain or supercargo, as a deposit for the fulfilment of whatever agreement they make as regards supplying the vessel with red-wood and ebony. During the time such deposit is in possession of the captain, he is at liberty to make what use of the lady he thinks proper. Indeed the natives here make a practice of lending their wives to each other!

The women of distinction have copper rods twisted round their legs from the ankle to the knee. Their dress is similar to those

of the Gold Coast, excepting the cankey, which they do not wear.

Tom Lawson, and all the principal men who came on board, would not drink without putting their hands or a handkerchief before their faces; as they said, if they were to do so, their enemies had at that time the power of doing them an injury.

Both men and women braid their hair, which hangs about their neck and shoulders, and has a strange appearance.

There is a fetish man in the Gaboon, belonging to Tom Lawson, who declares himself to be invulnerable, and offered to allow any of the passengers on board our vessel, to fire at him with a musket or pistol loaded with ball. When one of my companions, (Captain Colliver) presented a pistol at him, he said that it was not then his fetish day, but the next day was, when, if he, (Captain C.) would go on shore, he might fire as many balls as he pleased, which, the fellow said, would all fall at his feet without wounding him. Tom Lawson also assured us it was true: so that the natives here really believe what this man tells them.

A former traveller relates the following fact: — "His son bribed this man to endue him with the same fetish; and eagerly making trial of its virtue, received a musket ball, which fractured the small bone of his arm. The address of the fetish man accounted for this, to the entire satisfaction of every body, by declaring that it was at that instant revealed to him by the offended fetish, that this young man once had a stolen intercourse with his wife, at an improper season; it was immediately confessed as a truth, and they are as obstinate believers as ever."

This is the only place on the coast, which I have visited, where the natives use boats instead of canoes, which are made out of one solid piece of wood, and large enough to carry two or three puncheons.

During the time the vessel was taking in her cargo, I went on shore, and paid a visit to Tom Lawson and King George. They have both separate towns, which are within half a mile of each other, and may contain four or five hundred inhabitants. St. George's Town, which belongs to King George, is pleasantly situated on a hill, is

well laid out, and the streets are broad and clean. The houses are made of bamboo, but would be much more comfortable if they had windows, and the natives were to adopt the method of cooking their victuals in an outer apartment. They sleep on bedsteads, and use musquito curtains made of bamboo.

From St. George's Town we could see our vessel lying at anchor, about eight miles off. King George was very ill, and confined to his room, but he shook hands with us all very cordially, and appeared happy to see us. He spoke English fluently and said he had been at Liverpool, and other places in England. He was extremely well-behaved, and comparatively civilized. We saw here a solitary Portugese, who was very sickly. He said he had done some trade in ivory with the natives; and well he deserved it, shut out from all society, and from every amusement. It is indeed surprising how any European could reconcile himself to live in so desolate a place.

The natives speak English tolerably well. They spoke of a nation in the interior,

called the Kaleys, who make iron from the ore, which the earth produces in considerable quantities. Some of their weapons of war, such as swords and javelins, I brought to England; and also some curiously worked mats, which they make very skilfully in various colours. These people are said to be cannibals; and they "not only eat their prisoners but their dead, whose bodies are bid for directly the breath is out of them; *a father has frequently been seen to eat his own child.*"

They bring off great quantities of parrots for sale, which are so plentiful that I have seen more than a hundred in a flock. Pelicans are also numerous, and cameleons are to be procured here.

Tom Lawson described to us a species of ourang-outan, called the Ingrena, which, he assured us, was much larger than a man; and said, they frequently tore off branches from the trees, and beat men to death in the woods. I saw the skeleton of the hand of one of these animals, and it certainly was larger than that of a man.

There are a great variety of monkeys here; leopards also are numerous. The

natives brought off one of the latter to our vessel, which a passenger on board purchased, but the captain would not allow it to be kept; it was therefore thrown overboard.

The scenery on the banks of the river is beautiful; the mangrove, palm, and red-wood trees are abundant. The climate is considered unhealthy, but we had only one man sick while we remained here. It was very warm on board the vessel, the thermometer being frequently as high as 98°.

I will now close my observations upon the Coast of Africa, and proceed with an account of my journey into the interior.

CHAPTER VI.

EMBASSY TO ASHANTEE, IN 1820.

THE last mission to Ashantee, in 1817, was conducted by Mr. Bowdich, under the direction of the African committee,* which,

* The African committee, since the year 1750, has had the management of our settlements on the Gold Coast, under the control of the Board of Trade. By an act 23 Geo. II. and several subsequent acts of parliament, the committee was established, and allowed to appoint governors, deputy governors, and other officers, civil and military. The Royal African Company was established in the reign of Charles II., when an exclusive trade was granted from Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope. But by an act passed in the last session of Parliament (originating from the judicious measures of His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonial Department,) the African committee has ceased to exist; a measure which has long been desired by the merchants in Africa; for although it must be admitted, in justice to the committee, and their secretary, Mr. Cock, that they have ever been anxious to discharge their duty to the public faithfully and zealously, yet the system in itself was notoriously bad, and universally reprobated.

it may be necessary to state, consist of nine respectable merchants, chosen from London, Liverpool, and Bristol, for the purpose of managing the forts and settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa; and to enable them to do so, they receive from Parliament, an annual grant of 28,000*l.*, out of which they are permitted to expend a considerable sum for a progress into the interior; and the present embassy alone has been attended with an expense of nearly 4,000*l.* To enable the reader more clearly to comprehend the objects of the embassy, I beg to refer him to a copy of Mr. Dupuis' instructions from Mr. Simon Cock, the secretary to the committee, in the Appendix, (No. 1.)

Mr. Dupuis, on receiving his instructions, sailed from Gravesend in the ship Sarah, and arrived at Cape Coast Castle early in January, and in October I joined that gentleman at Cape Coast. In November, I made him an offer of my services, (Appendix, No. 2.) and received from him the answer, (Appendix, No. 3.) On receipt of this letter, I applied to the governor in chief for permission to accom-

pany the embassy, which was immediately granted; and the following appointment shortly after conferred upon me.

"Cape Coast Castle,
"3d January, 1820.

"SIR,—I am commanded by the governor and council to inform you, that you are appointed to accompany Consul Dupuis on the embassy to Ashantee.

"You will place yourself entirely under the direction of that gentleman; and in the event of any accident happening to him, you will take charge of the embassy, and act in all respects in conformity to the instructions which are in the Consul's possession.

"Thursday next is fixed for the departure of the embassy, you will therefore hold yourself in readiness.

"By order of the governor and council,

"J. TASKER WILLIAMS,
"Secretary."

"William Hutton Esq.
&c. &c. &c."

From this period there was an unbroken friendship and confidence between Mr. Dupuis and myself; we were both embarked in the same cause, and both equally anxious for its success. Our political sentiments

were the same, and all our attention was directed to the object in view. We attended the public meetings of the governor and council in the castle-hall, and not a day passed without something being done to forward the departure of the embassy. As the governor and council were at first averse to the measure, both Mr. Dupuis and myself were obliged to use every effort to induce them to alter their decision, which, after much difficulty, we succeeded in. Upon this occasion I received the following flattering testimony of my exertions from Mr. Dupuis.

"Believe me, my dear Sir, however much I am harassed in mind with "palavers," I feel for your situation. Looking at your energetic endeavors in forwarding the embassy, depend upon it, my feelings, as much as my public duty, are deeply interested at this very moment in taking proper notice of your meritorious conduct."

I have stated that the governor and council were, in the first instance, averse to the departure of the embassy; and as it arose from some negotiations at that time pending between them and

the king of Ashantee, it will be proper to explain, for the information of the reader, and in justice to the governor and council, the nature of these negotiations, as well as the cause of the dispute which gave rise to them, this explanation being particularly connected with my narrative.

After the king of Ashantee had returned from the war with the Buntakoos, or Adinkiras, so called from their king's name, he sent (as is usual on such occasions) several jawbones to Cape Coast, Elmina, Commenda, and Accra, to convince the natives of those towns of his having conquered his enemy, Adinkira. At Commenda, a British settlement about twenty miles from Cape Coast Castle, the pynins, or chiefs, drove the king's messengers out of the town, without allowing them even a draught of water, and the boys hooted and pelted them with stones.

The Ashantee messengers, on being driven from Commenda, proceeded to Cape Coast, where they complained of the ill-treatment they had experienced; but instead of receiving any redress, they were sent back to the king of Ashantee, without

being shewn the common rights of hospitality. When his sable majesty became acquainted with it, he sent a messenger to the governor of Cape Coast, and to the principal men of that town, demanding satisfaction for the insulting conduct of the Commendas, stating that they were under the protection of the Cape Coast natives; and, "therefore," says the king, "you shall give me satisfaction in the present case." He preferred making his demand on the town of Cape Coast, as he well knew the poverty of the Commendas rendered them incapable of paying the penalty; but this demand was refused by the governor in chief, principally on account of the message being couched in improper language, and accompanied with insulting advice to the governor, to build the castle-walls higher, and to prepare for the Ashantee army, which, it was intimated, would march to the sea-side in forty days, if the demand were refused. The governor answered, that the king might march his army down in twenty days if he thought proper, as in that time he should be prepared to receive him. This reply gave great offence to the

king, who was then at war with the Buntakoos, and several months elapsed before any thing further transpired on this subject; but, at length, his sable majesty's displeasure was manifested by a prohibition of all trade with Cape Coast; and thus was our commercial intercourse interrupted, and the departure of the embassy for a considerable time delayed. The natives of Cape Coast, alarmed by the dread of being again visited by an Ashantee army *, built up a wall of circumvallation, with swish or mud, and made preparations for defence. Affairs continued in this state from the period of the first message until the beginning of September, when the king sent down a confidential captain, who, in the public hall, in presence of the governor in chief, delivered himself to the following effect:

* It may be necessary to mention, that the Ashantees invaded Fantee in 1808, 1811, and 1816. On the last invasion, Cape Coast was so long blockaded by the Ashantee army, that the greatest distress and famine were the consequence; and still greater miseries would have ensued but for the humane conduct of Mr. Dawson, Mr. Hope Smith, and others, in advancing a considerable sum of gold on account of the Fantees.

"The king, my master, feels very much hurt at the message which was returned him by the governor of Cape Coast, importing that he would neither suffer the Commenda people to do him justice for their ill-treatment of his messengers, nor the natives of Cape Coast, for their conduct in bidding him defiance, by building up entrenchments, and refusing to interfere and settle his palaver with the Commendas, and by their indecent conduct in laughing at what they suppose to be his misfortunes with the Buntakoos. The king knows they have said there is no king on the stool of Ashantee, and that the Buntakoos have killed him. But the king is more hurt than all to think that the white men should believe it, and that they should put shame on his face before his own people, and before the Fantees in the castle-hall. The king denies having sent any indecent message to the governor, and therefore has put his first messenger under arrest; who, if he has been guilty of any misrepresentation, shall forfeit his head! How could the king wish for war with the white men, whom he considers his

friends, and with whom he took fetesh? The king cannot make war with any nation with which he has made fetesh; and therefore he sends back your book, (treaty,) and desires that it may be read over by the governor, in order that he may know he has not been deceived by the white men who visited Ashantee. But if the articles are right, he desires that you will keep your book, that he may make war '*proper*.' The king's army is now stationed on the opposite side of the river (Boosempra); but he will not suffer his troops to cross until he knows your answer; nor will he suffer any more trade, until the palaver is settled. The king says, Take back your book, since you have broken it; for I acknowledge the forts to govern the towns under them, and therefore demanded of you satisfaction for injuries done me by the people of those towns, when it would have been easy for me to have marched an army, and obtained satisfaction myself. The king wishes proper respect to be paid by the Ashantees to the white men; but he cannot suffer an indignity to be offered to him without a cause;

when he wished to cultivate a good understanding with them, and when he thought the book he had signed, secured to him their good-will, and the friendship of their great king. But the king is afraid he has been deceived, and therefore desires to know decidedly whether you wish for peace or war. He is ready for either, and will soon convince his enemies that he is not dead, as the Fantees say. But if you wish for peace, the king will have ample satisfaction for those injuries."

Here the Ashantee captain paused, and the governor read aloud the articles of the treaty, which were interpreted into Ashantee; upon which the governor pointed to Mr. Dupuis, and said, "that he had been sent by the king of England with presents to the king of Ashantee, and that he had been some time at Cape Coast, but had been prevented from visiting the king in consequence of what had happened." The chiefs, and the Ashantees then present, congratulated Mr. Dupuis, saying, they were certain their king would be glad to see him, as he had come from the king of England. The debate was concluded by the chief declaring that he must have a

decisive answer, to send to his master, and again desired to know whether the governor would see justice done him or not: to which, after some consideration, the governor replied, that the people should pay a fine, which should be determined on by the chiefs of the town. The Ashantee chief having returned to the king with the governor's answer, and a considerable delay having taken place before any farther message was received from Ashantee, Mr. Dupuis applied to the governor and council, to order the necessary preparations for the departure of the embassy, to which, in this state of affairs, they did not deem it prudent to comply.

At length, the long-expected ambassador, Prince Adoom *, nephew to the king of Ashantee, with an escort of five hundred armed men, besides servants and bearers in a considerable number, arrived at Cape Coast, it being understood that he was to be joined, in case of need, by several thousand of the Elminas and Fantees. Affairs assuming a very serious aspect, it became the more necessary that measures should

* Vide Plate.

be immediately adopted for the departure of the embassy. Accordingly, Prince Adoom, with Acassey, one of the Assin captains, attended by many inferior messengers, and servants, were allowed an audience with the governor and council in the public hall. Captain Kelly, of the navy, with Mr. Dupuis and myself, were present, as well as the pynins and cabboceers of Cape Coast. A long and animated discussion ensued, the speakers recapitulating the whole of the affair, from the origin of the dispute to the present time. One of the speakers harangued the assembly for upwards of two hours with amazing rapidity; his name was Endo, a slave of Prince Adoom. This man was employed in confidential business, from the ambassador at Cape Coast, to the king at Coomassie. After he had finished his speech, he was followed on the same side by Enkansa, an Assin messenger, who also delivered his sentiments at great length, and with considerable ability. The Ashantees are remarkable for their powers of oratory; and as it may not be uninteresting to know what passed on this occasion, I will give a

brief account of it. The criers* of the court having called "Silence," Endo began by stating the origin of the dispute, the ill treatment of the king's messengers by the Commenda people, — the first message sent by the king to the governor, with the governor's answer, — and the king having accepted the present sent him by the governor, while he refused that which was sent by the pynins of Cape Coast, which evinced his desire to be on friendly terms with the white men, while the contrary was manifest as regarded the natives under the fort, who had given him offence, and therefore he refused their present until they had given him satisfaction. Enkansa followed, and stated that no insulting message was sent to the governor, advising him to build the castle-walls higher; and that if the messenger had said so, he was in confinement, and would lose his head. He

* These criers have a singular appearance, wearing monkey-skin caps, with a gold plate in front, and long tails hanging down their backs; at the end of almost every sentence delivered by the linguist, or person speaking, they call out loudly, "Tchawoum! Tchawoum!" Silence! Silence! There are upwards of a hundred of these criers, who attend the linguists, and are all deformed.

added, that the king being tired of sending messengers to the governor, had now sent down his nephew, Prince Adoom, with full powers to negotiate and settle the dispute; but that the king demanded 1600 ounces of gold from the natives of Cape Coast, and the same quantity from the governor, for having broken the treaty.

The substance of the two speeches having been interpreted to the governor and council by the linguist (De Graft), they made answer by desiring the linguist to ask Adoom, or any of his attendants, if ever they heard of a governor of a British fort paying a fine to the king of Ashantee, or to any black man whatever. The reply to this was a negative; when the governor said, "Then tell them I am not now going to begin."

Upon this spirited reply, a great uproar and confusion ensued, and the meeting broke up; but a second hearing took place some days after, when it was determined that the embassy should immediately depart for Ashantee, with an assurance from Prince Adoom, that Mr. Dupuis and his companions should be protected

and allowed to return to Cape Coast at any time they thought proper, in the event of the differences not being amicably settled. Accordingly, the day was fixed for our departure, and Prince Adoom agreed to supply 300 Ashantees and two captains, to conduct the embassy to the capital, and to assist in carrying the presents to the king.

A misunderstanding unfortunately now took place between the governor and council and Mr. Dupuis, upon the subject of the instructions which were addressed by the former to the latter. Mr. Dupuis insisting that the council had no authority to give him such instructions; and the governor and council, equally tenacious of their prerogative, asserted that they were fully authorized to do so. Whether they were or were not, the reader will determine from the documents now before him; and as I wish to be strictly impartial, I shall forbear giving any opinion on the subject; at the same time, that it may not be said I have omitted any paper relevant and proper to lay before the public, I have inserted in the Appendix (Nos. 4. and 5.) a copy of the instructions, and also a letter which I received from Mr. Dupuis at this

period, which fully shews his determination not to receive instructions from the governor and council.

In consequence of Mr. Dupuis' illness, our departure was deferred for a day or two, but the presents for the king of Ashantee, having been sent off on the 3d February, accompanied by Mr. Collins (vice-consul), and Mr. Graves; and the governor and council not conceiving it proper to allow so much property to be exposed on the road without either Mr. Dupuis or myself being with it, they ordered me off to Paintrey, to take charge of the embassy. (Vide Appendix, No. 6.)

I communicated their orders to Mr. Dupuis, who immediately addressed a letter to the governor and council, stating, that in consequence of his serious indisposition, which he feared might continue longer than it would be proper to detain the presents, he had appointed me to the command of the embassy, and also to succeed him as consul, as will appear by the Appendix, (No. 7.)

Being in possession of all the necessary documents to enable me to conduct the em-

bassy to the capital, and having received 100 oz. of gold from Mr. Dupuis, and also a copy of his instructions from His Majesty's government, I hastened to the public hall, and took leave of the governor, after which I was accompanied to the castle-gate by the principal officers of the garrison, whose kind attentions and good wishes were very gratifying. Having taken a friendly leave of them, I got into my hammock and departed from Cape Coast.

But it is here proper to detain the reader, while I explain, that, although the governor and council had appointed me second of the embassy, and authorized me to take the command in the event of accident to Mr. Dupuis, yet they were so displeased with that gentleman's taking upon himself to appoint me to the situation of consul (as I presume) without consulting them, that they addressed a letter to Mr. Dupuis, saying they could not recognize his appointment of any person to that situation. Mr. Dupuis' public letter to the governor and council upon this subject will be found at full length in the Appendix, (No. 8.) Their objection, however, was too trifling to delay my departure from Cape

Coast; and on my arrival at Paintrey, where I found Mr. Collins and Mr. Graves, I hoisted the British flag at our quarters, and proceeded to examine the different packages, and compare the marks and numbers with the list of the presents for the king furnished me by the secretary, prior to my departure from Cape Coast. (Vide Appendix, No. 9.)

I had now a little time to reflect on the important trust committed to my charge, as well as to deliberate on the best measures for carrying into effect the objects of the embassy. My instructions from Mr. Dupuis (Appendix, No. 10.) required me to wait for him at Paintrey only two days, while those from the governor and council desired me to remain there until joined by that gentleman, or until I received further orders; but I well knew that whatever difference of opinion existed between Mr. Dupuis and the governor and council upon this subject, I had the warmest wishes of all parties for our success. Every one looked forward anxiously to our proceedings; for the interests at stake, both public and private, were most important;

and whether I followed the instructions from the governor and council, or those from Mr. Dupuis, I was determined to do my duty in the situation I was placed to the best of my judgment and ability.

I will now add a list of our stores, and then proceed with the account of the embassy from the day we left Cape Coast, and beg to refer my readers to the map, which I have drawn expressly to show the courses and distance of each day's journey. It would be difficult to give the courses with perfect accuracy in travelling a narrow black's path, from the numberless turnings and windings. The distances, however, I think, may be depended upon, and the latitude and longitude of the different towns I hope will be found tolerably correct; although I regret to say the embassy was entirely unprovided with quadrants and telescopes. I had therefore no means of checking the latitude by an altitude of the sun. But I have deemed it my duty to give the latitude and longitude of the different towns by course and distance, according to the account which I kept during the journey, without regard to other accounts, which may probably be more correct.

2
Beamassoo
Ofessoo
Akimokasie
Doomiantiffe
Bumasoo
Yatirrim
Gammasee
Nerbehin
Kairakoo
Demamba
Gura
Tetchbrow
Ejujan
Dadiasoo
Dabbradi
Assecccooma
Marmeresse
Sameeow
Abonassoo
Tarbo
Abradi
Kakoa R.
Boasso
Elmina
Sebastian
Axim or Anthony (D.O)
Succondee (B.A D.A)
Boossoa
Bontrie (D.A)
Achooma
Dixcove (B.O)
Accoda
Cape 3 Pounts
Hollandia
Tuccorary (D.A)
Forest
Cattaacomacusa
Yancomfodie
Plantations
Swamps
Doonqua or Paintrey
Asoonqua
Abra
Deserted Crooms
Tom Coffee's Croom
Croom Plantations
Mankassim
Asoidro
Atooperrim
Winnebah (B.A)
Apam (D.A)
Tantum (B.A)
Cormantine (D.A)
Annamaboe (B.O)
Abeadzee (D.A)
Abbanteerd (D)
Cape Coast Castle
British Head Quarters
Anquaney
Commenda (D.A B.A)
Chama or St. Johns R.
Abbreviations
B. British
D. Dutch
Da. Danish
O. Occupied
A. Abandoned
Y Head Quarters
British Miles.
5 10 20 30
Route of the Mission to ASHANTEE, in 1820, by W. Hutton.
Longitude West 2 from Greenwich.
Engraved by Sidy Hall, Bury Stt Bloomsby

The following is a list of the stores and necessaries, which were furnished from the public warehouse for the use of the embassy :

P

1 and 2.	2 Cases	containing	2 doz. Port Wine.
3 and 6.	4 do.	.....	4 doz. Madeira do.
7.	1 do.	.....	56 lbs. Soap.
8.	1 do.	.....	Breakfast Service.
9.	1 do.	.....	12 large Plates, 12 small Plates, 12 Soup Plates, 6 Dishes, 2 lbs. Pepper, ¼lb. Cloves, ¼lb. Nutmegs, ¼lb. Alspice, 2 Table-cloths.
10 and 14.	5 Ankers	containing	West India Rum.
15 and 16.	2 do.	.....	80 lbs. Sugar.
17.	1 Case	.....	Stationery.
12.	1 do.	.....	6 Bottles Ketchup, 2 Bottles Oil, 2 pint Decanters, 6 Tumblers, 6 Wine-glasses, 4 Bottles Mustard, 6 lbs. Candles, 1 doz. large Knives and Forks, 1 doz. small Knives and Forks, 1 pair Carvers, 2 Bottles of Vinegar.
20 and 21.	2 Cases	containing	Crackers (small Biscuits.)
22 and 25.	4 Ankers	.....	Flour.
26 and 27.	2 Cases	.....	Salt and Butter.
28 and 29.	2 do.	.....	Water.
	1 Hamper	.....	2 doz. Ale.

From the above list it will be seen that the governor and council were determined we should not want any thing on our journey to the capital. They also, in the handsomest manner, increased my salary to 400*l.* per annum, and made me a present of 20*l.* in gold to purchase any extra articles I might require for my outfit. 20*l.* were also given to Messrs. Salmon and Collins, and 10*l.* to Mr. Graves.

Each officer was allowed eight hammock-men, besides four men to carry luggage. We were all provided with bedding, and saddles and bridles, as we knew we should get horses at the capital. As the reader may wish to be acquainted with the method adopted by Europeans of travelling in a hammock and in a basket, as used by the Ashantees, I have given a representation of our departure from Cape Coast, in which I have drawn Mr. Salmon riding in a basket, for the purpose of shewing that method of travelling; although it is proper to observe, that gentleman rode in a hammock as well as myself.

Mode of Travelling in Africa.

CHAPTER VII.

HAVING received one hundred ounces of gold from Mr. Dupuis, and the necessary documents to enable me to conduct the embassy to the capital, I departed from Cape Coast Castle on Saturday afternoon, about four o'clock, on the 5th of February, 1820, accompanied by Mr. Benjamin Salmon, assistant surgeon in the Company's service.

My feelings upon this occasion I will leave to the reader's imagination. I had for several years an ardent desire to explore the interior of Africa, and in the year 1816, I relinquished an appointment of 200l. a-year under the African Company, and volunteered to accompany Major Peddie's expedition to explore the course and termination of the Niger; but was disappointed in my expectations under that gentleman. I also volunteered to accompany the mission to Ashantee in 1817, but the governor of Cape Coast, for reasons not

material at this moment to mention, did not think proper, at that time, to avail himself of my services.

Upon the present occasion, I believe I was the only officer in the Company's service *who volunteered* to accompany Mr. Dupuis. I therefore now not only succeeded in what I had so long and so ardently desired, but was quite unexpectedly placed at the head of the embassy, as well as appointed to succeed Mr. Dupuis as His Majesty's consul at Coomassie.

The sun was sloping towards the horizon as we took a farewell glance of Cape Coast Castle ; and ere we had advanced a mile, an old fetish woman sprinkled us with water, and bestowed her best wishes for our prosperity and safe return. Proceeding along the beach to the eastward of Cape Coast, we passed through a small town called Mumford, a Dutch settlement at the end of two miles, and continuing in the same direction $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles further, we entered Mouree, another Dutch settlement. Here there was formerly a good fort, but, like most of the forts in this part of Africa, it is now abandoned and in a ruinous state. We

halted ten minutes at Mouree, but the curiosity of the natives was so much excited by our appearance, and so many assembled around us, that we were glad to get into our hammocks and enjoy uninterrupted the refreshing sea-breeze from the south-west, as we travelled pleasantly along through a fine open country, industriously cultivated with yams, kasada, and Indian corn. The soil was black and rich, particularly where the husbandman had made plantations, which were frequent. In other places, gravel and marble, as well as iron-stone, abounded; a few mineralogical specimens I preserved. Gwava and cocoa-nut, as well as cotton-trees, were plentiful; but thick underwood generally prevailed.

The path from Mouree, for four miles, is extremely good, being nearly in a straight line E.N.E., and agreeably shaded, in most places, by the branches of trees; and the intense heat of the day being over before we left Cape Coast, made the first part of our journey delightful. The country was nearly a level between the surrounding mountains, forming a beautiful valley, with romantic scenery.

Our hammock-men, after travelling eight miles, halted, and expressed a wish to rest until the morning under a large cotton-tree, which spread its lofty branches so as to protect us from the dews of the night. This however I was unwilling to listen to, from the impression that it would be better to proceed to the nearest village; but after it became dark, and as our difficulties increased, I regretted our departure from the cotton-tree; for we found the path so bad, that the hammock-men frequently fell down, and I would willingly have halted for the night if there had been any town at hand to enable us to do so, as we did not travel more than a mile and a half in an hour, and that in the greatest misery. At last we lost our way, when we halted, and after some difficulty in getting a light, we made two large fires in the woods, around which we all seated ourselves for nearly an hour. But as we were exposed to the heavy dews which always fall at night in this part of the world, as well as to the wild beasts which infest the forest, I did not conceive it prudent or safe to remain in this situation; and, notwithstanding the unwilling-

ness of our people to leave the fire, and their entreaties to rest themselves until the morning, I ordered them to proceed, which, after some expressions of dissatisfaction, they complied with.

We now continued our journey with torches, and arrived at Tom Coffee's croom (village) at 11 o'clock. The course, before it became dark, was E. by N. and E.N.E. This village lies a little out of the direct path to Paintrey, and is $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Cape Coast. I have laid it down in the map in lat. 5° 15′ 30″ N., long. 1° 44′ W. that is allowing the longitude of Cape Coast to be in 1° 51′ W.

Here we entered a miserable hut, and, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, we found several of the natives cutting up a bush hog. We requested them to direct us to the cabboceer's house; but this they were unwilling to do, and regarded us with so much apathy and indifference, not even offering us a draught of water, or a seat to rest ourselves after our fatigue, that we felt not a little incensed at their inhospitality. We therefore told them that we were travelling to the king of

Ashantee, and exposing ourselves, at that late hour of the night, for their benefit, to settle the palaver between the Ashantees and Cape Coast people, and once more requested them to shew us where the cabboceer lived. Reasoning, however, with these barbarians had no effect, and finding them still immoveable, I was so provoked by their conduct, that I drew my sabre, and told them, if they did not instantly lead the way to the cabboceer's house, I would cut their ears off. This threat, (however puerile it may appear to those who have no apprehensions of losing their ears in such a summary manner,) had the desired effect; for the man who was cutting up the bush hog with a large knife, immediately put it down, and taking the light from one of his attendants, very respectfully complied with our repeated solicitations; and being provided with a lodging for the night, we retired to rest after swallowing a draught of dirty water.

The next morning, at five o'clock, we mustered our hammock-men and baggage-bearers, and set off for Paintrey. Just as we were leaving the town, a messenger ar-

rived from the cabboceer, with his compliments, saying he would pay his respects to us; but this mark of distinction we declined, as we had got into our hammocks, and were anxious to proceed on our journey. We passed through several crooms, which had been deserted in consequence of disputes with the Ashantees. The path was chiefly through a wood, but occasionally led us into an open plain for a short distance, where the picturesque scenery and luxuriant foliage burst upon us with a pleasing effect, and the diversity of hill and dale was not wanting.

The high Guinea grass and bush were particularly unpleasant to our feet and legs, from the dews which had fallen in the night; and the hammock-men being fatigued, we got out and walked about two miles, to relieve them as well as ourselves, being tired from sitting so long in one posture.

Five miles from Tom Coffee's croom, we forded a large pool of stagnant water; and about a mile before we reached Paintrey, we passed a small brook. Half a mile from thence we reached a neat little

village, consisting of about twenty huts, called *Asoonqua;* on entering which, the man who carried our flag began to unfurl it, which was the signal for our being near Paintrey, where we arrived in ten minutes after, at a quarter before nine o'clock, Sunday morning, the 6th of February.

Here we found breakfast very refreshing, as we had not partaken of any food since twelve o'clock the preceding day, having left Cape Coast before the usual dinner hour; and being disappointed in reaching Paintrey that night, as we expected, we could not get any refreshment where we slept. The courses this morning were N. by E., and sometimes N.W.; the prevailing course was N.E., but the direct course I make N.N.E. distance $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The variation of the compass $1\frac{3}{4}$ point W.; $1\frac{1}{2}$ point variation is usually allowed, but I think it scarcely sufficient.

I must not, however, omit to mention, that the path from Tom Coffee's croom is very indifferent; in many places it was not more than a foot wide, scarcely wide enough for the hammock-men to walk; and we found several trees blown down

directly across it. But upon the whole, the path from Cape Coast to Paintrey is rather good than otherwise, and an excellent road might be made here at a trifling expense, which would be amply repaid by the pleasure and advantages that would result to the British merchants and officers of Cape Coast. And if the king of Ashantee can ultimately be prevailed upon to allow factories to be established at Paintrey, the gentlemen at Cape Coast would find this a delightful country retreat, as they could ride out one day, and return the next, which, from experience, I am convinced would contribute greatly to their health during their residence in Africa. Indeed, if a good road were once cut, the merchants and officers at Cape Coast might ride to Paintrey in their carriages. This, as well as being a great improvement, would act as an example to the natives, and the Ashantees in particular, who visit the coast, to keep the paths open, and make similar improvements throughout the country.

As His Majesty's government have now taken the forts from the African Committee, I am induced to recommend their

attention to this part of Africa, particularly as a free and open communication might so easily be made all the way to Paintrey; between which and Cape Coast, an extensive field is open for cultivation and civilization. I say cultivation and civilization, because I am decidedly of opinion, that, to civilize the natives of Africa, we must first shew them how to cultivate the country, by employing a certain number of persons expressly for this purpose, when the incredulous and ignorant negro will be convinced of the advantages which will result from industry, and civilization will then follow as a matter of course. I do not however mean to say but missionaries and school-masters would be desirable, if assisted in their views by examples of cultivation; without which all their efforts will be nugatory.

Missionaries alone will never succeed in civilizing Africa. They have, it is true, made some progress at Sierra Leone and at other places, but their progress is very slow, and will never be completely successful unless other measures are resorted to. These measures, I will endeavour to point out. But as one instance of their igno-

rance and contempt of religious means of conversion, there is a very striking and, I believe, a very true anecdote, to this effect: " that after a missionary had collected a number of the natives together, and preached to them a considerable time, they interrupted him by saying, ' What master says is all very true, and master's palaver is very good, but now we have heard master so far, we want a dram.'"

Upon the plan I now suggest I conceive it would be an object of great importance to establish a missionary or a schoolmaster at Paintrey, as the situation is desirable, it being only nine hours ride from Cape Coast; the town pleasantly situated, and the people peaceable, cleanly, and well behaved.

In short, here is all that can reasonably be desired in a country like Africa, and no country is better provided for by nature. On the sea-coast there is an abundant supply of fish, of almost every description; great quantities of which are dried and conveyed into the interior; and there is no want of poultry, sheep, goats, and hogs, although in some parts there is a scarcity of bullocks, and in this part of Africa, in particular,

there is not a horse to be procured. But the country spontaneously produces the most delicious fruits, consisting of pine-apples, oranges, gwavas, paupaus, benanas, sugar-apples, sour-soups, &c. besides game of almost all descriptions, such as deer, bush-hog, hares, partridges, wild-ducks, pigeons, &c., and there is no want of beautiful lakes and rivers to refresh the soil. Neither is there any want of rain for nearly six months in the year. It has also been proved that the soil is capable of producing the choicest vegetables. In a word, there can be no doubt that, by cultivation and industry, our settlements in this part of Africa may not only be the means of civilizing the natives, but also become as valuable to our nation as any of our colonial possessions.

I would suggest, on the transfer of the African forts to His Majesty, that at least from fifty to one hundred persons of different descriptions, such as *farmers*, *mechanics*, and *labourers*, be sent out to our head-quarters at Cape Coast, to be distributed and disposed of at Coomassie, and in various parts of the country, as the governor-in-chief shall think most advisable. And as

it is understood that our affairs in that country are in future to be under the command and direction of Sir Charles Mac Carthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, if we may judge from the advantages which have resulted to that colony from the wisdom and humanity which have characterised His Excellency's measures during his late government there, we may hope for the most beneficial effects from the new arrangement which has taken place; not that, in making this observation, I would wish to be understood as reflecting in the slightest degree upon the measures of the present chief-governor, who, I have already stated, has made many excellent improvements.

Should I be told that there are mechanics and labourers sufficient at Cape Coast, I deny that there are enough, and those who are there are only Company's slaves, who have been very imperfectly taught. There are, however, neither *farmers* nor *turners*, which are highly necessary. For example, among the presents for the king of Ashantee was a turning lathe; but what was the use of it without a mechanic who perfectly understood how to work it? If,

indeed, such a person had accompanied the embassy, the Ashantees might then have been taught to turn ivory, and the king would have been able with greater facility to have carried into effect his grand design of building a palace, the door-posts and pillars of which were to be of ivory, and the windows and doors to be cased in gold. This single instance alone proves the necessity of such persons being sent out to our settlements on the Gold Coast; but I shall now leave the subject of cultivation and civilization, and proceed with an account of the embassy after its arrival at Paintrey, on the 6th of February.

Paintrey, commonly so called from the cabboceer of that name, but more properly *Doonqua*, is situated in 5° 22′ 50″ N. lat., and 1° 43′ 20″ W. lon., distant from Cape Coast nineteen miles. From the time we took to travel the distance, it appeared at least twenty-four miles.

Paintrey, or Doonqua, is a neat and wholesome village, pleasantly situated, and consisting chiefly of one principal street or parade, extending north and south about forty feet broad and 100 yards long. There are about 150 huts or black men's houses,

and, I should suppose, 700 inhabitants, adults and infants. Some of the houses are built of swish or clay; and others are made of bamboo, and neatly thatched with dried palm-leaves and reed, with bamboo-cane for rafters. The house of Quamina Hoyennesse (who is the captain, or right-hand man of old Paintrey, the cabboceer), is curiously divided into four different court-yards, through all of which you pass before you can enter the inner apartment, which is occupied by the master of the house, unless when he has visitors, in which case he gives it up for their accommodation, as he did, in fact, nearly the whole of the premises, for the use of the embassy.

This inner apartment, I particularly observed, had a ceiling which was white-washed much after the manner of ceilings in Europe, but more rudely done; altogether, however, it was extremely clean and comfortable. This room was a sort of armoury, as there were a great many guns, pistols, knives, swords, cartouch-belts, a captain's curious war-cap, and accoutrements of various kinds hung against the wall. At the

back of this room, and detached from the premises, was the Cloacæ.

The court-yards, I have already mentioned, form squares of about eight feet; on each side are small rooms about eight feet by four, which are raised two feet and a half from the ground by swish or clay being thrown up, and which is covered with a layer of red earth or ochre, and washed every morning with a mixture of this ochre and water. These apartments have no windows, but are left almost entirely open in front, so that by day they are as cool and airy as they can well be in so warm a climate; and at night, I found them cold enough to make use of a blanket on my bed. As a substitute for a door, a large mat, (curiously worked,) which is folded up under the roof of the apartment by day, and let down at night, serves to keep the rain out, and also for a screen in the morning, when dressing. The only door is to the court-yard, which these apartments look into. This door is a solid piece of wood cut out of the cotton-tree, and is merely fastened with a piece of stick inside, without any lock. Each end of the apartments is raised about four feet

with gable ends, to which three poles are joined; "one from the highest point forming the ridge of the roof, and one on each side from the base of the triangular part of the gable," which support a frame-work of bamboo, covered with palm-leaves. The thermometer sunk twelve and fifteen degrees during the night, being generally as high as 88° and 90° in the heat of the day in the shade; and in the mornings, at four or five o'clock, it was as low as 75°. The mornings, indeed, are pleasantly cool, and a walk for an hour, in a retired spot at the back of our quarters, which we selected for a promenade, was almost as pleasant as if we had been in Europe. A more particular account of the range of the thermometer will be found under the head of "Meteorological Report."

The natives of Paintrey live chiefly upon plantains, yams, cankey, and dried sea-fish, which they get from the coast. The flesh of monkeys and deer, which are very abundant all over the country, they frequently make soups of. Soup is also made from the oil of the palm-nut, and is a common dish. The Europeans, indeed, are

very fond of it, when made into what is called a black's soup, which is frequently sent to table at relish (luncheon). A mess of it was once dished up in London, at the house of a gentleman who had been in Africa, and was considered a great treat. The nut, if roasted when young, is very pleasant to the taste, and, when old, the oil is expressed from it, which is of a red colour, and very rich. They have besides plenty of poultry, sheep, and hogs, but do not commonly indulge in this sort of food, as it is too expensive, and they prefer reserving these articles to sell to any principal men, either in the town, or to travellers.

During the day, the higher orders amuse themselves chiefly in sitting about in lazy postures, drinking palm wine, and talking palavers, which they are very clever at, and seem never so happy as when they have a good subject to debate upon, which indeed they are seldom at a loss for. They have also a game called worree, or worra, with which they often amuse themselves, but I could not understand it. Bowdich says it is played in Syria, but gives no account of it, neither can I, further than

that they have a small board, with fourteen holes cut in it, large enough to admit pebbles about the size of the marble, which boys in England play with, and these pebbles are tossed from one hole to the other by the two persons at play. A great part of the morning is regularly devoted to washing themselves, from head to foot, which they do by sitting on a small stool in the middle of their court-yard, and sometimes in the open streets, as they do not pay much regard to privacy on these occasions. After washing, they grease their skins with a vegetable ointment called *Ashantee grease*, which comes from the interior, and is very pure and useful, being extracted from a tree called timkeea; it is frequently used for rheumatic pains, and as a salve for sores, &c. and much esteemed at Ashantee, as well as on the coast. It is supposed to be the shea butter mentioned by Park, and is known all over the coast. I met with it several years ago in the Gaboon river, and other places.

The preceding observations apply chiefly to those natives of the higher orders, who have little or nothing to do; but those who are poor, and are slaves, are con-

stantly kept at work, some on the plantations, which are numerous in this neighbourhood, and others are employed as servants about the houses, in keeping them clean and attending upon their masters, in cutting wood, getting water, and travelling as messengers and carriers of merchandize, to and from Cape Coast, and the neighbouring settlements.

Palm wine is the common beverage, not only at Paintrey, but all over the coast, as well as in the interior, but I never tasted any so good as at this place. The natives drink it occasionally during the day, as well as at meals, but after three o'clock in the afternoon it turns sour, and is not fit for use. It is brought from the tree every morning early, and is procured in the following manner: a hole is made in the thick part of the tree, and in this hole a small tube is inserted through which the palm wine passes, and drops into a pot, which is placed underneath at night, so as to fill by the morning, but this it seldom does, as it distils very slowly. The tree yields wine for twenty or thirty days, and when perfectly drained withers. As the country

abounds with palm trees, there is seldom or ever any scarcity of wine. This tree, I have already mentioned, produces the palm nut, as well as the palm wine, and is very valuable to the natives; it also produces the bamboo, which is used for rafters for the houses. The age of the palm tree, at its maturity, is about ten years. It seldom yields more than fifteen or twenty gallons of wine. The height of its trunk is about five feet, but the branches shoot out at least fifteen feet. We passed a great many of these trees on the path, some of which were in a decayed state, having the wine drawn off, and consequently deprived of all their nourishment.

The great value of the palm tree is perhaps felt as much by Europeans as the natives; for, besides the supply of beverage and soups made from the oil of the nut, (both of which they are almost as fond of as the natives themselves,) it is also used instead of yeast in making bread; and during the rainy season at Cape Coast, I have frequently been obliged to go without bread at my breakfast, in consequence of not being able to get any palm wine the day before.

I have already mentioned that the wine I have drank here is better than any I ever tasted on the coast, but this is to be accounted for by our getting it pure from the tree, as our house-master Quamina Hoynesse, (who is exceedingly attentive and obliging,) sent one of his slaves twice a day to get it fresh; whereas at Cape Coast, the natives take good care to adulterate it with water, although, even in this state, it is very intoxicating. It is a very sweet, pleasant, and wholesome beverage, if not taken in too large quantities. When it is drank to excess, it not only intoxicates, but it is said to create some unpleasant effects upon the body. A gentleman who was many years governor of Appollonia informed me, that he particularly observed this among the natives of that place, where the palm wine is procured in great perfection, as well as at all the settlements in the Ahanta country.

Rum, although not commonly used, being very dear in the inland towns, these people are very fond of, and drink greedily when they can get it. I had occasion, once or twice, to present our house-

master, and the Ashantee captain, with a bottle, for their politeness and attention, on receiving which, they returned me many thanks, and appeared to set a great value upon this trifling present.

Water is to be procured here in great plenty, and of excellent quality, and no future embassy need carry it from Cape Coast, as we did, unless for drinking on the road; but even this is almost unnecessary, as it can be procured at two or three places between Cape Coast and Paintrey, particularly within a short distance from the town. The water we made use of was as clear as if it had passed through a drip-stone. There are two watering-places which supply the town, the one at the N. W. end of it, about a mile distant; and the other to the South East, which is not so far, but being nearest, although the water is bad, is most frequently resorted to by the natives, who are not very particular what water they drink, whether it be clear or muddy, if they can save themselves a little trouble; for, generally speaking, they are an indolent

people, although it may be admitted that some of them work very hard.

Shortly after our arrival at Paintrey, I received a message from the cabboceer, requesting to see me, but I returned for answer, that as I was then engaged, he must pay the first visit, and when I was at leisure I would return it. Paintrey accordingly called, and paid his respects, attended by several of his slaves. He appeared a good-natured old man, about the middle stature, but had a disagreeable manner of speaking through his nose. He was very friendly and attentive, and made a present to the embassy of a sheep, fowls, yams, &c. but doubtless with the view of getting double the value in return, as is usual with the Fantees; and old Paintrey was rather a selfish character than otherwise.

It is said, he has 500 slaves, but his father being of the Fantee, and his mother of the Ashantee nation, he declares himself neutral in time of war, although it is the custom of the country, in such cases, to side with the father's nation; but the mother's, in this case, being the strongest, old

Paintrey acts politically by remaining neutral, rather than unite with the weakest party.

In the morning, I was engaged examining the presents for the king of Ashantee, and found them all correct.

In the afternoon, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Graves, and myself, walked to the watering place at the south-east end of the town, and found it merely a pool of dirty water.

On walking out in the evening, as far as Asoonqua, accompanied by Mr. Graves, I observed our Ashantee guide, (Capt. Adoo,) with one or two of his attendants, about 100 yards behind, and was much pleased on being informed by Graves, that this faithful attendant had followed us for the purpose of seeing that no harm came to me, either by an attack from the natives or the wild beasts ; as, he said, if I were hurt while travelling to the king, under his protection, he should lose his head. For this attention and fidelity, on my return home, I gave him a bottle of rum, which is considered here a handsome present, and pleased Capt. Adoo as much as his conduct pleased me.

Tuesday, 8th February. Being still detained at Paintrey, waiting Mr. Dupuis' arrival, or dispatches directing us to proceed to the capital, I amused myself in again walking over the town with Mr. Graves, whom I found an agreeable companion, and particularly useful, from his knowledge of the Fantee language, as this was a great advantage, enabling me to converse freely and confidentially with the superior blacks, upon subjects I did not wish at all times to make the linguist acquainted with.

On returning to our quarters, and reading over my instructions from Mr. Dupuis, as well as that gentleman's instructions from Mr. Cock, the secretary to the African committee, I found I was directed to look out on the road for a desirable spot about twenty miles from Cape Coast, to establish a school for the education of the natives. After attentively surveying the country with this view, I strongly recommend either this place, or the neighbouring village (Asoonqua), not only on account of its being within the distance prescribed, but also because the natives here are well disposed, the country rich and fertile, and

well calculated for a settlement. Beyond Paintrey, indeed, there is a forest which takes three or four days to travel through, and consequently these are the only places at all likely to answer the views of His Majesty's government in this particular.

Thermometer in the shade at two o'clock, P. M. 82.

Wednesday, 9th February. This afternoon at 3 o'clock, a messenger arrived and informed me that Mr. Dupuis was only a short distance from the town, when I immediately got into my hammock, and went out to receive him, which I did soon after leaving the town. On his arrival at Paintrey, I delivered over to him nearly 100 oz. of gold, which he had supplied me with before I left Cape Coast, and also his instructions and other papers which he furnished me with in the event of his indisposition preventing him from joining the embassy.— Thermometer at 2 P. M. 86.

Thursday, 10th February. Still detained at Paintrey, in consequence of Mr. Dupuis not feeling himself well after his journey yesterday.

We this day wrote several letters to

Cape Coast, both public and private. — Thermometer in the shade at 2 P.M. 84.

Friday, 11th. This being a fetish-day with our Ashantee guide, and it being unusual for the Ashantees to travel on those days, he declared he could not proceed until to-morrow; when he stated it would be necessary for all the people to be provided with sufficient cankey to last them during their march through the forest, as nothing could be procured until our arrival on the other side of the Boosempra. He therefore applied to Mr. Dupuis, in consequence of detaining him so long at Paintrey, to give him some gold to purchase cankey for his people, as their provisions were all consumed by their unexpected detention. This request Mr. Dupuis complied with, by giving the captain

* The Ashantees have no common fetish-day as the Fantees have; but each family has its particular days, which they hold sacred, and observe with the same solemnity as we do the Sabbath, by refraining from work, and from travelling, when they also wear a white cloth. They observe in the same manner the day on which they were born. The fetish-day observed by the Fantees is Tuesday; which is also the day kept by the King of Ashantee and his family.

two oz. of gold to be distributed among the people under his command, which amounted to about 300; and at the same time, our own people, consisting of 108 hammock-men and bearers, besides servants and soldiers, were also supplied with sufficient gold to purchase four days' provision, preparatory to our departure from Paintrey, which was now fixed for the next morning at six o'clock. — Thermometer 82, at 2 P. M. in the shade.

CHAPTER VIII.

Saturday, 12th February. We departed from Paintrey this morning at 7 o'clock, and entering a woody country which occasionally opened into beautiful valleys, richly diversified with romantic scenery, and presenting plantations in every direction for at least a mile and a half, we passed a small croom or village called Yancomfodey, between which and Paintrey, a clear and rapid stream runs to the N. E. through a considerable quantity of marshy ground. The path was very crooked and bad, and in many places almost impassable, being overgrown with bushes and branches of trees, which were obliged to be cut away by a man who kept constantly before us with a bill-hook for this purpose. Passing Cuttacoomakasa, another village, which contained only a few wretched inhabitants, we halted at the end of eight miles, near the bank of a beautiful stream running to the eastward, where we enjoyed ourselves

for upwards of an hour with some bread and cold mutton. One of our party who was considerably behind, did not arrive until we were all seated, and, on his appearance, he made a most ludicrous figure, with his head bound up like an old fish woman, to protect his face from the thorns, and his trowsers, being made of delicate materials, were completely torn off his legs.

I must confess I did not see any of those beauties which Mr. Bowdich mentions near Cuttacoomakasa, as resembling Grongar Hill; but,

De gustibus nil disputandum.

When, however, I got out of my hammock to walk, I did not fail to *feel* the troops of large black ants which that gentleman speaks of as having stung him so dreadfully; and I observed an orange-tree, and pine-apples, as well as considerable quantities of palm, guava, and cotton-trees. A few birds were also seen shortly after our departure from Paintrey, more remarkable for their beautiful plumage than melody; their bodies were yellow and green, with black heads and wings.

After our repast we set off for Mansue, where we arrived about 5 o'clock, without meeting any thing particularly deserving notice, excepting four small streams which all ran to the eastward. Here we took up our quarters for the night in a miserable shed, in which we slept, scarcely covered from the heavy dews which fell during the night, and we were annoyed for some time after we got into bed by the constant screeching of some wild animal in the surrounding forest; the same I have no doubt which Mr. Bowdich alludes to, as resembling a small pig, and which he calls a panther; but, from the appearance of the animal, I do not think that is its proper name.

Mansue is merely a resting-place for the Ashantee traders and other travellers. It consists of about half a dozen sheds, made of sticks and plantain leaves, which are erected frequently by the Ashantees at various places in the forest to sleep in. I saw them make one of these sheds at Mansue in less than an hour, so that some idea may be formed of their temporary nature. There are no regular inhabitants here, although formerly it was a great

depôt for slaves, and during the slave-trade was of great importance.

The courses this day were various, but the prevailing courses were N.E., N.N.E., and N. by E.; the latter I make the direct course from Paintrey to Mansue; distance 14 miles. Latitude and longitude by account 5° 35′ N., and 1° 45′ W. — Therm. in in the shade at 6 P.M. 84.

Sunday, 13th February. We left Mansue at 7 o'clock this morning, having previously despatched a trusty messenger with our letters to Cape Coast. The path, through a forest, was a little better than that of yesterday, but still very bad. At the end of two miles we crossed a river called *Asoonearah*, which ran to the eastward. Proceeding a short distance further, we passed the *Okee*, which it is said falls into the sea near Tantum. At the end of nine miles we halted on the bank of a river called the Aniabirim. Here we took a slight repast, and then proceeded to Abandou, where we arrived at six o'clock, passing two streams running to the S. W. and a river which ran to the eastward, called *Quatooah*.

We saw two beautiful monkeys this afternoon playing on the branches of some lofty cotton trees. They were white about the neck, face and tail, but black on their backs. The cotton or capot trees, which we have passed this day, were of a stupendous size, being at least fifty feet in circumference, and 150 feet high. Their stems or caudices "projected from the trunks like flying buttresses, their height frequently twenty feet." The canoes which the natives use on the coast are made out of these trees, and from the great quantity that are blown down in the forest, there is no difficulty in getting torches, as the wood being light and porous, gives an abundant supply. Bosman, speaking of the cotton tree, says, "I have seen some of these trees so high, that their tops and branches were scarce to be reached by a common musket shot." Mr. Bowdich's description is here so faithful, that I shall quote it. "The path was a labyrinth of the most capricious windings, the roots of the cotton trees obstructing it continually. The large trees were covered with parasites and convolvuli, and the climbing plants, like small cables, ascending the

trunks to some height, abruptly shot downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists and turnings that it soon became impossible to trace them in the general entanglement."

We were greatly annoyed this evening by our people making fires around us to cook their victuals. In consequence, the heat was excessive. The disagreeable effluvia which arose by so many blacks being near us, was extremely offensive; and it may be easily imagined that upwards of 400 men and women, crammed together in a small compass for a whole night, must have been very unpleasant; in short, I considered this one of the greatest nuisances we were troubled with. The distance from Mansue to Abandou is nearly 16 miles; the courses various; but I make the direct course N. by W.$\frac{1}{2}$ W. lat. and longitude by account 5° 45′ 30″ N., 1° 53′ 20″ W.—Therm. at 7 P.M. 90.

Monday, 14th February. From Abandou, which we left at seven o'clock, we proceeded through the same gloomy scene, with-

out meeting any thing particularly deserving notice until we arrived at Fousou, (seven miles from Abandou,) excepting two small rivers called the Okee and Atoonso, both running to the S.W. The forest was naked of foliage, except on the banks of the rivers, most of which were clear and murmuring streams, delightful to the traveller in this country, where the excessive heat and fatigue almost constantly occasion thirst.

One of our party, an Ashantee, who was jealous of his wife, and suspected her of an intrigue the preceding night, beat her so unmercifully this morning, that we heard her cries for miles in the woods. Her groans were dreadful, and however much she might have deserved punishment, it was distressing to hear her. The women in this country are considered so inferior to the men, that they are treated more like beasts of burthen than women, and are made use of to carry heavy loads for their husbands, who look upon them as slaves.

We remained at Fousou about an hour, where we refreshed ourselves with some

palm wine and fruit, and started again at twelve o'clock, passing through another small croom called Yancomassie, eight miles from Fousou. Leaving Yancomassie, we proceeded seven miles further, and arrived at Acomfodie, where we halted for the night, but could scarcely get any sleep, being very much pestered by large rats which seem particularly to infest this place. We passed various small rivers and streams this day; four of these were called *Beatinsin*, *Soubin*, *Aprinessie*, and *Annua*, which all ran E. and S.E., and lie between Fousou and Acomfodie; near which there is a considerable quantity of marshy ground.

Cotton, iron-wood, doom, and palm trees, have been most prevalent, and considerable quantities of bamboo and rattan cane; also pine-apple and paupa trees. The crown birds we heard constantly, almost every hour, both yesterday and to-day. These birds are about the size of a pigeon, with beautiful green plumage, and are often purchased by the Europeans at Cape Coast, and preserved as a curiosity, not only on account of their plumage, but because they cry every hour like the cuckoo. They have

also a beautiful top-knot, but are very different from another species of crown bird on the Gold Coast, which are frequently sent to England on account of their beauty*; the latter being much larger, and having very long legs, but have also a handsome top-knot the same as the other crown birds, from which they derive their name. These latter, however, are called *King Crown birds*, and are thus more particularly described by Bosman. "Their legs and body are about the size of a stork; their bodies are chiefly covered with black feathers, and their wings furnished with large red, yellow, white, and black quills; their heads are beautified with purple spots, half a thumb's breadth on each side. These birds seem to be in great esteem in Europe, since we are incessantly solicited to send them over, and I have been told one was presented to the King of England."

* Four of these crown birds, I believe, are now to be seen at Mr. Cross's, at Exeter 'Change, with two leopards, which I had the honour of bringing to England as a present to His Majesty from the King of Ashantee.

I have mentioned that four of these birds are to be seen at Exeter 'Change. The price of them in Africa is about 4*l.* each.

The courses this day were N. by W., N.N.W., and N. ½ W.; the latter I make the direct course for 15½ miles, and the other 2 miles N.N.E., distance 17½ miles, latitude and longitude by account 5° 59′ 50″ N., 1° 58′ 20″ W.—Therm. in the shade at 6 A.M. 75; at 2 P.M. 84.

The next morning we departed from Acomfodie, about the usual hour of starting, (seven o'clock), and still found the path through a forest as dull and gloomy as before; indeed we all felt the bad effects of our hammock-travelling, the hammock being very ill adapted for travelling through a narrow and crooked path, from the circumstance of the pole being straight, and at least ten feet long; consequently, a man being at each end of the pole (vide Plate), as soon as the first man turns a corner, the person riding in the hammock, gets beaten against a tree, if there should happen to be one in the way, (as is often the case,) and if not, his feet and legs are sure to

be dragged through the briars. A preferable method of travelling through the forest, is adopted by the Ashantee cabboceers, who are carried in a long basket on men's heads (vide Plate); but something invented like a sedan-chair, if upon a smaller and more portable scale, so as to protect the eyes and face from the thorns and bushes, would be still preferable to the Ashantee baskets. About a mile from Acomfodie, we passed a river called after that place, and a little further another, called the Berrakoo, which empties itself into the Boosempra. Four miles from thence we reached Dansamsou, a dirty little croom, consisting of a few miserable huts, and containing about forty wretched inhabitants, some of whom were shocking spectacles, having suffered from various diseases, and in particular the yaws and lues. We halted at this village for an hour and took some refreshment; after which we proceeded on our journey, and passed a deserted croom called *Meakering*. Three miles from this croom, we were highly gratified by arriving at the Boosempra, a noble river

running through a fine woody country, and emptying itself into the sea near Chamah, a Dutch settlement on the Gold Coast, where it is known by that name; its course is N.W. from whence we crossed, with a strong current (at least three miles an hour), breadth forty yards, and depth five feet. Mr. Bowdich states the breadth to be forty-three yards, and depth seven feet; if so, he crossed it, probably, after a heavy shower in the rainy season, when the rivers in this country are always swollen to an unusual size.

The scenery on the banks of the Boosempra was beautiful, and it may be easily imagined that after travelling four days constantly in the forest through the same dreary scene, a fine river opening to our view, had a pleasing effect: the country was now more open, and the scene more cheerful. In short, all appeared for a moment like enchantment, and I almost fancied myself on the bank of the Thames near Richmond, which I was forcibly reminded of; and there was a beauty in the landscape which it would be difficult to do justice to by description.

Having crossed the Boosempra, we set off for Kikiwhiri at half-past two, when we found the path much broader and tolerably well cleared, which made the travelling more pleasant. About a mile from the Pra, we entered Prasou, a neat little town, amid the loudest acclamations of the inhabitants, who appeared to have dressed themselves, and to have assembled purposely to witness our arrival. The reception we met with, on entering this croom, was very gratifying.

This side of the river being considered more particularly the Ashantee territory, (although in the Assin country,) our guide dressed himself in uniform, and his attendants also put on their war-dresses. Prasou, indeed, may be considered the first town in Assin, and the Boosempra as the southern boundary of that nation, as well as the northern boundary of Fantee; although the natives state the Assin country to extend south of the Pra as far as Mansue.

We halted at Prasou to pay our respects to the cabboceer, which detained us about fifteen minutes. We were not very well

pleased with our reception upon this occasion. When we entered the court-yard, where he was seated on a stool with a few of his attendants, he did not rise to receive us; but as this is the custom of the country, we had no reason to be displeased on this account. It was his sullen manners and unseemly person, which prejudiced us against him; and as he had not the curiosity or politeness to ask us a single question, we took our leave of him rather abruptly, and pursuing our journey, arrived at half past three o'clock at Kikiwhiri, which I make twelve miles from Acomfodie, the courses N.E., N.W., N., and N.E., the direct course for this day's distance I make N. by E.$\frac{1}{2}$N. by W.$\frac{1}{2}$ — Thermometer in the shade at 6 A.M. 76.; at 3 P.M. 93.

A delay of two days enabled a messenger from Cape Coast to come up with us, with letters, not only from our friends at the Cape, but also with European letters, which had arrived there subsequent to our departure.

We were in fact obliged to remain at Kikiwhiri until Thursday morning, and after the fatigue of four days constant

travelling through the forest, we required rest; and notwithstanding our anxiety to proceed on to the capital, we did not regret our detention; indeed, if we had, regret would have been unavailing, as our guide declared he could not proceed any further without first despatching a messenger to the King, to inform him of our arrival on this side the Boosempra. For this reason, he entreated us to remain at Kikiwhiri five or six days; but this was refused upon the ground, that the orders of the King of England were equally imperative with those of the King of Ashantee, and that we could no more disobey our orders than the Ashantee captain. Although, therefore, it was agreed to wait two days at Kikiwhiri, for the purpose of enabling our guide to despatch a messenger to the King with information of our arrival on this side the river, we refused to admit of so long a delay as five or six days, urging, that the custom in England was for the King's ambassadors and messengers to make all possible speed, and that any unnecessary delay would subject us to His Majesty's displeasure.

Accordingly, after much argument on both sides, the Ashantee captain reluctantly gave up his attempt to detain us at Kikiwhiri, and a messenger was immediately despatched to the King to acquaint him with our being thus far advanced on our journey to the capital.

Having taken some refreshment, we all dressed in full uniform for the sake of appearances, (this being essential in the eyes of the natives,) and walked out to take a survey of the town. During our walk, crowds of the natives assembled to see us, but they were all peaceable and respectful, excepting one or two who occasionally called out our names in the Fantee language.

The town of Kikiwhiri is pleasantly situated in the Assin country, in latitude 6° 10′ N., longitude 2° 1′ 30″ W.; contains about 250 or 300 houses, and I suppose 12 or 1400 inhabitants. The houses are neat, clean, and comfortable, being built much in the same style as those described at Paintrey, and like Paintrey also, the town opens to the view, on entering it, with a fine broad street or parade, extending

north and south, and agreeably shaded by ganian-trees. We were much pleased with this town, and indeed with the whole appearance of the country and people; the former being open and cultivated, and the latter peaceable and well behaved. The gloom which had hitherto hung around us, now began to dispel, and we looked forward to our arrival at Coomassie with the greatest impatience. The little privations we suffered in the forest were now more than counterbalanced by a plentiful supply of every thing we wished. The cabboceer at Prasou, to whom we paid our respects on passing through that croom, sent us a present of a sheep, with some fruit and vegetables for our dinner. This was the first present we received after our departure from Paintrey, and was the least expected, from this man's forbidding manners and appearance. His present, however, impressed our minds with a more favourable opinion of him, and we requited his kindness by a present of two bottles of rum; for which his messenger appeared very thankful.

Having remained two days at Kikiwhiri,

in compliance with the earnest solicitations of our guide, we departed at a quarter before eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th of February, and entering the forest immediately on leaving the town, we crossed the Ading river before we had proceeded a mile; shortly after which, we arrived at the croom of Cheboo, called Numeasu. Near this croom is a small river of the same name, running S.E. to the Pra. Continuing our journey, we passed through the crooms of Apiaga, (meaning tinder-box,) and Atobiasie. Close to this croom are the rivers Atobiasie and Prensah, running in the same direction as the last-mentioned rivulets. Two miles further we reached the Prapong which ran also S.E. to the Boosempra; and passing through Becquama, we halted at the end of eight miles, and took refreshment at a small croom, called Asharaman, (meaning the Lucky Town,) where the Assins engaged the Ashantees in 1807. At half-past twelve o'clock we continued our journey, and proceeding still through a forest, we passed two small streams running to the eastward, and a

croom which lies out of the path in the the same direction, called Adagee, when we arrived at Ansah, which is nine miles and a half from Kikiwhiri. Course N. N. E. $\frac{2}{3}$, W. N. W. $\frac{1}{3}$. Lat. 6° 15′ 30″ N. Long. 2° 4′ 30″ W.—Thermometer in the shade at four o'clock P. M. 86.

On our arrival at Ansah, we were requested to seat ourselves under a large ganian-tree, where our attention was arrested by the beating of drums, the blowing of horns, and the natives in seeming confusion. This bustle we soon found was preparatory to a general assembly of the cabboceers and captains at another part of the town, to give us a formal reception, Ansah being the first place of any consequence which we had entered since our departure from Cape Coast, excepting the town Kikiwhiri, the cabboceer of which was absent at the Cape, on the embassy with the Ashantee ambassador, Prince Adoom. After waiting half an hour, we received a message to attend the assembly of cabboceers and people, who were drawn up in the form of the segment of a circle, the chiefs being

seated under large umbrellas made of cloth of various colours. We marched round and shook hands with the principal men, and retired and seated ourselves under a ganian-tree, at a short distance, when the cabboceers in return paid their respects to us, which they did by sawing the air with their hands, and bowing their heads gracefully to each of us as they passed. This ceremony over, we were conducted to clean and comfortable quarters for the night, when we received a sheep and so large a quantity of plaintains and fruit, from the chief cabboceer, as enabled us to supply all our people with sufficient provisions for two or three days.

In the evening, we appeared in full uniform, as a mark of respect; and in acknowledgment of the hospitality and attention we had experienced, we waited on the cabboceer at his house, and returned him our thanks for his present, and the attention he had paid us.

Ansah is a large town in the Assin country, situated nearly ten miles N.W. of Kikiwhiri, and contains about 1500 inhabitants, adults and infants, and re-

sembles the towns previously described too closely, both in appearance and in the building of the houses, to make any additional remarks necessary.

On Friday morning, the 18th of February, we despatched a messenger to Cape Coast with letters; and another to the king of Ashantee with a silk Union, stating to his majesty our anxiety to be admitted into the capital with as little delay as the forms of the Ashantee court would admit of; as we well knew we should have to wait at least a week, if not longer, before we could be permitted to do so.

We then set off at half past seven, and, continuing our journey, we passed the river Foom, running S. by E. barely four miles from Ansah, and a mile further crossed the Parrakoome, running E. by S. On the bank of this river we halted and took refreshment; after which we proceeded to Acroofroom, where we arrived at the end of six miles. The courses, as usual, were various, but I make the direct course N. by W., lat. 6° 20′ N., long. 2° 7′ W.—Thermometer, at 2 P. M. 82 in the shade.

On our arrival at this place, we were received and entertained much in the same manner as at Ansah. The natives were extremely curious to see us, and assembled in crowds round the house we occupied; amongst these was a boy who had all the appearance of a female about the bosom, and several children with the navel protruding larger than a hen's-egg, But this is common all over the country, owing to bad management at the birth of infants. I have seen it at Senegal, Goree, Sierra Leone, and many other places. Here we first noticed some trifling attempts at ornamental work on the interior walls of the houses. Acroofroom is a large croom situated in the latitude and longitude already mentioned, and contains about 2000 inhabitants.

As we intended to reach Doompassie the next day, we set off as early as six o'clock. Passing a river immediately on leaving the town, which ran to the eastward, we ascended a rugged acclivity, and proceeding still through the forest, we crossed the river Parakomee a second time,

running to the S.E. Soon after we arrived at *Moinsey*, which lies a little eastward out of the direct path; we were conducted to this croom by our Ashantee guide, for the purpose of paying our respects to the cabboceer, and entered the town under some fetish that was suspended to a cross pole, supported by two others at each end. We did not, however, make any stay at Moinsey, but as soon as we had gone through the ceremony of paying our respects, we proceeded on our journey, and immediately after seated ourselves on the bank of a beautiful clear stream, called the *Bohmen*, (meaning the water of eloquence,) and the Ashantees, who are remarkable for their oratorical powers, are said to drink of it annually. Here we refreshed ourselves with a few draughts from this Hippocrine, and then ascended an immense steep hill, from the foot of which to its summit, was nearly a mile, which in several places produced good specimens of iron ore; but the earth was generally red and gravelly. This hill or mountain, extending east and west,

divides the Ashantee and Assin countries, so that nature seems, in a striking manner, to have provided a barrier to these nations, as well as to the Fantee country.

On descending the northern side of the mountain, we passed a stream running to the S.W., and at the foot of it, we entered a small croom called Quesa, which commences the Ashantee country; but there was nothing particular to distinguish this croom from any we had previously passed through. Nearly a mile from Quesa, we arrived at a neat and clean little croom called *Foman* or *Fohmanee*. Here we halted for half an hour, and it being late in the day, we with difficulty procured a little palm wine, which was very sour. Leaving Fohmanee, we observed some orange-trees loaded with fruit, as well as other fruits, such as paupas, pine-apples, &c. which are here common and grow wild in the forest. As the country was now a little more open, we noticed, at a considerable distance to the westward, a ridge of mountains covered with trees, and extending north and south. One mile and

running N.N.W., close to which, on an eminence, is a small croom called Taibosoo, from whence we proceeded to Sanquanta, one mile from the last mentioned croom, leaving another croom called Meadowma, to the right, a little way out of the path. We also passed a small river soon after leaving Sanquanta, and at the end of five miles halted for the night at *Dachasou*, which signifies *dirt*. It consisted of about thirty houses, but there appeared only a few inhabitants. Our quarters here were very uncomfortable, and greatly infested with large rats; which made us regret having left Doompassie contrary to the advice of our Ashantee guide, who wished us to wait there until we heard from the king. We had not however arrived at Dachasou an hour, when two messengers arrived from the king, bringing with them two sheep, a large hog, and two oz. four aekies* of gold, with a request that we would accept this present by way of subsisting ourselves until the day of our entry into the capital; which, we were at the same time informed, was fixed for the

* An aekie of gold is equal to 5s.

28th, when his majesty would be prepared to receive us.

The present being accepted, one sheep was killed for our own table, and the other, as well as the hog, was given to our people.

In company with the messengers, was a poor miserable-looking object, a white negro boy, dressed in a most deplorable manner, with an old cocked hat and feather, and an old coat, trowsers, and shoes, which he could with difficulty keep on his feet. He appeared to be an idiot, and to be treated as a sort of outcast by his companions. His features were of the negro cast, his hair white and woolly, and his skin of a sallow unhealthy complexion. He was no doubt sent by the king, or some of his captains; but what could have been the motive for sending such an object to us, dressed in this ridiculous manner, we could not imagine, unless it was to let us see, that there was something like a white man in the country; but we subsequently found such *lusus naturæ* were not uncommon, the king having a great number of them at Coomassie.

The courses from Doompassie to Dacha-

sou were various, sometimes N.N.W., N.E. and E.; but I make the direct course for five miles N. by E. lat. and lon. by account 6° 34′ 40″ N. 2° 12′ 30″ W.—Thermometer at 6 P. M. 84 in the shade.

On the following morning we left Dachasou at a quarter before seven, and immediately passed a stream running to the N.W., and also several swamps. One mile and a half from Dachasou, we entered Adadwassie, which is built on a rock, and is a neat little croom, with industrious inhabitants, some of whom were employed in spinning and weaving cloth. Here, as well as at other places, there appeared to be few persons, some having gone to the capital, and others being employed on the plantations.

On leaving this croom, we passed a stream running to the S.W.; one mile further, we entered Madjawe, and immediately after we crossed a river running to the westward, called the Dankaran; close to which is *Samfou*, where we arrived at nine o'clock, halted, and took some palm wine. Samfou is a pleasant little croom,

consisting of about fifty or sixty houses, and, I suppose, two hundred and fifty inhabitants, who appeared to have been very industrious in cultivatingl arge plantations of Indian corn, plantains, &c. which were plentiful in the adjoining neighbourhood. A mile further, we passed the river Yansee, running to the eastward. The path this day was much better, being at least ten feet broad, and appeared to have been cleared purposely for us, by order of the king. In one of the crooms there was a piece of ground inclosed, said to be the burial ground.

The country here assumes a different appearance. We have passed through several crooms, and heard of others, to which we observed paths branching off from the path we travelled.

One mile from Samfou, we crossed a stream called Yansee, and descending a hill, passed through Coroman, near which was a stream called Dunsabow, running to the southward; and passing through Agwanassie, (consisting of about thirty houses,) we crossed a small stream running

to the N.W., when we immediately entered *Amafoo*, or *Amahfou*, $8\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Dachasou. The courses, as usual, were various, but I make the direct course, N. by E.; lat. 6° 42′ N., lon. 2° 13′ 30″ W. — Thermometer 86° at 3 P. M. in the shade.

Amafoo is a large croom, consisting of about four hundred houses, and two thousand inhabitants, including children; the principal street extends north and south, and resembles, in all respects, the towns previously described. The houses are extremely clean and well-built with swish or clay, and may be a little superior to those already mentioned. Here we were more plentifully supplied with mats, which are used as screens or doors to the inner sleeping apartments. We remained here until the 26th, and, during our stay, received various presents of fruit. One of the king's sons, a fine young man, and his sister, who was married to a cabboceer at this place, were both introduced to us, and appeared to be

highly gratified on our shaking hands with them.

On Saturday the 26th, we set off early for Sirassou, in order to be as near as possible to Coomassie on the 28th, so as not to have a fatiguing journey on the day of our entry into the capital. The path, for some distance from Amafoo, was cleared and in good order, and at least four yards broad.

Half a mile from the town, we passed a stream running to N. W., and, shortly after, entered a small croom, called *Gwabin*, containing about twenty huts; three quarters of a mile from which we passed the river *Soubin*, or *Soubirri*, running also to the N.W. One mile from this river, we arrived at *Assiminia*, a large croom superior to any we had yet seen, which was surrounded also by large plantations, and an immense quantity of pine-apple trees grew close to the path we travelled. One mile from Assiminia, we ascended to *Biposs*, or *Biposso*, which was a very clean little croom, pleasantly situated on a hill, and consisted of about thirty houses. Half a mile thence

we passed some swamps, and a stream running to the S. W., and, immediately after, a river running to the westward, close to which was Agemum, a croom consisting of about fifty houses. From Agemum we continued our journey through the forest without meeting any thing novel or interesting, excepting a few negroes occasionally, who, never before having seen a white man, would break through the thickest part of the forest, and tear their flesh with the thorns, to prevent our seeing them. Others, who had before seen white men, and had been in the habit of trading with them on the coast, would scarcely move out of the path to let us pass. At the end of seven miles, we entered Yoko, having previously passed a small stream and a river running to the westward. At Yoko we observed a weaving-machine, with one of the natives manufacturing cloth. There were considerable swamps, and a piece of ground cleared for cultivation in the neighbourhood. One mile and a half further, we entered Aboyentum, and shortly after we crossed the river Biaqua, which ran to the

westward. From thence we passed through Apotiaga and Fiasi, two large crooms, within half a mile of each other, and within two miles of the last-mentioned river. Proceeding in a north-easterly direction, we observed considerable plantations, and passed two streams, running to the N. E. and S. W., when we halted at Sirassou, eleven miles and a quarter from Amafoo. Course, N. N. E.; lat. 6° 51′ 40″ N.; longitude, 2° 12′ 40″ W. — Thermometer 88 at three o'clock in the shade.

Sirassou is a small croom, pleasantly situated on an eminence, at the foot of which runs the river Dah; and, like all the others between Cape Coast and Coomassie, is blessed with a plentiful supply of excellent water, which we have found a great luxury in travelling; and I could not help reflecting, in passing so many beautiful streams, that the fatigues of the traveller, on crossing the desert of Africa, would be greatly alleviated, if he were as well supplied.

During our stay here, we received letters from Cape Coast, both public and private; and, as we had a little leisure, we

availed ourselves of the opportunity of writing to our friends in reply, to inform them of our being within six miles of the capital.

Shortly after our arrival, we received a present of a pig, and some vegetables and fruit, but we gave the pig to our people, as we determined not to eat pork during our stay in the Ashantee country, having been informed that the pigs are frequently fed upon dead bodies. I observed many fine pigs here, but we had no wish for pork while we were plentifully supplied with mutton and poultry.

Monday 28th February, being the day appointed for our entry into the capital, we set off from Sirassou, at nine o'clock this morning, with the most lively feelings of joy. Immediately on leaving the town, we crossed the river Dah, which ran to the N. W., and is twelve yards wide and three feet deep. The travelling was this day delightful. We knew we had only a pleasant morning's ride, the path was broad and well cleared, and the country more open and better cultivated. We passed several plantations which were well inclosed, and in

different places there was as much as two acres of ground cleared, and laid out in small beds not greatly dissimilar, or much inferior, to the country gardens in Europe; eschalots, ground nuts, yams, and other vegetables were plentiful. The soil is so rich, and the climate so genial, that the natives have always abundant crops. We observed a number of small birds shortly after leaving Sirassou, which, contrary to the generality of the feathered tribe in this climate, were rather melodious, but more remarkable for their beautiful plumage.

One mile and a half from the river Dah we passed a stream running to the S.W., and immediately entered Kilapata, a small croom consisting of about thirty huts; from whence we proceeded through Agogoo, another small croom, about a mile from Kilapata, and soon after crossed a river, ten yards broad and two feet deep, running to the westward, and also a small stream not far from it, which ran in the same direction.

When we arrived within two miles of the capital, our guide took a direction eastward to a small croom (five miles from Sirassou) called *Sirre* or *Sidi*, where we

halted for the purpose of dressing in uniform.

At this little village, I observed a painful instance of Ashantee oppression and injustice. One of the king's messengers, who was the bearer of the present we received at Dachasou, having returned in company with our guide, seized upon two fowls which belonged to a poor old farmer at Sirre, who ran to save them from being killed, stating, that, as they were two favourite fowls, he wished to preserve them, and would give two others in their place; but this tyrannical slave of the Ashantee monarch only laughed at the poor old man, telling him that the fowls were for the white men who were going to the king, and expressed his astonishment and indignation that he dared to complain. So much for the Ashantee laws, mentioned by Mr. Bowdich as promulgated during his residence at Coomassie in 1818. *

* "All persons sent on the king's business shall no "longer seize provisions in any country, whether tribu- "tary or otherwise, in his name, but, requiring food, "shall offer a fair price for the first they meet with; if "this is refused, they shall then demand one meal, and

During the time relish was preparing, we amused ourselves in looking over the farmer's plantation, and about his house. In the former were paupas, plantains, Indian corn, &c. and in the latter was his gun and accoutrements (no man in this or the Fantee country being without his musket in case of war). We also observed some implements of husbandry, such as hoes, &c. and a peculiar sort of adze, with which the Ashantees cut down the largest trees; of these there were several which appeared to have been just manufactured at Sirre, and the following is a sketch of one of them.

" one meal only, in the king's name, and proceed.
" This extends to all messengers sent by the head cap-

After relish we all dressed in full uniform, and each of us displaying our best silks upon the occasion for our hammock cloths, and Mr. Dupuis covering a sort of palanquin with the richest taffetas, we set out from Sirre, and immediately crossing the marsh which insulates the capital, we made our entry into Coomassie (six miles N.N.W. from Sirassou) at a few minutes past three o'clock in the following order. *

First, Mr. Dupuis, in a palanquin, carried on men's shoulders, with a man carrying a silk union before him, attended by two sword bearers, and preceded by the linguist and bugleman, two soldiers, the Ashantee captain, (in uniform,) with an inferior captain beside him, both carrying gold handled swords, and one of his attendants following in his war-dress, with two attendants be-

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" tains, whose servants, as well as the king's, have been " long in the habit of extorting goods from traders, and " tobacco and provisions in the market place, which " they shall do no longer without incurring the same " penalty which is attached to the former part of the " law, 110 periquins."

* I regret being obliged to omit the representation of our entry into the capital.

hind. I followed Mr. Dupuis in my hammock, and was preceded by a man carrying a silk union, and attended by two sword bearers; Messieurs Salmon, Collins, and Graves followed in succession in their hammocks. Several of the king's sons, who had come out in the morning as far as Sirre, returned with the embassy to the capital, and were carried on men's shoulders attended by their slaves, who were behind them carrying their stools. These stools are made out of one solid piece of wood (called zesso), and are carved and polished in a superior manner. I brought home one of them; but they are now no great curiosity (although the workmanship is curious enough), as a great number have been carried to England by captains of vessels, and gentlemen who have visited the coast for many years past.

The king's sons were fine handsome boys, about ten or twelve years of age, their heads shaved all over, excepting in two or three places behind, where little tufts of hair were left for the purpose of fastening some small square pieces of gold and silver, of curious workmanship, very much resem-

bling a silver or gilt scent box. The cloths they wore were large and handsome, of Ashantee manufacture, from cotton and foreign silks, which had been unravelled to weave them. Their skins were a beautiful black, and, as well as their heads, were highly polished, being rubbed with the grease or vegetable butter already explained.

On entering the capital we were met by thousands of people, men, women, and children, crowding in all directions to see us. The concourse of people was immense, I should suppose not less than 50,000, besides warriors. The principal streets, and the avenues leading from them, were completely crammed with all descriptions. The porticos of the houses were crowded with the ladies of Coomassie, who were genteel, handsome women, and courteously waved their hands to us as we passed. Fine young girls, not more than thirteen or fourteen years of age, and dressed in their best clothes, followed us from our entry into the capital, and kept close to our hammocks, smiling, and appearing, by their looks and

gestures, to invite us to notice them. The shouts of the multitude, and the noise of the drums, horns, and flutes, made it impossible to hear the sound of our own bugle, which our bugleman kept almost constantly blowing before us. Many thousands had flocked from various parts of the country, for at least thirty miles round the capital, to witness our entry.

In the first place, we were conducted by our Ashantee guide to the palace. Here we halted under some trees, near which the presents were deposited; and were almost immediately attended by a party of the king's body guard* in uniform, the same as is worn by our own soldiers at the Cape. They were drawn up in a line on our right to keep the crowd off, which we much required, as the heat was very oppressive. The spirit and firmness which these men manifested on one or two occasions, in driving back the mob that pressed upon us too closely, convinced me of

* There are thirty of these men, which were sent to our head quarters at Cape Coast, to be fitted out with uniform, during my residence there in 1818. The uniform is red, with yellow facings.

their good discipline. While we were thus amused in reflecting on the novelty and variety of objects which surrounded us, one of the Ashantee captains (Adoo Quamina) rode past on a fine white horse, but did not appear to notice us. * After waiting about half an hour, we received a message from the king that his majesty was ready to receive us. This message was conveyed by the executioner, who was loaded with massy gold ornaments, and had a solid gold hatchet upon his breast. He was an amazing strong and powerful man, and wore a war-cap, with eagle's feathers, (as represented in the plate of Adoo Quamina,) and

* I have given a drawing of this warrior as he appeared on this occasion. As he passed us at a quick pace, I had not time to notice his dress so particularly as I could wish, but he appeared in his war-dress, with his body covered with fetishes, in gold and silver cases, and small brass bells, shells, and knives. His cap had gilded ram's horns, projecting in front, with eagle's feathers; and he wore cotton trowsers, with large boots of red leather. This dress alone cost the king eleven slaves.

The loss of one of his eyes in the late wars with the Buntakoos, gave him all the appearance of an old warrior. The horse he rode was a very good one, something of the Arabian breed, and was afterwards presented by the king to Mr. Dupuis, who gave it to me.

having his face painted, was altogether a terrific figure.

Proceeding a short distance, we were once more desired to halt, which we did for about ten minutes, when we again moved on slowly to the assembly of cabboceers and captains, who, with their warriors and attendants, were drawn up in a circle, leaving room sufficient for us to walk round and shake hands with every person of consequence.

We entered this circle a few minutes after four o'clock. Here a splendid spectacle presented itself: at least 20,000 warriors, with bright muskets and long Danish guns, now appeared in view, and a hundred bands of music * began to play at the same moment. The king and his captains, many of whom had been summoned to the capital upon this occasion from distant parts of the kingdom, were all dressed in cloths of the richest manufacture, and decorated with ornaments of the purest gold and

* I have said bands of *music*, although the discordant sounds which often offended the ear were not very musical. There was, however, a good deal of harmony in the Ashantee flutes and sancos.

aggry beads. * Their banners and flags of different nations, English, Dutch, and Danish, and at least a hundred large umbrellas were seen in every direction. The majestic appearance of the cabboceers and cap-

* The aggry beads are highly valued by the natives, who purchase them with equal, and sometimes double the weight, in gold. They are said to be found in Fantee, Warsaw, and other countries, and the Ashantees believe that those who are fortunate enough to find them, are sure of a series of good fortune. They are of various colours, yellow, green, and blue, and are used in some cases as fetish. Mr. Bowdich says, "The variegated strata of the aggry bead is so firmly united and so imperceptibly blended, that the perfection seems superior to art; some resemble mosaic work, the surfaces of others are covered with flowers and regular patterns, so very minute and the shades so delicately softened one into the other, and into the ground of the bead, that nothing but the finest touch of the pencil could equal them; those of inferior beauty frequently fetch a large price, from having been worn by some royal or eminent character." Dr. Leyden writes, "the aigris is a stone of a greenish blue colour, supposed to be a species of jasper, small perforated pieces of which, valued at their weight in gold, are used for money." Isert writes, "they are a sort of coral with inlaid work: the art of making beads is entirely lost, or was never known in these parts; it is not improbable, that, in the golden age of Egypt, she had communication with the Gold Coast; indeed it has been thought, and perhaps not without some reason, that the Gold Coast is the Ophir of Solomon." The natives believe that when these beads are buried, they not only grow but breed.

tains, the richness of their dresses, the glittering and costly gold ornaments which were seen every where, as far as the eye could reach, had a most imposing effect, and left us for a moment in doubt whether we were not then in the presence of the king; but our guide, Captain Adoo, who preceded us upon this occasion, with our linguist, to point out those men possessed of most power and influence, informed us that the chiefs we then saw were only some of the king's captains. We therefore shook hands with them and passed on, Mr. Dupuis going first, followed by myself and the other officers of the embassy. As Mr. Dupuis preceded me, I had the advantage of seeing that some of the inferior captains, with whom he did not shake hands, appeared to look sullen and displeased, and whenever I observed this, I made a point of conciliating them by shaking their hands as well as the superior chiefs. This I could perceive had a great effect, and produced an instantaneous smile, accompanied by expressions of their approbation of what they evidently appeared to consider a condescension.

Mr. Bowdich's description of their dress is here so correct that I will give it nearly in his own words: "The cabboceers and captains wore Ashantee cloths of extravagant value, which were large and heavy, and thrown over the shoulder like the Roman toga *; a small silk fillet encircled their temples. Some wore necklaces of aggry beads, or of massy gold intricately wrought. A band of gold and beads encircled the knee. Small circles of gold, like guineas, rings and casts of animals were strung round their ancles; their sandles were of green, red, and delicately white leather; manillas and rude lumps of rich gold dangled from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the heads of some of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes and canes dazzled the eyes in every direction, wolves and rams' heads, as large as life, and cast in gold, hung from their gold-handled swords, the blades of which were rusted in blood; their large drums were braced about with the thigh-bones of their

* A plate, showing the costume of these cabboceers, I conceived would be interesting. I have therefore given one. (Vide Prince Adoom.) W.H.

W. Hutton del.t I. Clark sculp.t

Prince Adoom.

Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 1821.

enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. Behind the chairs of the chiefs stood their handsomest youths, habited much in the same costly style. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some with silver basins. Crowds of younger boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails, curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these. Their caps were made of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds,) were embossed with red shells *, and small brass bells hung to them. On their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than gold; the sides of their faces were painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour."

A short distance before we came to the king, we observed the Moorish chief Ali Baba to the left of his majesty, dressed in the usual style of his nation, with a large

* These shells are procured from the coast in the neighbourhood of Cape Lahoo. One of them I brought home with me, and have it now in my possession. W. H.

white turban, in the centre of which was a small looking-glass; his cloak, shirt, and trowsers, were of white silk. There were also two other superior moors, dressed much in the same style; and the inferiors, which amounted to at least a hundred, were dressed in a sort of coarse blue cotton.

We passed nearly the whole assembly of cabboceers before we reached the king. His majesty was seated in a low chair, the back of which was profusely studded with gold nails, and ornamented with small pieces of gold. His chair was elevated a little, and placed about a yard in the background; a small avenue was formed by his attendants in front of him, so that we had to step out of the circle to approach the throne. His majesty and all his captains were screened from the sun, by large umbrellas, or canopies, made of scarlet and other cloth, capable of covering thirty or forty people, crowned on the top with elephants, crescents, &c. of gold. The king appeared about forty-five years of age, and rather corpulent; his cloth was a rich green silk, and he wore a necklace of aggry

beads and small pieces of gold. Saphies*, cased in gold, were suspended over his shoulder, and he had a number of gold rings upon his fingers, and gold castanets on his finger and thumb. His wrists, knees, and ancles, were richly adorned with bracelets and knee-bands of the finest gold and aggry beads; and his sandals were of white leather, curiously worked and neatly ornamented. His features were remarkably handsome, his head was entirely shaved, with the exception of a small part on the left of the crown, about the size of a guinea, and his beard, (of which he is extremely proud,) was at least three inches long. †

On appearing in the royal presence, we all took off our hats, and each of us, in regular succession, advanced and shook hands with his majesty. We were received in the most condescending and affable manner, and his majestic and dignified deportment surprised and delighted us. He was evidently much pleased at the mark of distinction which we paid him in taking off

* Scraps of Moorish writing, as charms against evil.

† The plate of Prince Adoom is a good representation of the King of Ashantee. (Vide page 214.)

our hats, although he did not appear the least surprised.

It has been justly observed, that

> " A king's face—
> Should give grace;"

and it may be truly said of this African monarch that he possesses such a face; a mild and pleasing countenance — open, lively, and animated; and a quick and penetrating eye. Indeed, I never saw a more handsome or dignified black man. *

The guards behind his majesty wore belts cased in gold; the royal stool was also cased in gold, and displayed, under a large umbrella, with drums, horns, &c. of the same metal; and the breasts of all his majesty's attendants were decorated with stars, crescents, &c. of the purest gold.

Apokoo, the chief general of Ashantee,

* Colonel Torrane, speaking of the king of Ashantee in one of his despatches, observes, " In all my negociations with the king, I had cause to remark, what I have not experienced on the sea-coast, to wit, the strictest regard to his word. In fact, I look on king Zey (so he is called) to be a high character; he is of a middling stature, remarkably well made, and of a handsome open countenance."

made a grand display of gold ornaments, and I particularly observed that the king's scales and weights, the blow-pan and box, were of solid gold.

The chamberlain, the gold horn-blower, the captain for royal executions, and the other officers of the household, were severally pointed out by our guide, and were all adorned with massy gold ornaments. The cook displayed his majesty's plate, consisting of immense large bowls, salvers, tankards, tea and coffee pots, some of which were of English, but the most of Portuguese manufacture.

As soon as we had passed the king and the officers of his household, we shook hands with Adoosey and the other three principal linguists, who were seated on the right hand of his majesty, and were loaded with a profusion of ornaments of the purest gold; their gold canes were elevated before them.

It is impossible to describe correctly so much splendour and novelty as was upon this occasion displayed; but what has been said, will give some idea of the riches of Ashantee, and our reception at the capital.

After parading through this magnificent scene, we proceeded to some ganian-trees at a short distance, under which we all seated ourselves to receive the compliments of the king and his captains in return.

Some of the chiefs, as they passed, were supported round the waist by their principal slaves, and preceded by captains, who shouted close to their ears their great deeds (or strong names). The young cabboceers, not more than five or six years of age, were carried on the shoulders of a strong slave. Each cabboceer, on passing, shook hands with us, and during this ceremony, the executioner, who carried the execution-stool, which was besmeared with human blood, and covered with a caul of fat, came quite close to us, and shook it in our faces, which probably was done to intimidate, and to caution us against the consequences of acting as spies in the country; and as a large bell was attached to it, the noise it made, added to the frightful appearance of the executioner, and the disgusting sight of the stool, did not give rise to the most pleasing sensations. Some of the king's body-guard, who were stationed

near us, and placed under the command of our guide, Captain Adoo, hurried by the warriors and attendants as fast as possible, and frequently lashed some of them severely with canes and whips, which they had for this purpose; but it was half past seven o'clock before the king made his appearance.

His majesty was preceded by boys, carrying torches and vessels of gold, containing oil to dip them into. He appeared intoxicated, and broke through the line we had formed with our attendants, which threw us into such disorder, from the crush of people, that we were for a moment driven from our seats, and intermixed with the crowd. Being taken quite by surprise, we at first gave way, but finding the crowd press upon us rudely, we struck several of them with the hilts of our swords, which soon made them give way in turn, and we resumed our seats; on which his majesty shook hands with each of us, and wished us good night. He was evidently too intoxicated to ask any questions. His sisters, and other branches of his family were with him, and one of them shook hands with us,

and wished us good night. They also were adorned with a profusion of gold ornaments.

The ceremony now being over, we retired to our quarters, which consisted of very comfortable apartments, purposely fitted up for our reception. It was the house of Prince Adoom, who was then absent on an embassy at Cape Coast.

This ceremony lasted nearly five hours; during which we took no refreshment, were almost suffocated with heat, and quite exhausted.

The king, however, immediately sent us four large jars of palm wine, a sheep, and some eggs, (not remarkable for their fine quality,) fruit, and vegetables. Having taken a little fruit and other refreshments, we retired to rest about twelve o'clock, and after the fatigue of the day, my first night's rest in the capital of Ashantee was as comfortable as ever I experienced in the capital of England.

CHAPTER IX.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EMBASSY AT THE CAPITAL.

ALTHOUGH the reader will doubtless feel anxious to be made acquainted with our proceedings at the capital, I shall defer entering into these particulars, until I have communicated my impressions from the events of yesterday; and contrasting the conduct of the king of Ashantee, upon this occasion, with his former conduct, when Mr. Bowdich entered Coomassie in 1817, I shall endeavour to shew the great improvement in the manners and customs of the Ashantee court since that period.

In the first place, it will be recollected by those who have read Mr. Bowdich's account of the former mission, that while his description of the Ashantee government, their armies, their treasures, and their courteous manners, were highly gratifying, yet there was an alloy in this gratification by the re-

flection that so much barbarity and cruelty should be practised amongst people, in other respects, so very superior.

I allude to the human sacrifices and tortures, one of which he thus describes: — "A most inhuman spectacle then presented itself. It was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice. His hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like a figure of 8.; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him."

Every person must feel a degree of horror on reading this account of Ashantee barbarity, and will therefore be highly gratified to learn that no such tortures or sacrifices were committed, either on our arrival in the capital, or during our stay there. This then evidently indicates improvement

among this barbarous people, and at least manifests a desire, on the part of the king, not to displease Europeans, by the exhibition of such shocking spectacles, as are here described, now that he knows it is offensive to them.

From what has been stated, it will plainly appear, that the Ashantees, and particularly the king, might, in the course of time, be prevailed upon to discountenance human sacrifices and tortures, by sacrificing sheep and fowls instead, as, in fact, they even now very often do. The Moors indeed set them the example of sacrificing sheep; and as this people have the greatest influence with the Ashantees, it would be of the first importance to conciliate them, that they might be prevailed upon to unite in the humane object of inducing the king to discontinue these abominable practices. Some of the Moors, indeed, are nearly as much averse to these barbarities as ourselves, and also to the ridiculous and absurd custom of wearing fetish, as will appear on reference to Mr. Hutchison's diary, wherein that gentleman mentions an instance of a

Moor, (the shereff Abraham*,) "rejecting fetishes, and absenting himself from human sacrifices, and other abominations."†

If then, the Moors are inclined to favour our views, in the accomplishment of an object so desirable, what benefits to mankind may not result from the establishment of a missionary at Coomassie? The influence of this people with the Ashantees, and in Africa in general, is too well known, and the advantages to be attained by cultivating their friendship, are too evident, to require any explanation.

That the king of Ashantee is also well inclined to discountenance such sacrifices, not only plainly appears from what I have stated, and not having heard of the immo-

* This man stated, that he had come from Boussa, *where he saw Mungo Park drowned.* Another Moor, (Amadou Dhiob), whom I met with at Senegal, stated positively, that a chief of the Moors (named Bourdaau) *killed* Park! Which of these men is to be believed?

From these, and other contradictory accounts, which have been given of poor Park's death, by the Moors, it may be possible that he is still alive.

† Mr. Hutchison adds that the rest of the people, of whatever country they may be, when the king's horns announce any thing of the kind, strive who will get there first to enjoy the agonies of the victims!

lation of any human victim, during my stay at Coomassie, but also from Mr. Bowdich's mission, who says, (p. 274.) "that his (the king's) humanity is frequently superior to his superstition and policy; he offended Quatchie Quofie, one of the four, by limiting the human sacrifices at his mother's funeral, and resisted all the importunities, founded upon precedent, for the allowance of a greater number."

If then the king of Ashantee, as well as the Moors, are so well inclined to set their faces against the sacrifice and torture of human victims, what possible objection can there be to sending a missionary to Coomassie immediately? or, I should rather ask, why has a missionary not been sent long ago?

There can be no objection, on account of any apprehensions for the safety and protection of such a person, as the king, in the last treaty, entered into with him by Mr. Dupuis, on the part of the British government, *expressly binds himself to allow a missionary to reside at the capital, and promises him his protection.*

And moreover, as Europeans have al-

ready visited Ashantee, and been well received, and kindly and hospitably treated during their stay there, I conceive there could be no moment more auspicious than the present for the establishment of such a person; not only for the reasons now stated, but also as His Majesty's government have now taken the forts on the Gold Coast under their own immediate direction. Indeed, it is somewhat surprising, and a little inexplicable, that, considering the number of missionaries which has been sent to all parts of the world, not one has been established on the Gold Coast, although we have had no less than ten settlements* there, under the direction of the African committee, during the last seventy years.

Having thus pointed out the great good which would be likely to result from the establishment of a missionary at Ashantee,

* Until very lately, the African Company had ten settlements on the Gold Coast, namely, Appollonia, Dixcove, Succondee, Commenda, Cape Coast, Annamaboe, Tantum, Winnebah, Accra, and Whydah; which however are now reduced to four, namely, Dixcove, Cape Coast, Annamaboe, and Accra.

and the king having given permission for one to reside at the capital, I can have no doubt but so favourable an opportunity will be embraced, by the Missionary Society sending a fit person immediately to that quarter of the globe.

The thousands of human victims who might thus be saved from torture and from death, which are at present annually sacrificed to the superstitions and customs of this people, would amply reward the exertions of those who might be induced to engage in such a pleasing undertaking. What indeed can be more pleasing or gratifying to the human mind than the reflection of having saved hundreds and thousands of our fellow-creatures from a cruel death? and even the attempt to do so, though it should prove unsuccessful, will still endear the names of those who may engage in it.

The great necessity for such an undertaking, need not be further illustrated than by the following extract from Mr. Bowdich's Mission, p. 289.: "I was assured by several that the custom for Sai Quamina was repeated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed and

twenty-five barrels of powder fired *each time.* But the custom for the king's mother, the regent of the kingdom, during the invasion of Fantee, is most celebrated. The king himself devoted three thousand victims, (upwards of two thousand of whom were Fantee prisoners,) and twenty-five barrels of powder! Dwabin, Kokofoo, Becqua, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished one hundred victims and twenty barrels of powder each, and most of the smaller towns ten victims and two barrels of powder each."

Hence, then, it appears that nearly four thousand victims were sacrificed at the death of one person! And when it is considered that many hundreds are also immolated on the yam and the Adai customs *, as well as on the death of any person of rank, how many thousands may we suppose to be annually sacrificed to these horrid superstitions?

* The following account of the Adai custom is given by Mr. Hutchison, who was the British resident at Coomassie for some months after the departure of Mr. Bowdich; and as, I am happy to say, I have none of these cruelties to relate, from my own observation at

The most effectual arguments which I conceive could be urged to the king of

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Ashantee, I shall be excused quoting others upon this subject.

" When any public execution or sacrifice is to take place, the ivory horns of the king proclaim at the palace door, " wow ! wow ! wow !" " death ! death ! death !" and as they cut off their heads the bands play a peculiar strain till the operation is finished.

" The greatest human sacrifice that has been made in Coomassie during my residence, took place on the eve of the Adai custom, early in January. I had a mysterious intimation of it two days before from a quarter not to be named. My servants being ordered out of the way, I was thus addressed : ' Christian, take care and watch over your family ; the angel of death has drawn his sword, and will strike on the neck of many Ashantees. When the drum is struck on Adai eve, it will be the death signal of many. Shun the king if you can ; but fear not.' When the time came to strike the drum, I was sitting thinking on the horrors of the approaching night, and was rather startled at a summons to attend the king. This is the manner he always takes to cut off any captain or person of rank ; if they are thought desperate characters they are thrown down, and a knife is thrust through their mouth to keep them from swearing the death of any other.

" This sacrifice was in consequence of the king imagining, that if he washed the bones of his mother and sisters who died while he was on the throne, it would propitiate the fetish, and make the war successful. Their bones were, therefore, taken from their coffins, and bathed

Ashantee, to abolish human sacrifices, (and which I have no doubt would be successful, at least in reducing the number of victims, if it did not remove the practice altogether,) are the following.

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in rum and water with great ceremony; after being wiped with silks, they were rolled in gold-dust, and wrapped in strings of rock gold, aggry beads, and other things of the most costly nature. Those who had done any thing to displease the king, were then sent for in succession, and immolated as they entered, "that their blood might water the graves." The whole of the night the king's executioners traversed the streets, *and dragged every one they found to the palace*, where they were put in irons. Next morning being Adai custom, every place was silent and forlorn, and his majesty proceeded to the morning sacrifice of sheep, &c., attended only by his confidents and the members of his own family. He appeared agitated and fatigued.

"As soon as it was dark, the human sacrifices were renewed. The victims, with their hands tied behind them and in chains, preceded the bones of the deceased, which were removed to the sacred tomb of Bantama. The procession returned about three P. M. on Monday, when the king took his seat in the market-place with his small band, and "Death! death! death!" was echoed by his horns. He sat with a silver goblet of palm wine in his hand, and when they cut off any head, imitated a dancing motion in his chair, and a little before dark he finished his terrors for that day. I dared not send out my people, lest they should be murdered. The sacrifice was continued till the next Adai custom, *seventeen days!*"

First, That the sacrifice of so many people gives great offence to the king of England *, who is surprized that the king of Ashantee, of whom he has heard a high character in other respects, should consent to the immolation of so many of his subjects, this being contrary to humanity, and to his own interest and happiness as a great king. It should also be represented that the life of the meanest subject of the king of England is as sacred as his own, and that he cannot himself injure any individual with impunity. At the same time, it would have great influence with his sable majesty, if a portrait of our sovereign were sent out with this message, " that the king

* We found that the name of the king of England had the greatest weight and influence in our negotiations with his sable majesty. To have said " the Government," or the " African Company," would not have had half the effect. This, Mr. Bowdich's observations confirm, as will appear from the following, (p. 44.) " All the curiosity the packages excited, could not incline the king to regard them, until he had desired distinctly to understand who had sent them, the king of England or the governor. He was told the company, to whom the forts belonged under the king; the interpreter seemed to render it the king individually; it was more intelligible, and the agreeable impression it made was striking."

of England on being informed of the king of Ashantee and his captains having taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain, and that no human sacrifices were allowed during the visit of the last embassy, was so well pleased, that he had directed, among other presents *, a portrait of himself to be sent to the king, as a mark of his approbation of the great improvement in the manners and customs of the Ashantee court since the visit of the former mission."

A message to this effect, would no doubt have great influence with the king of Ashantee, who has the greatest reverence for the name of the king of England.

A portrait, therefore, coming *directly from His Majesty* in this way, accompanied by other presents, would most probably be successful. And our gracious sovereign, it is presumed, would have no objection to his name being made use of in so good a cause.

* The other presents should consist of a service of silver plate, a crown set with stones, and also a sceptre, a silk robe, a handsome cushion, a silk flag, a star, a gold chain, and half a dozen pieces of small brass cannon, with a collection of engravings of the most illustrious characters in Europe.

Secondly, As an additional inducement to the king of Ashantee to comply with our wishes, an offer should be made to double the amount of the pay he annually receives from the forts, which is only 288*l.* And what is this sum annually to our government, in consideration of the humane object of saving the lives of so many human beings, as well as the advantages which must, in every point of view, result to the nation from our connection with so powerful a monarch?

Thirdly, It might be urged to the king, that in sacrificing so many of his people, he weakens his own power, and destroys those who might otherwise be of the greatest service to him in battle, or in clearing and cultivating the ground, and making a road to Cape Coast, which his majesty has promised to do; and it might also be added, that a compliance with the king of England's wishes, would always secure his majesty's friendship and good will for the king of Ashantee; but, if human sacrifices were continued, His Britannic Majesty could not any longer continue his friendship, or allow his officers to visit Ashantee again.

CHAPTER X.

I SHALL now state my impressions on entering Coomassie.

The town, at the first glimpse we had of it, appeared, at a short distance, much the same as other towns on the coast; the roofs of the houses being of a conical shape resembling bee-hives. This last observation, however, does not apply to the principal houses, some of which are very superior, and upon a larger scale than any we observed on our journey. But I must confess, that, on entering the capital, and passing through the principal streets, I felt disappointed from the impression Mr. Bowdich's drawings had made upon my mind; and the same feeling, I believe, extended to my companions. These drawings, to say the least of them, are too highly coloured. Many of the Ashantees,

to whom I shewed them, could not perceive a resemblance sufficient to strike them at first sight.*

The houses generally were in a ruinous condition, and that which we took possession of, although it belonged to Prince Adoom, and had been put in order expressly for us, was little better. Several parts of the premises were in a dilapidated state; and even the palace itself, if it deserves the name, was as bad, if not worse. I have observed only a few houses in good order, and these were built upon a large scale, with open porches in front, and kept extremely clean.

Mr. Bowdich's observations, regarding the houses being provided with cloacæs, and the general cleanliness of the Ashantees, are correct; and there can be no doubt, that, in the arrangement of their dwellings, they are superior to many of their neighbours. The houses at Paintrey, however, which appear to have been built in imitation of those at the

* Mr. Bowdich's representations of the yam custom and the war captain are more correct than any other of his drawings.

capital, so closely resemble them, that that town may be said to be *Coomassie in miniature.* My observations, therefore, upon the houses at Paintrey, will apply also to those of Coomassie. The principal difference between them is, that the latter have some ornamental work, and, in a few instances, a first floor raised, to accomplish which, the under room is divided in two by a wall, which supports it. The roofs are supported in front by square pillars neatly plastered.

In closing my remarks upon this subject, it is proper to observe that the ruinous state of the houses may, in some measure, be accounted for, by the king and his captains having only lately returned from the war with the Buntakoos, which his majesty, as well as the inhabitants, pleaded as an apology for the town not being "*more handsome.*"

On Tuesday morning, the 1st of March, we received a message from the king, desiring we would attend him in the market-place. Accordingly we waited on his majesty, about a quarter before twelve o'clock, and found

him surrounded by his principal captains and linguists, the Moors, and many thousand people, but not nearly so many as on the preceding day. His majesty received us in the same gracious and affable manner as he did on our *entrée;* and, as soon as we had shook hands with him, and seated ourselves, he expressed a wish to be informed what were the objects of our visit. On which Mr. Dupuis rose, and stated*, that Mr. Bowdich's book had given the king of England so favourable an account of the king of Ashantee, and the country in general, particularly the hospitable manner in which they were treated by him, that His Britannic Majesty had been induced to send him (Mr. Dupuis) with the presents which he had brought to the capital, consisting of 100 guns, 100 kegs of powder, and 100 ankers of rum." Here Mr. Dupuis was requested by our guide,

* Mr. Dupuis stated what he had to say to our own linguist, who interpreted it to Adoosey, by whom it was repeated to the king; it being the etiquette of the Ashantee court, that the king's linguists only can speak to his majesty in public.

Capt. Adoo, through the medium of our own linguist, not to mention the other articles before all the people; from which it would appear that the king and his principal captains and linguists did not wish the people to be acquainted with the whole of the presents.

Our linguist having interpreted the first part of Mr. Dupuis' statement, Adoosey, the principal linguist, (as is customary,) repeated it to the king, who signified his approbation by a gentle nod of the head. Mr. Dupuis then proceeded to say, that he had come to settle all palavers, which being interpreted to his majesty as above explained, he returned for answer that what palavers he had, Mr. Dupuis should settle. Upon which Mr. Dupuis added that the king must not do wrong to the governor of Cape Coast; and that he would see the governor of Cape Coast should not do wrong to him.

On the linguist interpreting this part of Mr. Dupuis' statement, he made some mistake, which Mr. Graves, much to his credit, detected and immediately rectified.

The king seemed to be pleased with Mr. Dupuis' communication, which, although short, was perhaps quite long enough on our first audience. Indeed, to have said much upon this occasion, would not have been prudent or politic, as it might have awakened feelings of alarm and jealousy, which we studiously endeavoured to avoid.

This audience, therefore, did not last more than ten or fifteen minutes, when we returned to our quarters.

I observed his majesty was dressed differently this day: he had not the same cloth he wore yesterday, and had not so great a profusion of gold ornaments. His head linguist, Adoosey, as well as the other linguists, and Apokoo, the head general or commander-in-chief, together with the other generals, were all arranged near his majesty, and decorated with a variety of gold ornaments.

At half-past eleven on the following morning, we received a message from his majesty, to send the presents, and wait upon him, which we attended to immediately. On our arrival at the palace,

we were admitted into an inner court-yard or anti-room. In this court-yard, I observed two small window-frames, the one cased in gold, and the other in silver; but they were not larger than a pane of glass in our shop-windows in England. These window-frames belong to the king's bed-room, of which Mr. Bowdich has given a drawing; but so superior to what it represents, that I should not have known it, but for the round chequered doors. The window-frames scarcely deserve that name, being so small and insignificant. I observed one of these frames still more insignificant, cased in gold, on entering the palace, just over the outer gate; but I should be sorry to give ten guineas for all the gold window-frames at Coomassie.

After waiting about half an hour in the inner court-yard, or area, we were ushered into the king's presence. We now entered a large square open court-yard, with an apartment on the right-hand side, which was covered with a roof composed of bamboo-cane for rafters, and thatched with grass and palm-leaves. The

roof is about twenty feet high, and supported in front by square pillars; so that the apartment is quite open, and forms a sort of piazza. The floor is raised about two feet from the ground, with steps made of swish, which is covered with a layer of red earth, called inchuma, very much resembling ochre. These floors are washed every morning early with a mixture of this sort of ochre and water. The council-chamber, (if I may be allowed the expression,) was about thirty feet long and eight feet wide.

In this council-chamber we found his majesty, surrounded only by a select number of his principal advisers, consisting of *Quatchie Quofie*, *Odumata*, *Apokoo*, and *Amanquatea*, who compose the aristocracy; and the linguists, *Adoosey*, *Cancum*, and *Otee*, (*Agay* being absent.) These, with *Adoo Quamina* (one of the captains), the eunuch, a few of the king's domestic slaves, and some of his favourite girls (not more than ten or twelve years of age), were the only persons allowed to be present. These girls generally attend his majesty,

and were very handsome. Each of them had a large piece of solid rock-gold suspended round the neck, at least ten or twelve ounces, value forty or fifty pounds.

Having taken our seats immediately opposite, and within three yards of the king, (between whom and ourselves, there was a low table made of wood, which much resembled oak,) we gave directions for the cases to be opened for his majesty's inspection. The first case happened unfortunately, to contain the turning-lathe, or rather a part of it, consisting of what only appeared to be two pieces of wood. This caused a smile and a whisper between his majesty and his ministers, who asked what it was. We, of course, explained the use of it as well as we could; but if a mechanic had accompanied the embassy, who perfectly understood how to work it, and had at this instant done so, the king, who is a great admirer of ingenuity in mechanism, would have been both astonished and delighted, as well as convinced of the great utility of an article which now appeared to him perfectly useless, and no more than a

few pieces of wood. It is therefore to be regretted, that such a person did not accompany us, as he might have remained at Ashantee for a few months, and instructed one of the Ashantees how to work it; and this is one reason, among many others, that has induced me to recommend a certain number of mechanics, farmers, &c. to be sent to Coomassie and other parts of the country. (Vide page 150.)

The other cases being opened, and their contents exhibited, his majesty appeared much pleased with the mirror, the organ, the uniform, the chandelier, the drums, the kaleidescopes, and the tower-guns, but seemed cautiously to avoid expressing surprise at any thing; for although we could evidently discern from the countenance of the king and his ministers, that they were highly pleased with the presents, yet they not only appeared to avoid shewing their approbation, but sometimes endeavoured to appear indifferent. This, however, I considered more studied than natural; it being a maxim at the Ashantee court, not to betray themselves by any expressions of surprise, as they think that in so doing

they would lessen their dignity in the eyes of Europeans.

All the cases being opened, and the contents found correct, his majesty ordered hollands and rum to be handed round to us, which was immediately done on a silver salver, in tumblers, full of neat hollands; and liquor was also very liberally distributed among our servants and the people who opened the cases.

It is hardly necessary to mention that we did not drink our bumpers of neat hollands! Indeed, I do not know what sort of stomachs his majesty supposes Englishmen to have, to be able to drink so much neat liquor; but the Ashantees themselves think nothing of drinking off a tumbler full of neat gin or rum at any time; and after we had tasted what was presented to us, for the sake of drinking his majesty's health, our servants, who stood behind our chairs, greedily drank what was left.

His majesty made several enquiries respecting the King of England, and in particular as to his name; and the name of the place where he resided. On being informed, he attempted several times to re-

peat the words, "*George*," and "*London*," and laughed heartily at the difficulty he had in doing so. In short, the king shewed much good-humour and pleasantry, and was this day very facetious.

As this audience was merely for the purpose of laying the presents before his majesty, no matters of business were entered into; and shortly after the packages were opened, the meeting broke up, and we retired to our quarters.

In the evening, we walked out for an hour opposite the house we occupied, where there was a fine open street, or parade. It was a beautiful star-light night, and we enjoyed our walk, without the least interruption from the natives, who took no more notice of us, than if we had been constantly residing at the capital.

The next morning, Captain Adoo waited on us with a message from the king, to say that his majesty would be ready to receive us about twelve o'clock. Accordingly, at that hour we set off for the palace, but were detained, as on the preceding day, for half-an-hour in the inner area, or court-yard, which indeed is the etiquette of the Ashan-

tee court, as the king and his counsellors think it makes them appear of more consequence to keep us waiting some time for an audience. This is also the practice on entering the capital, when it will be recollected we were kept waiting a week at Amafoo and Sirassou. The latter, however, is in some measure necessary to enable the king to call his cabboceers and captains together from distant parts of the country, to make as great a display of his strength and forces as possible.

On being admitted into the council-chamber, and taking our seats, as on the preceding day, Mr. Dupuis endeavoured to call his majesty's attention to the objects of the embassy. But there was evidently a desire on the part of the king to avoid all discussions on matters of business, particularly such as regarded his demand on the Cape Coast people. The reason for this was obvious. Having only just accepted of such a munificent present, he could not with a good grace speak of the demand on the Cape Coast people. His majesty, therefore, waved all discussion at that time, by observing, "that now he had seen Mr. Dupuis'

face, he had no bad palaver in his head, and no palaver at all with white men."

This was a most important declaration, as the claim lately made on the governor of Cape Coast for 1600 oz. of gold, for an alleged infraction of the treaty, was now not only abandoned, but the claim on the Cape Coast people reduced to an object of secondary consideration, by the expression, "that now he had seen Mr. Dupuis' face, he had no bad palaver in his head:" and consequently, if he had "no bad palaver in his head," he could not be supposed to entertain any serious thought of persisting in his demand on the Cape Coast natives for 1600 oz. of gold; for this was considered by every body, both by the whites and blacks, by the Ashantees and Fantees, a very bad palaver; and therefore there can be no doubt the king intended, by this expression, to say, that if he did not give up the Cape Coast palaver entirely, he should at least reduce his demand to so small an amount that it would not be difficult to be settled, and hence it would cease to be "*a bad palaver.*"

This impression upon my mind was con-

firmed (if I had wanted any confirmation of it) by what Mr. Graves acquainted me with after the meeting broke up *. Having observed the king say something in a low tone of voice to one of the linguists (Cancum) who spoke to his majesty at the time he declared he had no bad palaver in his head, I desired Graves, who sat behind Mr. Dupuis and me, to take notice of what

* I always made a point of enquiring from Mr. Graves, on returning to our quarters, the particular expressions of the king to his ministers during our audiences with his majesty; and indeed it was one of my most particular injunctions to Graves, to watch with unceasing vigilance and attention every word that the king uttered to his linguists in our presence, as it was only by a knowledge of the king's private and confidential observations that we could judge of the real state of his majesty's mind and feeling towards us. For this reason I was induced to recommend Graves's appointment on the embassy, not only as a check upon our linguist, but as a faithful interpreter of any confidential expression which might fall from the king to his linguists during the heat of debate; for it is not to be supposed our linguist could pay attention to such expressions, allowing that he had been willing to do so, as he had enough to do to interpret what was said on both sides; but it is not likely that he would have been willing to inform us of any thing the king said privately, as he woud be afraid of his majesty's displeasure. Such a person, therefore, as Graves, or any respectable Mulatto acquainted with the language, ought to be taken on any future embassy.

the king said, and to let me know when we left the palace. Accordingly Graves informed me, that Cancum (who is one of the principal linguists, and an ill-natured looking old fellow,) suggested to the king the propriety of still urging his demand on the Cape Coast people; on which the king replied, that he could not consistently do so after accepting the liberal presents he had just received. This therefore shewed the king to possess a noble and generous feeling, and proved his superiority in this respect over his avaricious adviser, Cancum.

As there was so evident a desire on the part of his majesty to wave all discussion for the present, we felt a delicacy in urging any particular subject for consideration upon this occasion; and the meeting in consequence broke up, when we retired, as usual, to our quarters.

But on the following day Mr. Dupuis requested an audience, for the purpose of reading his commission; which was immediately granted; and all of us (excepting Mr. Salmon) waited on his majesty about the usual hour (12 o'clock). On entering the palace we were detained, as is custom-

ary, about half an hour in the inner court-yard. When we were admitted into the council chamber, we found his majesty prepared to receive us, attended by Adoosey and the other linguists, as well as Apokoo, and his brother generals. As soon as we had paid our respects to the king and his counsellors, Mr. Dupuis asked his majesty, through the medium of the linguists, if it would be agreeable to hear his commission read, on which he received an answer in the affirmative; but the king requested that our linguist and servants might first be sworn to speak the truth, and represent every thing fairly on both sides; which was accordingly done by fetish being given to them. This ceremony being gone through, Mr. Dupuis requested me to read his commission, which I accordingly did, explaining at the end of every sentence the meaning to the best of my ability. His majesty expressed great satisfaction that the king of England had been pleased to take so much notice of him, to appoint one of his own officers to reside at his capital; and this evidently made the most favourable impression upon all present.

As soon as the commission was read, the linguists and captains rose, and each of them in succession taking one of the king's swords, (which was about the size and shape of a bill, with the handle cased in gold, but the blade rusted in blood,) flourished it about for two or three minutes within an inch of Mr. Dupuis' nose. During this time they made a solemn oath of allegiance and fidelity to his Britannic majesty. The king rose last, and took the same oath; after which his majesty stated, that he was sensible the king of England was a great king, greater than all the other kings in Europe, and that if he wanted 10,000 of the Ashantee troops at any time, they should be ready to march to any part of Africa, to forward the views of his Britannic majesty.

Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the king expressed himself upon this occasion in favour of Great Britain, and the delight and satisfaction which beamed on every countenance was most gratifying to our feelings.

His majesty further declared, that Mr. Dupuis, as the officer of the king of Eng-

land, should want for nothing during his residence at the capital. If he wanted gold, or if there was any thing at Cape Coast Castle, that the king could get for him, he was to say so, and it should be immediately procured.

His majesty remarked, that I knew a little of the Ashantee language, and enquired all our names, our respective duties, and particularly about Mr. Collins, observing him differently dressed from Mr. Salmon and myself. Mr. Dupuis' answer was, that this gentleman was a person he had engaged as his vice-consul at Cape Coast, to assist him in his writings. The king also enquired what was the opinion in England respecting Mr. Bowdich's conduct to Mr. James; and on being informed that the general opinion was against Mr. Bowdich, for the reason, that no young officer on a public service could be justified in interfering with his commanding officer, his majesty shrugged up his shoulders, and whispered to his linguists, appearing to say, (although we could not hear distinctly,) that he had predicted such would be the case.

The king also enquired why Mr. Hutchi-

son did not return to Ashantee with us, and said, that he supposed he was ashamed to do so; implying, not any thing derogatory to that gentleman, but, as far as I could understand, that Mr. Hutchison would not like to visit the capital under the command of Mr. Dupuis.

The meeting then broke up, and we returned to our quarters.

The next day passed without any audience with his majesty; but we were requested to attend in public to receive the following presents from Adoosey, the head linguist, and Yokrokokoo, the king's chamberlain, on behalf of his Majesty.

Mr. Dupuis 7oz. of gold, besides 1 bullock, 2 hogs, and 1 sheep.

Mr. Salmon, Mr. Collins, and myself, 2oz. 4ackies of gold, and 1 sheep each.

Mr. Graves, 1oz. 2ackies of gold, and 1 sheep.

The linguist, 1oz. 2ackies of gold.

Our servants, 1oz. 2ackies of gold.

Our hammock-men and carriers, 2oz. 4ackies of gold, and 1 bullock,

and as many yams, plantains, pine-apples, bananas, eggs, fire-wood, &c. as it required 200 men to carry. In short, our quarters,

which were very extensive, were crammed with fruit and vegetables, most of which we immediately distributed among our people, as it would not have been possible for us to consume one twentieth part of them before they would have been rotten.

Upon this occasion there was a considerable number of the inhabitants assembled to witness the distribution of the king's presents; and the king's scales and weights, blow-pan, and box of solid gold, were displayed, as is customary in such cases.

On Sunday the 6th, we all waited on his majesty, to thank him for the presents we had received the preceding day, when we merely shook hands, and immediately withdrew.

But, on the following day, we had an audience, when Mr. Dupuis, conceiving from the king's declaration on a former occasion, "that he had no bad palaver in his head," thought it would be most prudent to give notice of his intention to leave the capital, without alluding at all to the Cape Coast palaver, unless the king did so. Accordingly, Mr. Dupuis stated that it was his wish to return to Cape Coast

in the course of a week. But his majesty now stated, that he had some palaver to speak, after which he would fix a day for our departure.

Mr. Dupuis then endeavoured to prevail on his majesty to consent to a school being established at Paintrey; and, in order more effectually to succeed in this object, it was first suggested, that great advantage would result to the Ashantee traders by the establishment of factories at this place, and that the king would also derive advantage therefrom by the payment of a monthly note for one or two ounces of gold by the governor of Cape Coast.

But his majesty did not appear at all disposed to sanction this; in short, nothing could exceed his surprise and jealousy upon this occasion. The instant the proposition was made, he rose suddenly from his couch (on which he was before reclining with great composure), and taking his seat among the assembly of linguists and captains, he declared that he could not consent to any establishment of the kind, from which it evidently appeared he was jealous of the least innovation upon his territories, or

rather of our establishing ourselves nearer the capital; for the king and all his generals are dreadfully afraid of our powerful armies, and that we shall ultimately wish to conquer the country. As one proof of this, among others that might be mentioned, his majesty one day visited Mr. Dupuis, and earnestly demanded to know from him, if the king of England had sent him to spy the country, which he said his generals persisted was the fact; and the Moors, jealous of our influence and power, have ever been ready to encourage this opinion. Mr. Dupuis, however, solemnly assured his majesty that he need not entertain the least apprehension upon this subject; for that, so far from the king of England sending him to spy the country, he had sent him there to do good to the Ashantees, and to convince his majesty of the constant friendship which the king of England would always have for him, while he acted as he did, in continuing to promote and encourage the views of Great Britain in her commercial transactions with the Ashantees and the other African nations. Upon this declaration

the king took Mr. Dupuis cordially and affectionately by the hand, exclaiming, " I believe you before I do my own generals; for you are a white man and the king of England's officer, and would not I am sure tell me a lie." *

The apprehensions and jealousy of the king, however, were too evident to admit of our urging the establishment of a school at Paintrey, or even to mention our wish to proceed further into the interior, as there was not the slightest hope of its being granted at this period. Time may, however, do much to remove the king's fears and suspicions; if not, I have suggested other measures for accomplishing our object. (Vide p. 36.)

The king enquired about Buonaparte, and on being told he was sent to a small island in the sea for being a tyrant, and disturbing the peace of nations, his sable majesty suddenly became thoughtful, and, after a

* The Ashantees have no expression short of " *You tell me a lie.*" The king was surprized on being told that the English made a great difference between a mistake and a lie. He said " the truth was not spoken in either case, and therefore it was the same thing." Vide Bowdich's Mission.

moment's silence, whispered to one of his ministers near him, and seemed to congratulate himself that he was out of the power of the king of England, lest he might be sent to St. Helena also.

His majesty expressed a desire to have the slave-trade re-established, and on being told it was impossible, as the king and parliament of England would never consent to such an inhuman traffic, he expressed his regret, and said that the embassy would have given him more pleasure if the slave-trade were again permitted. In reply to an observation that one great objection to the slave-trade originated from a belief that it encouraged the different chiefs to go to war for the purpose of making prisoners to sell to the slave-dealers, the king denied that such was the fact, observing, as a proof to the contrary, that since the abolition there had been constant fighting.

On leaving the palace this day, we called on Baba, the principal Moor, and were paraded through the streets by our Ashantee guide, with the British flag carried before us, attended by our soldiers and servants; but we were not in the least annoyed by any

crowd following us, as might be expected; on the contrary, the inhabitants merely looked at us as we passed, and were extremely polite and well-behaved. When we arrived at Baba's house, we found him sitting in an open porch writing and instructing some of his pupils in the Arabic. As soon as we had paid our respects, Mr. Dupuis asked him if he had any horses that he could sell or lend us to ride; upon which he replied in the negative, but said that one of his servants should conduct us to two Moors who had very fine horses, which no doubt they would oblige us with. Accordingly, we waited on these Moors, and were shewn their horses, both of which were spirited animals, in very good order, and about the size of our small horses in England. One was about fourteen hands high and strongly made, something resembling our light cart-horses, the other not quite so high, but more resembling a gentleman's saddle-horse. The one was a dark bay, the other a dun colour. The Moors who owned these animals were respectable and well dressed men, apparently superior to Baba, and were shortly

about to return to the interior, for which reason they said they could not sell their horses, as they should require them in travelling; but they expressed their willingness to oblige us with the loan of them to ride out occasionally. Mr. Dupuis thanked them; and, after inviting them to visit us the next day, we took our leave and returned to our quarters.

On Tuesday the 8th of March, we again waited on the king, when he stated that it was his wish to have an account of his wars with the Fantees, Assins, and Buntokoos written in a book to be kept for that purpose, that the king of England might read it himself, and see how ill he had been treated by those nations, and the forbearance he had shewn before he commenced war upon them. Agreeably, therefore, to his majesty's request, a book was set apart for this purpose, in which I had the honour to write an account of the wars from his majesty's dictation, and which book was kept by the king until after we left the capital, when it was sent to Cape Coast by a royal messenger, and is now in my possession. I shall therefore devote a

chapter expressly to these wars, at the conclusion of my narrative.

After an audience of nearly three hours, his majesty was pleased to dismiss us. But in the evening he sent for us again, when we attended, and found it was about the goods he had received in payment of the notes * he held from the governor of Cape Coast. Upon this occasion, we were admitted into a private apartment of his majesty, where we found him apparently much dissatisfied with the goods he had received, and the high prices which he said was put upon those goods, particularly the article of rum, for one anker of which he declared the English governor charged him as much as the Dutch governor did for three ankers, which were quite as large, and the rum of a quality equally good. This impression we endeavoured at first to remove, by stating that there certainly must be some mistake, as we conceived

* A note means a certificate of a monthly allowance to the king of Ashantee, paid as a sort of ground-rent for the forts, or in consideration of his influence and power to encourage the trade with our settlements.

it impossible that the governor of Elmina could supply three ankers at the same price which the governor of Cape Coast charged for one. His majesty, however, persisted in asserting that such was the fact, ordering the Dutch ankers to be produced for our inspection; and the coolness and patience with which he endeavoured to convince us that he was only stating the truth, (even though we repeatedly disputed the point, under the impression that there must have been some mistake,) was a striking proof of his superior intellect and great command of temper; for we afterwards found his majesty was correct in what he had stated.

It is proper, therefore, I should explain this apparent inconsistency. The governor of Cape Coast, as has been the immemorial practice, charges the king of Ashantee what is called the Company's prices, or the price at which the rum is issued from the Company's store, which is one ounce of gold, or four pounds the anker; although rum may be selling for a third of that value by private individuals, as was about this time the case. And as the governor of

Elmina sends a circular letter to Cape Coast to all the British merchants, to give in tenders of the lowest prices at which they are disposed to supply the garrison with goods, for bills on the Dutch government, it happened about this period, that one of our merchants at Cape Coast contracted to supply rum at the rate of twelve and fourteen gallons to the ounce; and there being scarcely five gallons to the anker, three ankers for one ounce due to the king of Ashantee were actually paid him, the governor of Elmina being obliged to pay the officers of the garrison, and those holding notes from the Dutch government, precisely on the same terms at which the articles may be contracted for; and it is to be observed, that merchants at Cape Coast, who are anxious to remit money to England, or who may be on the point of selling off their goods to return, will sometimes contract upon a large scale with the Dutch, at the same price, or perhaps less than what such goods cost them, in order to get bills on the government, such bills being always considered a safe remittance, and not liable to those losses and deductions

which attend a remittance of gold dust and ivory.

Although, therefore, we at first doubted what the king told us, yet we subsequently found that it was true, and accordingly promised to rectify it in future.

His majesty then requested I would examine the goods which the governor had sent him in payment of the notes he held from the fort, &c. On doing so, I found two pieces of cloth missing, which I mentioned; and our guide, Captain Adoo, who had been the bearer of the goods from the governor of Cape Coast, admitted that he had been under the necessity of taking the two pieces of cloth on the road, to subsist the people under his command, in consequence of their being longer on the journey than was expected when they left the Cape. The king, who was previously acquainted with this circumstance, appeared to be pleased at my correctness in discovering it; for he had kept it a secret at first purposely, as I presume, to see if I should do so.

His majesty then asked me the price of rum, cloth, powder, &c. to see if the go-

vernor had charged him correctly for the goods he had received in payment of the notes he held from the fort. The Ashantees make all their calculations with couries, (small shells) and are very expert in reckoning.

It was quite dark before we left the palace, and on returning to our quarters we were informed of the arrival of George Arbro, one of our linguists, from Cape Coast with letters ; which we were informed were detained by some of the king's officers who had taken them to the palace. We therefore sent a messenger to the king, requesting our letters, which we immediately received from Arbro, who was permitted to wait upon us after he had seen his majesty.

By this opportunity Mr. Dupuis received a letter from the governor and council, stating that the Pynins of Cape Coast had agreed to pay one hundred ounces of gold, (four hundred pounds,) to the king of Ashantee to settle the palaver, if Mr. Dupuis could prevail on his majesty to be satisfied with this sum.

This was the only information of a pub-

lic nature; but my private letters informed me of the dangerous illness of one whose life at that moment was of all others most valuable to me; and had not my duty compelled me to remain at Coomassie until the object of the embassy was decided, I should have instantly returned to Cape Coast. But nothing could induce me to leave Coomassie with my duty unperformed.

In my leisure hours I generally took a survey of the town, or paid a visit to Adoosey, whom, he being the king's head linguist, I considered the most likely person to forward the objects of the embassy, and as Mr. Dupuis was of the same opinion, he approved of my visits. Mr. Graves, being acquainted with the Ashantee language, usually accompanied me upon such occasions.

When we arrived at Adoosey's house, we were admitted into an outer court-yard, where having remained until our names were announced, we were conducted through three different apartments to an inner chamber. Here we found Adoosey seated with a pot of palm wine before him, and smoking his pipe. He received us in the

most friendly manner, and desired us to be seated. After paying the usual compliments upon such occasions, I explained to him that as he was the king's friend and head linguist, I could communicate with him more freely in private than Mr. Dupuis could with the king in public, before all the generals and linguists, and that what I said he could take a favourable opportunity of making known to his majesty when alone.

Adoosey nodded assent, and I proceeded to explain the objects of the embassy; stating, that Mr. Bowdich had written so favourable an account of the king of Ashantee, that the king of England and his government were anxious to be upon good terms with him, and that with this view Mr. Dupuis had been sent out to live at Coomassie to keep up a good understanding between the Ashantees and the English, and to make them all the same as brothers. I also added, that the king of England had sent out the handsome presents which he (Adoosey) had seen, and that if the king of Ashantee encouraged the trade with our settlements, other presents would

in due time be sent from England, and whatever the king might wish for, he could have if he kept upon good terms with the English; but I pointed out the great offence it would give if the king persisted in his demand on the Cape Coast people, who were living under the protection of Great Britain, and considered her subjects, and, consequently, that a demand upon them was almost the same as a demand on the English. Adoosey said he would explain all I had stated to the king, but carefully avoided saying any thing himself, either *pro* or *con.* Indeed, before he had time to do so, a messenger arrived to say he was wanted at the palace, and he was obliged to leave me abruptly, observing, that he should be happy to see me the next day.

Accordingly I waited upon him the following morning, when he appeared curious to know the particulars of the wars England had been engaged in; I therefore explained such particulars as I thought would interest him, and at the same time endeavoured to impress upon his mind the power, wealth, and consequence of Great Britain; at which he appeared much pleased, and said he

knew that England was very strong, and had conquered all her enemies, the same as the Ashantees had conquered the Fantees, the Buntakoos, and all their enemies.

In the course of conversation, I hinted that it would please the king of England to receive from the king of Ashantee any trifling present, such as a gold pipe * of the Ashantee manufacture, or any articles made by the Ashantees, as such trifles, I stated, would be highly esteemed in England, not for their intrinsic value, but on account of the workmanship. Adoosey replied, that he would mention it to the king, and that he had no doubt a handsome present would be sent to the king of England when Mr. Dupuis returned. †

* It is somewhat singular, that this article, among several others, was sent to the king of England immediately after; a sketch of which will be found in the plate of Prince Adoom.

† On Mr. Dupuis leaving the capital, the king gave him a curiously worked gold pipe, (value 30*l.*) one cloth, one silk sash, and one carpet, of Ashantee manufacture, besides two leopards to be presented to the king of England: three periguins of gold (30*l.*), two slaves, one country cloth, one rug, one horse, and one cow for himself; and other presents in gold to Messrs Salmon, Collins, and Graves.

As I conceived it of great consequence to gain the good opinion of this courtier, I presented him with my sword, observing, that I hoped he would make good use of it in the next battle he might be engaged in. He received it from me with great politeness, assuring me that the recollection of the person who gave it to him would always act as a stimulus to his exertions in any future wars he might be engaged in; expressing, at the same time, his apprehensions that I was depriving myself in parting with it; but I explained to him that I had a sabre at our quarters, which I always used in travelling; and that, as I should leave the capital in a day or two, I should not want my dress sword until my return to Cape Coast, where I could get another.

Soon after, I took leave of him, highly pleased with his affability of manners. In short, this man appears little inferior to the king; and, although it is true he has a hump-back, he has a very pleasing, handsome, and animated countenance, and is one of the most shrewd and sensible men at the Ashantee court.

Apokoo and the other three, who form the

aristocracy, may have more power than Adoosey, but I incline to think, from the situation he holds as head linguist, as well as from his great abilities, both as an orator and a statesman, that they have not more influence.

Adoo Quamina, of whom I have given a drawing, is another of the Ashantee courtiers, and deserves to be particularly mentioned. This man frequently visited us, but we considered him more as a spy upon our actions than a friendly visitor. He would sometimes entertain us with a description of the war with the Buntakoos, whom he described as a brave and powerful nation, and as having nearly overpowered the Ashantees in battle. He always spoke highly of this people; but of the Fantees, with the greatest contempt. "Fantees," said he, "can't fight: one Shantee can fight forty Fantees. With forty Shantees I can drive all the Fantees before me."

The next day, about twelve o'clock, we received a message from the king to wait on him, which we did as soon as we could dress ourselves in uniform; but having kept his majesty waiting a few minutes, when we arrived

at the palace, Adoosey came out to say the king could not then see us, as he was gone to dinner. We had, therefore, to return to our quarters, at which we were not very well pleased, as we always made a point of having the flag carried before us when we went to the palace; and therefore we considered that to allow ourselves to be dismissed without an audience after being sent for by the king, was an insult to the flag. Under this impression, Mr. Dupuis determined to notice it to his majesty at the next audience.

In the afternoon, at four o'clock, I waited on the king alone, and notwithstanding his refusal to see us in the morning, I seated myself near the entrance of the palace, and desired Captain Adoo to acquaint his majesty that I was waiting for an audience. This he at first declined doing, stating that he might lose his head if he intruded upon the king after he had once refused to see me; but I insisted on his compliance with my orders, assuring him that I would be responsible; when he delivered my message, and an audience was granted. On being admitted, I found his majesty in

the outer area of the palace, walking in company with Oteé, the junior linguist, and several attendants, giving directions respecting the new palace, which was a very high building of stone, to complete which he had sent to Elmina, Cape Coast, and Accra, for all the bricklayers he could get. To finish this building appeared to be his majesty's favourite object, and engrossed much of his time and attention. The bricklayers were kept constantly at work, and it was at that time in a state of great forwardness.

The king having enquired the object of my visit, I explained to him, through the medium of the linguist, that I had received letters from Cape Coast, which required me to return as soon as possible, and requested he would name an early day for my departure from the capital. His majesty replied that he should see me to-morrow, when he had some palaver to speak, after which he said I might go.

On the following morning we all attended at the palace, when Mr. Dupuis complained of the flag being returned on the preceding day; but his majesty said he

meant no insult to the King of England's flag, and his only reason for desiring us to return to our quarters was, that he was at dinner, and thought it would be keeping us too long to wait at the palace until he had dined. After this, I was directed by Mr. Dupuis to read over the new treaty; on doing which, the king interrupted me on the subject of the palaver with the Cape Coast natives, recapitulating at great length the whole of his grievances, and in particular the conduct of the Commenda people, in ill-treating his messengers, which has already been detailed so fully by me in my account of the proceedings at Cape Coast, (vide page 125.) that a repetition is here unnecessary.

Mr. Dupuis admitted the just cause which the king had to complain, but objected to the Cape Coast natives being responsible for the faults of the Commendas; availing himself, at the same time, of the plea, that the king of England having heard of their conduct, had given orders for the abandonment of Commenda fort, being determined not to encourage any of the natives on the coast in giving offence

to his majesty; adding, at the same time, that as the natives of Cape Coast were under the protection of the king of England, he hoped the king of Ashantee would be induced to relinquish his demand, from friendship for His Britannic Majesty, and in consideration of the punishment which had already been inflicted on the people at Commenda, by the abandonment of the English fort.

This argument, however, the king would not listen to, but expressed himself with great warmth and indignation; observing to Mr. Dupuis, "How can you wish me to give up my claim altogether on the Cape Coast people, when the governor (Mr. Smith), has sent a messenger to say that they shall pay a certain sum, if I will make it less, (reduce the amount of the demand,) and that he will receive the money from them for me?"

In support of this statement, the king brought forward one of his messengers (Endo), who had just arrived from Cape Coast, and who declared that he had been sent to the king with the above information from the governor in chief; in con-

firmation of which he appealed to Arbroah, the linguist, who was present at the discussion, and declared that he was the person who had interpreted to him the governor's message, in the public hall, at Cape Coast Castle. Arbroah being interrogated upon the subject most particularly, at the time, confirmed the king's statement so positively *, that we conceived, as the governor had interfered with our negociations in this particular, we should be fully justified in leaving this dispute for him to settle with the Ashantee ambassador at Cape Coast, which we accordingly did. The king indeed would not agree to any thing else, observing that he should look to the governor only for the settlement of his demand, agreeably to the message he had received.

* It is proper to mention that the governor of Cape Coast positively denied having offered any interruption to our negociations at Coomassie. A meeting upon this subject was held in the public hall at Cape Coast Castle before Sir George Collier, the Commodore of the station, in presence of all the officers and merchants at Cape Coast, when it is said, (for I was not present at the meeting,) that the governor cleared himself from all imputation of this nature.

Previously to this conversation, Mr. Dupuis had drawn out the treaty, stipulating for the Cape Coast people, a settlement of their dispute, but the king positively refused to listen to it; and on Mr. Dupuis offering his mediation, and demanding to know what reduction the king would make from his original demand, his majesty would not give any answer upon the subject, further than what has been already stated, that he should leave the settlement of this affair to the governor of Cape Coast and his nephew Prince Adoom.

In reply to an observation which was made by Mr. Dupuis, that the king had consigned over to the British government the natives residing under the forts on the coast, his majesty produced the original treaties, and requested me to read them over, and explain the contents to him; which being done, he said that they had not before been properly explained to him, as he never had agreed to give up his power over those people, whom he declared were his subjects, from Appollonia on the west, to Danish Accra on the east.

The king again stated that he relinquish-

ed his demand of 1600 ounces of gold on the governor of Cape Coast; but requested to be informed if there was not a clause in the treaty of 1817, binding the governor to pay a penalty in the event of any infraction of the treaty. On being answered in the negative, his majesty repeated, that Mr. Bowdich had told him the penalty for breaking the law was a fine of gold. In support of this statement, he first appealed to the linguists and captains, and then to Mr. Dupuis' servant, who accompanied Mr. Bowdich to Ashantee, and who was present at the time the treaty of 1817 was read over to the king, and this man confirmed what the king said. *

* I am bound in justice, both to Mr. Bowdich and the governor of Cape Coast, to observe, that the confirmation here alluded to by Mr. Dupuis' servant, and Arbro the linguist, ought to be received with great caution; as it is reasonable to suppose that any appeal from the king of Ashantee would be confirmed by these persons, for a very plain reason, that no black man would dare to deny what the king said in his presence. At the same time, I have stated the facts as they occurred, leaving it to the reader to decide how far the king and his witnesses are to be believed. Whatever my own opinion may be upon the subject, I do not conceive it would be correct to influence the reader either one way or the other.

Mr. Dupuis, in reply, observed, that he did not doubt his majesty's word, but a treaty so framed was not valid, as the governor of Cape Coast had no power to pay money on account of the king of England.

Upon this subject, a paper, signed by the officers of the embassy, will be found in the Appendix (No. 11.)

The king having positively and repeatedly refused to admit of Mr. Dupuis' mediation to settle the Cape Coast palaver for the reasons already stated, and having relinquished his claim on the governor of Cape Coast, and pledged himself, by all the means in his power, to support and encourage the commerce of the country with the British settlements, and not to allow any future differences to interrupt the trade with our merchants on the coast, nothing further remained to be done but to obtain his majesty's signature to the treaty to this effect, which will be found in the Appendix (No. 12.); and which was now read over by me, and approved of by the king and his ministers.

As this treaty, and a supplementary one, (Appendix, No. 13.) occasioned much con-

troversy at Cape Coast, between the governor and council, and Mr. Dupuis, I have given in the Appendix (No. 14.) a copy of that gentleman's letter, explanatory of those documents.

Conceiving therefore that my services could no longer be of any avail at the capital, and being anxious, for the reason already mentioned, to return to Cape Coast as early as possible, I availed myself of this opportunity to remind the king of his promise on the preceding day, to allow me to do so; but his majesty now wished me to remain two or three days longer; and alluding to the account of his wars, which I had written some days before to his dictation, he said, "Who will write any thing I wish, when you are gone?" I replied, that Mr. Salmon or Mr. Collins would do so in my absence. His majesty then asked Mr. Dupuis if he was agreeable that I should leave him; to which Mr. Dupuis replied in the affirmative. The king then turning to his ministers and generals for their opinion, Adoosey and several others said, with a smile, "Stop till Saturday." Upon this I desired our linguist to tell the king, "that,

as he gave his word I should go to-day, I expected he would keep it." His majesty then said I might go that afternoon; on which I advanced and shook hands with him, taking my leave at the same time. On shaking hands with him, he said, " Are you then determined to go? If you are, you must not do so until I send you a present."

I thanked his majesty for his kindness; after which I shook hands with his ministers and generals, when we all left the palace together and returned to our quarters.

I now gave orders to my hammock-men to hold themselves in readiness to depart that afternoon; and devoting the few hours left me, in arranging some public matters with Mr. Dupuis prior to my departure, I got into my hammock a little after four o'clock; and being accompanied a short distance through the town by Mr. Dupuis and the other officers of the embassy, I took leave of them, and immediately losing sight of the capital, I entered the forest on my return to Cape Coast, Thursday afternoon, the 10th of March.

CHAPTER XI.

It was a pleasant afternoon when I left Coomassie; and the inhabitants, who were sitting at their doors, enjoying the cool of the day under the large ganian-trees *, which spread their branches over different parts of the town, rose and greeted me kindly as I passed; some of them insisting on carrying me out of the capital, by way of compliment, as well as to relieve my hammock-men.

Those who have ever felt restraint or imprisonment, will easily imagine how happy I was on being once more out of the power of a monarch, who, although hospitable and generous, was nevertheless a savage, whose wretched government gave him full power over the lives and liberty of all who might offend him. That he had this power, there is no doubt; that he did not use it towards me when in his

* This tree is similar to the Banian in India.

power, I shall always consider a fortunate event.

As my hammock-men stepped along at a good pace, I soon passed through the crooms of Agogoo and Kilapata, a short distance from which the country became less woody, and the ground better cultivated.

The last rays of the setting sun were leaving the horizon as I passed through Kilapata; and the reflection that I was returning from a barbarous country, with the prospect of once more seeing my native land, and those who were dear to me, gave rise to the most pleasing sensations. Passing the river Dah, I immediately entered Sarassou; but I was unwilling to halt before it was dark, and I pushed on to Apotiaga, where I was provided with a comfortable hut for the night.

As I was retiring to rest, messengers arrived from the king with a present of gold, and the best wishes of his majesty for my safe return to Cape Coast.

The next morning, before five o'clock, I sent off the men who carried my trunks and bedding, and followed them soon after

in my hammock. Ascending to Aboyentum, I proceeded four miles farther, and passed through Yoko, Agemum, Biposs, Assiminia, and Gwabin, crooms which are all situated within six miles of each other; and at the end of ten miles, I entered Amafoo, where I halted and took refreshment. From Amafoo, I continued my journey through Agwanassie, Coroman, Samfou, Adadwassie, Dachasou, Asanquanta, and Kabo; and, at the end of twenty-four miles, entered Doompassie. I then pushed on to Quesa, and arrived there at seven o'clock, first passing through Fohman, a small croom, barely two miles to the southward of Doompassie. On my arrival at Quesa, which is the last Ashantee town on returning to the Coast, the cabboceer (named Amanquea) suffered me to stand in the streets for nearly a quarter of an hour with my people, without at all putting himself out of the way to procure a house for me. Observing this, I desired my servant to ask him if he wished to have his head sent for by the king of Ashantee! This was sufficiently understood without any further explanation.

The cabboceer immediately rose from his seat, and proceeding to the best house in the place, turned the inhabitants out to make room for me and my people; after which he sent me a fowl and two large bunches of plantains, and some eggs for my supper. Such is the influence of the king of Ashantee's name over all his dominions! To satisfy the cabboceer I had no intention of reporting him to the king, I sent for him and made him drink with me, at which he appeared much pleased.

The next morning I found him waiting to pay his respects to me as I left the town, which I did as early as six o'clock, and immediately ascending the hill, which forms the southern boundary of the Ashantee kingdom, I passed several plantations, rivers, and streams, leaving Moinsee to the eastward.

At the end of ten miles, I descended to Acrofroom, where I arrived at twelve o'clock, and refreshed myself with a little fruit and palm wine.

From Acrofroom I continued my journey, and passing a river one mile from the town,

I proceeded to Ansah and Asharaman, twenty miles from whence we set out in the morning. Here my people wished to remain all night, and some, who were behind, did halt here; but those, who were with me, I made proceed, as I was unwilling to halt while it was daylight. Soon after, however, as night approached, the rustling of the upper branches of the trees prepared me to expect what is so much to be dreaded by travellers in Africa, namely, a tornado, which in a few minutes raged with unabating fury for nearly an hour, and seemed to set the whole forest in commotion. The torrents of rain deluged the path; and plunging every instant up to my knees in mud and water, I had much difficulty in keeping my shoes on, and it was only with the most determined perseverance that I was able to reach the nearest croom. But the awful roaring of the thunder, and the vivid flashings of the lightning, which constantly illumined the forest, were most appalling. The horror was increased by the howling of the wind, the approach of night, and the apprehension of wild beasts, the lofty and stupendous cotton-trees falling at a

distance with dreadful crash; and immediate destruction appeared to threaten us at every step.

" Infernal seem the shades; they smite all drear,
" The eye with blindness, and the heart with fear."

Our situation indeed was dreary beyond description, and sufficient to shake the stoutest heart, and sicken the dauntless spirit even of a Park!

But greater troubles yet awaited us; for, on halting at the first croom (Atobiasé), I found myself without provision or baggage, having left my baggage-bearers behind, excepting one man, who carried a little provision for me in a box; in which my servant had unfortunately placed two bottles of palm-oil and spirits; and the man having thrown it off his head in the forest during the storm, broke the bottles, and the whole of my little provender was in consequence destroyed. Having left my luggage behind, I was obliged to take off my wet clothes, and wrap myself up in a dirty black's cloth, which one of the negroes kindly lent me. As soon as I had refreshed myself with a little cankey and a glass of water, I lay down for the night on a black's

mat, which with a country cloth was all my bedding, with a piece of wood for my pillow; but the large rats, which constantly kept running over me during the night, deprived me of sleep. The master of the house and his slaves were very kind in making a fire, and sitting up all night to dry my clothes: one dried my shirt, another my stockings and neckcloth, a third my forage-cap, and a fourth my jacket and trowsers; so that in the morning they were all ready for me; and, without waiting for my baggage-bearers to come up, I left Atobiasé at eight o'clock.

Before I had gone a mile and a half, I reached a small croom called Apiaga, and soon after Numeasu, from whence I crossed the Ading river, and in less than half an hour arrived at Kikiwhiri, where I allowed my hammock-men to remain three hours, to supply themselves with provisions preparatory to our crossing the Boosempra. During this delay, I took such refreshment as the place afforded, and bound up the wounds on my feet in the best manner I could, to protect them from the briars in the forest.

At two o'clock I left Kikiwhiri, and shortly after passing through Prassou, we arrived on the banks of the Boosempra.

Here I regaled myself for half an hour, and drank freely from the water of this beautiful river. Crossing the Pra, we entered the forest, and after passing through Meakering and Dansamsou, we arrived at Akomfodie about seven o'clock, where we halted for the night, much against my inclination; but I could not prevail upon my hammock-men, either by threats, bribes, or entreaties, to proceed any further, as they insisted upon waiting until the baggage-bearers and their companions came up, which some of them did in the course of the evening.

The next morning, as early as six o'clock, we started again, and passing through Yancomadie and Fousou, we arrived at Abandou at five o'clock, where we halted for the night.

We left Abandou on the following morning at four o'clock, and travelled for some time by torch-light. Passing several rivers and streams, which are particularly noticed on the journey to Coomassie, we arrived

at Mansue at twelve o'clock, after an unpleasant journey in the rain. We remained two hours at Mansue, and then proceeded to Cuttocomacasa, which we passed just as it became dark, and about nine o'clock we made a fire in the forest for the purpose of preparing torches to proceed to Paintrey that night if possible; but as soon as the fire was kindled, my people assembled round it with great composure, and appeared to be settling themselves for the night; to which I should myself have had no objection, after the fatigue I had already endured, but that I knew we could not be more than three or four miles from Paintrey, and for this reason, I was determined to push forward to that croom if possible, and pass the night, as I knew I should have good quarters there, and get refreshed with something comfortable to eat, as well as a good night's rest, which I had not enjoyed since my departure from Coomassie. In this, however, I was sadly disappointed, for although I succeeded in obliging my people to leave the fire and proceed, it was only for a short distance, they having deserted me very soon

after, in consequence of my having indulged them by getting out of my hammock to walk. But as I had not the smallest idea of their running away, I walked on for some time without looking behind me, and when I did so, I found they had decamped! It was in vain that I hallooed for them to return: I therefore continued my journey with the hope of soon reaching Paintrey. My servant (Quashie), a little black boy, was before me with a torch, lighting me along the path in the greatest misery. The smoke from the torch made my eyes so painful, that it was with difficulty I could keep them open to see my way; my feet being dreadfully lacerated, were tied up with the soles of an old pair of shoes and pack-thread, so that my pace was not very rapid; and occasionally kicking my feet against the roots of the trees in the path, gave me the most excruciating pain, and stopped my progress for a while, until I recovered a little from the agony. But I suffered most for the want of water, my people having carried away my hammock with a bottle which I had filled at the last stream we passed, and also my pocket compass, so that I could not see whether I

was going right or wrong. At last, my thirst was so great, that coming to a little dirty water in the path, which had collected from the rain in the morning, I was glad to drink heartily of this, although my boy had found it out in the first instance by stepping into it with his dirty feet. But those who know what it is to suffer from thirst, will not be surprised that I could drink greedily from this polluted swamp. I was now a little refreshed, and pursuing my course still through the wild and gloomy forest, with a narrow rugged path, which ill suited my disabled feet, I at length arrived at some extensive plantations of Indian corn and plantains, which gave me hopes of being near Paintrey, or the adjoining croom, called Yancomadie. But just at this moment, my boy, who was before me, lighting me along with a torch, loudly exclaimed "Majeh! majeh!" * and danced about like a frantic person. Before I had time to enquire what was the matter, I found out the cause, by feeling a number

* This is an exclamation the natives generally use when flogged. It signifies Father.

of large black ants * crawling up my legs, which stung me dreadfully, by digging their forceps into the sores on my feet. I had some difficulty in tearing them off. My boy, from the agony he suffered, threw down the torch, and I had now the misery to be left in this dismal forest without a light! Having, with my servant, retreated

* The ants here mentioned, are reptiles of the most surprising nature. There are different species of them; red, black, and white. They go in troops of millions and tens of millions; and the regularity and order with which they march from place to place are astonishing. In making their nests they throw up the earth to an incredible height, making hillocks at least six or eight feet high, and twenty feet, and more, in circumference; they also make their nests in trees. Bosman, speaking of these vermin, says, "They come to our forts and "chambers in such prodigious swarms, that they fre- "quently oblige us to quit our beds in the night time; "they are strangely rapacious, and *no animal can stand* "*before them.* They have often, in the night, attacked "one of my live sheep, which I have found a perfect ske- "leton in the morning, and that so nicely done, that the "best master of the dismembering art could not succeed "so well, it being impossible for human hands to have "done it so artificially. As swift as rats are, they can- "not escape them; and as soon as one of them assaults a "rat he is inevitably gone." These ants appear to have a sort of language, calling one another to seize their prey, when they march off with it in good order, all of them moving in the same direction.

from the nest of ants, we assisted each other as well as we could in the dark, in brushing them off our legs.

Worn out with fatigue, having travelled nearly thirty miles, exposed eighteen hours in my wet clothes, from the rain which had fallen during the day; deserted by my people, without any thing to eat, or a glass of water to allay my parching thirst; without even a bed of straw to lie down upon; without a great coat or any thing to shelter me from the heavy dews of the night; without the means of making a fire to keep off the wild beasts which every where surrounded me in the forest, I was almost without hope. And if any thing had been wanting to fill up the measure of this night's misery, it was the circumstance of my having travelled, in the early part of the day, in my wet clothes, which were doubly wet from the profuse perspiration I had been thrown into by walking, and which now hung about me the whole night.

To proceed on my journey, or to return, with a view of finding my people in the dark, I conceived was equally hopeless;

and indeed I was too fatigued, and in too much agony to do so. I therefore sat down in the forest, (being unwilling to climb a tree,) and waited anxiously for morning. In this situation the lines of Mr. Bird, in the "Vale of Slaughden," forcibly occurred to me; —

> But far remote thy native valley lies,
> Drear are the scenes thy dubious path supplies,
> Where, when the night falls chilly on thy head,
> Wilt thou, sad wanderer, find thy lonely bed?
> No friendly comfort near to hush the sigh
> That thou may'st breath in weary agony.

Having passed the night in singing * the most noisy songs I could think of, in which I was assisted by the discordant yells of my boy Quashie, (whom I was obliged to keep awake by a gentle rap occasionally on the head with my sabre,) I proceeded at day-light, and, in less than half an hour, passed through Yancomfodie; so that, had I continued my journey the preceding night,

* I did not sing *from an impression that music would charm the savage beasts*, but as I had no fire, I thought it was the best plan to prevent them from coming near me, which I have no doubt it did; for although I heard them frequently throughout the night, they did not molest either me or my companion.

only half an hour longer, I should have escaped the misery which I have just described.

On leaving Yancomfodie, we passed many extensive plantations of Indian corn, plantains, and fruit, and crossing a beautiful stream about a mile from Paintrey, we entered that neat little village, which, it will readily be imagined, was an agreeable relief to me, after the perilous night I had just encountered. Here I was received with the most cordial welcome by my old friend Quamino Hoyenesse, the housemaster, with whom we put up on our journey to the capital. A large brass pan of water was immediately provided to bathe my wounded feet, and, stripping off my wet clothes, I wrapped myself up in a large country-cloth of Hoyenesse's, and felt comparatively comfortable.

By the time I had bathed my feet, and made myself an African cabboceer, with the assistance of my friend's country-cloth, I was provided with two or three glasses of shrub, which I drank one after the other immediately, and found it of great service

in warming me all over; I then was provided with some fine deer chops, cankey, and ripe plantains (roasted), of which I ate very heartily, not having had a comfortable meal since crossing the Boosempra. As I waited at Paintrey until one o'clock, one of my men fortunately came up with a trunk containing my linen, which enabled me to dispense with my cabboceer's cloth, and supply myself with some dry clothes of my own. The hammock-men, who had deserted me the preceding night, now arrived, and begging my pardon for having left me in the forest, entreated me to accept of their services in carrying me to Cape Coast, alleging as an excuse for their conduct, that I had travelled so fast, it was impossible for them to keep up with me, and that when they halted last night, they had then gone twice as far as they had on their journey to the capital; at the same time shewing me their blistered feet, they said, "Master pass all man in this country for travel; no black man or white man before ever travel from Coomassie to Paintrey in five days."

I could not help receiving their excuses with good temper, although I reported their conduct to the governor at Cape Coast, as a duty to future travellers, from the impression that if I allowed them to desert me with impunity, they would serve other Europeans in the same manner. I would not, therefore, accept of their services in carrying me to Cape Coast, but procured a new set of hammock-men from Quamino Hoyenesse, and gave my recreant hammock-men a little gold to subsist themselves that day at Paintrey, that they might not have occasion to travel to Cape Coast until the next day.

Having regaled myself as just mentioned, I took leave of my old friend Hoyenesse, and getting into my hammock, soon lost sight of Paintrey.

Passing through Asoonqua, we continued our journey through a delightfully shaded path, with guava-trees on each side, forming a beautiful vista, and occasionally emerging from the most retired walks into a romantic country, well cultivated with plantations of yams and kasada: we arrived at Monree at

five o'clock; when I once more beheld the sea, with a British frigate and several other vessels riding at anchor in Cape Coast roads. The sight repaid me for any little sufferings I had experienced during my absence; and just as it became dark, I arrived at Cape Coast, where I immediately went to my own house, and reported my arrival to the governor.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Dupuis and his companions, Messrs. Salmon, Collins, and Graves, returned to Cape Coast a few days after me, accompanied by one of the king's Ocras *, and three other confidential slaves, which his majesty wished to be sent to England, in compliment to His Britannic Majesty, and to explain the views and sentiments of the Ashantee monarch.

The reason these ambassadors were not conveyed to England, I shall state candidly and impartially; and as I believe two of the parties, (Sir George Collier and Mr. Dupuis,) are now in England, to correct me should I be in error, they will of

* Ocras are favourite slaves, and sometimes relatives and men of rank, who stake their lives on the king's; so that, whenever the king dies, they are all murdered on his tomb, with women in abundance. The Ocras are known by a large circle of gold, which they wear on their breast.

course have the opportunity of doing so immediately; and I shall, in the mean time, keep myself open to conviction. But, as I shall study to avoid making any statement that I cannot be borne out in by public or private documents, I shall proceed without fear of contradiction; leaving the parties themselves to adjust the difference between them.

This difference (as particularly applicable to the governor and council, and Mr. Dupuis,) I have before adverted to; and however unwilling I may be to incline either to one party or the other, I cannot avoid saying, that such controversies, between public characters, upon mere points of punctilio, are, to say the least of them, highly discreditable; and, in the present case, particularly to be deplored, as having tended, in every stage of the embassy, to check its successful progress, and, ultimately, to defeat almost every essential object in view.

On Mr. Dupuis' arrival from Coomassie, instead of going to the castle, to pay his respects to the governor, he went directly to my house in town; the reason for which,

as stated by that gentleman, was, that no person, not even a corporal or sergeant, was sent out to receive him.

Two or three days after Mr. Dupuis' arrival, he requested me to wait upon the governor and council in the public hall, for the purpose of reading the treaties, and giving such explanations relative to our negociations at Coomassie as they might require.

Accordingly, with this view, I attended in the public hall; but, instead of being received there by the governor and council, I was met by Mr. Williams, the secretary, to whom I presented my credentials and authority from Mr. Dupuis; but that gentleman, after communicating a message from me to the council, (who were assembled in the governor's private apartments above stairs,) returned with their answer, to this effect, " that they could not grant me an audience for the purpose of reading the treaties."

Being unwilling, however, to leave the castle-hall without doing all in my power to obtain an audience, I remonstrated with the secretary upon the unreasonableness of

their refusal to hear the treaties read; and that gentleman, with his well-known politeness and condescension, conveyed my remonstrance to the council; but it was in vain that I attempted to alter their determination.

In consequence of being detained some time at the castle, Mr. Dupuis became uneasy, and joined me in the castle-hall, just as I was about leaving it; when he requested Mr. Williams to announce his name to the governor and council, which he did; but they also refused to see him: on which Mr. Dupuis desired the secretary to say, that as the council had refused to hear the treaties read, they should wait his convenience for copies of them.

We then left the hall together; and, some days after, Mr. Dupuis wrote the public letter, which will be found in the Appendix (No. 15.)

Just at this period, Sir George Collier, who was then the commodore on the African station, arrived in the Tartar frigate; and Mr. Dupuis sent me off to Sir George, to request a passage for him and Mrs. Dupuis to England; which, it will be

seen, was accordingly granted in the gun-room of the Tartar.

Mr. Dupuis having also applied for a passage in the Tartar for the Ashantee ambassadors, received the following answer:

His Majesty's ship Tartar,
Cape Coast Roads, April 16. 1820.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to receive your letter yesterday afternoon, informing me, for the first time, that two Ashantee ambassadors, with presents for the King of England, were desirous of having a passage in the Tartar, or some other man-of-war, to England; *and although I took an immediate opportunity, by my first lieutenant, Finlaison, of conveying to you, with my regret, the information, that if I considered myself at liberty to accede to the desire you expressed, by affording a passage in the Tartar; yet, your having deferred the communication till the very hour I had previously informed you I should sail, would of itself, I fear, preclude me from complying with your wishes.*

" I now do myself the honour of again

acknowledging the receipt of your letter above mentioned; and to it I add my extreme sorrow, that the fears I expressed to you in person yesterday, respecting the increase of fever on board the Tartar, has been verified.

" The report that has just now reached me is so unfavourable, that it makes it absolutely necessary that I should proceed without a moment's delay from off this coast, in the hope of checking the disease; which I shall positively do this evening.

" I regret that I do not feel myself authorised to order any ship of war from off this coast direct for England with the Ashantee ambassadors; but I shall leave directions with Captain Kelly on his arrival here, (probably in three weeks,) to proceed to Ascension, if you wish it, to afford them and yourself the means of obtaining a direct passage to England, in case you cannot avail yourself of the arrangements I made some days since for your being received on board the Tartar this evening.

" I must now express how truly I am mortified that any private feeling of ill-will

or contempt, existing between yourself and the governor-in-chief of this Castle, should have in any degree operated to the inconveniency of the public service; as I consider it was not only his bounden duty to have informed me of the circumstance of these ambassadors being in the town; but that either the governor or yourself should have timely informed me of their wishes to have embarked the presents you allude to, as well as to have informed me of the rank these people hold at the court at Ashantee.

" I beg to add, that ample room will be made on board the Tartar for any presents you may wish to bring with you, except the wild beasts.

" I have the honour to be,
" Sir,
" Your most obedient
" humble servant,
" George R. Collier,
" Commodore."

" Joseph Dupuis, Esq.
" His Majesty's Consul, &c.
" Cape Coast."

How far Sir George Collier, as a captain of one of His Majesty's ships, was justified in refusing to take the Ashantee ambas-

sadors, under the circumstances stated in his letter, I leave the reader to decide.

I will not dispute the fact of there having been some of the Tartar's crew in a sickly state; but it is well known, that there are no contagious fevers on the coast of Africa, to have made it necessary for Sir George to have hurried away without the ambassadors, as the delay of one day could not have made a very material difference: but admitting that it would, the ambassadors might have been put on board *at a few hours' notice*, as they were not men of such consequence to require any preparations to be made for their reception, but could have taken their passage under the care of one of the inferior officers, without the least trouble or inconvenience to Sir George. My humble opinion, therefore, is, that Sir George Collier was bound to take these ambassadors, and also the wild beasts, they being a present from the king of Ashantee to the King of England. In consequence of his not doing so, I had to keep them in my possession for five months, and to pay their passage to England, at a great expence to His Majesty; and the ambassadors, after

waiting at Cape Coast a considerable time, returned to the king of Ashantee: so that, after being taken from Coomassie, under a faithful assurance from Mr. Dupuis that they should be sent to England, they were now sent back to his sable majesty, to say that a passage to England was refused them!

Doubtless, the king would feel indignant on hearing of his messengers having been treated in this manner; it being in fact, little short of a direct and pointed insult to his majesty, and quite sufficient to remove any favourable impression which had been made on his mind by the visit of the last embassy to Coomassie.

That the king thinks highly of his ambassadors, there can be no doubt, from the manner in which he punished the Assins and Fantees for having killed two of his messengers in 1806. This, indeed, was the observation made by prince Adoom in the castle-hall, when some doubts were expressed for the safety of Mr. Dupuis and myself in going to Ashantee. Prince Adoom then observed, that the governor and council need not be apprehensive for our safety,

as the king always considered messengers sacred either in peace or war; as a proof of which, he mentioned the fact I have just adverted to.

Mr. Dupuis having sailed from the Coast in the Tartar, on the 16th of April, appointed me a second time to the situation of consul for Ashantee; but as the governor and council still persisted in refusing to recognise my appointment, I protested against their conduct, (as will appear from the Appendix,) and took the earliest opportunity of returning to England.

CHAPTER XIV.

HISTORY, CONSTITUTION, CUSTOMS, &c.

My short stay at Coomassie, and the various public duties to which my time and attention were necessarily devoted, will not enable me to enter into a very minute detail of the history, manners, and customs of the Ashantees; neither, indeed, is it necessary, Mr. Bowdich having already preoccupied the ground. I am, therefore, indebted chiefly to that gentleman for the following observations, which I hope will not be uninteresting.

In Bosman's account of Guinea, the Ashantees are spoken of about the year 1700, as a powerful nation, having at that time conquered the king of Dinkira, when, it is said, above 100,000 men were killed. Allowing, however, only half that number, it is evident, that if the Ashantees were at that time so powerful, it must have taken

some time for them to have become so, and, therefore, I am inclined to think that this kingdom was founded before the period Mr. Bowdich supposes; instead of 110 years, I calculate, at least, 150 years ago; but on this subject I leave the reader to decide, from the extract from Bosman, which I shall give in the next chapter.

The Ashantees, like the Dahomyans, dare not speak of the death of a former king, or of the person likely to succeed to the throne, on pain of death; consequently, it is not very easy to trace their history. But according to common tradition, they emigrated from near the waterside, and subjecting the western Intas and two other powers, founded the present monarchy. The language of the Ashantees and Fantees is nearly the same, which leaves room for the hypothesis, that they were originally one and the same nation, although in one particular, they have not the most distant resemblance to each other; and that is, in warlike skill and determined courage, for which the Ashantees are remarkable; while the opposite traits are well-known characteristics of the Fantees.

Sai Tootoo, assisted by other leading men of his party, and encouraged by superstitious omens, founded Coomassie and was presented with the stool * for his superior abilities. The Dwabin monarchy was founded at the same time by Boitinné, who was of the same family as Sai Tootoo, being the sons of sisters. These two nations have maintained a common interest for more than a century. In 1720 Sai Apokoo succeeded his brother Sai Tootoo; but had there been no brother, the sister's son would have inherited. This rule of succession excluding all children but those of a sister, is founded on the argument, that if the wives of the sons are faithless, the blood of the family is entirely lost in the offspring; but should the daughters deceive their husbands, it is still preserved. Apokoo was succeeded in 1741 by his brother Sai Aquissa. On the death of Aquissa, Sai Cudjoe ascended the stool, under whom the aristocracy was retrenched.

* "To succeed to the stool," does not mean to the seat in council only; but also for succeeding to property. The same stool or seat descends from one generation to another, the same as the coronets of our nobility.

He raised his favourite captains to the vacant stools, uniting three or four into one. In 1785 Sai Quamina succeeded his grandfather Sai Cudjoe, but Quamina was dethroned by the intrigues of his mistress, and as a release from disgrace and poverty, implored death, which was inflicted by fixing his feet on the ground, bending his body backward with a prop in the small of his back, and suspending several large elephant's teeth from a noose around his neck, which, hanging from the prop, strangled him. Sai Apokoo succeeded his brother Sai Quamina, but did not live to enjoy his elevation more than a few weeks, when he was succeeded by his brother Sai Totoo Quamina, the present king, in the year 1799; being then, as I suppose, about twenty-four years of age; that is, believing him to have been forty-five when I saw him. Mr. Bowdich, however, supposes him to have been only seventeen when he was made king. His majesty is courteous and dignified in manners, humane and liberal in disposition, and able and eloquent in argument; more so than any of his counsellors, excepting Adoosey, the minister premier. He takes

every opportunity of increasing the number of secondary captains, by dignifying the sons of those who are brought up about his person. His private character is amiable, as will appear from the following anecdote from Mr. Hutchinson's diary, (p. 418.) "His Majesty some years ago, took one of Apokoo's daughters to wife; she is now one of the finest women in Coomassie, and must have been a great beauty. It was discovered by the chief eunuch that she had intrigued with one of the attendants. It was told the king that one of his wives had proved false. 'Let her die instantly,' said he in a rage. The slave whispered him, 'it is Apokoo's child.' He rose in silence, and went to the harem, and the culprit being sent for, the king turned his head away while he folded his cloth around him, and lifting the curtain to let her pass, he exclaimed, 'Go, you are free! your father was my father;* he

* The present King carried an elephant's tail before Apokoo until he unexpectedly succeeded to the stool; it being usual at Ashantee for the sons of the nobility to do so. Whenever the King dignifies a deserving subject, he exchanges some of his own sons or nephews for

is my friend, and for his sake I forget you; when you find any man good enough for you, let me know and I will give him gold.'"

The manners of the superior captains are polite and hospitable in private, though haughty and abrupt in public. They think that war only affords fit display for ability. The lower order of people are insolent and licentious.

The Ashantee constitution is composed of the king, the aristocracy, (consisting of four,) and the assembly of captains. It admits of the interference of the aristocracy in all *foreign* politics, extending even to a veto on the king's decision; but they watch rather than share the *domestic* administration, influencing it by their opinion, but never controul it by authority; and their opinions on civil questions, are submitted with deference, directly contrary to their bold declarations, on subjects of war or tribute, which amount to injunction.

The general assembly of the cabboceers and captains is summoned to give pub-

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those of the individual, who maintains them, and for whom they perform the same offices as his own and others do for the King.

licity to the will of the king, and the aristocracy, and to provide for its observance. The king is heir to the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest. This law, however, is sometimes rendered of little or no effect, by the father presenting his children with most of his gold just before his death.

It being the practice to bury a considerable quantity of gold with the corpse of any rich person, that which is buried with members of the royal family is sacred, and cannot be used but to redeem the capital from the hands of an enemy, or in extreme national distress. The blood of the royal family is held sacred, and cannot be shed; but when guilty of a crime deserving death, they are drowned in the river Dah by a particular captain named Cudjo Samfani. Interest of money is 33⅓ per cent. for every forty days. To be convicted of cowardice is death. If any subject picks up gold dropt in the market-place, it is also death, it being collected only by order of the government on state emergencies. Riding out with Mr. Dupuis one day, he lost a valuable gold-seal — of which he immediately acquainted the king,

who returned for answer that it should be sent to him in the course of the morning. Accordingly the gong-gong was beat, and in less than an hour the seal restored to its owner! I very much doubt if it would have been so easily recovered in England.

To rob the king, or intrigue with the female attendants of the royal family, is punished by emasculation; but crim. con. with the wife of a man who has been so punished, is death. No man is punished for killing his own slave, but he is for the murder of his wife or child. If a great man kills his equal in rank, he is generally allowed to die by his own hands. If a person brings a frivolous palaver against another, he must give an entertainment to the family and friends of the acquitted. If an Aggry bead is broken in a scuffle, seven slaves are to be paid to the owner. No man is allowed to praise the beauty of another man's wife. None but a captain can sell his wife, or put her to death for infidelity. When the family of a wife is too powerful for the husband to venture to put her to death for intrigue, he takes off her nose, and makes her the wife of one of his slaves. A wife who betrays a

secret, loses her upper lip; and if discovered listening to a private conversation of her husband's, an ear. Those accused of witchcraft, are tortured to death. Slaves have the liberty of dashing * themselves to a freeman or to the fetish, which in some measure prevents their masters from treating them ill.

There is a tradition among the Ashantees, "that in the beginning of the world God created three white and three black men, with an equal number of women; and that they might not have reason afterwards to complain, he gave them their choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash was set on the ground, together with a piece of paper, sealed up on one side of it; God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it to contain every thing good; but on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron, and several other metals, for which they did not know any use. The white men opening the paper, were told every thing. God left the blacks in the bush, but conducted the whites to

* Giving a dash signifies a present.

the water-side, communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship, which carried them away to another country, (for all this happened in Africa,) whence they returned after a long period." With this imaginary alienation from God, no despondency is associated; they consider, indeed, that it diminishes their earthly gifts and comforts, but that futurity is a state of torpitude to the majority of mankind. The king's cabboceers and the higher class are believed to dwell with the superior deity after death; and under this idea, arises the barbarous custom of sacrificing a certain number of both sexes at funerals, to accompany the deceased and attend him in the next world. The spirits of the inferior class are thought to inhabit the houses of the fetish in a state of indolence. Those of superior wisdom are said to be appointed guardians to those who acknowledge the fetish; but they have their bad spirits as well as their good ones. Persons neglecting the funeral rites of their family, are haunted by the ghosts of those whose crimes have nullified, or whose circumstances have deprived them of the

mediation of the funeral solemnity. There are two orders of fetish men; the first dwell with the fetish, who have a small round house generally built at a distance from the town. The other class mix with the people, and are treated much like fortune-tellers or conjurors, in Europe. The occult science of these men consists in knotting and dividing behind the back, several strings and shreds of leather. Half the offerings to the fetish are thrown into the river, the other half belongs to the priests. The Ashantees, as well as the Fantees, always spill a little liquor upon the ground before they drink, as an offering to the fetish; and when they rise from their seats, their servants instantly lay them on their sides, to prevent the devil, (whom they say is white,) from slipping into their masters' places. Suicides are frequently committed among the Ashantees; a remarkable instance occurred when I was at Cape Coast. An Ashantee having struck the sentry at the castle gate, he was confined in the slave hole, where he hung himself in the night. An alarm was given, and I was one who accompanied the cap-

tain of the guard to the place of his confinement; when we found the poor fellow upon his knees, hung to a sort of manger by his cloth, which he had taken off his body to accomplish his purpose.

The Moors have hitherto exercised the greatest influence at Ashantee, and a few lines written by Baba, the chief of the Moors at Coomassie, is believed to possess the power of turning aside the balls of the enemy in battle, and is purchased at an enormous price; writing paper is consequently very valuable at Ashantee. Mr. Dupuis gave Baba several quires, which highly pleased him. I have said that the Moors have hitherto possessed the greatest influence; it is therefore proper I should explain why they do not still possess this influence to so great an extent as they formerly did. In the late battle between the Ashantees and Buntakoos, when the balls were flying about rather briskly, Baba skulked out of the battle, and was not to be found until it was over; when, it is said, the king reproached him thus:—"How can you expect that I can have faith in your fetish, if you are afraid of the balls

yourself?" Since that period Baba and his companions have lost much of their influence, and it was a long time before the king would be friends with him. Indeed, during my stay at Coomassie, I could not perceive they had half the influence which I should have supposed they had, from reading Mr. Bowdich's work. Doubtless, however, they still possess influence to a certain extent; but I never observed them present at any of our meetings, except on public occasions, when they attended with the rest of the people.

Time, and a more intimate acquaintance with Europeans, will, no doubt, convince the Ashantees of their folly in believing the mystical absurdities of the Moors. Two of their inferior priests accompanied Prince Adoom on his embassy to Cape Coast, where they lived at my house for some time; and the gross falsehoods they frequently told me will appear from the following. When I asked them if the path to Coomassie was in good order, they immediately assured me it was a fine broad path well cleared! To an enquiry respecting the houses at the capital, they said I should find them much superior to that

which I occupied at Cape Coast! And on asking them if I should be able to get a horse to ride at Coomassie, they replied, certainly, that their chief (Baba) would make me a present of one; when it will be seen elsewhere, that on Mr. Dupuis applying to Baba, he had not one belonging to him even to lend us! The reason for these people telling such falsehoods, it is difficult to imagine, except that they are so habituated to lying, that they seldom speak the truth. They visited us several times at Coomassie, but Mr. Dupuis generally communicated with them alone.

The yam custom in Ashantee, as well as in Fantee, is annual, and is held just at the maturity of that vegetable. This is their greatest national solemnity. The Adai custom has been already noticed; and as the observance of the one is attended by much the same cruelties as the other, any further notice of them would be painful to the reader, as well as unnecessary.

"The death of a person of consequence is announced by a discharge of muskets. In an instant all the slaves rush from the house, hoping to escape; but one or more

are always sacrificed at the door of the house. On the death of a king, his brother's sons and nephews, affecting insanity, fire among the crowd: no rank is safe. The law allows the king 3333 * wives; a number which is carefully kept up, although his majesty does not keep more than six at the palace. They live quite secluded, and are never approached but by the king's messengers, or their female relatives, who only communicate with them at the entrances, where there is always a guard. None but the chief eunuch is allowed to bear a message to the king when in the seraglio. The king has a small troop of boys, who carry the fetish bows and arrows, and are licenced plunderers. Whatever they can steal is deemed fair game. The king's weights are one-third heavier than the current weights of the country, which is a source of emolument to the household. When the king sends an ambassador he enriches the splendour of his suite and attire as much as possible; but there is also attached to the embassy a

* This is a mystical number in the eyes of the natives, as they seem to think, as many Europeans do, that there is a divinity in odd numbers.

mean-looking, but shrewd boy, as a kind of spy on the whole proceeding. It is a practice of the king to consign sums of gold to the care of rising captains, without requiring payment for two or three years, at the end of which time the king expects it to be returned. If no advantage has been made of it, the person is thought unworthy of further assistance.

" Apokoo (keeper of the treasury,) holds a kind of exchequer court at his house daily, to decide all cases relative to the revenue. In all public trials, the charges are preferred against the criminal by the king's linguists; the accused is always heard fully, and is obliged either to commit or exculpate himself upon every point. The oaths are various; that by the king's foot is not considered decisive, as perjury to this oath is commutable by fine; those by the king's father are held binding; and still more so are those made " by Cormantee and Saturday." (Vide page 347.)

" I will describe two modes of taking fetish: one, licking a white fowl twice or thrice, and drinking a nauseous vegetable juice without coughing; it is administered

by the linguist out of a brass pan in a folded leaf of the plant. If the accused is cleared, he comes forward, and is marked with white chalk by the linguist. The second is taking doom, which is the infallible test, when they consider the case to be too doubtful for human decision. The bark of that tree is put into a calabash with water, so as to make a strong infusion; it is stirred up whilst the suspected parties sip in turn; those who sip first may recover, and the dregs are frequently left designedly for the obnoxious."

The Ashantee loom is precisely the same as the English: their cloths are very fine and showy; their patterns are printed with a fowl's feather, with much taste and regularity: they excel in pottery; the clay is very fine, and after baking is polished by friction, and the grooves of the patterns are filled up with chalk: they are also skilful in goldsmith's work; but they have no idea of making iron from ore as their interior neighbours have: they tan leather well, but are indifferent carpenters.

The climate of Ashantee I consider more healthy than on the coast. The in-

habitants are very subject to dysentery from the marshes which surround the capital: it rains at intervals six months in the year. Mr. Bowdich estimates the population of Ashantee at a million; but I think he has greatly overrated it. The population of Coomassie may be about 15 or 20,000: the men are not so strongly made as the Fantees; but the women are generally handsomer in their persons, and more pleasing in their manners.

"The food of the higher orders is chiefly soup of dried fish, fowls, beef, or mutton, and ground-nuts stewed in blood: palm wine is their usual beverage, but they have also a drink made from Indian corn called pitto.

"The markets are held daily. Amongst the articles for sale were beef (about 8d. per lb.), and mutton cut in small pieces for soup, wild hog, deer, monkey's flesh, fowls, pelts of skins, yams, plantains, Indian corn, sugar-cane, rice, encruma (a mucilaginous vegetable resembling asparagus), peppers, vegetable butter, oranges, papaws, pine apples, bananas, salt and dried fish from the coast, large snails smoke-dried,

eggs for fetish, pitto, palm-wine, rum, pipes, beads, looking-glasses, sandals, silk, cotton-cloth, powder, small pillows, white and blue cotton-thread, calabashes, &c. &c.

The price of a good bullock at Coomassie is about 6l., a sheep 15s., and a fowl 1s. 8d.

"The revenue arises from various sources; the gold dust of all deceased and disgraced subjects; a tax in gold upon all the slaves purchased for the coast; a tax upon the elephant hunters; the washings of the small pits in Soko, yielding from 700 to 2000 ozs. per month; a tax upon every chief increasing his gold ornaments, and also the tributes paid by dependant states.

"Coomassie is built upon the side of a large rocky hill of iron stone; it is an oblong of upwards of three miles in circumference; four of the principal streets are nearly half a mile long, and 50 yards wide; they have all a name, and a principal captain resides in each. There are about 27 streets in all."

The cattle at Coomassie are nearly as large as the English. All the cows belong to the Moors, who regularly supplied us with milk, it being fetish with the Ashan-

tees, so that they will neither drink nor touch it unless by accident. The sheep at Ashantee, as well as at all our settlements on the coast, are hairy, with long legs. The horses are small, with large heads and lathy legs. The Ashantees seldom ride on horseback, consequently they are bad horsemen. The number of horses at Coomassie did not exceed a dozen, and the price of a good one was 8 and 10 ozs. (32l. or 40l.) The Ashantees use no implement but the hoe; yet their plantations are neatly laid out, and enclosed, with a house at the gate, where the slaves, who take care of it, sleep.

They have two crops of corn a year; they plant yams at Christmas, and dig them early in September. The oranges are large, but I did not think them of that excellent flavour which Mr. Bowdich mentions. The castor-oil rises to a large tree. The cotton plant is very common, but little cultivated. The usual African animals are found here. The currency of Ashantee is gold dust, but the Ashantees are more inclined to be a warlike than a commercial people: they do, however, carry on a considerable trade in gold dust and ivory with our merchants

on the coast; but the chiefs consider trade beneath their attention.

On our journey to the capital, we met many traders going to the coast with gold dust and elephant's teeth. These traders on their arrival at our settlements are always imposed upon by the Fantees, who act as brokers or agents between them and the Europeans: it is the common practice for these fellows to cheat the Ashantees of nearly one-third of the value of an elephant's tooth. The way this is done, is by the Fantee brokers making a bargain with the Europeans for more than they receive in the presence of the Ashantee trader, and the overplus is reserved by the European merchant for the broker, who calls for it the day after; so that the king and Sir James Yeo were very right when they said the whites joined with the Fantees in cheating the Ashantees. This practice, however, I believe, much to the credit of the English merchants, has in some measure been put a stop to within the last two years. The profits made by Europeans on goods sold to the Ashantees are from 50 to 100 per cent.; and those made by the Ashantee

traders, in retailing goods at Coomassie, are from 100 to 400l. per cent. The principal articles of trade will be found in the Appendix, in the list of the Company's prices. The most valuable article sold to the Ashantees, is the Indian silk or taffeta, the price of which is 3l. 10s. and 4l. per piece, of 11 yards: these are unravelled by the Ashantees, and wove into cloths of their own manufacture; they prefer those from Fezzan for this purpose, as the colours are more showy. Coarse thick scarves are also brought from the interior.

It has already been mentioned that the currency of Ashantee is gold dust; that of Inta, Dagwumba, Gaman, and Kong, cowries. Cowries (small shells,) are also the currency at Accra, but at all the other British settlements on the coast it is gold dust. Mr. Lucas writes, "To the merchants of Fezzan who travel to the southern states of the negroes, the purchase of gold, which the dominions of several, and especially those of Degombah, abundantly afford, is always the first object of commercial acquisition." Mr. Bowdich says, "I could not learn that any gold was dug or collected in

Dagwumba, though considerable quantities are imported from its extensive commerce."

I have no doubt but the natives dig for the gold in the interior, from the large pieces of pure gold which are sometimes purchased from the Ashantees, weighing 10 and 15 ozs. Mr. Hutchison mentions having noticed a piece in the king's possession, weighing 20 ozs. (80l.) I have never seen (either in the interior, or on the coast,) the natives dig for the gold; but I have frequently observed fifty old women under the walls of Cape Coast Castle washing for it. The method they adopt is this: early in the morning after a hard shower of rain, when the gold is supposed to be driven down to the sea side from the mountains, they assemble under the fort, each of them having two or three calabashes or bowls; these they fill with earth, and by continually washing and throwing water over it, the gold being heavier than the sand, sinks to the bottom of the calabash. After great labour they pick out whatever small particles there may be. In a whole day they may not get more than the value of a few shillings;

sometimes not more than a shilling or two, so that only old women think it worth their trouble to wash for it.

There are nine great paths leading from Coomassie, namely, the Dwalein, Akim, Assin, Warsaw, Sawee, Gaman, Daboia and Sallagha, which places Mr. Bowdich has described so fully that I have nothing to add respecting them, further than as relates to the late war with Gaman, which I shall notice in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

WARS.

The wars of a barbarous people abstractedly, cannot be very interesting; but the following account of them, being written by me to the king's dictation at the palace of Coomassie, will perhaps greatly increase their interest; and as I have the original which I wrote at the time, in my possession, the reader may depend on the following being a faithful interpretation of the king's sentiments. The extracts, also, which I shall give from Bowdich and other authors, to make this account as complete as possible, I believe to be perfectly correct.

The origin of the war between the Ashantees and Assins was, that two rival chiefs of that nation, (the Assins,) named Apinnanim and Atanesefu, fought amongst themselves. After fighting very hard, and destroying

a number of people, the king of Ashantee, as a mediator, sent them a present of gold to settle the palaver; but they would not do so, but still continued to fight. They refused to admit of the king's mediation; and the chief, Atinesefu, ran to the Fantees, when the king sent his captains and criers of the court, with two pieces of manilla, to endeavour once more to settle the palaver; but on doing so, Atinesefu, assisted by the Fantees, took the gold, and killed the messengers.

The king having heard of the ill-treatment of his people, sent Apokoo and Apier, (two of his generals,) with an army, giving them orders to destroy Atinesefu, and those Fantees who had interfered. On their march, they strewed leaves to shew that they were not hostile to those countries they passed through, but only with the persons who had provoked the war. They told the Fantees that they had no war with them collectively as a nation, but only against those who had interfered by assisting Atinesefu. The Fantees, however, took up arms against the king, and a battle ensued, when the Fantees and

Atinesefu were defeated at Benda, and one captain (Até,) was taken prisoner, and sent to Coomassie. His majesty here desired the linguist to repeat that the army, on marching through the Fantee country, previous to the battle, strewed leaves the same as they did on passing through the Assin territories. *

On shewing the prisoners at Coomassie, that had been taken by Apokoo and Apier, Até was exhibited, chained to a log, and Apokoo then declared to the people that this man had taken up arms against the king. Nevertheless, he was liberated from his chains, to remain at Coomassie until further information was received from the Fantees. This happened in the reign of the king's brother, Zai Quamina. †

At this period the former king died, and the present king succeeded him on the stool.

The Fantees now sent word that the king must put a price upon Até, that they

* Assin, it will be recollected, lies between Ashantee and Fantee.

† The king always spoke of the deeds of the former monarch the same as his own.

might redeem him, which they promised to do, and the price affixed, was sixty pereguins * of gold; but the Fantees never kept their promise.

The king demanded that those Assins, who had joined the Fantees, should be delivered up as a condition of the peace, but this was not done.

The king also ordered that all the Assin chiefs, who had been taken by Apokoo, should be decapitated as traitors, which was done accordingly.

The king then sent a proper captain (one of his own linguists) with gold chains, rings, and gold dust to the Assins, to pay any debts they owed to the Fantees; and the Assin chiefs were ordered to appear before the king at Coomassie.

The Fantees again sent word that they wanted Até; but the king replied, that until he received the sixty pereguins of gold, Até must remain prisoner; but added, that he would send him to Assicooma, a croom near the Fantee country, to remain there until ransomed at the price mentioned.

* A pereguin is equal to 2 *oz.* 4 *as.* or 9 *l.* currency.

Soundou, the name of the king's linguist, was sent to settle the palaver; after Soundou went to Fantee, he told the Assins on his return to Ashantee, to accompany him; but they would not do so, but stole Até away.

The king then said, "Very well, you stole Até,—where is my sixty pereguins of gold?" But the Fantees now declared, that they would only give a case of liquor, and ridiculed the king, saying, that he might purchase guns with large fish, of which they sent a sample, while they said they could purchase them on the coast with framfras.* The sea, they said, was larger than Boosemaché,† meaning that they could get a greater supply of framfras than the king could river fish, and guns in proportion.

The Fantees then took all the gold a

* Framfras are a small fish which are taken in great abundance with the cast-net by the natives on the coast, who chiefly live upon them.

† Boosemaché is a lake four miles long and three broad, about fifty miles from Coomassie, on the great path leading to Akim and Accra. Thirty crooms are situated around it, which are supported by fishing, and fish are daily sent from this lake for the king's table.

second time, and killed Asoundou and his companions. The king on hearing this, said, "Very well, I will now go and fight the Fantees;" which he did with his own army and part of the Assins who joined him. But the other Assins, with Cheboo * Apotey, and Safou, joined the Fantees and fled to Cape Coast from Annamaboe. After the battle at Annamaboe, Colonel Torrane seized upon Cheboo, and sent him to the king by the wish of the Cape Coast people, as they feared the Ashantees would destroy Cape Coast. Colonel Torrane then went to Annamaboe, and made friends with the king; but the Fantees again gave battle to the Ashantees, when they (the Fantees) were driven to Aquapim, and eastward. A number of prisoners were taken and all their heads cut off; but one Braffoo captain, named Adooko, made his escape. The people of Accra and Elmina are the king's good friends; and when the king returned to Ashantee after the battle, he heard the

* This man was blind, and Colonel Torrane, to put a stop to the war at Annamaboe, seized upon him, and delivered him up to the king of Ashantee, who decapitated him.

Fantees were making war with the Accras:* he then sent his captains again to fight, and defeated the Fantees a second time. In justification of this act, the king observed, that if any one treated Mr. Dupuis ill, it would be his duty to take his part and fight for him, as he was the king's friend. The reason the Fantees fought against the Elminas and Accras, was, because they assisted the king when he fought against the Fantees.

The Fantees sent to Quamina Akim, to beg the king to make peace and be friends; but they were only playing, and did not mean to do so, as they immediately made war, and induced ten tributary states to join them against the king; namely,

Kotokoo	-	King Cudjoe Coomae.
Abaqua	-	King Atta, (who was succeeded at his death by Coffee Ashantee.)
Aseaqua	-	King Borokoo.

* This I know to be true, as I was at Accra at the time that Town was blockaded by the Fantees in 1809; a battle ensued, when the Fantees were defeated and many taken prisoners; the fingers and hands of whom were cut off by the Accras and roasted in the streets.

Aquapim	-	King Assafrotchwi.
Sabah	-	King Yonminta.
Braqua	-	King Yamo.
Assecooma	-	King Ecoome.
Adobin	-	King Amoo.
Encoom	-	King Agai.
Warsaw	-	King Intefoe.

But the king sent his captains with a large army to invade Fantee, and destroyed them all."

As the account of this invasion of Fantee is correctly given by Mr. Meredith * in his account of the Gold Coast, and in the Appendix to Mr. Bowdich's work, as well as in Robertson's Notes on Africa, it would be superfluous to repeat the particulars upon this occasion.

As long as the Ashantees have been known to Europeans, they appear to have been a brave and warlike people, and in tracing back their history, the first account of any battle of moment, is given by Bosman about the year 1700, in the following words :

* This gentleman was afterwards murdered by the people of Winnebah. Vide Appendix.

" The king of Dinkira, a young prince, whose valour was become the admiration of all the negroes of the coast, sent some of his wives to compliment Zay the king of Asiante; who not only received and entertained them very courteously, but sent them back, charged with very considerable presents, to express his obligations for the grateful embassy. And being resolved to return his obligation, he, some time after, sent some of his wives to compliment the king of Dinkira, and assure him of the great esteem he had for his person. These Ambassadresses were not less splendidly treated at Dinkira, being also loaded with presents. But the king cast a wanton eye upon one of them, and hurried on by lust, gratified his brutal desire; after satiating which, he suffered her, together with the rest, to return to their country and their injured husband, who was informed of this affront. But he took good care to make the king of Dinkira sensible that he would not rest till he had washed away the scandal in his injurious blood. Whilst the king of Asiante was making preparations

to attack his enemy, the king of Dinkira died, which might encourage a belief that the impending cloud of war would blow over: but he still immoveably persisted in his purpose of utterly extirpating the Dinkirans; accordingly about the beginning of this year (1700) being completely ready, he came with a terrible army into the field, and engaging the Dinkirans, who expected him, he beat them; but fighting them a second time, he entirely defeated them.

"The Negroes report, that in these two battles, above 100,000 men were killed. The plunder after this victory, took up the Asiantees fifteen days, (as 'tis said, but perhaps largely enough) that Zay's booty alone amounted to several thousand marks of gold, as is affirmed by one of our European officers, who was sent on an embassy to Zay, and says, he had several times seen the treasure. This messenger of ours, who is now in the Asiantean camp, has orders to take an exact account of what he hears and sees there." (Bosman's Account of Guinea, page 66.)

Mr. Bowdich writes that "Sai Tootoo

having defeated the Akims and Assins, subjected the Tufel country, and subdued many small States in the neighbourhood. He also conquered Dankara, the king of which (Intim Dakarey,) was so considerable a trader in slaves, that the Dutch governor-general paid him a monthly note, from his own purse, and assisted him with two or three small cannons and a few Europeans, on the eve of the Ashantee invasion: the former are now placed as trophies in Coomassie. Boroom was subjugated soon after.

"Sai Tootoo, who began the building of Coomassie, did not live to see all the streets completed; for war being declared against Atoä, a district between Akim and Assin, he invaded that country. The chief of the Atoas, unable to face such a power, dexterously insinuated his small force through the forest until he reached the rear of the Ashantee army, which the king was following leisurely with a guard of a few hundred men, all of whom were destroyed by the Atoäs, who shot the king in his hammock. This happening near a place

called Cormantee; (razed to the ground in vengeance) and on a Saturday; the most solemn oath of the Ashantees is, "by Saturday and Cormantee;" "Miminda Cormantee:" and no enterprize has since been undertaken on that day of the week.

"1720, Sai Apokoo finished the building of Coomassie, and invaded the kingdom of Gaman, when Abo the king, fled to Kong, whither the Ashantee army pursued him. The king of Kong politically compelled Abo to meet his enemies on the frontier, lest they might disturb a neutral kingdom. Abo being defeated, purchased a peace by presenting large sums of gold to the various chiefs, and consenting to an annual tribute.

"Apokoo next subjected Takima, whence the Fantees are said to have emigrated, and forced a second emigration of the people to Gomowa at the back of Winnebah. He also dispossessed the Akims of the English, Dutch and Danish Accra notes.*

Tribute being demanded from the neighbouring kingdom of Dagwumba, a war

* For an explanation of this word, *vide page* 263.

ensued, and its troops were defeated. The king of Dagwumba, convinced that his former reliance on a superior population was vain, from the military genius of the Ashantees, and the commercial disposition of his own people, dispirited from their want of fire-arms,* prudently invited a peace.

"In 1741, Sai Aquissa was made king. During his reign the king of Akim desiring to go to war with his neighbours, was obliged to obtain permission from the Ashantee government, which he did, by the promise of sending him half the spoil; but gaining little or nothing, he did not do so. He soon afterwards heard of Aquissi's intention to demand his head; and knowing that the king's word was irrevocable, he summoned his ministers, and

* Fire-arms are unknown to such of the nations on the South of the Niger as the Shereef has visited; and the reason he assigns for it is, that the kings in the neighbourhood of the coast, persuaded, that if these powerful instruments of war should reach the possession of the populous inland states, their own independence would be lost, have strictly prohibited, and by the wisdom of their measures, have effectually prevented this dangerous merchandise from passing the limits of their dominions. *Lucas.*

desired to sacrifice his life for the quiet of his people: his ministers insisted on sharing his fate; and a barrel of powder being brought for each to sit on, they drank a large quantity of rum, and blew themselves up with the fire from their pipes!" an instance of devotion surpassing even the Greek and Roman name.

"Deeming a peace bought cheaply with their blood,
"They died with pleasure for their country's good."

Roemer, a Danish author, writes "that in 1744, a king of the Ashantees called Opokoo, put himself at the head of a powerful army to make war upon a Mahometan nation situated far to the north-east. He marched twenty-one days through a woody country intersected by rivers; afterwards fourteen days across a sandy country without water, in which he lost many men, and then entered a fertile country, populous, and abounding in all kinds of provisions, the towns of which were exceedingly large. He possessed himself of several towns and a large booty, but the people of the country suddenly surrounded him with an immense body of cavalry: nevertheless he carried off several slaves

and many Arabic M.S.S. which afterwards fell into the hands of the Danes, the masters of Accra."

Bruns concluded that the country thus invaded by the king of Ashantee, was the Degombah which Inhammed made known to Mr. Lucas. But Yarriba and Hio are the most powerful nations of this part of the interior, whereas Dagwumba has been tributary to Ashantee nearly a century. Mr. Bowdich says, "Apokoo told us more than once that there were three countries which would not pay tribute to Ashantee, two eastward and one to the N. W.; each of those eastward had defeated the Ashantees." (Bowdich's Essay on the Geography of North Western Africa, p. 18.)

"Sai Cudjoe, during his reign in 1753, defeated the Warsaws and Assins more decisively than his predecessors, and was the first who compelled them to acknowledge fealty to Ashantee, he also subjected Aquamboe and Aquapim, quelled several revolts of other countries, and was esteemed a very great captain. The grandfather of Amanquatea Atooa, conquered Sawee, killing the king Boomancumma; and Bakee,

soon afterwards, subjugated Moinseä. In this reign Quama, king of Dwabin, died."

"In 1785, Sai Quamina succeeded his grandfather Sai Cudjo, at a very early age. The Akims revolted soon after his accession, under Ofoosoo, their most active ruler for many years: he engaged several smaller states in alliance, and defeated the Ashantees repeatedly; at length the treachery of his followers procured Quatchi Quofie, (the Ashantee general,) his head; with which he returned to Coomassie, the country having again submitted. The fame of Ofoosoo made Quatchi Quofie so vain of this achievement, that he had a figure of him made, with which his umbrella is still crowned, and before which he dances with every insulting gesture and vaunt, when he arrives on the ground at the various ceremonies. The present king has frequently been heard to say, that it was a great pity this old man did not know better, for the Akim cabboceers generally attended his summons with alacrity and good-will; but the sight of the insulting effigy of their favourite leader, disgusted them, and excited their revolt. These brave people

have risen from their dependence at least eight times.

"The government finding a pretext to invade Banda, the king Odrasee vigorously opposed the Ashantee army; but at length, seeing he must inevitably fall into their hands, to prevent his head being found, which circumstance he knew would sorely disquiet the enemy *, and solace his own people,

* On the death of the late king of Amanhea, two competitors for the stool appeared, one called Suikee or Suiquah; the other's name I am ignorant of. Both collected their slaves and adherents, and fought. Suikee was obliged to fly, and hide himself in the bush; but the people being dissatisfied with the conqueror, Suikee re-appeared against the town. When his rival was reduced beyond all hope, he threw all his gold, which filled several jars, into the lake; and then collecting his wives and the different branches of his family, went with them into a remote part of the bush, and cut all their throats, with the exception of one son, whom he reserved to assist him in burying the bodies. He then made his son swear on his fetish, to kill and bury him, and never to discover where the bodies were laid: the son fulfilled the oath, and returned to Apollonia, but I am not certain what became of him. After Suikee had seated himself firmly on the stool, he by some means discovered where the bodies were concealed; he caused them to be dug up, and taken to Apollonia town; he then ranged them in a sitting posture, in a row along the beach, with stakes to extend their arms, and support their heads: this horrid spectacle was exhibited

ordered, just before he killed himself, a woman to be sacrificed, and the abdomen being ripped, his head to be sewn up within it, and her body afterwards to be buried in the heap of the slain. It was discovered by bribes, and is now on one of the king's great drums. Soota was also subjugated in this reign, occupying the army under Odumata ten years, during which period he was not allowed to see Coomassie. Odumata afterwards subdued Coranza, the larger part of his army being Gaman auxiliaries.

"The first important military act of the present king was the invasion of Fantee, which has already been noticed. Whilst that invasion was meditating, Baba, now the chief of the Moors, presented himself, to solicit an asylum in Coomassie, having been driven from Gamba by the rapacity of the king, his near relative; and pro-

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until even their bones had perished. One of Suikee's first acts after his accession, was to consecrate his hiding place in the bush, making it death, or a heavy fine, for any one to swear by Suikee's bush, and not to keep the oath.

fessing solely to desire the recovery of a large property withheld from him, to make the king of Ashantee the heir to it. The king promised he would oblige the king of Gamba to do him justice, on his return from the Fantee war, if Baba and his companions were fortunate in their prayers and charms for his success. The king of Gamba did not think proper to resist the demand afterwards made through the Ashantee government.

"In 1807, Coonadua, the king's mother, was left regent during his absence; this woman was a second Messalina, and many young captains who refused to intrigue with her, from fear or disgust, had been ultimately the victims of her artifice and vengeance.

"In 1811, Attah, caboceer or king of Akim, had followed the king to the first Fantee war, and behaved well. Apokoo being sent on an expedition against the Fantees of Winnebah and Berracoo, Attah received orders to join him with his contingency; instead of which, he sent a message to Apokoo, before he passed the Boosempra river, refusing to join him, and

advising him not to attempt to pass through his country. Apokoo reported this immediately to the king, who, as is usual, sent to Attah to enquire if he had said so. He confessed that he had, without hesitation, adding that the king treated him like a slave, by incessantly summoning him to attend his wars, and besides, that he never could forget that Saï Cudjo had cut off his grandfather's head, and that he would fight with Apokoo whenever he came. Soon afterwards, Quamina Guma, (the father of Becqua, captain of Danish Accra,) and one of the king's sons, returning to Coomassie with a large quantity of gold collected to make custom for the King's mother, Attah intercepted, robbed, and murdered them and their party, with the exception of one, whom he desired to tell the king that this act would convince him he was in earnest, and determined to go to war with him. Apokoo was immediately ordered to proceed against Attah, who had engaged Quaw Saffătchee as a party in the revolt, who was weary of the same laborious vassalage. When Apokoo entered the Akim country, Attah was for attacking him immediately, and

at sun rise, but Quaw expressing his doubts of their succeeding against the superior warfare of the Ashantees, begged him to stop until three o'clock, when the Ashantees generally ate and slept, and when they might be better able to retreat if worsted, as the enemy never pursued in the dusk. The attack was a surprise, but the fight continued obstinate and undecided until night, when Apokoo found he had lost so many men, that he immediately dispatched a messenger to summon the Accras to his aid, as vassals to the king. His messenger reached Accra the next day, and that people joined him on the following, on which the enemy retreated precipitately; Attah to windward, and Quaw to Adda. Apokoo followed the latter, who having escaped him after a tedious watchfulness, Apokoo, believing the Danish governor, Mr. Flindt, to have connived, made him his prisoner, and kept him with the army. which soon afterwards encamped in Aquapim, five months, during which time he was treated with kindness and respect, but his ransom amounted to nearly 400*l*. Apokoo was soon after ordered back to Coomassie.

" Appia Danqua had been sent, at the same time with Apokoo, with 6000 men against the Fantee states which were disposed to the revolters. He defeated them at Apam, and took Baffoo the Annamaboe cabboceer prisoner, but whilst his army was before Tantum, intelligence of the approach of Attah, who had retreated from Apokoo, but whose name was as redoubtable as his disposition was rapacious, subdued his firmness, and under the plea of prudence, hurried him back to the interior.

The path was afterwards shut for two years, through the vigilance, and from the terror of Cudjo Cooma, who had been elected to the stool of Akim, six months after the death of Attah, whose immediate successor (Quawko Ashantee) tyrannized so cruelly during that period, that he was commanded by the people to kill himself, and could only obtain the indulgence of a week's respite, which he spent in singing and dancing, in fact in making his own custom. Quaw Saffătchee had also leagued with the Fantees who attacked the Accra town, but were repulsed. The king suddenly determined to open the path to receive the ar-

rears of pay due from the forts, and sent Amanqua Abiniowa with an army of 20,000 men, charging him to offer no violence nor commit hostility, unless provoked by attack, but to receive the submission of the Akims and Aquapims, and merely to exact a fine to seal it. Appia Danqua was sent at the same time with a smaller army to the back of Winnebah and Tantum, to intercept the revolters if they fled to windward. Abiniowa proceeded to Aguissao, one day's march from Aquapim, unmolested, when one of his foraging parties was attacked by Cudjo Cooma and seven men killed. A general engagement took place the next morning, and after six hours fighting the Ashantees were victorious, and sent a jaw-bone and a slave to each of the Accra towns. Amanqua then marched to Accra to receive the king's pay, and remained nearly twelve months in its neighbourhood. He then returned to Aquapim, where, after some time, he received a message from the king, with a large quantity of gold, advising him that he must not see his face again unless he brought the heads of Cudjo and Quaw.

Amanqua did not immediately communicate this message to his captains, but ordered them to deposit their equipage and property in Accra, and then, making a large custom for three days, to propitiate the enterprize, he took fetish with all his captains that they would never return to Coomassie without the heads of Cudjo and Quaw.

" In 1816, Appia Danqua had died in Assin in the interim, and was succeeded by his brother Appia Nanu, under whom Bakkee was the second in command. The king hearing nothing of his progress, and his indolence being reported to him, sent orders to Amanqua to join him, which he did at Essecooma, reproaching him for his cowardice. Soon after this, the skirmish at the salt pond, near Cape Coast, took place, the detachment was principally of Assins, and commanded by Quasheemanqua. Yokokroko soon afterwards joined the combined army, (which had marched to Abra,) with a few hundred men destined to attack Commenda.

" Not long after the palaver was settled at Cape Coast, and the army again divided, Cudjo Cooma was killed by a party of Ap-

pia Nanu's at Insoom or Incoom near Essecooma; upon which, Appia, instead of marching to join Amanqua as had been concerted, returned to Coomassie, where he was coldly received, but not accused until the 12th of July last. Adoo Danqua, the brother of Quaw Saffătchee, came to the Accras and concerted the delivering of him up, as he had tired him out with his wanderings. The Ashantees agreed to prevail on the king to give him the stool if he did. A few Accras and a few Ashantees accompanied him, and when he came near where his brother was hid, one day's journey from Accra, he placed an ambush, and sitting down, expostulated with him, and recommended him to kill himself; but Quaw would not, alledging that he should eventually wear out the king's patience in pursuing him; on this Adoo rose, and a shot was immediately fired at Quaw, who was brought down and rose again four times, exclaiming that his brother was his murderer, who reflected the reproach on his own obstinacy. The body was brought to Accra, and his head sent to Coomassie, and it is now a trophy

at Bantama or the back town. Amanqua then returned to Coomassie, and arrived about six months before the mission.

" The king had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntooko, or Gaman, which was thickly plated and embossed with gold; it was given up by Adinkara, the king, from fear; his sister, a woman of masculine spirit and talent, and the soul of the government, being absent. On her return, she reproached her brother severely, and ordered a solid gold stool to be made to replace it. That being also demanded, as the right of the superior, with a large gold ornament in the shape of an elephant, dug out from some ruins, his sister, receiving the ambassadors, replied, that the king should not have either, and added, impressing it with more force than delicacy, that her brother and she must change sexes, for she was most proper for a king, and would fight to the last rather than be so constantly despoiled. The king of Ashantee sent word that she was fit to be a king's sister, and a strong woman, and he would give her twelve months to prepare for war. Several embassies have been sent

however to negotiate; two during our stay, the latter, it was said, with an offer of 400 bendas, (3,200*l.*) but the aristocray were obstinate, and urged to the king, that his other tributaries would laugh at him, if he did not get the king of Gaman's head."

Accordingly, in 1818, the king assembled his troops, amounting to at least 30,000 men, including Apokoo and the principal generals and captains, and marched to attack the Buntakoos in person; as they were no contemptible enemies, and therefore required a strong force to engage them. The former king of Ashantee (if we may believe his present majesty) thrice conquered the Buntakoos. But upon this occasion, Adinkira expecting some of the Ashantee allies to join him, marched his troops into their territories to prevail upon them to do so. The king of Ashantee notwithstanding, attacked the enemy, and after a long contested engagement, which was for a considerable time doubtful, and at one moment nearly decided in favor of Adinkira, the Ashantees were the victors. Adoo Quamina informed us that many thousands were slain on both sides, and

several generals were killed and wounded. Amongst the latter was Adoo Quamina himself, a ball having entered his left eye * and passed through the temple. The wound, however, was wonderfully well cured. From all the information I could collect, the Ashantees had not much to boast of although they claimed the victory; but it was very evident from the cautious manner in which they answered all our enquiries upon the subject of this battle, that it did not terminate to their satisfaction. As a proof, indeed, that they had not gained a very decisive victory, we did not hear of any particular trophies, no gold stool, no great men's sculls, which they would not have failed to speak of had they possessed any. It is true a few captives were pointed out to us, and one, in particular, was said to be the heir to the stool. But the king did not appear to like the subject, and seemed to be perfectly contented in assuring us that he had "destroyed him," (meaning Adinkira)."

"When a general is appointed to the command of an army, he receives a gold

* Vide Plate.

handled sword of the king from his hand, (who strikes him gently with it three times on the head,) swearing to return it encrusted with the blood of his conquered enemies. One of the king's linguists always accompanies an army of any consequence, to whom all the politics of the war are entrusted, and whose talent and intelligence in negociating, are expected to mature the fruits of the military genius of the general, and to reimburse the expence of the war by heavy fines and contributions. The Ashantees are as superior in discipline as in courage to the people of the water side, though their discipline is limited to the following precautions. They never pursue when it is near sunset; the general is always in the rear; the secondary captains lead the soldiers on, whilst those in command, with a few chosen individuals, urge them forward from the rear with their heavy swords, and cut any man down who retreats until the case is desperate. The first object of the Ashantee in close fight, is, to fire and spring upon the throat of his enemy; to advance every time he fires he feels to be imperative, if his commander thinks it possible, who would, otherwise, if he

escaped death in the action, inflict it on him directly it was over. It is one of the sentences of the most popular song* in Coomassie, "If I fight I die, if I run away I die, better I go on and die." They are as the antient Spaniards have been described, "prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem." The general has his umbrella spread in the rear, and, besides his guard, has several extra musquets ready loaded for those soldiers who may be driven to him in case of reverse. His band plays

* The following is one of their songs, which is sung by several individuals, who rise and advance, singing in turn.

1*st. Woman.* My husband likes me too much,
He is good to me,
But I cannot like him,
So I must listen to my lover.

1*st. Man.* My wife does not please me,
I tire of her now,
So I will please myself with another
Who is very handsome.

2*d. Woman.* My lover tempts me with sweet words,
But my husband always does me good,
So I must like him well,
And I must be true to him.

2*d. Man.* Girl, you pass my wife handsome,
But I cannot call you wife,
A wife pleases her husband only,
But when I leave you, you go to others.

all the time, and in his assumed contempt for the enemy, it is the etiquette for him to divert himself at some game, whilst the heads of the slain of any rank in the hostile army are sent to him to put his foot on. When the result of an important action is expected, even with an anxiety by no means sanguine, and the messengers are known to be near the capital, the king is always seated in public, with his golden worra board before him, playing with some dignitary; and thus receives the news, to impress the people with confidence by his affected indifference to victory or defeat, when superstition had revealed and fated invevitable success ultimately.

"All the superior captains have peculiar flourishes or strains for their horns, adapted to short sentences, which are always recognised, and will be repeated on enquiry by any Ashantee you may meet walking in the streets, though the horns are not only out of sight, but at a distance to be scarcely audible. These flourishes are of a strong and distinct character. The King's horns uttered, "I pass all kings in the world." Apokoo's, "Ashantees, do you right now?" Gimma's, "Whilst I live no harm

can come." Bundahenna's, "I am a great king's son." Amanqua's, "No one dares trouble me."

I will now close this chapter with the following anecdote, which is related of the king of Ashantee. His majesty having determined to invade one of the towns which supplies Coomassie with a considerable quantity of salt, was invited to dine with a Cabboceer, who wished to alter his determination, and with this view, had recourse to the following stratagem. He ordered two sheep to be killed, the one lean and the other fat, and a soup to be made from each. The former he seasoned with salt which he omitted in the latter; on helping his majesty to the fat soup he did not like it, and sent away his plate; but on tasting the other, he was much pleased with its superior flavour, and remarked the difference, although the fat soup looked the best; when the Cabboceer took the opportunity to observe, that the town his majesty was about to destroy, supplied the Ashantees with salt; upon which the king declared, that such being the case, the town should not be destroyed.

CHAPTER XIII.

LANGUAGE.

For the following account of the languages of Ashantee and Fantee I am greatly indebted to my friend Mr. Robertson.

The language of Ashantee, as well as of Fantee, the last of which is, indeed, *merely a dialect of the former*, is very meagre, and, in many respects, very imperfect; although, in common affairs, our thoughts can be expressed in either with tolerable precision. The following Vocabulary has been compiled in the Fantee Dialect, as promising to be more useful to those Europeans who might frequent the African coast, than the Ashantee, which is spoken principally in the interior; it does not appear necessary

to give a vocabulary of both languages; a person who becomes acquainted with the Fantee, will very readily acquire the Ashantee, whenever he shall have occasion to mix with the people of that country.

It must be recollected, that neither the Fantees nor Ashantees have any *written* language. To put, therefore, that upon paper of which there is no example, is necessarily difficult, and can scarcely be expected to be free from faults.

There are no *Articles* in this language.

Substantives do not vary their terminations: the plural is distinguished by the addition of numerals.

Adjectives do not alter their termination. The comparative and superlative are expressed by the addition of the word *dodo* comparative, and *kerrara* superlative.

Pronouns undergo no alteration whatever: they are few in number, and do not answer to ours, by any means.

The alterations in the persons and times of the *Verb*, are generally expressed by a difference in the pronunciation, and from the imperfect nature of this language cannot be easily described.

With respect to *Adverb*s, although they have the common ones of time and place, yet they do not appear to have any answering to the English words, terminating generally, in *ly:* such as *cautiously*, *curiously*, *ardently*, &c.

Conjunctions they of course have.

They have, also, the common *Prepositions*, answering to the English words, *of*, *from*, *to*, *by*, &c.

The *Interjection* is as common as in other languages.

From the paucity of words in this language, it may be naturally expected that the natives of Africa, who use this and others of the same kind, have frequently recourse to figures to express their meaning. Such is the case: the elephant, the lion, and other animals, are very often the subjects of their metaphors.

As some sort of guide to the pronunciation of the words of this Vocabulary, I would observe, that the vowels *oo* are to be sounded like the same letters in the English word s*oo*n ; and that the vowels *ee* are to be sounded the same as they are in the English word s*ee*n ; that the letter *g*, preceding a

vowel, is uniformly to be pronounced *hard*; that *ch* always sounds the same as in the English word *ch*amber; that throughout the Vocabulary there are no *silent* vowels, the final ones being always to be sounded; and that where such combinations of vowels occur, as *ea*, *oa*, *ooa*, *eea*, *ooe*, *ooee*, and *eeu*, &c. they make always *two* syllables.

To Abhor	Keroo
Able	Toomeh
Abode	Odan
Above	Tiffee
About	Ubieh
Absent	Ineheh
To Abuse	Wae emboney
To Accept	Fa
To Accompany	Inco possa
Active	Etwemlica
To Admire	Peh-do-do
To Advise	Camker
Adult	Bo iran
Adulterer	Effarrey
To Affirm	Oosay ampa
To Affront	Booaffoo
Afloat	Ota-Insue
Afraid	Sooloo
After all	Ne-Eenah
Afterwards	Feelee
Aga	Saffohen
Age	Infea
Agent	Obatton
Agression	Eah
Agony	Ayeo yeh-dodo
Ague	Heim
Ah (interj.)	Yea
To Aid	Soh-mooh
To Ail	Yea
To Aim	Tobo
Air	Inframa
Alarm	Sooloo
Ale	Ahai, or pito-porter
Alike	Eenaseh
Alive	Nikan
All	Eena
Almighty	Yancoompon
Almost	Acoocooma
Aloft	Surro
Alone	Incoa
Altar	Edoo-Sooman
Always	Indeheena-eena
Ambush	Aditcho
Amends	Adoopa
Amiable	Eayit passa
Amiss	Eadoo bonee
Among	Aoo-um
Amorous	Pehbissea
To Amuse	Gemance
Anchor	Seekeh
Anew	Foofrou
Anger	Dadje
Angle (a corner)	Tee Inam
Angry	Booehfoo
Anker	Ankora

Ankle	Nangeh
Annually	Afee-een-eena
Anodyne	Adooloo
To Anoint	Fabedooeena
Answer(reply)	Kakrem
Antelope	Adooah
Antique	Oakir
Any	Eebew
Ape or Monkey	Adopee or Crassee
Apish	Adopee Ineem
Apostacy	Chenohoo
Apothecary	Edoo yehfoo
Apparel	Etade
To Approach	Obah
To Approve	Mepeh
Arable	Dadeepa
Arm (of the body)	Insa
Army	Assa foo
Arrow	Eggen
Art	Neem
To Ascend	Co Suroo
Ashes	Insoo
Ashore	Dadee
Aside	Inkeen
To Ask	Beesa
Aslant	Obinken
Asleep	Oada
To Assert	Soomoo
To Assure	Ampa
Astray	Atoguin
At	Owa
Atom	Coomawa
To Attack	Twesa
To Attend	Chowm
Averse	Malmpeh
Awake	Nanica
Aweful	Surrododo
Axe	Acuma
Baboon	Effoo
To Backbite	Chapo me
Backward	Mekee
Bad	Imoo
Bag	Kootookoo
To Bake	Tooh
To Balance	Too-anoo
Bald	Tikueh
To Balk	Dooeh-kessee
Bamboo	Adoobey
Bandy (adj.)	Inkomoo
To Bang	Bonoo
Bank	Inken
Bar (of a river)	Asurokee
Bar or Bolt	Dako
Bard	Aduto ajum
Bare	Coora
Bargain	Ejehanoo
Bark of a tree	Obon droch
To Bark (like a dog	Opobodam
Barrel	Odookoo
Base	Ebon
Bashful	Incatoo
Bass	Intong
To Bathe	Guerra
Battle	Coo
Bawdy	Kassa bonee
Bay (of the sea)	Oka
Bean	Edoveh
Beauty	Aoyeafoo
To Becalm	Keemah-imbo
To Beckon	Too-insa
Bed	Impadoo
Bed-chamber	Impa-peeum
Bedtime	Adeh assain
Bee	Adooa
Beehive	Adooa-den
Before	Dican
To Beg (to ask)	Chuane
To Begin	Incan
To Believe	Itteh
Bell	Odou
Bell-man	Odoufoo
To Bellow	Obom
Bellyfull	Amee
Belly	Effoon

To Belong	Ideh
Beloved	Ina-peh
Below	Asinadee
Belt	Afforey
Bench	Opoon
To Bend	Poonomoo
Beneath	Sinadee
Berry	Idooch aba
To Besmear	Sinah dee
Besom	Mina
Best	Adipapa
To Betray	Dada
Better	Adipa
Beware (interj.)	Tohe yea
To Bewitch	Aein
To Bide (to dwell)	Tina
Big	Osso ; Cok-roko
Biggest	Osso tineh
Bill	Pampo
Bin	Alaka
Bird	Anima
Bird-catcher	Inropeh rooh effile
Biscuit	Pano
Bit	Cooma
To Bite	Cah
Bitter	Alaawheen
Black	Beebin
Blackguard	Nim aha-foo
To Blame	Assim
Blanket	Koontoo
Blast (wind)	Aho
To Bleach	Hoole
To Bleat	Adoosoo
Blear-eyed	Enea-kehoo
To Bleed	Shang
Blight	Oa-kinkin
Blind (adj.)	Effeleh
To Blink	Boo-enee
Blister	Poonpoonjeh
Block	Issee
Blood	Booghe
Bloom	Herin
Blow	Boh
Bludgeon	Abah
Blue	Toontoom
Blunt	Eendam
Blush	Neato
Boar	Eamooh
Board	Apoon
Boat	Batideh
Boastful	Koontompo
Bog	Bynin
Bone	Obeao
Book	Aooma
Boon	Wawoon
To Bore	Bo-tooclea
To Borrow	Fafeh
Bosom	Cookoo
Both	Beena
Bottom(back-side)	Noo-toon
Bough	Ning quan
Bowl	Akooroo
To Brag	Kootompo
Brain	Chong
Branch	Ningquan
Brass	Aeeooa
Brave	Insurro
Bread	Pano
To Break	Boam
Breakfast	Nopa de
Breast	Noofoo
Breath	Akoom
To Bribe	Kakera
To Bring	Fama
Bristle	Ewhee
To Broil	Tooto
Broken (part)	Waboh
Brook (a rill)	Ooia ba
Brother	Nooeh
Brothel	Aguaman feh
To Bruise	Potto
Buckle	Catoom
Bud	Aha-bang
Bug	Impaboa
Bugle	Aben
Bull	Nanche
Bullet	Coorabo

To Burn	Ahew
Burning	Dehew
Burnt	Aweh ahew
To Borrow	Otoom
To Burst	Paee
Bush	Ahaban
Bastard	Peteh
Busy	Edguma
Butcher	Coombuch
Butter	Bootree
Butterfly	Fafranta
To Buy	Toh
Cabbage	Fang
Cabin	Peim
Cable	Sickahooma
Cockle	Acoco
Calamity	Adeebonoo
Calf	Nanche ba
To Call	Fren
Cavalry	Ponko do
Camp	Insirem
Can (to be able)	Inehe
Canary (a bird)	Akiem
Candle	Candee
Cannibal	Deinepa foo
Canoe	Hiemba
Cant	Dada
Cape	Ippo
To Caper	Ayeahoom
Care	Whasam
Careless	Em whasam
To Caress	Dina asseh
To Carry	Osoo
To Catch	Keerine
Chair	Egwah
Chalk	Heero
Chamber	Peeum
To Chatter	Cassa-dodo
Cheap	Ohe-foo
To Cheat	Imeem
Cheese	Keesoo
To Cherup	Cassa do anima
Chest	Alaka
To Chew	Tresa
Child	Ba-fra
Chill (cold)	Awoa
Chin	Abogee
To Chip	Chiveh
To Chop	Chiveh
Clay	Dottee
Clean	Epee
Clear	Ghen
Cloth	Tam
Cloud	Ahominee
Coach	Wheeleh
Cobweb	Anansee wheh
Cold	Awoa
Cholic	Ayeo
To Come	Bah
To Command	Awhedoo
Common	Inoompa
Concern (interest)	Consar
Constant	Indeh ena ma
Cool	Wagweh
Cork	Cakoo
Corpse	Effoo
Correct (right)	Ampa
Cost (price)	Deng
Costly	Dendodo
Cotton	Assaba
Covey	Animamba
Cough	Owa
To Count	Ka
Country	Kroom
Couple	Ehbien
Courage	Eyeging
Coarse	Inehfen
Coward	Hoofoo
Cousin	Trofa
Crack	Bom
To Crack	Abom
Cradle	Ba-impadoo
Crafty	Nineato
Crag	Boba kesse
Cramp	Ananse kitem
Crane (a bird)	Anantingting
To Crawl	Panoofoo
Crazy	Abodam

Creek	Oka
Crier	Bodehfoo
Crime	Edoo bony
Crocodile	Denkiem
To Cross	Betroo
To Crow	Orobong
Crowd	Inipapee
To Cry	Desoo
Cudgel	Epoonah
Cunning	Aboo
Curse	Oyea
Custom	Mene wayeh
Cut	Chweh
Cutlass	Ofoonah
Dam	Nee
Damp	Wafo
Danger	Nookoo
To Dare	Doh
Dark (adj.)	Esoom
Dart	Ipma
To Dash	A pittee
To Daunt	Surro
Dawn	Ahanamakee
Day-light	Adakee
Dead	Waoo
Deaf	Chache
Deals	Taboh
Dear	Oyadee
Debt	Ka
Debtor	Demeka
Deceit	Dada
To Decoy	Dada
Deep	Ehdoh
To Defame	Geen bonee
To Defeat	Eho-dom
To Deform	Moopon
To Defraud	Chew-champa
Delirius	Erey bosum
Deluge	Insue bocrom
Demon	Aboinsam
Den	Boo
To Despise	Kelloo
To Destroy	Boboon
To Detain	Jinakoo
Devil	Oboinsam
Dew	Hoowehsoo
To Dine	De-deh
To Dip	Toom
Dishonest	Eweu
To Distract	Assudee
To Divert	Cogor
Dizzy	Chebon
To Do	Eeh
Dog	Bodam
Done	Wayewae
Doom	Adoom
Door	Abo
Double	Ehbein
Dove	Abro anima
To throw down	Tooa
Dragoon	Ponko inepa
Dread	Surro dodo
Dream	Sooda
To Dress	Headee
To Drill	Bo-tooclea
To Drink	Noom
Droll	Brebee
Drum	Tenteh
Drunk	Abooa insa
Dry	Wawoo
Dumb	Emoom
Dung	Eben
Dusk	Adeh
Duty	Amea
Dwarf	Toompon
Dysentery	Eemeetoo
Each	Eheen
Eagle	Sansaw
Ear	Asoo
Earnest	Ampa
Earthy	Offam
Ear-wax	Asooimbou
Easy	Ioominee
To Eat	De
Eaten (part.)	De wassa
Ebb	Watchwey
Eclipse	Effroe-perro
Effeminate	Issehbeesea
Eldest	Paneen
Elephant	Esoon
Empty	Be eneem

End	Nanoo
Equal	Isseh
To Err	Ade bonee
To Escape	Guen
Even	Isseh
Every	Eena
Ewe	Gwenbirra
Eye	Ineweh
Eye-brow	Intow
Face	Neem
To Fade	Odohen
To Faint	Gwecotchoom
Fair	Ayeafew
Fairy	Bosoom
Fan	Ahweteh
Fang	Aseeting-ting
Far	Ewa
To Fasten	Keker
Fast	Intem
Fashion	Foofroo
Fat	Kessey
Father	Aga or Mejah
Fathom	Abasam
Fatigue	Afra
Fawn	Chwem-ba
Fearless	Insurro
To Feast	Orotopon
Feather	Tickea
To Feed	Mamoo
Feeble	Inframa
To Feel	Kawhe
Feet	Wansa
To Feign	Dada
To Fell	Faheim
Female	Basea
To Ferment	Chool
To Fester	Badee
Few	Koomawa
Fiddle	Sankoo
Fiddler	Sankoofoo
Field	Afoom
Fife	Aben
To Fight	Ekoo
To Fill	Heanama
Filth	Eatan
Filthy	Eatan dodo
Fin	Nifimfim
To Find	Ahoon
Fine	Aeafeh
Finger	Satteaba
Fire	Geah
Fire-stick	Geahba
Firm	Eadeu
Fish	Po-inam
Fish-hook	Incoaba
Fishing	Teeinam
Fist	Insa
Fit	Weyhee
To Fix	Keepeea
Flavour	Oeadeh
To Fledge	Tiklea-ba
Fleece (wool)	Guen wohee
Flesh	Inam
Flint	Aehurabo
To Flirt	Ateainsu
To Float	Eadoo cu
Flock	Tantera
To Fly	Too
Fly	Wansama
Foal	Ponko ba
Foam	Ahooloo
Folk	Foo
Folly	Oabodam
Fool	Quasea
Foot	Nansa
To Forbear	Gey
To Forbid	Geh
Force	Eaden
Food	Eedooban
Foremost	Incan
To Forget	Rofee
Fork	Faca
Form	Yea
To Fortify	Sinee den
Fortune-teller	Soomanfoo
Foul	Effee
Found (part.)	Ehoon
Fox	Osso
Fowl	Acocko
To Free	Menomedeh

Fresh	Amoon
To Fret	Osooroo
Frog	Achweye
Fruit	Adooeh ba
To Fry	Keoo
Fnll	Ima
Fun	Ego
Fy (interj.)	Capeneemfoo
To Gallop	Guen
Garden	Tooroom
Gay	Oyea serroo
Ghost	Saman
To Give	Mam
Gloss	Effee
To Glut	Meen
Glutton	Dedehfoo
To Gnaw	Weesa
Goat	Abreekee
To Go	Caw
I am going	Me caw
Gold	Sicca
Good	Owyea
Gore (blood)	Bogea
Gourd	Apakee
Grain	Efooeh
Grand	Baramponye
Grape	Assecrama
To Grasp	Soonoom
Grass	Ahaween
Gravel	Mosea
Grave (adj.)	Inda
Great	Osso
Green	Boyouma
Grief	Mobor
To Grind	Eemaoo
To Groan	Apeenee
Ground (earth)	Dade
To Guess	Guinee
Guilty	Obanoyea
Gum	Ehea
Gun	Atoo
Gunpowder	Atoodoor
Gun-stock	Atoo-edooeh
Gut	Ninsoon
Gutter	Woraba
To Guzzle	Noomintem
Ham	Pleako inum
Hamper	Kinking
Hand	Insa
Handsome	Aoyeafoo
To Hang	San
Hard	Ayeaden
Haft	Offa
Harp	Sankoo
Harpoon	Cola
Hat	Cheawoo
Hatchet	Icoomeh
Hawk	Sansa
Heap	Booanoo
Head	Echee
Heart	Coomba
Heat	Eahew
Heavy	Aea-doo
Heal	Nantee
Heir	Achewa
To Help	Soomo
Hem (interj.)	Paineh
Herbs	Idooloo
Here	Heh
Herring	Imman
To Hew	Oguan
Hidden (part.)	Issima
To Hide	Dooma
High	Awoa
Hip	Junkoo
To Hit	Bon
Hoarse	Ideeafea
Hoe	Asso
Hog	Pleako
To Hoist	Chwee
To Hold	Sum
To Hold fast	Sumaedeem
Hole	Tooklea
Hollow	Toowooum
Home	Feah
Honest	Imbaba
Horse	Ponko
Horseback	Ponko surro
House	Odan
How	Ayeaindeh

To Hoax	Dada
Hump	Afoo
Hung (part.)	Sen
Hunger	Ocom
To Hunt	Ayeaheh
To Hurt	Peera
Husband	Ukoonoo
Husk	Ehoon
Hussy	Ejueman
I	Mea
Idle	Nehehfoo
Idiot	Abodamfoo
Idol	Bosumboa
Ill (sick)	Eereh
In (prep.)	Wooum
Ink	Ninke
Ink-stand	Ninke ade
Inside	Noomo
To Insist	Ocantem
Instant	Intem
To Insult	Beafoo
Itch	Yeaheen
Ivory	Ossoomeh
Jam (a preserve)	Mean
Jealous	Coorafoo
Joy	Go
Jump	Too
Key	Saphee
To Kick	Intea
King	Ossey
Kitten	Ginumba
To Kneel	Kootoo
Knife	Sikan
To Knit	Boboa
Knot	Bopo
To Know	Neim
Labour	Ajuma
Lady	Oheamba
Ladle	Kancora
Ladder	Achweree
Land	Mewoo
Landing	Badadee
Lane	Branoo
Language	Cassa
Lap	Sirra
Large	Osso
To Last	Akillee
To Laugh	Seeree
To Lay	Toa
To Lead	Soomini
Leaf	Hawan
To Leap	Hooloo
To Learn	Keera
Leather	Aooma
To Leave	Caw
Leg	Nantoo
Leopard	Gehean
Less	Issueh
To Let	Ma
Lick	Laffee
Lid	Ibroowado
Lie (falsehood)	Chapo or Enchapo
Life	Necan
Light (not heavy)	Ogbe
Light (of the day)	Eaheh
Like (adj.)	Seh
Limb	Nan
Lime	Kado
Line	Ahama
Lion	Getteh
Litter	Apacka
To Load	Apooa
Loaf	Odokanoo
To Lock	Toom
Long	Tintin
To Look	Wheh
To Loosen	Sang
Loss	Aegou
To Love	Peh
Lover	Penoo
Love-sick	Penooerey
Louse	Igwee
Low	Itea
Lynx	Jehean cang cang
Mad	Abodam or Aberdam
Madam	Eooraba

Male	Banin
Man	Banin
Many	Pee
Market	Guem
Marrow	Efeen
Master	Eoora or Youra
Mat	Impa
To Measure	Soosoo
Meat	Enum
To Melt	Nan
Memory	Guin
To Meet	Heean
Midnight	Isooum
Mine (pron.)	Me-dea
Milk	Noofooinsu
To Miss	Foor
Misty	Fooeh waheh
Moon	Abosoom
Moose deer	Oehwee
Morning	Nopa
Morsel	Coomabee
Mother	Mina or Minna
To Mourn	Eamobor
Mouse	Quaque
Mouth	Noom
Nail	Plego
Name	Ideh
Narrow	Eatea
Nation	Foo eena
Nature	Eadyeena
Neck	Okong
Negro	Bibinee
Nest	Boo
Net	Eboa
Never	Debeda
New	Foofulo
News	Assim
Next	Akeer
Nimble	Guen
To Nibble	De ca
Nice	Ayeafeh
To Nick	Che cooplemo
Night	Adea-sa
To Nip	Chen
Nipple	Noofoo
No	Debe or Dabi
Nod	Boacheadee
None	Beeine
Nose	Owheen
Nostril	Tooclea owheen
Nothing	Ebreebee
Now	Impre
Nurse	Bafeafoo
Nut	Adoogee
Nut-tree	Doeh
Oar	Atabon
Oakum	Paha
To Offend	Boofoo
To Offer	Deema
Officer	Ossafoohen
Oil	Ingoo
Old	Dada
Old-fashioned	Incodade
One	Ecor
Open	Boey
Ordeal	Noomadoom
Otter	Insu bodam
Over	Todo
Out	Epooeh
Owe	Dee
To Own	Ara
Ox	Nanche
Oyster	Adontee
Paid (part.)	Twehca
Pain	Yeh
Paint	Kahooey dooloo
Pair	Eben
Palm-tree	Abeh
To Paint	Ahoom
Paper	Krata
To Pardon	Keaoo
To Pass	Whee
Passion	Bahfoo
To Pay	Tueca
Pea	Edooeh brafoo
Pepper	Moko
Physic	Adooloo

To Pick	Wafeh
Piece (of cloth)	Opoo tam
Price	Iohee
Pin	Pausa-ba
To Pinch	Tee
Pipe	Abooeh
Pistol	Mostruroa
Pity	Eamobo
Place	Aheh
Plague	Freh
Plaster	Danahoo
To Play	Gooroo
Play-fellow	Go ankopa
To Please	Bajemone
Plenty	Pee
To Pluck	Tootoo
Pod	Edooeh ting
Point	Keereh
Poison	Toonadoo
Pole	Dooeh tintin
Poor	Ohea
Pot	Coora ba
Powerful	Toomoeh
To Prepare	Sesheindeam ba
To Press	Mean
Pretty	Ayeafew
To Prick	Aronoo
Pride	Koontompo
Priest	Soomanfoo
Prison	Wisse inepa
To Probe	Hoe toosea
To Pull	Chivveh
To Punish	Whew
To Pine	Abroobeh
To Putrify	Ehbon
Race	Tooboo
Rage	Booefoo
Rainbow	Eakontong
To Raise	Madoo
Rare	Adepapa
Rash	Eeintem
Rat	Eerudiere
Raving	Inkassah ereh
Raw	Amoon
Ray	Awhiwhejeh
To Reach	Ca
To Read	Wheam aooma
Reading	Whea aooma um
Ready	Crara
To Recollect	Inea woofra
Red	Memin
To Reeve	Faheim
To Refuse	Impeh
To Refresh	Aeamedeen
To Remove	Facaw
To Repay	Too aca
To Rest	Da
To Restore	Metoo ouka
To Return	Bah
Rich	Sicca do
To Ride	Co ponko
Right	Waea
To Roast	Tootoo
To Rob	Keanoo
Robber	Keanoofoo
Roll	Boobo
Rogue	Koncoin sine
Round	Domaroo
To Romp	Goora
Roof	Impoonah
Roost	Accoko da
Root	Nittoo
Rope	Tampe
To Rot	Eapro
To Rub	Guitta
Rough	Ehwee
To Run	Twemlica
To Rust	Dunkandel
Saddle	Ponko gweh
Sail	Embrada
Salt	Inkeen
Sand	Awhea
Sap	Idoochinsu
Savage	Woogeh
Sauce	Apehsee
Sauce-pan	Dadicey
To Save	Faseeh
To Say	Seh

Scent	Ehween
Scissars	Appassoo
Scratch	Cheche
Screech	Keekam
To Screw	Faheim
Seal	Bobo
Sea	Apoo
Sea gull	Apoo anima
Sea side	Apo anoo
Sea water	Apo insu
Second	Ehekeuy
Secure	Keekrea
Seed	Effou
To See	Wheh
Stem (stalk)	Gineh
To Seize	Sonimoo
To Sell	Tou
To Send	Minabah
Sense	Yeinsa
To Set	Tah
Sing	Togooum
Shadow	Soonsoom
To Shake	Pepeim
Shallow	Idoh
Share	Ekeh
Sharp	Aeindam
Sheep	Gueng
Shell	Awooraba
Shirt	Camesa
Ship or vessel	Ohen
Shoe	Sapatro
Shot	Atootroo
To Shove	Peanoohoo
To Show	Keera
Shout	Seam dodo
Shower	Insu doto
To Shun	Cowheenta
To Shut	Boodoh
Sick	Eirey
To Sigh	Hoomeh tin
Silk	Silke
Silly	Quasia
Silver	Juĕteh
Single	Ecor
To Sink	Asseywoo
To Sip	Fee
Sister	Keraba
To Set	Tinna
Sex	Issea
Skin	Aooma
To Skip	Holoo
Sky	Ehoomanee
To Slack	Goom
Sleek	Deotro
Sleep	Dah
To Sleep	Adah
Slice	Chivveh
To Slide	Tirado
Slain	Afon
To Sling	Ehooma
To Slink	Nineato
To Slip	Tirado
To Slit	Wate
Sloth	Afoonah
Sloven	Ayefee
Slough	Ahoon
Slow	Guininee
Sluice	Aurado
Sly	Konkoinsin
Smack	Boenim
Small	Koomba
Smart	Aeinteen
Smell	Wehhooa
To Smear	Sarrade
Smile	Ledee
Smoke	Weeseeroo
Smoky	Wesee dodo
Smooth	Oatsroo
To Smother	Meanan
To Smuggle	Ahoouta ode-egweh
Snail	Soon sum
To Snap	Apim
Snare	Afillee
To Sneeze	Hintee
To Snore	Incorum
Snot	Hewindol
Snout	Awheen
Snuff	Assira
Snug	Mauguaho
So	Jeh ayea
To Soak	Insu madon

Soap	Simina
To Sob	Kontoo
Sober	Inoom insa be
Softly	Jervenee
Soil	Dotty
Sold (part.)	Tou
Sole (of the foot)	Nansa
Some	Be
Son	Badbaning
Song	Ehjeum
Sometimes	Dabee
Soon	Akookama
Sorceress	Aboinsam
Sore	Ekooroo
Sorry	Emobo
To Sort	Ittedeh
Sot	Aboa insa foo
Sound	Eke-kum
Soup	Inguen
Sour	Oyeaween
Sow	Prako-bree
Span	Tro-insa
Sparrow	Cossa-anima
To Speak	Kassa
Spear	Kamah
Spider	Anauseh
To Spin	Orotoo
To Split	Paeym
To Spoil	Sekeao
Spoken	Kassa
Spoon	Ateeree
Spoonful	Ateereema
Sport	Goora
Spot	Tookou
To Spread	Otira
To Spring	Petey
To Sprout	Pampaye
Squabble	Eadede
Square	Watin
To Squeeze	Mea
To Squint	Incachou
Squirrel	Apateebe
Stage	Adan
To Stagger	Coffafa
To Stain	Waeberrahoo
Stairs	Achwerreh
Stake	Dooeh myseh dadee
To Stand	Gina
To Stare	Whe dodo
To Stay	Tineh
Steam	Insu piem
To Steal	Wea
Stench	Ebon emoo
Step	Toonau
Stick	Ipima
To Stifle	Mooeh hoom-eh
Still	Conee
To Stir	Nooum
Stomach	Efoo
Stone	Oboh
Stood (past.)	Aginel
Stool	Geweh
To Stoop	Cotoh
To Stop	Ginah
Story	Assim
Stout	Bland
Straight (adj.)	Ehtinee
Strait	Isua
Stranger	Hooahos
Straw	Adobeh haw een
Softness	Melloh
Street	Bronoo
To Stretch	Hooaden
To Strew	Googoo
To Stride	Trah
To Strike	Bonoo
String	Hama
To Strip	Pawootam
To Struggle	Pehel
To Strut	Cherea koon-tan
Sugar	Sicaree
Sultry	Eohew
Sun	Ehwhea
Sunday	Quassee deh
Sunshine	Ehweafee
To Sup (to drink)	Noom

Sure	Ampa
Surely	Moonah
Swallow	Cankan anima
Swarm	Edoosoo
To Sweat	Feeferee
Sweet	Ehooem
To Swell	Wahoon
Swift	Atoo
Switch	Edooehba
Sword	Crante
Table	Apoon
Tail	Edooeh
To Talk	Cassa
To Tally	Ca
Tallow	Serradee
Taste	Cawan
To Teach	Kina
To Tear	Che
To Tell	Kakira
To Terrify	Insurro dodo
Terror	Insurro
To Thank	Dawsee
That	Ea
Thatch	Whebah
There	Oaha
They	Narra
Thick	Oye-doo
Thief	Oyewfoo
Third	Beeassa
Thirst	Insu com
Thirsty	Insu comadee
This	Ejin
Think	Juim
Those	Eena
Thousand	Apiem
Thread	Ahamab
Three	Ehbeassa
To Throw	Toom
Throat	Mein
Throne	Abrogwah
Thunder	Sinnama
Thursday	Abinnadeh
To Tickle	Noonoo
Tide	Insu pimeh
To Tie	Keykera
Timber	Dooeh Kesseh
Tiresome	Infra neepa
Toe	Nausaba
Tobacco	Tooa
Told (part.)	Kamkera
Tongue	Tikuama
Tooth ache	Addeeayeome
Tooth	Addee
To Torture	Apoorben
To Touch	Ka
Town	Croom
Trap	Effileo
To Tread	Teeadoo
Tree	Edvoeh
True	Ampa or Umpah
Trumpet	Aben
To Trust	Fidim
To Try	Sowee
Tub	Ecoro ossoo
Tune	Ejoom
To Turn	Dan
To Twist	Dahoo
Vein	Inteen
To Vex	Loefoo
Villain	Nipa bon
Under	Assee
Umbrella	Keeneba
Unwilling	Impeh
Vow	Kintam
Wake	Inean
To Walk	Nantoo
To Wander	Nantoo Babee
Warm	Ehen
Waist	Sickea
Water	Insu
Wave	Soorakee
Way	Ehneh
Weak	Booboo
To Wear	Hea
To Weave	Wenee
Web	Tam
To Weigh	Kadee
Weight	Boo
Well	Yea
Well done	Ien chea
Wench	Bysea abofra

Whole	Yeanamoo	Wing	Attaban
Wheel	Ewheel	To Wish	Beeyea
Whelp	Bodomba	Woman	Bysea
Where	Waheen	To Work	Ejuma
Whip	Abah	To Write	Kerra aooma
White	Foofoo	Wrong	Foomado
Who	Wana	Yellow	Mimin
Whale	Aboa insu	Yes	Eo
Whore	Ajuman	Yesterday	Inda
Wide	Attery	Young	Abadima
Window	Tooclea	Yourself	Wooarra
Wife	Eara	You	Woa

IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS.

		Literal.
I am going to the ship.	Me co henum.	I go ship.
Where are you going?	Woo co hene?	You go where?
I am going home.	Me co me feh.	I go my home.
Go and bring your dog here.	Co fa woo abodam bra.	Go bring you dog here.
The horse is coming.	Ponko aba.	Horse coming.
Set it down on the ground.	Fah tah hah.	Put it down.
Where are all these people going?	Ye inipa inna oro co hene?	The people go where?
To-morrow you and I will go together.	O kinna woo ame beenoo boco.	To-morrow you and me both go.
I am very sick; I want some medicine.	Me yem ayeome; peh edooloo.	My stomach pains me; I want medicine.
I am going to the fort.	Me co habenum.	I go fort.
That woman is very handsome.	Babosiere aoyeafoo dodo.	That female handsome very.
I am hungry and want bread to eat.	Ocomodem mepeh panoo dee.	
I am going to Europe to see that country.	Me co abrikinnie opeh, wheh ha.	I go white country, to see yonder.

CHAPTER XIV.

MATERIA MEDICA.

I REGRET that the limits of the present work do not admit of my giving, at full length, a voluminous treatise on the various diseases most prevalent on the Gold Coast, which was expressly written for this publication, by my friend, Dr. Reynhaut, physician to the Dutch forces on the coast of Africa, for nearly five years, and who, on my last voyage from Africa, accompanied me to England; but the following extracts will give the reader some idea of the extent of that gentleman's labours, and, at the same time, will be so far satisfactory as to the names of the diseases, medicines, animals, minerals, and plants, indigenous to

that country ; — for which I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligation to him.

The various Diseases which prevail on the Gold Coast.

Bilious remittent fever
Intermittent fever
The small pox
The measles
The large swelling of the scrotum
Bursarum mucosarum tumoris
Diarrhœa — cum tenesmo et forminibus
Ulcera pedum pertinacia
Glandularum, meseraicarum tumores — pædatrophia
Ophthalmia
Cingeries — bilioso pituitosæ
Pleuritis & pneumonia rheumatica
Rheumatismus — universalis
Ascites
Ectropium
Hernia
Lepra
The land dysentery
The nettle rash
The malignant ulcer
The Elephantiasis
The giggers
Gordius Medinensis
Scabies endemica
Strumae
Herniæ umbilicales infantum
Lues venerea localis
(Blennorphagia bubo ulcus syphyliticum)
Anasarca
Branchosele
Odontalgia
Cancer
Zinia capites
Hydrocele.

Medicines commonly used by the Natives.

Laxantia
Amara tonica
Diuretica
Cephalica
Medicamentum, specifice galætophosum
Diapharetica
Antidy senterica
Aromatica
Oxterna mundantica

The Animal Species found on the Gold Coast.

Equus Caballus
Elephas
Cervus
Apes
Simia
Leopardus
Canis carcharias
Cervus pygmæus
The civet cat
The badger
Canis domesticus
Lepus timidus
Lacerta leguana
Lacerta chameleon
Lacerta vulgaris
Lacerta alligator
Species serpentis nigræ
Constrictor
Serpens viridis
The crown bird
Numidis meleager (the guinea fowl or pintade)
Milvus
Hirundo
Columba viridis
Psittacus erythacus
Psittacus pullarius
The India colibri
Anas guineensis
Yulus silvestris
Centipes mordax
Scorpio Africanus
Tarantula Africana
Franca guineensis peculiaris
Araneæ domesticæ
Blatta orientalis
Formicarum species diversæ.

The Plants of the Soil.

Bombax herbaceum
Nicotiana tabacum
Amomum zingëber
Rhirooraphmangle
Musa paradisiaca
Musa sapientum
Diascorea satira
Convolvulus batattas
Bombax arboraceum
Psidium pomiferum
Carica papaia
Amomum Grana paradisi
Amomum zerumber
Mynthus pimenta
West India cherries
Annona muricata
Achras sapota
Cucurbita citrullus
Limones
Bromelia annanas
Cocos nucifera
Tamarindus Indica
Arundo sacchari-fera
Elaïs guineensis
Borassus flabelliformis
Cleominis pentaphylla
Hibiscus esculentus
Capsicum baccatum
Fructus Elais guineensis
Zea, Maiz
The weed nut

The Minerals and fossils.

Gold
Iron
Spathum
Talcum
Dendritum carbonicum
Marmora
Schictum
Lapis calcareus
Terra silicea
Dendrozinthos (δενδροζινθος).

Meteorological — The Nature, the Air, and the Weather.

Thunder storms
Tornadoes
The rainy season
The fogs and damp weather
The hot or dry weather
The sea wind
The land wind.

CHAPTER XV.

REGARDING THE NIGER AND RIVERS IN THE BIGHTS OF BENIN AND BIAFRA.

So many theoretical opinions have been hazarded as regards the course and termination of the Niger, that it only remains to be practically decided which of those opinions is correct. Some have supposed that this great river is absorbed by sands, others have endeavoured to prove that the Nile and the Niger are one and the same river, and various conjectures have been offered from time to time, which still leave us in the same incertitude upon this interesting subject; but the clouds which have so long obscured this geographical problem, it is now hoped, will shortly be dissipated.

Among all the hypotheses which have been submitted to the public *, that which has lately been published by Mr. M'Queen, carries with it the greatest probability of being correct; not that I come to this conclusion from the facts so distinctly elucidated by that gentleman, but from various enquiries and observations during my residence in Africa, and particularly in my last visit to that country (before the publication by Mr. M'Queen), I gave almost precisely the same opinion upon this subject, and stated it, in writing, to the President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh (Mr. Henry Mackenzie), who did me the honour to read it before that board in April last. I have since seen Mr. M'Queen's publication, and read it with increased satisfaction, from the circum-

* M. Mollien (to whom we are indebted for determining the sources of the Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande,) has laid down the source of the Niger, in his map, nearly two degrees further to the westward than it was hitherto supposed to be. How far this gentleman may be correct in doing so, we must leave to future travellers to determine; but I have not copied him in my map, as I would not pay so bad a compliment to the diligent researches of the enterprising Park.

stance of that gentleman's sentiments being so much in accordance with my own, and the whole of his arguments have tended to confirm the opinion I have long entertained; namely, that the Niger terminates in the bights of Benin and Biafra. In support of this opinion, Mr. M'Queen has so ably arranged the various authorities, both ancient and modern, that little now remains to be said upon the subject. It may be proper, however, to notice two authorities which he quotes in support of this opinion: the first is Gregory of Abyssinia, who states, that flowing west from the Egyptian Nile, he says pointedly, "descendit enim versus regionem Elwah, et sic illabitur in *mare magnum;* viz. Oceanum Occidentalem." The other is Mr. Robertson, who states, "that the natives on the coast of Benin and Biafra assert, that all the rivers in the Delta *come from one great river which descends from the north.*"

Indeed, although it is true that the Moors, whom I have met with at Coomassie and elsewhere, have invariably insisted on

there being a communication between the Niger and the Nile, yet the natives on the coast positively state, that the rivers in the bights of Benin and Biafra are branches of the Niger, which they call Insukussey, or *Insookassy*, and which, in the Fantee and Ashantee languages, signifies *Large Water*, or *Large River*.

That such was my opinion, I not only stated to Mr. Mackenzie, but also as long since as 1819, I wrote a letter to a gentleman, to be laid before Lord Bathurst, to the same effect, and suggesting establishments on the rivers Volta, Lagos, and Formosa, as well as on the island of Fernando Po, which would command an exclusive and extensive trade with all this part of Africa, and by which our merchandise could be transported into the very heart of that country with facility and security. Much credit is due to Mr. M'Queen for the able manner in which he has pointed out the advantages which would result from our taking possession of the island of Fernando Po. It is, however, but justice to others to observe, that he was by no means the first to suggest this, as not

only myself, but my respected friends, Sir Charles MacCarthy and Mr. Robertson, submitted the same opinion long ago to His Majesty's government; and Mr. Robertson, in 1819, arrived on the Gold Coast with three vessels, for the purpose of taking possession of this island, under the sanction of His Majesty's government; so that, in fact, this island would long since have been in the possession of a British merchant, had not the captain of one of our sloops of war detained Mr. Robertson's vessels, with their cargoes, and sent them to Sierra Leone, under the following circumstances:

Mr. Robertson having taken on board his vessels a number of negroes on the windward coast of Africa, for the purpose of colonizing Fernando Po, fell in with the Morgiana at Cape Coast on his way to take possession of that island; and, in consequence of those negroes expressing some doubt as to where Mr. Robertson was carrying them, the captain of the Morgiana detained the vessels, and sent them to Sierra Leone; and although they were afterwards liberated, it ruined the

voyage, and, for a time, obliged the abandonment of the plan.

Whether the rivers which empty themselves into the bights of Benin and Biafra are outlets of the Niger or not, they ought at least to be explored, especially as this may be done at so small an expense, and with every prospect of success. It is indeed surprising, with all the anxious curiosity which has so long been manifested respecting the Niger, that these rivers have never attracted the attention of the African Company, though they are situated only a few days' sail from our settlements on the Gold Coast. How far this has been owing to the contracted means of the African Committee, or to a want of energy and zeal for the public service among the chief directors of their affairs in Africa *, I will not now stop to enquire; but certain it is, not one of those rivers has ever been explored by the Company's

* The only exploratory missions which have been undertaken by the Company's servants, were suggested during the government of Mr. Dawson and Mr. Smith, within the last four years.

servants, although it is well known, from their short distance from our settlements in that quarter, small expeditions for this purpose might easily have been fitted out at Cape Coast, where there are not wanting men of enterprising spirit, who would willingly have hazarded their lives in such an undertaking, had they been encouraged to do so. It is therefore to be hoped, as His Majesty's government have taken the forts from the African Company, that the Governor, who may be appointed at Cape Coast, will be vested with full powers to send exploratory missions up the Volta, Lagos, Formosa, Calabar, and Del Rey; for even though such undertakings fail in ascertaining the termination of the Niger, they will not fail in acquiring much valuable and interesting information of the countries on the banks of those rivers. The Rio Del Rey is eight miles broad at its mouth, and is very likely to prove an arm of the Niger, although Mr. M'Queen draws a different conclusion, from the cataracts and rapids which he states this river to be full of; and hence will arise the greatest difficulties in exploring

it. The death of Mr. Nichols, who was employed by the African Association to explore it, is to be lamented, as we have no accounts of its source, although Mr. M'Queen supposes it to be on the south side of the Mount Thala of Ptolemy; but Mr. Nichols's reports to the African Association give no account of this, and his information is altogether very unsatisfactory. From frequent conversations upon this subject with Mr. Robertson, (author of notes on Africa), that gentleman appeared to be better acquainted with the Del Rey and the other rivers which flow into the bights of Benin and Biafra, than any person I have ever conversed with, or any author I have read, excepting only Bosman, whose work certainly contains the best account of the Rio Formoso; it was written by a Dutch Captain (Nyandale) in 1702, who had been twice trading in this river, and is to the following effect: "That sixty Dutch miles (or two hundred and ten English) above its mouth, ships may be navigated with safety, sailing by hundreds of branches, some of which are so wide that they well deserve the name of rivers; its length and source,

he adds, he was not able to discover, no Negro being able to give him an exact account of it."

Granting, however, that the Formoso may not enable us to get to the Niger, still a trial, with steam boats, ought to be made to ascertain how far it will take us into the interior; and then, mooring a vessel well manned and provisioned, at the highest navigable point of the river, small parties could be sent out daily to make incursions, and after becoming in some measure acquainted with the natives, and obtaining information as to the best means of pursuing the journey, a strong detachment, with men of science, might easily be fitted out from the vessel, which should remain moored as already mentioned; so that the party, which may be detached, will have an opportunity of communicating to the commander, from week to week, the success of the undertaking, and hence we should be able to get in England the earliest accounts of their progress. Upon this subject, I agree with Mr. M'Queen, that the bights of Benin and Biafra are the most desirable points to set out from to ascertain the course and termination of

the Niger; but I cannot agree with him in the whole of what he states in the following extract. "A very considerable portion of the journey, we know from the best authority, can be travelled by a water conveyance, and the whole distance cannot much exceed 300 miles till the point would be determined. The natives and people on the route are comparatively peaceable, civil, and friendly to Europeans. At Old Calabar different European languages are understood, the English language is spoken, taught, read, and written; they keep regular mercantile accounts in our language; hence good guides could be procured, in any other route from the west, from the north, or from the east, into the interior; the path is through dreadful barren deserts, countries wild and rugged, and men fierce and rude, and by their religion, the most inveterate enemies to the Christian name. The distance also by any one of these routes to be travelled before the points alluded to could be decidedly determined, is about 2500 miles; it is not difficult therefore to determine the route which should be chosen."

Having thus given as copious an extract from Mr. M'Queen's book, as the limits of my own small volume will admit of, and expressed my concurrence in the opinion that the bights of Biafra and Benin are desirable points to set out from, to ascertain the termination of the Niger, it is proper I should explain where I differ from that gentleman, who, not being so well acquainted with Africa in practice, as he appears to be in theory, has fallen into a few slight errors. With these, however, I have nothing to do, unless they happen to come in my way, as one or two of them do in the preceding passage; in which it is implied, although not expressly stated, that the bights of Benin and Biafra are the only desirable points to set out from, and that to proceed from any other place to ascertain the termination of the Niger, the distance to be travelled would be 2500 miles. Such, at least, is the inference which might be drawn from the extract just quoted, and therefore, though I agree with this gentleman in the main, yet, as he says not one word about the route from Cape Coast through Ashantee, it is proper to explain, that in setting

out from Cape Coast, the distance to the Niger would not exceed 700 miles, nearly 200 of which have been travelled by myself, and others; and, with the king of Ashantee's protection, we know that the greater part of these 700 miles can not only be travelled in almost perfect security, but also that the country, through which we should pass, is abundantly supplied with fresh water and provisions, and the people generally hospitable and obliging. Indeed, as the king of Ashantee, in his last treaty with Great Britain, (Appendix, No. 12.) pledged himself to march his armies to any part of his dominions, where the interest of His Britannic Majesty might require their assistance, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he might be prevailed upon to assist in this undertaking, if a suitable embassy were fitted out for this purpose, accompanied by an escort and such presents * as would be almost certain of securing the respect and confidence, as well as the friendship and assistance of the Ashantee monarch. Such an undertaking I conceive very likely to be successful; and, not calculating any delays

* Vide page 234.

upon the journey, the whole distance from Coomassie might be travelled in fifty days, at the rate of fourteen miles a day; but if we allow twenty days for delays upon the road, the journey would take up nearly ten weeks.

Mr. M'Queen states that ten miles was the utmost which Mr. Bowdich and a small party could make good in the journey from Cape Coast to Coomassie, and seems to think that this is the utmost distance which can be allowed for a day's constant travelling in Africa. In this, however, I must differ from him; but I agree with Mr. Bowdich, in thinking that Mungo Park's five journies through the Ialonka wilderness, were as much as any man could perform in Africa, being nineteen direct or twenty-five road miles each day. I believe I performed as great a distance, on my journey from Coomassie to Cape Coast, but I did not do so without the greatest exertion, having been obliged to travel some days fourteen or fifteen hours, starting as early as five or six o'clock in the morning, and not halting until eight or ten at night, which

enabled me to perform the whole journey in six days, and which the Ashantees declared was never done before, either by native or European. Differing, however, as I do with Mr. M'Queen, I conceive that fourteen direct miles a day may be travelled in Africa, without any extraordinary exertion, as we repeatedly did this on our journey to Coomassie, with upwards of 400 men, who carried up the presents to the king, through a forest, where the path was narrow and crooked, and our progress continually interrupted by large trees being blown down directly across it.

But to return to the subject of the Niger, we will suppose, for a moment, that the main body of this river does not flow into the bights of Benin and Biafra, yet some other branch of it, to the eastward of the Leasa, I have no doubt will ultimately be found to do so. The Moors, it is true, have positively stated again and again, that the Niger communicates with the Nile, and after all the information that has been collected to support this opinion, it would be presumptuous to say that such is not the

fact.* It is possible that these two great rivers may have a communication with each other, and yet be distinct rivers, neither is there any thing improbable in supposing that the Niger may communicate with the Nile, and also throw off a great body of its water, by a tributary stream, to the eastward of the Leasa, not yet discovered.

A stronger proof indeed of the strange concatenation of rivers cannot be referred to than that mentioned by Mr. Bowdich, drawn by Baron Humboldt, who represents the courses of the Orinoco and Amazon to be quite opposite to each other, notwithstanding their immediate connection; and there is nothing more improbable in the Niger and the Nile being connected by the Gir, (although flowing in opposite directions,) than there is in the Orinoco and Amazon being connected by the Cacquaire.

According to information we obtained

* Mr. Dupuis, I believe, is of opinion that the Niger and the Nile unite, and this is also the opinion of others. (Vide Jackson's Account of Morocco, and Bowdich's Mission to Ashantee.)

at Coomassie, there is a water communication from Porto Nova and the Lagos river nearly all the way to Egypt; and this is in a great measure confirmed by the late Mr. Jarvis of the Company's service, with whom I had many conversations, who stated that, during his residence at Lagos, he met with negroes who had come from the banks of the Niger, who assured him that there was a water communication nearly the whole of the way. Mr. Bowdich, in a late publication, speaks of having received similar information, and Mr. Robertson writes also to the same effect, and says he was informed that canoes have come from Timbuctoo to Lagos in three days, but this I suppose must be a typographical error, as I cannot imagine that gentleman would write such a manifest absurdity, three *weeks* being more likely. The Quolla * mentioned

* Mr. Dupuis, in Adams's Narrative, states, upon the information of a Negro of Bambara, that Quollo is the name of a country, and says it must be to the south-east of Bambara, and about three journies from the capital of Quolla is a considerable lake, or rather a river, which communicates with the Niger.

by the Moors, and alluded to by Mr. Bowdich, is said to be the Lagos, and not the Niger.* The Moorish name is the *Bahr Neel* or *Seer Neel*, which the Moors call all large rivers, and the sea they call "*Bahr Mall.*" "*Joliba*" is also a figurative name, meaning "a great river;" and the Negroes call the Nile of Egypt "*Gulbi*," which signifies a sea. It is also called "*Neel Massar*," and "*Neel Sham.*" The Niger likewise is known by various names, such as *Neel-el Abeed*, *Joliba*, *Coudha*, &c.

The *Quolla* is reported to be one month's journey from Coomassie, and the Niger one month's journey from the Quolla. According to Mr. Bowdich's account, the Niger is forty-seven days' journey from Kong, to which place the Ashantees can travel in safety. The Mecca itinerary, detailed by that gentleman, is of considerable value, and strongly tends to confirm what I have stated in the first part of this chapter, *respecting the route to the Niger, through Ashantee.*

* This statement I would wish to be understood as offering with great diffidence, as I had no opportunity of confirming it by the general reports of the Moors.

On the route to Coomassie, after passing the Boosempra, most of the rivers run to the eastward. The Volta or Adirri is said to flow from the Kong mountains, and is a beautiful river, which empties itself into the ocean about one degree to the eastward of our settlement at Accra. * This statement is indeed confirmed by the new map published by Mr. Bowdich, on which this river (the Volta) is traced from the Coomba or Zamma, close to the Kong and Koondoongoree mountains.

These scanty notices, regarding the Niger and the geography of this part of Africa, I trust will be excused, when it is considered that I was prohibited from making inquiries upon these subjects. Vide Instructions, p. 416 and 447.

But from what has now been stated, it will be evident that these noble rivers afford the greatest facilities for the introduction of our commerce into the very

* Colonel Straenberg, (whom I frequently had the pleasure to meet at table, with the late General Daendels, after he sailed up this river,) gave me some interesting particulars respecting his journey; but as they are correctly given by Mr. Bowdich, I will not repeat them.

heart of Africa; and it cannot be too often repeated, that whether they have a communication with the Niger or not, they ought at least to be explored, as more trade might be thus carried on in one month, than on the Gold Coast in a year; there being no rivers of any magnitude near our settlements there, and consequently the transportation of merchandise on the heads of the negroes for hundreds of miles under a vertical sun, must evidently be attended with every disadvantage to the African trader, as well as to the mercantile interests of Great Britain.

I cannot therefore do better, in concluding my observations upon this occasion, than by earnestly calling the attention of His Majesty's government to these subjects, as the prosperity of this country depends chiefly, if not entirely, upon her commercial resources; and if the suggestions here offered be adopted, new channels will be opened for our manufactures, which will not only greatly increase the revenue of the country, but give employment to thousands who are now wanting bread.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Instructions from the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa to Joseph Dupuis, Esq.

African Office, October 31. 1818.

JOSEPH DUPUIS, ESQ.

SIR,

THE committee of the company of merchants trading to Africa have received a communication from the right honorable the lords of His Majesty's treasury, importing that their lordships desire that the intercourse which has been opened with the king of Ashantee, should be kept up, and the advantages which may be expected to arise from it, promoted to the utmost. With this view, his royal highness the Prince Regent has been pleased to appoint you (your long residence at Mogadore, and acquaintance with the Moorish language peculiarly qualifying you for the situation,) to be His Majesty's consul at Coomasie, the capital of Ashantee. Their lordships further direct the committee to

make you an allowance of 500*l.* sterling per annum, from the period of your arrival in Africa; and to pay your passage to Cape Coast, and journey to Coomasie, furnishing you with an escort, and such presents for the king, as may be deemed most acceptable, not exceeding the value of 200*l.*; and with such instructions for your government, as may be necessary for your own safety, and useful to you in the promotion of the objects of confirming the friendly disposition of the natives of Ashantee, and obtaining correct information of the kingdoms further inland.

Their lordships have also intimated their opinion, that besides yourself, there should be stationed at Coomasie, one officer in the service of the African company, qualified to establish and conduct a school at that place, if the opportunity should be afforded; and also a surgeon with two or three subordinate officers as the committee may think necessary.

Conformably to their lordships said instructions, I have now by directions of the committee, to acquaint you, that the vessel which they have chartered to take out their annual supply of stores to Cape Coast Castle, is the Sarah, Captain Corser, now lying in the London Docks, which is intended to leave the river on the 15th of next month at the furthest. Captain Corser will be instructed to receive you and your baggage, and to afford you every accommodation.

With respect to the presents for the king of Ashantee, I am directed by the committee to acquaint you, that they have authorised me to purchase such articles, to the amount limited, as you may deem best suited for the purpose.

The committee will also instruct the governor and council at Cape Coast to furnish you with the necessary escort to Coomasie.

With regard to the measures requisite for your own personal safety, and for confirming the friendly disposition of the natives, and obtaining correct information of the kingdoms further inland, so much must depend on the actual state of things when you arrive upon the coast, that the committee have judged it better to refer you to the governor and council, than to lay down for you any specific and positive rule of conduct.

The committee are however of opinion, that previously to your going into the interior, you should take up your residence for a considerable time, at Cape Coast,

1*st*, In order that you may become seasoned to the climate.

2dly, That you may acquire a knowledge of the language and manners and customs of the natives.

3dly, That you may obtain the most satisfactory information from Ashantee that yourself and attendants will be favorably received and permitted to reside there.

And in order that you may have a full insight into the company's affairs and connexions with the natives, whereby you may be enabled most effectually to promote the objects of his majesty's government in your appointment, the committee propose, that you should be admitted to a seat in council. In concluding upon this last measure, the committee are much influenced by the consideration of the extreme importance both to the service and to yourself, of your appearing to the natives to be a member of the company, and wholly dependant upon the governor and council; since, were the natives to imagine that your situation was independent of the company, you would be tormented with numerous applications of various kinds, which, however improper, you would find it difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. Whereas, by making it distinctly understood that you are subject to, and that your conduct must, in all cases, be regulated by the governor and council, you will be able, whenever you see proper, to evade coming to a decision, by sending to Cape Coast for instructions.

In order that you may be in possession of all the information in the power of the committee to afford, I have been directed to furnish you with the accompanying copy of the instructions which they gave to the governor and council, and of the additional ones given by them to the gentlemen who visited Coomasie in the year 1817, and to acquaint you that you are at liberty to peruse and take extracts from the whole of the

correspondence which took place in Africa on that occasion. I also enclose copies of the treaties entered into with the kings of Ashantee and Dwabin; upon reference to which you will see that they pledge themselves to continue on terms of friendship with the British: to permit a British officer constantly to reside at Coomasie: to encourage trade with Cape Coast Castle and its dependencies: and to commit their children to the care of the governor-in-chief for education at Cape Coast Castle, &c. &c.

The foregoing you will observe are objects of great importance; it appears therefore to the committee, to be desirable to impress upon the kings, that His Britannic Majesty's government consider the treaties as sacred; and the better to give effect to the amicable relations subsisting between this country and those sovereigns, you are hereby authorized to signify to them, that provided they will find labourers, they may depend upon receiving, free of other expence than of carriage from the coast, an ample supply of hatchets, saws, spades, pick axes, and other tools for opening and repairing the roads to the coast; which the committee deem to be an object of the greatest importance in every point of view; but especially, as it may, by furnishing profitable means of employment, induce those kings to discontinue the practice of sacrificing their prisoners and others.

As the governor and council have a supply of these articles sent out by the store-ship, we re-

commend your taking a few of each to Coomasie, in order that you may be the better enabled to explain yourself upon this point.

One object most desirable to obtain, as it would essentially assist in the realization of the views of government, might perhaps be a grant from the king of Ashantee, of a district, distant about twenty-five miles from the coast, subject to a certain perpetual annual rent, with full liberty to clear and cultivate the same, and to erect houses, &c. Such a spot, judiciously chosen, might open an extensive field for the employment of the youth educated at the company's schools, and be the beginning of a system which might eventually extend to the cultivation and civilization of the whole coast. You will therefore keep this object constantly in view; and seize every favourable opportunity of impressing upon the mind of the king, the signal advantages that would result to the Ashantees as a people, and the immense accession of riches and strength which would be acquired by the sovereign from the country being brought into such an improved state. It need hardly be observed to you that this is a matter which will require to be treated with the greatest delicacy, and that no opinion upon it should be ever hazarded by any person attached to the mission.

Whatever may at any time pass upon this subject, you will, as soon as possible, communicate to the governor and council, and be very

careful that your despatches are entrusted to safe hands.

It does not occur to the committee on the present occasion to add to the foregoing any particular instructions. The inclosed paper containing queries on the geography, statistics, government, political institutions and relations, wars, laws, general appearance of the inhabitants, their dispositions, morals, religion, intellectual capacity, arts, sciences, manufactures, education, &c. &c.; you will find of great assistance to you in the prosecution of your enquiries; and, as opportunities may offer of gaining assistance in this object, from others, you have herewith several copies which you can distribute as such opportunities offer.

It must be almost superfluous to point out to you, that the most important object, is, to establish mutual confidence, since upon this basis alone can mutual interest be raised. And with this view, it may be good policy to defer the prosecution of any plans for immediate profit, that may have a tendency to excite the suspicion or jealously of the natives. For, though the promotion of our commercial relations with the interior, is undoubtedly a consideration of the first importance, yet in a country with which we have had so little intercourse, *that* should be but a secondary object. Your particular care should be to satisfy the minds of the king and his ministers, that our professions of friendship and good-will are sincere, before you allow it to

be understood that the intention is to pursue our enquiries, and to extend the trade beyond the boundaries of his dominions.

For the same reasons, all enquiries relative to the geographical situation of Ashantee, or neighbouring countries, or their internal governments, should be cautiously avoided, both by yourself and those who may accompany you, since it will be difficult to make the Ashantees credit the true motives by which the company are influenced; and it is most probable that an unfavourable construction would be put upon the views of persons who manifest an eager curiosity upon those subjects. Nevertheless, you must be sensible how necessary it is to get this information, and therefore you will carefully treasure up every thing you can learn, without shewing you attach any importance to the obtaining of it.

Your acquaintance with the characters of the Moors or Arabs, obtained during your long residence in Barbary, renders any suggestions for your government with respect to them wholly unnecessary; further than that it will be deserving of much consideration, how far it may be politic to place confidence in any of those who are resident at Coomasie, by making use of them as interpreters, or otherwise, as they must, both from their religious principles, and self-interest, be rather disposed to prejudice, than to promote our interests. You may, however, find them to be less bigotted than self-

interested; and by prudent measures may be able to turn their influence with the government very much to the advantage of this country.

The duties of a British consul at Coomasie must necessarily be of a peculiar nature: he must, therefore, for a time, be almost wholly guided by circumstances as they arise; bearing, however, always in mind, as the general rule of his conduct, his duty and allegiance to his sovereign and country; the promotion of the Christian religion, and the interest of British commerce. In every case in which you may require advice and assistance, you may always rely upon the governor and council at Cape Coast; to the extent prescribed by their means; — by the orders of government, and by their sense of what is proper and just in the cases upon which you may apply to them.

I have only to add the best wishes of the committee for your health and prosperity.

By order of the committee,

(Signed) S. Cock, Sec.

P.S.—20th Nov. Since writing the foregoing the committee have received directions from the right honourable the lords of the Treasury, authorizing the committee to encrease the amount of the presents to the king of Ashantee to 500*l.*; and to allow your pay to commence from the date of your appointment, which it appears by your commission was dated the 26th January, 1818.

No. II.

To Mr. Dupuis.

Cape Coast, November 6. 1819.

DEAR SIR,

I FEEL complimented by the handsome manner in which you have expressed yourself on the subject of my abilities and zeal for the public good; and to prove to you that I have no interested motive in wishing to accompany you to Ashantee, I now repeat the tender of my humble services, without any stipulation whatever as to profit or emolument, but merely as a volunteer, and the pleasure and pride I shall feel in being your companion on so interesting an occasion.

Should you, therefore, think my services worthy of your acceptance, and signify the same to me, I shall immediately apply to the governor for permission to accompany you. Believe me, dear Sir, with great truth and esteem,

Your's always,

W. HUTTON.

Joseph Dupuis, Esq.

No. III.

From Mr. Dupuis.

Cape Coast Castle, November 7. 1819.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR offer of the 6th instant does, as you justly observe, bear testimony to the purity and disinterestedness of your motive for voluntarily rendering your services to accompany the embassy to Ashantee; and in reply to the same I have only to observe, that I shall feel much gratified with your society for the reasons I have already given, and because I am fully impressed with the conviction, that from your knowledge of the country much advantage may be derived, and much solid information obtained, in promotion of those objects for the public good which his majesty's government has in its wisdom suggested. Therefore I embrace your offer, provided only that no obstacle of sufficient weight shall oppose itself to the proposed arrangement. This objection I am induced to make, founded on a knowledge that your zeal on a former occasion, and under similar circumstances, involved you in great difficulty; and because it might militate against you in the present instance.

I am, dear Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

JOSEPH DUPUIS.

William Hutton, Esq.

No. IV.

Instructions from the Governor and Council to Mr. Dupuis.

Cape Coast Castle, January 1820.

SIR,

THE king and people of Ashantee being in some measure aware of the objects for which you have come to this country, have expressed a strong desire of your immediately visiting Coomasie, the capital of that kingdom; this favourable disposition leaves no doubt on the minds of the governor and council, that you can, with perfect safety to yourself, and the other gentlemen attached to the embassy, proceed to your destination; and, as all the requisite arrangements are now complete, and your departure fixed for Thursday next, it becomes their duty, in obedience to the orders received from "The Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa," to add to their instructions such other matters as appear to them to be important for your guidance.

You are in possession of the instructions which, in accordance with the directions of his majesty's government, were addressed to you by Mr. Cock, the secretary of the committee, under date of 31st October, 1818. And you will receive herewith copies of their instructions to the governor and council, dated November, 1816, relative to the mission to Ashantee of

1817; and of the instructions given to Mr. James, the chief of that mission, by the governor and council, dated the 9th of April 1817. To these several full and important documents, the governor and council particularly refer you. Conceiving it unnecessary to touch on the subjects contained in them, they will confine their communications to such points as have occurred since, or which differ from the state of things at the period that mission was undertaken.

Mr. Hutchison, the late resident at Coomassie, returned to this Castle in consequence of the king leaving his capital, for the purpose of proceeding at the head of his army to attack the Buntookoos, a warlike nation to the northward of Ashantee. The king of Ashantee claiming a decisive victory sent to the different states on the water-side (whom he considers in some measure as tributary to him) messengers acquainting them with his success, and requesting them to send him presents in order to add to the splendor of his entrée into his capital, where he was about to return. The king's request was acceded to, with the exception of the Commendas, who not only did not send presents, but insulted the messenger. This messenger returned, complained to the Cape Coast people of the treatment he had experienced, and sent to the king his master, an exaggerated account of the facts; and in consequence of which, the king sent down, in March

last, a very hostile and threatening message both to the Castle, and to the people of Cape Coast; importing, that in forty days, he would march down with his army to the attack of both; to which, the substance of the reply was, that he was at liberty to take his own measures.

You are too well acquainted with the particulars of this very insulting communication from the king, and with the minutiæ of the circumstances which have since occurred to render their detail necessary. The preceding concise and plain statement will therefore suffice to shew the grounds which have led to the king's sending down the embassy, which is at present here, to demand from this castle 1600 ounces, equal to 6400*l.*, and a similar sum from the Cabboceers and people of the town of Cape Coast.

These two points being entirely new, could not be contemplated, and of course could not be provided against by any instructions in your possession. They are of extreme importance, and may in their result *vitally* effect the British interests in this country, and as such they will require, and the governor and council have no doubt, will receive your utmost attention.

On the first point — "The demand on the Castle of 1600 ounces."

You are not under any circumstances even to *permit its discussion*, much less the payment of a

single ounce on such a pretext, or for the purpose of avoiding a war. Any payment so made would be a serious compromise of the British character, and would also lay the governor and council open to repeated demands of a similar nature, until they would become so enormous, that the whole allowance granted annually by parliament would be insufficient to meet them. It would besides destroy at once that high opinion (and authority in this country is supported more by opinion than by the force possessed) which the natives entertain of British power, — the maintaining of which is so indispensable to the security of the service and for the protection of the important interests entrusted to the management of the governor and council.

On the second point — "The demand of 1600 ounces from the Cape Coast people." — Although this is a matter that might, with more propriety, be left for settlement to the respective parties, yet, as the 5th article of the treaty, entered into with the king of Ashantee, does unquestionably bind the executive government of this country to entertain such questions, and as such interference will have the effect of reducing this enormous and unjust demand to a sum within the means of the people of this town, and which they are willing to pay, rather than subject themselves to the inconvenience that would result from a dispute with the king of Ashantee, whose power they are altogether unable to cope with. And, although they would

find protection for their persons and properties within the range of the Castle guns, yet, in the event of a war, they must withdraw from the interior, abandon their villages and plantations, and become dependant on interior supplies for the necessaries of life. Their trade, the source of considerable profit, would also be cut off. It is therefore obviously the interest of the people of Cape Coast to arrange their difference with the king of Ashantee by the payment of a moderate sum of money. The governor and council, though convinced that this will be the worst political proceeding as regards the townspeople, cannot but sincerely regret the necessity of its adoption because they are sensible it will form a precedent for further exactions, and excuses will never be wanting to the stronger power when it has been resolved upon to extort money from the weaker.

To induce the reduction of the king's demand, the following reasons can be urged with such strength of argument as they may require:

1*st*, The Commendas and not the Cape Coast people were the original cause of the dispute.

2*d*, That the Cape Coast people did not in fact refuse satisfaction to the king's messenger.

3*d*, That they neither in word or deed offered any offence to the king; in proof of the contrary, they sent him a present of sixty ounces on his return from the Buntookoo war.

4*th*, That they are a small population, gene-

rally poor, and depending for support on their ployment by the British residents.

5th, And lastly, Should the king persist in demanding an exorbitant sum, this Castle must interfere with its power to protect them; and that, in fact, the king's declaring war against these people will be considered as a declaration of war against the Castle, as it never can be permitted to any power in Africa, to oppress with impunity such people who reside under the British forts and claim British protection.

Until the governor and council have ascertained the means and inclination of the Cape Coast people, they cannot fix a sum as the maximum of what they are to pay, but they trust 100 ounces will satisfy the king. On this point the governor and council will procure the proper authority and communicate the same to you in due time.

The governor and council are anxious to impress the necessity of not allowing the service of his majesty and that of the company to be separated in any negociation whatever; they ought in all cases to be identified as one and the same. A contrary line of conduct would most certainly prove fatal to the influence of the government in this country; would protract the settlement of the present dispute; and, above all, would create the most serious obstacles to the extension of our trade with the interior, which is indeed one of the principal objects of your embassy to Coomasie.

In the execution of the various and important duties confided to you, it will occur to you, from the character of the people, amongst whom you are about to reside, that you may be placed in situations of difficulty and probably sometimes subjected to mortifications not easily submitted to. Nothing can be opposed to these (should you experience them) but your own address and your zeal in the service of your country. In all cases, you may rely with confidence upon every support that the governor and council have it in their power to afford, and you will of course be aware of the necessity of frequently communicating with them; keeping them fully advised of the whole of your proceedings and referring to them for advice on all important occasions. This they consider to be equally as necessary to your own safety, and to the attainment of the important objects you have in view, as it is due to the situation they hold as the executive government of this country, authorized to decide upon and carry into effect any arrangements which it may be thought proper to make with the king of Ashantee. To avoid, therefore, the possibility of your committing yourself to the king, they desire that it may be distinctly understood that no arrangement with him can be considered as final without their previous approval.

The governor and council have placed under your directions, the following officers belonging to this service; — Mr. William Hutton, who, in the event of any accident to yourself, will suc-

ceed to the command of the embassy; Mr. Salmon, surgeon, and Mr. David Greaves, to be employed as you may think fit; copies of the letters to each of these gentlemen are sent herewith.

If a favourable opportunity should present itself, it would be of very material importance not only to explore the country immediately inland from Ashantee, but even as far as the Niger. All this, however, must depend upon your own judgment. Should you deem it prudent, you can, in furtherance of this great object, select such of the gentlemen under your command as you may deem best qualified for the enterprize, holding out to them the inducement of a reward commensurate to their exertions and to the discoveries they may be enabled to make. The parties to be so employed will be at liberty to draw on the governor and council for such reasonable sum or sums as they may require during their absence, not exceeding 200*l.* unless very sufficient reasons can be assigned, or very peculiar circumstances arise.

Should you be of opinion that a school could be established at Coomasie with a fair prospect of success, one of the teachers expected from England shall be sent to you as early as possible after his arrival. You will observe by the treaty that the king positively engaged to send some of his children to Cape Coast for education, and this article has never been fulfilled.

Herewith you will receive a copy of a letter addressed to the governor and council by the governor of Christianburg Castle respecting the unwarrantable demand made on him by the king of Ashantee. Should a favorable opportunity offer, they request you will avail yourself of it to carry his wishes into effect. It will of course appear evident to you, that a compliance with the king's demand would be double his pay from the Danish government, and that this would form the ground of an application to this Castle for a similar mode of payment. In this point of view, therefore, the governor and council conceive that this subject comes within the scope of the objects of your embassy.

A corporal, a trumpeter, two linguists, and a cooper will be also attached to the embassy.

One hundred ounces of gold dust are herewith delivered to you to defray the expenses of your journey and other incidental charges.

A list of the presents intended for the king, and of the articles to be distributed according to your judgment to the Moors and to the several chiefs, together with a list of the necessaries and stores, accompany this.

The hammock-men and bearers of your baggage, stores, &c. &c. are Cape Coast people, 106 in number; and it will be very desirable that they be sent back as early as circumstances will permit, in order to avoid the very considerable expense attendant on their subsistence.

The carriers of the presents for the king are his own people, 300 in number.

It is the particular wish of the governor and council that a journal be kept of the proceedings of the embassy, in order that the same may appear on record for the benefit and guidance of those who may be employed on any similar expedition hereafter.

Anxiously desirous to promote the British interests in this country by the extension of our commercial intercourse, and influenced by the impression that, whilst they are furthering this most important object, their proceeding may tend to add to the respect due to the rank which you hold in his majesty's service, the governor and council have thought it incumbent on them to add very considerably to the presents sent out from England. The expense of the embassy, including the presents (which, however, form but a small part of the whole charge) will not be less than 4000*l.* sterling, a sum greatly exceeding what his majesty's government or the committee had contemplated, and approaching so near the whole sum granted by parliament, that it precludes, for the present, the possibility of their sending an expedition up the river Volta, which, from the best information they have been able to obtain, holds out the promise of considerable accession to our commerce: — but on your talents, discretion, and firmness, the governor and council ground a confident expectation, that this sum, though large, will not be expend-

ed in vain; that the honor and interest of the British nation and character will be maintained, our commerce promoted, our geographical knowledge of Africa improved, and the basis laid for extending to it the blessings of education and consequent civilization.

By order of the governor and council,

(Signed) JOHN TASKER WILLIAMS, Sec.

To Joseph Dupuis, Esq. &c. &c. &c.

No. V.

Mr. Dupuis to Mr. Hutton.

Cape Coast Castle, 2d February 1820.

DEAR SIR,

I REGRET to learn you are so very unwell, and am sorry to add, I stand in the same situation.

I send you two sketches of certain ideas connected with the subject we yesterday conversed upon. As we are precluded the pleasure of personal communication, I shall not hesitate to tell you, in this way, that I have given due reflection to the nature of things, and am decidedly resolved not to accept of instructions from the M. C. (member of council) board. I will not submit to such degradation, except in as much as they shall be at liberty to let me

know how much the town is capable of paying, without injuring the inhabitants. If they object to this, you know, my dear Sir, my intentions in regard to yourself. I will invest you with as full powers as I am able, and will do all I can, on that score, on my arrival in England, as I have promised you, because I am convinced you will act with that independence becoming an officer and a man. I shall then quit the coast, as I believe I can do more real good to the cause in England in one month than I could effect here in twelve.

I will not stir, as I have told you, with instructions derogatory to my character, but will consider my powers to all intents and purposes plenipotent.

At all events, it will make no difference to you, with the exception, that it will put a good thing in your pocket (if the king of Ashantee, and our own government are liberal, as I am inclined to think they will be,) and believe me, my dear Sir, none of your friends will feel more pleasure than I shall, as the flattering satisfaction of having placed an independent man in an independent and honourable situation will be all the gratification I desire, and I dare assure my friends that you will tread in my steps, or, in other words, that you will do your duty in defiance of such characters as are immured in these walls. I can assure you in so doing, you will take the right side of the question, as you may be assured I know more than

I can communicate to any body. In fact admitting they (the governor and council) were to give you a salary of a 1000*l.* per annum, I do not think it would be an equivalent for any sacrifice of principle and opinion.

I am always faithfully your's

(Signed) J. DUPUIS.

To William Hutton, Esq.

No. VI.

Governor and Council to Mr. Hutton.

[*On Service.*] Cape Coast Castle, 5th February 1820.

SIR,

I HAVE received directions to inform you, that the hammock-men will be in readiness at two o'clock this day to convey you to Paintrey, where you will remain until you are joined by M. Dupuis, or receive further instructions.

I enclose you a list of the presents and of the stores, and you will of course ascertain immediately on your arrival at Paintrey, whether they are correct, reporting the same to the governor in chief.

The hammock-men and Cape Coast people have received their subsistence until Wednesday next, and as it has been found necessary to encrease the number to 106, the sum of oz. 1, 2. for every

two days must be given them for their subsistence. I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

Jn°. Tasker Williams, Sec.

To William Hutton, Esq. &c. &c.

Additional Instructions to Mr. Hutton.

Cape Coast Castle, February 9. 1820.

Sir,

The governor and council, in order to guard against circumstances which may by possibility arise, although they consider them unlikely to do so, deem it necessary to send the following additional instructions for your government.

In the event of the consul's detention on the road, by the recurrence of indisposition, the governor and council direct that you remain at the same place until he may be able to proceed.

Should any accident occur, or the consul be obliged, by ill health or the intervention of any untoward circumstance, to return to this Castle, without having reached Coomassie, they direct, that you make them acquainted with the same forthwith, await their further instructions, and that you, on no consideration, enter the capital at the head of the embassy without having received their orders to that effect.

By order of the governor and council.

Jn°. Tasker Williams, Sec.

William Hutton, Esq.

No. VII.

Mr. Hutton's Appointment as Consul and Conductor of the Embassy.

" I, JOSEPH DUPUIS, holder of the foregoing commission, being taken suddenly ill at the commencement of the journey to Coomassie, and in consequence of certain presents to the King of Ashantee, which I was to have accompanied, having been already sent off, are now on the road to Paintrey, taking into consideration the importance of carrying into effect the objects of the present embassy and the necessity, for certain very important reasons, that the expedition should proceed without delay, I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint William Hutton, Esq. to take immediate charge of the said embassy and presents, and if necessary to proceed on to Ashantee with all possible dispatch, and there to act for me in all respects during my absence as I have particularly directed him in my instructions of this day.

" And, moreover, influenced as I am by my regard for the public good, and with the desire of giving weight and influence to the said William Hutton, in his negociations with the king of Ashantee, while I am unable to act for myself; I do hereby transfer the power and authority which is vested in me, in virtue of the said commission, to him the said William Hutton

to have, to hold, and to exercise the functions of my said appointment as his majesty's agent and consul; and in the event of my being obliged to leave the Coast from indisposition, this transfer of my appointment is to be considered in full force until my return from England; and as I have every reason to believe, from my present state of health, that I shall be obliged ultimately to leave the Coast, I do hereby make known to all whom it shall or may concern, that in virtue of this appointment and transfer, the said William Hutton is fully and effectually authorized to have, to hold, and to exercise the said appointment of his majesty's agent and consul, and to fill and to occupy my situation under government to all intents and purposes for and during the period of my absence and from the date of my said departure.

"Given under my hand and private seal at Cape Coast Castle, the 5th day of February, in the year 1820.

(Signed) "JOSEPH DUPUIS."

No. VIII.

To the Governor and Council, Cape Coast Castle.

Coomasie, 5th March 1820.

GENTLEMEN,

IN reference to my correspondence with you on the subject of Mr. Hutton's appointment to act for me as consul and conductor of the embassy, I have now both health and leisure to notice your unjustifiable conduct on that occasion, and at the same time to state to you the motives which influenced me to appoint that gentleman my successor, which you, in the usual wisdom of your deliberations, did not think proper to recognise.

First, gentlemen, you are aware that at the time I appointed Mr. Hutton, I was seriously ill, from an unexpected renewal of my old complaint, and having been unfortunately afflicted just as the presents for the king of Ashantee were sent off, accompanied by Mr. Collins and Mr. Graves, the first question which occurred to me, in this important crisis was, "What measures are best to adopt for the public good if my illness should continue?" The answer, gentlemen, was sufficiently obvious, and I immediately decided that nothing else could be done in those circumstances but to appoint Mr. Hutton my successor, not only as consul, but also as conductor of the embassy, as you in fact had

already spontaneously nominated him to succeed me in the event of accident. Surely, then, I could not have appointed a more fit person, in your ideas, than the one you had yourselves previously nominated and approved of. But although I met your wishes in this respect, even this did not satisfy you; and I therefore must say, that such conduct convinces me (if I wanted conviction) of a predetermination on your part to throw opposition in my way, and instead of promoting, is evidently calculated to retard the views of his majesty's government in this country.

Secondly, I considered Mr. Hutton the fittest person to succeed me in charge of the embassy for another reason, far more important, perhaps, than as regarded my desire to meet your wishes, namely, that as I had previously notified to you my intention of appointing that gentleman to act for me as consul on leaving the country (in the event of my bad state of health continuing), I deemed it an act indispensably necessary for the public good to appoint him to take upon himself the functions of my office on his arrival at Coomasie; but as, happily for me, my health enabled me to join the embassy at Doonqua, I have to inform you that Mr. Hutton's appointment, for the present, has become null and void. But, gentlemen, you must admit that had it pleased the hand of Providence to have continued the indisposition with which I was afflicted, the circumstance of Mr. Hutton being appointed act-

ing consul at Coomasie, and wearing uniform, would have given him far more weight and influence with the king of Ashantee in his negotiations as conductor of the embassy, than any officer sent from the castle could possibly have on such an occasion; and this I can declare, with truth, was my principal reason for appointing Mr. Hutton at that time. I could have no other reason for so doing, as it is to my advantage to keep the appointment as long as I remain in the country; but I considered it a measure inseparably connected with the public good.

Although, gentlemen, I will not allow you to suppose I value any sanction it is in your power to bestow upon my public conduct, or that in fact I consider your approbation, for reasons which you are well informed of, as amounting to any thing respectable in itself, yet I am willing, nay, desirous of knowing the motives by which you are influenced in refusing to recognise my appointment of Mr. Hutton during my absence in England. To me such insidious dealing appears more than mysterious. If, therefore, you are able to oppose any reasonable objection to my selecting that gentleman, I can only say, that as it is by no means my wish to do that which will give you displeasure for the sake of any private gratification of my own, I will listen with patient compliance to any suggestions you may think proper to communicate to me of a tendency to promote the vews of his majesty's government and the interests of

the public in this country; and, therefore, if you can point out any reasons sufficiently cogent in their nature to act as a barrier to the honorable advancement I contemplate for Mr. Hutton, you cannot, I presume, object to make these reasons known to me, and thereby allow me an opportunity of profiting by your argument, which, for the present, you know I am totally unacquainted with. I am, &c.

(Signed) JOSH. DUPUIS.

No. IX.

List of Presents for the King of Ashantee.

1—25	25 Cases containing 50 Tower and 50 Dane guns.
	100 Ankers of rum (West India.)
	100 Ounce kegs of gunpowder.
26—31	6 Cases containing six-dozen port wine.
32, 33	2 ———— two dozen porter.
34	1 Case ———— one jar of currants.
35, 36	2 Cases ———— 112lb. soap.
37	1 Case ———— three hampers of annisette.
38	1 ———— brandy fruits.
39	1 ———— an elegant breakfast service.
40	1 ———— uniform, hat, four shawls, six pair of trowsers, six shirts, twelve pair of stockings.
41	1 ———— magic lantern and kaleidescope.

42	1 Cask containing three dozen tumblers, three dozen finger cups, and eight decanters.
43—45	3 Cases ——— an organ.
46, 47	2 ——— eleven rugs, Æolian harp, harmonic glasses belonging to piano, and portfolio of prints.
48, 49	2 ——— drums and cymbals.
50—54	5 ——— turning lathe.
55	1 Case ——— piano of harmonic glasses.
56	1 ——— mirror.
57	1 ——— lamp.
58—61	4 Ankers ——— sugar.
62	1 Case ——— sample of rum and two pair of shoes.
63	1 ——— gold repeating watch sent to the consul.
18	Three pieces of linen, six taffetas, 40–10 half Danes, and two chintz.

No. X.

Instructions from Consul Dupuis to Mr. Hutton.

Cape Coast Castle, February 5. 1820.

Sir,

In consequence of an unexpected renewal of my old complaint, and the uncertainty of how long it may continue, I deem it proper, to prevent any interruption to the present expedition, to appoint you in the mean time to the command of the embassy, now on the road to Ashantee, there to act for me and in the name and on be-

half of his majesty's government in all respects as I may direct you or as may be pointed out in the instructions which I shall transfer to you previous to your departure for Coomassie.

1*st.* I desire that you will be particular in carrying on your negotiations with the king of Ashantee entirely in the name and on behalf of his majesty's government, bearing in mind the necessity of impressing the king with a just sense of the importance of the executive government of this country, and particularly as regards the interests of the merchants here.

2*ndly.* My own instructions from government, which are signed by Mr. Cock, a copy of which I send you herewith, will require your particular attention, and you will lose no opportunity of endeavouring, as much as you shall deem prudent, under existing circumstances, to carry into effect the objects which are there pointed out, without, however, losing sight of the more immediate and important objects which have so recently thrown the country into such a disturbed state; and its important nature to the mercantile interests will demand your most strenuous and early exertions to adjust.

3*dly.* In reference to a letter of instructions which has been addressed to me by the governor and council, and which I have protested against, for reasons which you shall hereafter be made acquainted with, I beg to say that it is my wish that you should refer to them, and avail yourself of such suggestions contained therein, as may appear to you, on your

arrival at Coomassie, expedient for the public good.

4thly. As soon as you have succeeded (which I hope, from the confidence I have in your talents and exertions you will,) in arranging the present serious differences with the king, you will direct your attention to the cutting of a road, in which undertaking the governor and council will supply the necessary tools, and cut one half of the road at their own expence.

5thly. You will endeavour to get the king's sanction to the establishment of a school from twenty to thirty miles from Cape Coast; and if he will approve of a spot of land being selected for that purpose, a monthly note to the amount of one or two ounces will be allowed. On your road to Coomassie you will of course look out for a desirable spot for this purpose.

6thly. It is impossible for me to lay down any particular arguments for you to urge, as I must leave you chiefly to your own discretion, and to circumstances, as they may occur. At the same time, I may point out to you, as regards the treaty, that should the king express any dissatisfaction respecting it, I would advise you to propose to the king to destroy it, and to make another in the name and on behalf of his majesty's government. This treaty I would recommend to be drawn out less complicated than the former, to prevent, as much as possible, any liability to its misconstruction on the part of the king. And in short, I think you may

draw the whole treaty in three articles, in which, as one of the most essential points, you will particularly direct your attention to the mercantile interests here, reserving any part of the former treaty, bearing relation to this point, which you may deem adviseable.

7thly. In all cases of difficulty, in your arguments with the king, I advise you to avail yourself of the pretext that you will send the affair for consideration to his majesty's government, and which I request you will do, advising at the same time with the governor and council, and committee also, if you should think necessary.

8thly. You are distinctly to understand that in transferring to you my appointment, you will stand precisely in the same situation as myself, and will in all respects act up to the duties of your station, while you are officiating for me; and it is my particular desire, that you will not allow the functions of your office, either as consul or commander of the embassy, to be at all infringed, or admit of the slightest innovation on the part of the council here; but at the same time it is my wish, that you should communicate with them on all occasions you may deem necessary, and it is extremely to be desired that you should go hand in hand, and maintain a good understanding with the council if nothing important should occur to interrupt it. In this case, of course, you will be justified in maintaining the independence of your appointment.

9thly, As regards the existing state of affairs, I recommend your arguments with the king to be, as near as you shall deem proper, to the following effect:

1st, The treaty which was entered into by Mr. Bowdich, was highly gratifying to the British government, and led to my being sent out to this country by the king of England, in consequence of his majesty's government being satisfied of the king's friendly disposition; and with the view of strengthening the good understanding which at present exists between the two nations, as the king of England entertains so favourable an opinion of the honour and justice of the king of Ashantee, he has been induced to send these handsome presents to cultivate a good understanding with him.

If the king of Ashantee wishes to keep up a good understanding with the king of England, he cannot more effectually do so than by being on friendly terms with the forts, and as I am the first person sent directly from the king of England, now is the time for him to shew his disposition, either to cultivate the present good understanding, which the British government have taken such measures to promote; or, if it is his determination to make war, and you find you are unable to move him by your arguments from such determination, you will then request a decisive answer upon the subject, that you may return and lay the same before his majesty's government.

If you should ultimately find you are not able

to settle matters to the satisfaction of the king, you may tell him, (and it is my advice to you in a political point of view to do,) that you are willing to represent any complaints he may have against the governor of Cape Coast to the king of England; and that you believe his complaints will be attended to, and that the governor will no doubt be removed if he has done wrong. This, however, I recommend as the dernier resort.

Should my health improve, you will tell the king I shall not fail to pay him a visit, although you should have settled the differences which at present exist, and which you have full powers to do; but in the event of your receiving a letter from me acquainting you with my bad health; you will urge this to him as a reason for coming to an early decision of the differences in question, and say that my health is so bad that I am obliged to return to England immediately, and only await a letter from you to know the king's sentiments, that I may lay them before the king of England on my arrival. This you will particularly urge, as it may be the means of bringing him to an immediate settlement of the existing differences.

The argument, as regards the road, will be much strengthened by your adverting to the carriage * now here, there being no road suffi-

* This carriage was sent out to Cape Coast for the king of Ashantee two years ago; but in consequence of the narrow path to Coomassie, his majesty has not yet seen it.

ciently wide to admit of its conveyance; and you may add, that, when the road is completed, many other presents may be made to the king, which could not now be sent, on account of the narrowness of the path.

As regards the difference between a king's officer and the company's, should the king make any inquiry on the subject, you will state that we are all subjects of his Brittanic majesty, although serving him in different situations; and that, although the uniform is different, you will explain that my appointment is immediately from the king, but the company's officers are appointed by a body of men, in England, acting for the king, and that the forts and officers are paid and supported with the king's money, that they all belong to the king of England, and only are managed by a body of men, which are a company, and that is why they are called so; but any demand made on the fort, or the governor, or any palaver made with the people, is the same as if he made it with the king of England.

As regards your communications with the Moors, it is a particular source of uneasiness to me, and concerns me above all other considerations, on this occasion, that the embassy may be deprived of the advantages which would otherwise result from my presence and my acquaintance with the Arabic language; but should I unfortunately be prevented from joining the embassy, you will be attentive in observing the dispositions and manners of the Moors,

and the principal men to whom you are to distribute the presents, according to the best of your judgment. You will be cautious not to excite their jealousy, by inquiring about the country, &c.; and on no account ask any questions until the present differences are settled. This you will also desire the gentleman under your command particularly to observe.

I shall write you further in the course of a day or two, if I am able; in the mean time I have only to add, that you will remain at Paintry for me two days, when you will proceed on slowly with the embassy to Coomasie, should you not hear from me to the contrary.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOSH. DUPUIS.

William Hutton, Esq.

No. XI.

Declaration of Messrs. Hutton, Salmon, Collins, and Graves, relative to the Message sent up to the King of Ashantee, by Mr. Smith.

WE, the undersigned officers and gentlemen, who accompanied the embassy, under charge of Consul Dupuis, being present at an audience, on

the 9th instant, were witnesses to the truth of the following statement, resulting from a discussion which ensued between the king of Ashantee and the consul, on the subject of certain claims established by the former on the governor of Cape Coast Castle, and also on the town of Cape Coast, amounting, separately, to 1600 ounces of gold, and collectively to double the said sum.

The new treaty being read over and interpreted to the king, he expressed much dissatisfaction, and declared it to be his determined resolution not to relinquish the demand he had made on the town of Cape Coast; alleging, at the same time, that he was actually negotiating with the governor of the Castle, who had become responsible to him for the payment of a certain sum of money, provided the original demand was reduced to limits proportionable to the means of the people; and in support of this argument the king appealed to a messenger who had been dispatched to him by the governor of the Castle, and who distinctly and vehemently declared that he had been instructed to tell the king, the governor himself would negotiate with him respecting the claim on the natives of Cape Coast town, which claim, when reduced to moderate limits, he would cause to be liquidated.

The messenger, then pointing out one of my own linguists, named George Abroah, who had very recently arrived from Cape Coast, declared

that he was the man who interpreted to him the governor's words in the public hall of the castle. In consequence of this impeachment, the king called upon the said George Abroah to attest or deny the accusation, which, however, was confirmed by him beyond the possibility of refutation.

Previous to the discussion on this subject, the consul had framed the treaty in terms to cancel all demands, but the king refused even to listen to such a proposal; and although the consul persisted in offering his mediation between the parties, and demanded to know what reduction would be allowed from the original demand, it was declined by the king, who unhesitatingly declared, he should look to the governor only for the liquidation of his claim upon the natives of Cape Coast town, in conformity with the promises he had received to that effect.

In reply to an observation, which was made by the consul at an early part of the debate, that the king of Ashantee had, in virtue of the treaty of 1817, consigned over to the protection of the British government the natives residing under the British forts, he, the king, produced the original treaties, preliminary and definitive, and caused them to be read over and explained to him, which, when done, he declared he had been deceived by the author of those documents, who did not truly explain to him their contents, for he never could or would resign the

command he possessed over a conquered people, who were his slaves, and consequently should be obedient to him their master. He moreover declared, that he had consigned these people over to the English, resident on the coast, giving and granting them authority to make use of their services as they pleased; but he never transferred to them the power to interfere with his government, in any shape, nor would he permit it, as they were, "*bonâ fide*," his subjects only, as his dominions embraced the whole line of coast from Appolonia on the west, to Danish Accra on the east, (both inclusive.)

In reference to the king's demand on the governor of Cape Coast Castle for one thousand six hundred ounces of gold, as a penalty for having violated the treaty, he again publicly declared, what he had expressed on a former occasion, namely, that as he was so much gratified at the king of England having sent him out one of his own officers to take charge of his concerns for him; and as he had "seen the consul's face," he relinquished the said demand of 1600 ounces of gold claimed from the governor *in toto*. This declaration having produced an altercation on the illegality of the king's demand for money, on the alleged infraction of the treaty; and on the king's demanding to know if such a clause was not expressly stipulated in the treaty of 1817, and being answered in the negative, he again protested he had been deceived by Mr. Bowdich, who had distinctly

told him, "the penalty for breaking the law was a fine of gold;" and, in support of his own assertion, the king appealed to the evidence, first of his counsellors and generals, and, lastly, to the consul's own servant, who accompanied Mr. Bowdich on the mission of 1817, and who was present at the time the treaty of that date was read over to the king; and this man's evidence fully confirmed the truth of the king's assertion.

The consul, in reply, told the king, he did not doubt his word, but a treaty so framed was not valid, nor was it a treaty, as the governor had neither power nor authority to pay him money on account of the king of England.

Witness our hands, at Coomassie, this 11th day of March, 1820.

(Signed) BENJAMIN SALMON.
FRANCIS COLLINS.
DAVID MILL GRAVES.

I hereby declare, that I was also witness to the particulars of the above discussion at Coomassie on the 9th of March.

(Signed) WILLIAM HUTTON.

Cape Coast, April 7. 1820.

No. XII.

General Treaty entered into with the King of Ashantee by Consul Dupuis on the part of His Britannic Majesty's Government. 1820.

Treaty made and entered into by Joseph Dupuis, Esq. his Britannic majesty's consul for the kingdom of Ashantee, in Africa, in the name and on behalf of the British government, with O'Saii Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee and its dependencies.

1*st.* The king of Ashantee agrees to receive and acknowledge Joseph Dupuis, Esq. as his majesty's consul, to the full intent and meaning of his commission, and if at any time ill health should oblige the said Joseph Dupuis to leave this country, the king will receive and acknowledge any gentleman that he may appoint to succeed him.

2nd. The king of Ashantee having taken the sacred oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain in the person of his royal highness the Prince Regent, makes known to all to whom these presents shall come, that he will, with all his power and influence, support, aid, and protect the British interest in this country, and that he will, if necessary, on all occasions, march his armies to any part of the country, where the interests of Great Britain may require their aid and assistance.

3*d.* The claim recently made by the king of Ashantee on the governor of Cape Coast

Castle, amounting to one thousand six hundred ounces of gold, or 6400*l.* is hereby acknowledged to be relinquished; and it is agreed that there are now no differences or *palavers* existing between the king of Ashantee and the governor, or between the king and any other of his Britannic majesty's subjects, collectively or individually.

4*th.* The king of Ashantee agrees and binds himself to support and encourage the commerce of this country with Cape Coast and its dependencies, by all the means in his power, and pledges himself not to allow any differences that may occur, to interrupt the trade with the English merchants on the coast.

5*th.* The king of Ashantee claims the Fantee territories as his dominions, to which the consul on the part of the British government accedes, in consideration and on the express condition that the king agrees to acknowledge the natives residing under British protection entitled to the benefit of British laws and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part.

6*th.* After the final adjustment of the present claim upon the Cape Coast people, the king binds himself to submit all future complaints to the consul only, and on no account whatever to make war with the natives at any of the English settlements without first allowing the consul the opportunity of settling such differences.

7*th.* The consul, on the part of the British

government, guarantees all the protection in his power to the subjects of the king of Ashantee who may have any commerce with the British settlements on the coast.

8*th*. The consul binds himself, on the part of the British government and the governor and council, to keep half the path that is already made, between Cape Coast and Ashantee, well cleared, and the king of Ashantee agrees to keep the other half of the path constantly in good order, so that there shall always be a free and easy communication with the Ashantee dominions.

9*th*. It is expressly agreed and understood that the consul shall at all times be at liberty to visit the capital of Ashantee, and to take his departure therefrom whenever he may think fit, without being subject to any interruption or detention, and that his residence may either be at Coomassie or at Cape Coast, as he may from time to time deem expedient for the public good, but if at any time, during his absence from Coomassie, the king of Ashantee has any complaint or palaver against the natives of the British settlements, the same is to be submitted to the consul at Cape Coast, and if it cannot be settled without his presence at Coomassie, it is agreed that he is immediately to proceed to the capital on all such occasions.

10*th*. The king of Ashantee having publicly and repeatedly complained of the exorbitant prices charged on the notes he holds from the forts, of the goods he receives in payment of those notes; and in consequence of the manifest

dissatisfaction expressed by the king on this subject in particular, the consul, in order to obviate any objection to the ratification of the present treaty, concedes this point to the king, and agrees in future to take upon himself the payment of those notes, and the king declares he will not receive any payment of those notes unless through the medium of the consul.

11*th.* The king, on the part of his principal captains and counsellors, hereby acknowledges to their having also taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

12*th.* In virtue of the present treaty it is mutually agreed and expressly understood, that all former treaties between the king of Ashantee and the authorities of Cape Coast Castle on behalf of his majesty's government, particularly the treaty of 1817, are from henceforth to become null and void, and are hereby declared so accordingly.

Given under our hands and seals at the king's palace, at the capital of Ashantee, this 23d day of March, in the year of our Lord 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of His Majesty George III. &c.

The mark × of

(Signed) O'saïi Tootoo Quamina.

Joseph Dupuis.

In the presence of

(Signed) Benjamin Salmon.

Francis Collins.

David Mill Graves.

No. XIII.

Supplementary Treaty with the King of Ashantee. 1820.

SUPPLEMENTARY Articles annexed to the general Treaty entered into this day, between O'Saii Tootoo Quamina, King of Ashantee on the one part, and Consul Dupuis on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's government on the other part; which articles are hereby considered and mutally admitted to be equally binding to the said contracting parties, as if they were inserted in the primary or general treaty itself.

Article 1. The king of Ashantee having by force of arms subdued the kingdom of Gaman or Buntokoo, which he now governs in full and undisputed sovereignty; and whereas, from political motives, it has been deemed prudent to station troops in Amanaka, on the banks of the Assinee river, pledges himself, in virtue of this article, to remove the before-mentioned obstacles to the commerce of the kingdom of Buntokoo or Gaman, and guarantees the same privileges of trade to the natives of that country which the Ashantees themselves enjoy, provided their intercourse with the sea coast is confined to Cape Coast Castle, or any other of the British

forts and settlements on the Gold Coast. In promotion of this object, the king has already nearly completed a road forming a direct communication to the heart of the said country of Gaman, and he hereby binds himself to support, aid, and encourage the trade of that country.

Article 2. The king of Ashantee being decidedly averse to relinquishing his claim on the natives of Cape Coast town; and, in consequence of certain private negotiations which are now pending through the medium of Mr. Smith, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the parties concerned; and whereas the consul possesses no authority to guarantee payment to the king of any sum of money on behalf of the natives of Cape Coast beyond the limit of 100 ounces of gold, which has only tended to excite the king's anger and indignation, as well as for other reasons unnecessary to introduce in this treaty; it is hereby expressly stipulated, that the natives of Cape Coast town, "being subjects of the king of Ashantee," are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the king is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination; nevertheless, in consideration of the friendship existing between him and the king of England, and as the king of Ashantee is particularly anxious to convince the world of the sincerity of his re-

gard for the honour and dignity, as well as the interests of the British government and people, he will endeavour as much as possible to avoid giving offence either to the consul or to the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, directly or indirectly; and, therefore, whatever plans the king of Ashantee may think adviseable to adopt, in order to bring his people under due subjection, he binds himself not to destroy the town of Cape Coast, nor will he allow a gun to be fired in the town, or suffer his troops to commit any act of hostility or depredation therein on the inhabitants, or on their property; and in particular as regards the white part of the population; to say, all the free merchants and traders, he guarantees to them not only full security of person and property, but also full protection in case of need. Moreover, the king will not suffer his difference with the Cape Coast people to interfere with his plans for the promotion and extension of the commerce between the interior and the British settlements on the sea coast, which he promises shall be immediately restored.

Article 3. Not granted.

Article 4. The king of Ashantee pledges himself for the security and protection, in person and property, to missionaries or others; being subjects of His Britannic Majesty, who wish to establish themselves in any part of his territory for the purpose of propagating the Christian re-

ligion; and the king hereby cordially invites to his country such well disposed men.

Given under our hands and seals at the king's palace, at the capital of Ashantee, this 23d day of March, in the year of our Lord 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of his majesty George the Third, &c. &c.

The mark × of
(Signed) O'Saïi Tootoo Quamina.
Joseph Dupuis.

In the presence of
(Signed) B. Salmon.
F. Collins.
D. M. Graves.

No. XIV.

To the Governor and Council of Cape Coast, explanatory of the Treaties entered into with the King of Ashantee, by Mr. Dupuis.

Cape Coast, April 14. 1820.

Gentlemen,

In reference to my negotiations at Coomassie it may be necessary to inform you (what you would have been acquainted with long ago but for your insulting conduct to me when I waited upon you in the public hall) that the Cape Coast

people have nothing to do with either of the treaties excepting only as regards the stipulation I have made in their favor in the second clause of the supplementary treaty, binding the king down "not to fire a gun in the town nor to allow his troops to commit any act of hostility or depredation therein."

I again repeat that the Cape Coast natives have nothing to do with either of the treaties excepting only as regards the clause in their favor just mentioned; as they are most decidedly exempted in the supplementary treaty, from the advantages or disadvantages of either of the treaties, in consequence of the palaver not being settled; and this will fully appear to the most superficial observer from the following words in the second clause of the supplementary treaty. "It is hereby expressly stipulated that the natives of Cape Coast town, "being subjects of the king of Ashantee"*, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties;" and, moreover, the king's last words to me were, that I should do every thing in my power to assist the governor and his nephew, the Ashantee ambassador, to settle the *palaver* with the natives of Cape Coast, *which, being done, the king declared he had nothing further to do with them,* but in case of their being guilty of any future offence he would communicate with the consul only, allowing him

* These were the express words made use of by the king on all occasions, and, as such, were inserted in the treaty.

the opportunity of settling the "*palaver.*" I have, therefore, on this subject only to add, and which I do without ostentation, that I believe my influence in this case with the Ashantee ambassador will have great weight in bringing matters to a speedy and favourable termination. I shall therefore be extremely happy during the short time I remain in this country if I can be instrumental in any way to the accomplishment of so desirable an object.

But should Sir George Collier leave this before you can avail yourselves of my services, it may be proper to state to you distinctly that, in consequence of the interference of the governor with my negotiations at Coomassie, as particularly applicable to the Cape Coast palaver, the natives of this town stand precisely in the same situation as when I left this for Ashantee, excepting only as already mentioned, that the king is bound down "not to fire a gun in the town nor to allow his troops to commit any act of hostility or depredation therein." As regards the treaties, copies of which I inclosed for your information and future government, I flattered myself they would have been highly gratifying to you and to the world, inasmuch as they restored that harmony and good understanding with the Ashantees which have been so long interrupted by the impolitic measures of the chief governor, and not only so, but these treaties secured to the merchants those commercial advantages, which if they are now deprived of by

your building up a redoubt, at so critical a moment, you will have only yourselves to blame; and this I very much apprehend will be the case if you persist in building any out-work until the Cape Coast palaver is settled. If, therefore, I may yet be allowed to offer my opinion on this subject, I strongly recommend that the present palaver should be settled in the first instance, and then no man will be more ready than myself to co-operate in any measures to protect the Cape Coast people, either by building up a redoubt or otherwise. Indeed had there been any out-work to protect these people, I might then have refused the king's demand on them altogether, but, situated as they are at present, and as they have been, I did not conceive it either prudent or politic to do so. And, as regards the Fantees residing under the protection of the out-forts, the king again and again vehemently declared, "that they all belonged to him; that he had conquered them all either by force of arms or by voluntary submission, and that he could at any time destroy the whole of the towns and population on the coast from Appolonia to Accra." As I could not, therefore, with truth or justice, deny these arguments, I acceded to his claiming the Fantee territories on the express condition of the people under the forts, being entitled to the protection of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression. In doing this, I conceived I was yielding a point merely nominal

for one of real value, namely, the protection of the king of Ashantee, as well as his acknowledgement that they should be protected by the British laws, and be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part. What, then, gentlemen, I will ask, is it that you desire for these people, unprotected as many of them are by the recent desertion of our forts by the governors and garrisons? In placing these wretched inhabitants under the protection of our own laws, I have done more for them than could reasonably be expected since the abandonment of the out-forts; for the fifth clause of the general treaty, you will observe, particularly applies to these people, and not to Cape Coast at all, as the natives of this town, in particular, are most decidedly and expressly excluded from participating in the good or bad clauses (if any) of either of the treaties. In short, the king of Ashantee, as can be proved, declared that he would not relinquish his right to claim the Fantee territories, for, rather than do so, he was determined to make war on these people, and conquer them as he had done before. The question, therefore, is simply this, was it more politic for me to yield this point for a time to save the people residing under the out-forts from destruction, or, by a refusal to accede to the king's claim, to have subjected all the towns on the Gold Coast to pestilence and famine, and the most inhuman butcheries?

Before concluding my remarks as connected

with my negotiations, it is proper to mention that the king of Ashantee declares he is so completely dissatisfied with the conduct of the present chief governor, and also with the conduct of the conductors of the former mission, that he long ago lost all confidence in the character of the former gentleman ; and not only so, but from these and other circumstances, I blush for the misfortune of my country, while I confess that the honour, the probity, the dignity, and the faith of an Englishman and a merchant have severely suffered from the obstinacy and folly of men, who, from want of capacity, or some other cause, now scarcely retain a shade of influence either with the king of Ashantee, or over any of the towns on the Gold Coast, if I except our chief settlement.

As I have told you, in another part of my letter, I should have favoured you with these particulars before, had it not been for your insulting conduct to me, when I waited on you in the public hall, for the purpose of reading and explaining the treaties fully for your information; but as you then refused me an audience, I was determined not to put you in possession of this dispatch, until the arrival of the commodore.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) JOSEPH DUPUIS.

To the Governor and Council, Cape Coast Castle.

No. XV.

A Price List of the Company's Supplies and Stores, at Cape Coast Castle.

	£.	s.	d.	
Allspice - - -	0	0	3	per ounce
Allegars - -	1	10	0	each
Bees' Wax - -	0	1	3	per pound
Bujutapauts - -	1	5	0	
Bread (brown) -	0	0	3½	per pound
Ditto (white) - -	0	0	6	
Beef - - -	5	9	0	per tierce
Ditto - - -	0	0	5	per pound
Butter - - -	4	0	0	per firkin
Blue - - -	0	3	0	per pound
Bunting - -	3	0	0	per piece
Box-irons and heaters	0	15	0	each
Brads (flooring) -	0	6	0	per hundred
Belts - - -	1	1	0	each
Breast-plates -	2	2	0	
Blacking - -	0	2	0	per bottle
Brushes (shoe) -	0	3	0	per pair
Ditto (clothes) -	0	2	0	each
Ditto (paint) - -	0	2	0	
Ditto (white-wash) -	0	2	0	
Bricks - - -	0	10	0	per hundred
Chelloes - -	1	15	0	each
Cottons - - -	0	15	0	
Coat patterns (uniform) -	11	0	0	
Currants - -	1	10	0	per jar
Cloves - -	0	1	6	per ounce

	£.	s.	d.	
Canvas - - -	5	0	0	per bolt
Cambric - -	1	5	0	per yard
Cordage - -	5	0	0	per cwt.
Corks - - -	0	6	0	per gross
Corkscrews - -	0	2	6	each
Cocks (puncheon) -	0	5	6	
Ditto (wine) - -	0	3	0	
Ditto (vat) - -	1	8	0	
Ditto (porter) -	0	3	9	
Candles (wax) - -	0	5	6	per pound
Ditto (sperm) - -	0	3	6	
Ditto (mould) -	0	2	0	
Cinnamon - -	0	1	6	per ounce
Coffee-pots - -	0	7	0	each
Dirks and belts -	3	3	0	each
Decanters (quart) -	0	5	6	
Ditto (pint) - -	0	4	6	
Deals (1 inch) -	0	5	6	
Ditto (1½ inch) -	0	8	0	
Ditto (3 inch) - -	0	14	0	
Dimity, Indian, -	0	6	0	per yard
Diaper - - -	0	8	0	
Dish Covers - -	3	0	0	per set
Epaulets - - -	3	3	0	each
Earthenware - -	2	2	0	per basket
Ditto - - -	10	0	0	per crate
Feathers (uniform) -	0	5	6	
Flour - -	2	18	0	per barrel
Flannel - - -	0	5	6	per yard
Funnels (tin) - -	0	5	0	
Finger cups - -	1	7	0	per dozen

	£.	s.	d.	
Guinea stuffs - -	0	7	0	each
Gunpowder - -	12	0	0	per barrel
Glasses (wine) -	0	15	0	per dozen
Glasgow danes - -	1	10	0	each
Green ells - -	1	15	0	
Hats (round) - -	1	10	0	each
Ditto (uniform) -	3	5	0	
Haberdashery - -	2	0	0	per lot
Hinges - -	0	1	3	per pair
Hams - - -	0	2	0	per pound
Huccabuck - -	0	3	6	per yard
Iron bars - - -	0	7	6	each
Irish linen - -	0	6	0	per yard
Iron bars (square) -	0	12	0	
Ketchup - - -	0	4	6	per pint
Knives and Forks (large) - -	2	11	0	per dozen
Ditto ditto (desert) -	2	8	0	
Ditto (carvers) -	0	9	0	per pair
Lead bars - -	0	1	8	each
Locks (plate or stock)	0	7	6	
Ditto (chamber door)	1	0	0	
Ditto (desk or chest)	0	2	6	
Ditto (drawer) -	0	2	6	
Ditto (cupboard) -	0	2	6	
Lead (milled) - -	2	8	0	per cwt.
Lanthorns - -	0	5	6	each
Linen (Irish) - -	0	6	0	per yard
Mustard - - -	0	2	0	per bottle
Madeira wine -	72	0	0	per pipe
Ditto - - -	0	13	9	per gallon

	£.	s.	d.	
Mace	0	2	8	per ounce
Neganipauts	1	15	0	each
Niccanees (long)	1	15	0	
Ditto (blue)	1	10	0	
Nutmegs	0	2	8	per ounce
Noils (2dy)	0	0	2	per hundred
Ditto (4dy)	0	0	4	
Ditto (6dy)	0	0	6	
Ditto (8dy)	0	0	10	
Ditto (10dy)	0	1	0	
Ditto (20dy)	0	1	6	
Ditto (30dy)	0	2	0	
Osnaburg	0	1	6	per yard
Oil (sallad)	0	7	6	per pint
Oil (paint)	0	13	6	per gallon
Oil (Lamp)	0	9	0	
Peas	1	10	0	per keg
Pickles	2	2	0	per case
Pork	4	4	0	per barrel
Ditto	0	0	6	per pound
Pepper	0	3	6	
Porter	8	0	0	per hhd.
Padlocks	0	14	0	each
Ditto (common)	0	7	6	
Puncheon (iron bound)	1	10	0	
Pick-axes	0	8	3	
Paint (white)	0	0	8	per pound
Ditto (red)	0	0	6	
Ditto (yellow)	0	0	8	
Ditto (green)	0	5	6	
Ditto (lead colour)	0	0	8	

	£	s.	d.	
Paint (blue) - -	0	3	0	
Ditto (black) - -	0	1	3	
Ditto (chocolate) -	0	0	8	
Port wine - -	2	10	0	per dozen
Romals, (assorted) -	1	0	0	each
Rum (Jamaica) -	0	10	0	per gallon
Ditto (Leeward Island)	0	6	0	
Russia Duck - -	0	3	0	per yard
Sastracundies - -	1	15	0	each
Swords, - - -	4	4	0	
Ditto belts - -	1	1	0	
Ditto knots - -				
Sashes (uniform) -	3	5	0	
Soap - - -	0	1	6	per pound
Stockings - -	0	12	6	per pair
Starch - - -	0	1	6	per pound
Staples (canoe) -	0	6	0	per hundred
Spades - -	0	6	0	each
Shovels - - -	0	6	0	
Spruce - -	0	7	6	per pot
Sugar - - -	0	2	0	per pound
Shirts - - -	1	2	6	each
Shoes - - -	0	15	0	per pair
Sheeting (Irish) -	6	6	0	per yard
Ditto (British) - -	0	3	6	
Silesias - - -	0	7	0	each
Tapseils - -	1	10	0	each
Tacks - - -	0	0	6	per hundred
Tea - - -	1	0	0	per pound
Turpentine - -	1	4	0	per gallon
Taffetas - - -	3	10	0	each

	£.	s.	d.	
Tea kettles - - -	0	12	0	
Tallow - - - -	0	10	0	per keg
Tumblers - - -	1	4	0	per dozen
Vinegar - - - -	0	5	0	per gallon
Watering-pots -	0	7	0	each

No. XVI.

Meteorological Report.

The range of the thermometer during our journey to Coomassie was from 74° to 93° in the shade. In the mornings, at five o'clock, it was as low as 74° and 75°, from which time the temperature continued gradually to increase till three o'clock, P. M. when the maximum was generally from 84° to 88°. The greatest daily heat we experienced was at Kikiwhiri, on the 25th of February, when the thermometer was as high as 93° in the shade, at three o'clock, P. M.; the minimum of that day was 75°. We had neither a barometer or hygrometer, and the account of the thermometer was kept by Mr. Salmon, from whom I omitted to get a perfect copy; but the following is a copy from the account kept by that gentleman from the 25th to the 29th of March inclusive.

Coomassie, March 25,	6 A. M.	74°	rain.
———————————	12 M.	79	fine.
———————————	4 P. M.	86	tornadoe.
——————————26,	6 A. M.	73	cloudy.
Sarassou, ———————	12 M.	84	fine.
In the Forest,———	4 P. M.	86	——
Assiminia, ——————-	8 P. M.	82	cloudy.
——————————27,	6 A. M.	79	hazy.
Dachasou, March 27,	12 M.	86	fine.
In the Forest,———	4 P. M.	88	——
Doompassie, ———	8 P. M.	82	tornadoe.
——————————28,	6 A. M.	74	fine.
Moinsee, ———————	12 M.	86	——
In the Forest,———	4 P. M.	88	——
Acrofroom, ———	8 P. M.	82	——
——————————29,	6 A. M.	74	——
In the Forest,———	12 M.	86	——
———————————	4 P. M.	88	——
Kikiwhiri, ———————	8 P. M.	82	——

No. XVII.

Since writing the preceding pages, I have been favoured with the following official papers from Sir Charles MacCarthy, which I have no doubt will be interesting, as shewing the advanced state of improvement in the colony of Sierra Leone: —

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS AND THEIR BURTHEN.

With the Amount of the several Invoices upon which Duties have been paid at the Port of Free-Town, Sierra Leone, from the 1st January to the 31st December, 1820.

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of invoice. £.	s.	d.	Remarks.
Inserted in last list.	Brig Findlay	George Harris...	213	London	Master	115	0	0	
	Ship Brailsford	John Spring	466	Hull	Ditto	53	0	0	
1820.									
Feb. 1.	Brig Maida	Vincent Tregear	216	London	Thomas Carew	1061	2	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Joseph Easton..	2215	5	9	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	J. C. Wilson....	1044	16	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Master	489	3	3	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	W. R. Carew...	172	18	7	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Herb. Williams	30	16	8	
18.	Brig Wootton	T. M'Alpine.....	176	Ditto	Master	401	4	6	
22.	Brig Ruby	T. Chapman.....	269	Newcastle.....	Ditto	1018	10	0	
28.	Brig Kate	Thomas Tynes...	125	Barbadoes.....	Ditto	138	10	0	
March 6.	Ship Nearchus	William Stewart.	362	Sunderland ...	J. MacCormack	972	11	4½	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	J. Atkins	274	11	9	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	J. C. Wilson ...	1130	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	J. L. Rowe.....	473	10	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	K. Macaulay...	5723	1	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Master	24	9	0	

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS, &c. — *continued.*

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of Invoice. £.	s.	d.	Remarks.
March 8.	Schooner Margaret.....	Phillip Payne....	91	Jersey	Ditto.....	310	0	0	
13.	Brig Marshal Wellington	—— Garbut ...	294	Sunderland ...	Joseph Easton.	359	18	7	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	Master	50	1	3	
19.	Brig Catalina	Daniel Campbell	168	London	J. L. Rowe	814	10	0	
28.	Brig Lively.....	Andrew Smith...	182	Ditto.....	J. C. Wilson ...	27	15	0	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	George Rendal	691	3	10	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	H. Weston	707	6	6	
April 16.	Ship Hero	J. Fulbister	415	Whitby.....	Master	25	10	0	
2.	Brig Ceres.....	N. Thompson ...	160	London	W. Waterman..	787	7	1	
May 1.	Bark Pearsons	William Terry...	319	Whitby	Master	4	0	0	
11.	Ship Hawker	Joseph Sharp ...	411	Liverpool	H. Williams	471	5	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	2	0	0	
17.	Prince of Brazil Packet..	J. Cummings	235	London	G.A. Robertson	353	1	6	
18.	Schooner Nancy	F. Williams	63	Ditto.....	George Nicol...	399	18	9	
	Ditto.....	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	H. Weston	310	4	0	
	Ditto.....	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	37	18	0	
	Jane Nicol.....	——M'Coy	212	Sierra Leone..	John Houston..	666	12	10	
May 22.	Ship Thomas.....	J. Garness.....	434	Liverpool.....	H. Williams	314	6	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	516	14	4	
24.	Brig Jane	William Seldon..	147	London	George Nicol...	1972	3	1	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	Herb. Williams	141	11	11	
	Ditto.....	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	H. Chuber	703	2	7	

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS, &c. — *continued.*

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of Invoice. £.	s.	d.	Remarks.
May 24.	Brig Jane.....	William Seldon..	147	London	Thomas Carew.	95	4	6	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	James Wise.....	537	9	0	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	John Baker* ...	10	17	6	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	J. C. Wilson ...	550	18	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	George Nelson	141	11	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Thomas Craig..	21	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	John Atkins	230	13	0	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	E. Gregory* ...	143	4	3	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	S. Gabbidon.....	221	17	1	
	Ditto.....	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	James Carr	532	12	6	
26.	Brig Elizabeth	J. Sevinburn	280	Newcastle....	H. Williams	30	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	H. Weston	248	19	6	
	Ditto.....	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Thomas Carew	1059	16	11	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	25	9	8	
	Packet Gov. Mc. Carthy	T. Cooper.....	57	Sierra Leone..	W. Waterman ..	37	10	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	19	7	6	
July 13.	Brig Sarah.....	Van Heythusen..	118	London	W. Stockdale...	780	19	5	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	H. Weston	1958	14	8	
	Sch. Demerara Packet...	— Rutherford..	75	Barbadoes.....	J. Cosgrave	492	7	9	
31.	Brig Mary	Elias Deeper	211	London	S. Gabbidon.....	288	11	11	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	J. W. Bartlett ..	274	19	6	

*Stores for private use.

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS, &c. — *continued.*

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of Invoice. £.	s.	d.	Remarks.
July 31.	Brig Mary	Elias Deeper	211	London	Thomas Craig..	129	15	1	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Master	18	17	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Jane Nicol	545	5	11	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Thomas Carew.	76	14	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	James Carr	2252	5	6	
Sept. 16.	Schooner Nancy	F. Williams	63	Sierra Leone..	Jane Nicol	277	3	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	H. Weston	262	12	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Master	71	14	4	
19.	Brig Francis Ann	J. Thomas	242	London	James Carr	36	5	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Master	1780	11	11	
22.	Elizabeth	— Godfrey	144	Ditto	E. Gregory*....	8	9	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Herb. Williams	81	4	8	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	H. Chuber	1113	17	8	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Thomas Carew	355	17	7	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	J. W. Bartlett ..	114	12	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	Jane Nicol	835	16	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	George Nelson	574	17	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	S. Gabbidon ...	61	8	9	
	Ditto	Ditto	—	Ditto	John Atkins ...	501	2	4	
26.	Ship Nearchus	L. Herring	362	Sunderland ...	Master	245	13	4	
28.	Brig Roebuck	T. Laing	100	London	Ditto	86	16	0	
Oct. 9.	Mary	Elias Deeper	211	Ditto	Ditto	5	10	0	

* Stores for private use.

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS, &c. — *continued.*

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of Invoice. £.	s.	d.	Remarks.
Oct. 21.	Ship Sarah & Elizabeth..	G. Smithers	267	Ditto	N. Deey	332	16	10	
Nov. 7.	Sussex.....	— Sinclair	250	Ditto	James Wise	6	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	John Baker* ...	6	6	6	
	Ditto.....	Ditto	——	Ditto	Jane Nicol	3390	16	6½	
	Brig Sicilian.....	P. Carlill.....	182	Ditto	Joseph Easton.	85	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto	Herb. Williams	38	9	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	P. O'Connor	454	4	6	
	Ditto.....	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	John Atkins	253	7	2	
	Ditto	Ditto.....	——	Ditto.....	Master	157	0	9	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	James Carr.....	283	6	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	J. W. Bartlett...	200	5	0	
9.	Ship Hannah	J. Doyle.....	406	Liverpool.....	Joseph Easton.	490	2	0	
14.	Brig Marshal Wellington	J. Garbut	294	Sunderland ...	Ditto	8634	19	11	
17.	Helen.....	J. Gibson	295	Newcastle.....	J.MacCormack	2158	8	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	James Carr	2330	17	7	
25.	Brig George & James ...	Chatwin	94	London	J. O'N. Walsh*	13	6	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	Richard Fry ...	422	2	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	H. Weston	728	6	2	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto.....	Master	47	0	0	
27.	Sch. Demerara Packet...	T. Rutherford...	75	Barbadoes.....	J. Cosgrave	514	17	11	
Dec. 2.	Brig Elizabeth	Isaac Spence	*117	London	Master	1023	19	2	

* Stores for private use.

LIST OF MERCHANT VESSELS, &c. — *continued.*

Date of Arrival.	Name of Vessel.	Name of Master.	Tonnage.	Port where registered.	To whom consigned.	Amount of Invoice. £.	s.	d.	Rem
Dec. 2.	Brig Elizabeth	Isaac Spence	117	London	Thomas Carew.	20	7	0	
4.	Bark Wilding	W. Boyle	267	Ditto	J. MacCormack	72	18	1	
18.	Brig Science	W. Allen	160	Sunderland	John Showers*	48	16	6	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	James Carr	178	2	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	Thomas Craig..	50	0	0	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	Thomas Carew.	5	16	1	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	J. W. Bartlett..	251	13	9	
	Brig Ceres	N. Thompson	161	London	T. H. Barber...	1264	1	8	
	Wootton	Mc. Alpine	176	Ditto	Joseph Easton..	877	0	0¼	
	Ditto	Ditto	——	Ditto	J. MacCormack	240	0	0	
						66,725	9	4¾	* Stores for private use.

The Total Amount of Duties collected in the colony of Sierra Leone, in the period from 1st January to 31st December, 1820, is £6,153 5*s.* 6*d.* Sterling.

Custom-House, Freetown,
Sierra Leone, January 1st, 1821.

J. REFFELL,
Collector.

EXPORTS, commencing 1st January and ending 31st December, 1820.

No. of Vessels.	Tonnage.	Logs of African Timber.	Camwood.				Hides.	Palm Oil.				Bees' Wax.			
			Tons.	Cwt.	Qrs.	Lbs.	Billets, weight unknown.		Gallons.	Leagers, quant. unkn.	Puncheons, quant. unk.	Pipes quant. unknown.	Half pipes quant. unk.	Ton.	Cwt.	Qr.	Lbs.	Pieces, wt. unknown.
40	9161	6082	447	4	0	12	3411	2585	30,321	8	80	22	22	1	5	1	7	8

Elephant's Teeth and Scrivelloes.						White Rice.				Coffee.						Malagetta Pepper.			
Tons.	Cwt.	Qrs.	Lbs.	Number, weight unknown.	Cases, wt. unknown.	Tons.	Cwt.	Qr.	Bushels.	Barrel, wt. unknown.	Cwt.	Qrs.	Lbs.	Bushels of Guinea Corn.	Mats.	Shingles.	Cwt.	Qrs.	Lbs.	Cask, wt. unknown.
34	16	3	23	174	2	71	8	1	11,612	1	9	2	0	333	1086	276,800	10	2	24	1

Feet of Mahogany,	Gum Copal.			Packages, wt. unk.	Ounces of Gold.	Ounces of Gold Dust.	Lbs. of Sea Horse Teeth.	Feet of Plank.	Rough Oars.	Bales of Country Cloths.	Casks of Yams, Colah, &c.	Box of Curiosities.	Boxes of African Shells, Plants, and Minerals.	Buffalo Heads.	African Bows.	African Spears.	Kroo Canoe and Paddles.	Eagles.	Marraboo Birds.	Box of Stuffed Birds.
	Ton.	Cwt.	Qr.																	
7000	1	10	1	15	12	2064½	379	1000	138	4	3	1	4	2	2	2	1	2	2	1

N. B. In addition to the above, the ship *Nearchus*, Herring, Master, left this in December with a Cargo of Timber, quantity unknown — the Captain and crew being sick, no account was kept of the number of Logs put on board.

J. R.

There is, on the Date of this Return, Thirteen Merchant Vessels up the River loading Timber.

Custom House, Freetown, Sierra Leone, January 1st, 1821.

J. REFFELL, Collector.

RETURN OF SCHOOLS, AND PERSONS EDUCATED THEREIN.

Colony of Sierra Leone, January, 1821.

TOWN OR VILLAGE.	Parish.	Superintendants, &c.	DAY SCHOOL.		EVENING SCHOOL.		Total.
			Boys.	Girls.	Men and Lads.	Women.	
Freetown	St. George..	Mr. & Mrs. Lisk, & Mr. & Mrs. Fox.	155	84	107	0	346
Regent.....	St. Charles.	Rev. W. B. Johnson, and Mrs. & Miss Johnson.....	75	60	298	40	473
Glocester....	St. Andrew.	Rev. Henry During & Mrs. During	122	74	76	30	302
Leopold.....	St. Peter.....	Rev. M. Renner & Mrs. Renner.....	30	55	30	0	115
Bathurst.....	St. James ...	Mr. & Mrs. Horton, and Mrs. Connor	55	39	20	18	141
Charlotte ...	St. John	Mr. and Mrs. Taylor	88	40	23	1	152
Kissey	St. Patrick .	Rev. G. R. Nylander, and Mrs. Wenzel & Mr. Tilley	50	45	0	0	95
Waterloo....	St. Michael.	Rev. J. G. Wilhelm & Mrs. Wilhelm, and Mr. & Mrs. Davis.	63	62	0	0	125
Wilberforce	St. Paul	Rev. H. C. Decker & Mr. Russell ...	20	20	50	0	90
Kent	St. Edward.	Mr. & Mrs. Randle	0	35w.	58	0	93
Seminary Regent...	St. Charles.	Mr. Beckley	27	0	0	0	27
							1959

J. REFFELL, Chief Superintendant of Captured Negroes.

The number of stone houses at Sierra Leone when I was there two years ago, did not exceed twenty, but I understand they have now increased to upwards of one hundred.

No. XVIII.

Murder of Mr. Meredith.

The following account of the murder of Mr. Meredith, the Governor of Winnebah Fort, is given nearly in the words of a gentleman who witnessed the melancholy affair: —

"On Thursday, the 6th of February, 1812, while waiting at Winnebah Fort for the return of Mr. Meredith from his garden, where he had gone to take his usual morning's walk, I heard an alarm at the gate; and, on enquiring the cause, was informed that the townspeople had seized the Governor. I immediately rushed out to endeavour to prevail on them to release him; but it was with the greatest difficulty that I was permitted to speak to him, after going a distance of three miles; and even then they would not allow me to keep the keys of his scrutoire, which he gave me, so alarmed were they that the key of the magazine was amongst them, which they knew would give me the power of firing upon the town. It was not without much trouble and perseverance that I got back to the fort, as they were once on the point of detaining me with Mr. Meredith. On my return, however, I wrote a note to Mr. John Hope Smith *, the Governor of Tantum, informing him of the outrage; and that gentleman arrived at Winnebah

* This gentleman, whose prompt and spirited conduct upon this occasion, does him great honour, is now Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast.

the next morning. Before his arrival, however, I received an order from the townspeople for 2 ankers of rum, 32 heads of cowries, and 100 hands of tobacco.

" By some means or other, the people heard of my having written to Mr. Smith; and, in consequence, they kept watch the whole night. When, therefore, Mr. Smith made his appearance in the morning, they collected, in great numbers, on the beach; and, on his landing, they placed him between two ranks of men, and marched him to the place in the Bush where they kept Mr. Meredith prisoner. They previously, however, marched Mr. Smith to a different place, and told him, that if he wished to speak to his friend, he must pay 8 ounces of gold (32*l.*); but they afterwards agreed to take 4 or 6 ounces (I am not certain which).

" When I was with Mr. Meredith, in the Bush, on the first day, the natives were treating him very ill, by setting fire to the grass, and making him walk through the flames, without his shoes or stockings, and in the burning sun, without his hat. Mr. M.'s servant informed me that the inhuman monsters had tied his master's neck to a stake, as tight as possible, and produced a pair of irons, which they threatened to put on him, if he had not averted it by a present of cowries, liquor, and tobacco. On Saturday morning, after having kept Mr. Smith 24 hours, and Mr. Meredith 48, they allowed the former gentleman to come into the fort, but not without his

promise, in Mr. Meredith's presence, to pay them 225 ounces of gold, which, with other presents, amounted to 1100*l.*; a sum which, though large, was trifling when the life of a worthy man was in danger; and, under this consideration, Mr. Smith agreed to pay it.

"In the middle of the night, I was called out of my bed by the gunner, who told me he wanted the keys of the fort, to admit Mr. Smith, who was at the gate. When he was admitted, he told me that Mr. Meredith was dangerously ill, and wished to speak to me in a house in town, where these wretches, after much entreaty, allowed him to be carried. On seeing him, I found his neck so swollen, that he could scarcely breathe, and his respiration was accompanied by a considerable noise in the throat. On seeing me, he said he felt himself so ill, that he did not think he should survive the morning, and therefore, in my presence, made some alterations in his will. On Sunday morning Mr. Smith came into the fort, and began to pay the stipulated sum; but while we were delivering the goods, we were interrupted by the melancholy intelligence that the Governor was breathing his last! The people, who were receiving the goods, on hearing the report, ran away, and left every thing behind. In the mean while, I went out to see Mr. Meredith; but, alas! he was a corpse before I reached the house. I caused him to be carried into the fort, and, in a short time after, the people came and received the 225 ounces of gold.

About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Meredith's remains were interred, with all the honours due to the situation he held.

" The above melancholy event, I believe, originated from a palaver one of the townspeople had with the sergeant of the fort. When the Ashantees were in the Fantee territories, in the year 1811, the Winnebahs were about to join the Fantee army; and a man named Assibarta at this time delivered a large chest (locked) to the care of the sergeant of the fort, until his (Assibarta's) return from the war. The greater part of the Winnebahs were destroyed, and Assibarta was among the slain. About six months after the battle the chest was demanded by the relatives of the deceased Assibarta, and was accordingly delivered to them. But, a day or two after, the chest was returned to the sergeant, with this message, " that, as he had kept the gold which was in it, (amounting to 1000 ounces,) he might also keep the chest." The sergeant denied the charge; but, after the palaver had been talked over several times, without the cabboceers coming to any decision, it was at last agreed to send to the Great Fetish, in the Braffoe country*, to ascertain which party was in the wrong. The sergeant obtained an

* This fetish man, or priest, the natives believe can perform the greatest miracles. They say he can change the wind and weather; that he knows all things past, present, and to come!

advance of 40*l.* on his pay from Mr. Meredith; and messengers were accordingly sent to question the oracle, which declared against the sergeant: but he, conscious of his innocence, protested against the decision, as unjust, and messengers were sent a second time to the fetish man; but he now sent a threatening answer to the sergeant, demanding to know 'if he doubted the infallibility of the oracle, and whether he had forgot having taken the gold out of the chest, about seven o'clock in the evening, carrying it to Mr. Meredith about eight o'clock, and telling him to take good care of it, with a promise of dividing the spoil.' The sergeant, however, still declared his innocence; but the Pynins then went into the fort, to inform Mr. Meredith of the decision of their fetish; when he asked them, if they really believed he had stolen the gold; to which they replied, that they had never heard of a white man stealing from a black man; but added, that it was not them but the fetish who had said so.

"The next morning they seized him, and also the sergeant at the same time; when they so intimidated the latter, by threatening to destroy him, and all his family if he did not declare against his master, that he, at last, was obliged to say what they wished."

This atrocious murder did not pass unpunished; for, a short time after, His Majesty's

frigate Amelia, commanded by the Honourable Captain Irby, took on board a party of the Company's officers; and, anchoring in Winnebah roads, destroyed the town, and drove the inhabitants into the woods; since which the place has been abandoned, although the natives have made several applications to the English to reside there again, but without success.

No. XIX.

Protest of William Hutton, His Majesty's Acting Consul for Ashantee, against the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle, 3d June, 1820.

I, WILLIAM HUTTON, His Britannic Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul for the kingdom of Ashantee, do hereby declare, that I did, on the 18th day of April, 1820, transmit to John Hope Smith Esquire, Governor of Cape Coast Castle, and its dependencies, a copy of a commission from His present Majesty to Joseph Dupuis Esquire, conferring upon him, the said Joseph Dupuis, the appointment of His Britannic Majesty's Agent and Consul for the kingdom of Ashantee in Africa; which document, I further declare, was accompanied by a copy of the said Joseph Dupuis' transfer of the said commission, with full powers to me to have, to hold, and to

exercise the same until the pleasure of His Majesty's Government be known.

And I do further declare, that on the twenty-seventh day of April 1820, I received a public letter from John Tasker Williams Esquire, the Secretary to the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle, dated the twenty-fifth April, 1820, wherein the said John Tasker Williams Esquire, in his official capacity of Secretary, acknowledges the receipt of the before-mentioned documents, by the Governor-in-Chief, John Hope Smith Esquire, and distinctly states, that he, the said John Tasker Williams, had received the commands of the Governor and Council, to acquaint me that they could not recognise any appointment of the said Joseph Dupuis Esquire, nor permit any person to exercise consular duties in this country, until they received instructions from the African Committee to that effect.

As it is, therefore, well known, especially to the Governor and Council aforesaid, that the said Joseph Dupuis' commission, transferred to me as aforesaid, was held by him, the said Joseph Dupuis, under the sign manual of His present Most Gracious Majesty, (when Prince Regent,) and countersigned by the Right Honourable Earl Bathurst, one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, it is absurd to suppose for a moment that the Governor and Council here, being under the direction of a Mercantile Board, the African Com-

mittee, can have any powers whatever to interfere with the said commission, either in abrogating or setting it aside; neither can they have any authority to interrupt me in the exercise of those consular duties which have been so sacredly committed to me, by His Majesty's Consul aforesaid.

For these reasons, I do solemnly protest against the said John Hope Smith Esquire, Governor-in-Chief and President of the said Council, and also the other members of the said Board, collectively and individually, namely, James Swanzy Esquire, Vice-President, and John Gordon and John Fountaine Esquires. The proceedings of these gentlemen, in the present case, being not only unjust and oppressive, in so far as they interdict me from exercising consular duties, but also inasmuch as they are evidently calculated to deprive me of my only means of support in this country, from the circumstance which has followed, as a natural consequence of these unjustifiable measures, viz. that no person will now give me gold or cash for my bills, which as His Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul I am, of course, at liberty to draw for my salary.

In consequence, therefore, of being thus unjustifiably interrupted in the exercise of my official duties, and cut off from all means of supporting myself at Cape Coast, or any other of the British settlements, in that respectable manner which ought to be observed by a person in

my situation, I may be obliged to seek that support and protection to the Dutch government at Elmina, or to the government of the colony of Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, as I may deem most expedient, or as the urgency of my case requires, until the pleasure of His Majesty's government be known.

I do, therefore, further protest against the said John Hope Smith, James Swanzy, John Gordon, and John Fountaine, Esquires, for all losses, damages, consequences, and expenses that may result to me in consequence of thus being illegally and unjustifiably interrupted in the discharge of my official duties as His Majesty's Acting Agent and Consul as aforesaid, or that may result from any steps I may adopt in consequence thereof.

And I do further make oath, to the best of my judgment and belief, to the truth of this protest.

WILLIAM HUTTON.

Sworn before me, at Cape Coast
Castle, this third day of June,
in the year of our Lord 1820.

J. HOPE SMITH.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
New-Street-Square.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE MAPS AND PLATES.

1. Adoo Quamina ..... *to face the Title-page.*
2. Map upon a small scale ..... *to face the Introduction.*
3. Mulatto Woman ..... *to face page* 93.
4. Map of the Route to Ashantee ..... 136.
5. Mode of travelling ..... 138.
6. Prince Adoom ..... 214.

☞ The Engraver, by some unaccountable mistake, reversed the figure of Prince Adoom; in consequence of which, the gold appears on the *right wrist* instead of the *left*.