

soldiers, who arrived at Cape Coast from the Cape of Good Hope in April 1823 only one man remained alive in December 1824. Out of a second detachment that had arrived in November 1823 from England, only eight remained alive; the greater part of a third detachment which disembarked at Cape Coast on 12th March 1824 died within three months of landing; only six men remained alive of a fourth detachment that arrived on 20th March; and out of the one hundred and one men who landed from H.M.S. *Thetis* on July 4th, forty-five died within a week of arrival. The deaths of fifteen officers are recorded within the same period, viz. between April 1823 and December 1824. As if it were not sufficiently bad to send men to serve in such a climate, the Government actually sent out the soldiers' wives and children. Forty-two women and sixty-seven children arrived at Cape Coast in October 1823, and by December 1824 twenty-nine women and forty-one children were dead, sacrificed to official ignorance, and twenty-seven women and children had been sent to England to save their lives. Well might Assistant-Surgeon Bell, of the Royal African Colonial Corps, who compiled this record, say: 'The destruction of life that has taken place ought to prevent any more European women and children being sent out. . . . I sincerely hope I will never rewitness the many trying sights I have done this year, in beholding the father and four or five fine children, laid up with fever in a small hovel of a place, totally helpless to each other, and gradually dying, without my being able to mitigate their sufferings even in a small degree.'"¹

Now that the Ashantis had finally withdrawn, some of the villagers who had sought refuge in Cape Coast during the invasion began to return to their own districts to rebuild their ruined houses and cultivate their farms. Amongst these were the Komendas, and the Elminas seized the opportunity to give fresh proof of their loyalty to Ashanti and their undying hostility towards those who had espoused the English cause and fought on their side.

¹ Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 178.

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The majority of the Komendas returned home by sea, but their women and children were sent overland, and, as they passed through Elmina, many of them were seized and brutally murdered by the people. No sooner did news of this outrage reach the ears of Colonel Grant, than he wrote to Governor Last, demanding the punishment of the offenders. The Dutch Governor, however, replied that he had not sufficient force at his disposal to keep the people in order even, and that it was consequently quite out of his power to compel them to surrender the perpetrators of this crime. Commodore Bullen was anchored off Cape Coast at the time and at once placed H.M.S. *Victor*, Captain Woolcomb, at the Governor's service to convey Captain Ricketts and Lieutenant Atchison to Elmina, where they, in the Governor's name, offered Mr. Last the assistance of the English troops. The offer was gratefully accepted, and before they left, arrangements had been made for the transport of the men and the hour of landing fixed. After they got back to Cape Coast, however, Mr. Last wrote to say that the Elminas were determined to prevent the landing of any English soldiers in their town, and the arrangements were cancelled at the eleventh hour. The Komendas were far too weak to have any chance of taking their own revenge, and the matter was dropped for the time, though not forgotten. Had this expedition been successfully carried out, the Ashantis, even if not compelled to make peace at once, would have been very seriously inconvenienced, for the Elminas were the only friends they now had among the coast tribes and they were dependent upon them for their supplies.

On the 17th of October, Lieutenant-Colonel Chisholm, recently promoted, died. His loss was keenly felt, for not only was he a most popular officer who treated all those with whom he came in contact with justice and consideration, but his many years of service in West Africa, since 1809, had given him an insight into native character and affairs that was of the utmost value. No other event of any importance occurred until March 1825, when Major

General Charles Turner, who had recently been appointed Governor-in-Chief of the British Settlements in West Africa, arrived at Cape Coast. He was accompanied by three transports bringing a further detachment of the Royal African Colonial Corps from England and 200 men of the 2nd West India Regiment from Sierra Leone.

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Finding that the Ashantis had retired to their own country, the new Governor issued the following proclamation.

“ By His Excellency Major-General Turner, C.B., Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the British Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa :

“ Charles Turner to the people of Cape Coast, to the people of the other British Settlements on the Gold Coast, and to the surrounding nations, friends and allies of England : The King of the Ashantis has, by assistance of the Elmina people, waged a cruel and unjust war against you and us : he has suffered for his crimes and rashness, and Elmina is only suffered to stand because the King of the Dutch and the King of England, my master, are at peace ; but I have represented their conduct, and their fate will depend on the orders I may receive. You have all stood forward in defence of your rights, and I thank you in the name of the King, my master. England does not wish for any wars : she wishes the natives of Africa to be free, happy and rich ; she wishes for nothing in this country but lawful trade and commerce. If the King of Ashanti will content himself with governing his own nation and his own people, and does not stop the trade of the interior with the coast, or attempt to oppress his neighbours, let him say so to me, and I will make a treaty with him on these terms ; but I will not make peace with him on any other terms, nor until he gives up every claim to tribute or subjection from the surrounding nations.

“ Given at Cape Coast this 2nd day of April 1825.

“ By His Excellency's command

“ (Signed) WILLIAM WILLIAMS,

“ Acting Colonial Secretary.

“ God save the King.”

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The bombastic tone of this proclamation was hardly justified by the facts. The Ashantis had not asked for a treaty and in the circumstances were not likely to do so. This war had been the final result of the treatment meted out to Osai Tutu Kwamina by Governor Hope Smith in the matter of the former treaties and the "notes" for the forts, and the actual invasion had been directed to the capture of Chibu, who was a revolted subject of the King of Ashanti. Though it is true that the Ashantis had met with several reverses during the campaign, yet they must certainly be adjudged the victors in the war as a whole. They had killed a British Governor and carried his head in triumph to their capital, where it still remained as evidence of their prowess; they had practically annihilated his army, and had been in possession of large tracts of the country for not less than six months and had entirely depopulated and devastated them; they had compelled the British troops to seek the shelter of their forts and had been the indirect cause of Cape Coast being burned, and finally, when compelled by want of provisions and disease, they had retired of their own accord and unmolested. In these circumstances it was not to be expected that they would sue for peace, and the boastful tone adopted by the Governor, in proudly declaiming that he would grant no peace except upon his own terms and demanding the renunciation by the Ashantis of all claims to tribute and allegiance from the various tribes they had subdued, was supremely ridiculous and can have deceived no one who chose to think. Even the Governor himself seems to have been none too certain what he meant; for in the same breath he professes willingness that the King should govern "his own nation and his own people," and yet claims that he must give up all his rights over "the surrounding tribes." Unless his first words are to be taken as an example of redundancy, the use of the word "people" in addition to "nation" can only be in reference to those tribes, not Ashantis, to whose allegiance the king was entitled by right of conquest, including of course, the coast tribes, and the latter passage then becomes contradictory.

On the 14th of April the Governor returned to Sierra Leone, taking nearly all the Royal African Colonial Corps with him and sending the 2nd West India Regiment to the West Indies. The Gold Coast was thus left almost entirely without regular troops. He died in the following March, and Major-General Sir Neil Campbell was appointed on the 18th of May 1826 to succeed him. He was ordered to sail at once, as news had been received that another Ashanti army was advancing towards the coast. Reaching Sierra Leone on the 22nd of August, it was the 19th of September before he arrived at Cape Coast, but by then the most important battle in the history of the Gold Coast had been fought and won.

This new Ashanti army had left Kumasi just after the New Year, and for seven months overran Fanti, burning the towns and villages and plundering the farms, without meeting with the slightest opposition. Essikuma in particular was totally destroyed, for Kwesi Amankwa, though faithful to the Ashantis during the last invasion, had reconsidered his position since their return to Kumasi and joined the English allies.

At the end of July the Ashantis determined to inflict signal punishment on the Accras for their repudiation of their alliance, and concentrated their whole force a little to the north of the town in the neighbourhood of Dodowa. A large army, composed of the few men of the Royal African Colonial Corps that General Turner had left, the Cape Coast and Anamabo Militia and the Native Allies, was at once collected to join the Accras in repelling the threatened attack, and by the 7th of August the whole British force was encamped four miles south of Dodowa, where the country is an open, slightly undulating, grass-covered plain with scattered clumps of small trees and brushwood. The English were glad to think that they were at last to have an opportunity of trying their strength against their old enemies in a pitched battle in the open, where they would be able to avail themselves of ordinary military tactics instead of having to encounter the many disadvantages entailed by that

1824-1826 bush warfare, at which the Ashantis, from long experience, were so expert.

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The 7th of August was a Monday, a day considered propitious by the Ashantis, and it was confidently expected that they would attack. The English fighting line extended east and west for about four miles. In the centre were the Cape Coast Militia under Mr. John Jackson, the Anamabo Militia under Mr. Hutchinson, the Accra Militia under Mr. J. W. Hanson,¹ the Christiansborg Militia under Mr. Henry Richter, and about 60 of the Royal African Colonial Corps posted in the rear as a reserve. The Akwamus were on the right and the Denkeras and Akims on the left. All the allies were distinguished by strips of calico tied to the barrels of their muskets and large sea shells hanging from their necks in front and behind. Lieutenant Colonel Purdon was in command, and the other officers engaged were Captains Hingston and Rogers and Lieutenant Calder of the Royal African Colonial Corps, and Doctor Young.

The King's drum was soon heard beating the advance, and at about half-past nine the Ashantis attacked from right to left. The native allies had been quarrelling amongst themselves for several days as to the positions they were to occupy, each tribe professing great anxiety to find itself opposed to the King ; but in the end they were all disappointed, for Okotu had been told there were white men in the centre and had chosen this as the place of greatest honour against which to lead his men in person. The men in the centre were the last to be attacked, and several of the others came up abusing and insulting them and charging them with cowardice, until, as they were seen to be getting out of hand under these gibes, they were pushed forward a little. They had not advanced more than a hundred yards or so when they were met with a terrific fire from the enemy and were at once heavily engaged. But though the Ashantis fought with their accustomed bravery, they could not withstand the steady

¹ Usually commanded by Mr. Bannerman, who, however, was in England in bad health.

advance of the British troops and fell slowly back, stubbornly disputing every inch of ground.

At one stage of the battle a fierce hand-to-hand fight took place. The frenzied combatants rushed wildly at each other, cutting and slashing with their knives, and a terrible slaughter ensued. Men dragged each other from the opposing ranks and wrestled and stabbed and cut until one or both fell dead. Neither orders nor entreaties were of any avail to check the allies in their mad thirst for blood. They killed the wounded where they lay, knocking those of their own side on the head to end their misery and ripping up their fallen enemies to plunge their hands into their bodies and tear out their hearts; and while this massacre was going on, the confusion was still further increased by a sudden explosion as one of the Ashanti Chiefs blew himself up with powder, nearly involving some of the Europeans in his own destruction.

As the enemy retired, enormous quantities of plunder fell into the hands of the allies, who, tiring of bloodshed, were soon so engrossed in collecting the spoils that they neglected to follow up the advantage they had gained. But the day was not yet won; for the whole of the Danish Accras had already fled, and some of the Dutch Accras on the left of the centre now gave way and allowed the Ashantis to press forward into their place, thereby causing the greatest alarm and quickly recalling the other allies to a sense of duty. The enemy at the same time made a furious onslaught on the centre and drove it back in confusion, while a second division opened a heavy fire on its flank.

At this critical moment, when the issue of the battle trembled in the balance and there seemed every likelihood that the Ashantis would after all gain the victory, Colonel Purdon called up the reserve and ordered them to open fire with Congreve rockets. The consternation caused by these terrible missiles, now used against the Ashantis for the first time, can scarcely be imagined. The noise they made, the long tail of fire they left behind them, the loud explosions, and the fearful wounds they inflicted,

1824-1826 led the enemy to believe that the English had some great
CHAP. XXI "fetish" and were fighting them with actual thunder and lightning. For a few moments they stood their ground, almost too astonished to act, but panic then seized them, they broke and fled in the wildest disorder, and the victory was complete.

In the meantime, Kujo Chibu on the left had been fighting as bravely as ever, and though the Winnebas had fled at the first volley and never halted until they reached Accra, his Denkeras had stood firm and driven the enemy steadily back. On the right too, the King of Akwamu had driven all before him, penetrating right into the enemy's camp and taking him in the flank, and the issue of the battle on this side had never for a moment been in doubt. The short, dry grass had caught fire, and dense clouds of smoke covered his advance, which could only be traced by the occasional explosions and sudden columns of thicker smoke as one Chief after another blew himself up in despair.

Kwesi Amankwa the Chief of Essikuma, too, performed prodigies of valour. He had frequently been accused of treachery by the other allies and was determined to give convincing proof of his loyalty by accomplishing no less a feat than the capture, either dead or alive, of Osai Okotu himself. He lost his life in the attempt, but not before he had succeeded in reaching the King's side and had actually laid his hand on the side of his basket palanquin to pull him down. He was then shot in the neck and secured. Okotu upbraided him for his treachery and ordered him to follow him, but he flatly refused, and a party of his men who were hastening to his support only arrived in time to see his head struck off.

The people of Christiansborg who, as already stated, had fled at the commencement of the battle, actually had the impudence to return now that all danger was over and began to help themselves to the plunder. When reproached with their cowardice they merely said that it was "against their fetish to fight on a Monday," though it seemed rather late to remember it when the battle began. The value of the spoil must have been enormous ;

for the whole of the Ashanti camp, with all the baggage and gold, fell into the hands of the allies, but it was never ascertained how much they actually got. 1824-1826
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About one o'clock they began to bring in the heads of the Ashantis who had fallen, amongst which those of several important Chiefs and Princes of the blood were recognized. Amongst the other plunder was a skull taken by the King of Akwapim. It was wrapped in paper covered with Arabic characters and a silk handkerchief, while the whole was enclosed in an outer cover of leopard skin, the emblem of royalty. It was believed at the time that this was the skull of Sir Charles M'Carthy, and Colonel Purdon sent it to England, but it became known later that it was really that of the deceased King Tutu Kwamina, which Okotu had brought with him as a powerful talisman after having been warned by the Tano fetish not to undertake the campaign. He had offered a libation to it on the morning of the battle and implored it to cause the heads of all the English in the field to come and lie by its side. He had also caused human sacrifices to be offered up for each great Chief or Prince as his death was reported to him in the heat of the battle.

With the exception of the officers and sixty men of the Royal African Colonial Corps and the officers commanding the militia, all the men engaged were Africans. The white troops, moreover, were not engaged until the very end, when they were called up to fire the rockets and some grape, and though this probably turned the scale, yet the only assistance the allies could possibly have had up to this time was that which the militia may have derived from the leadership of Europeans and the knowledge that there was a small body of white troops ready to support them. Contrary to the general belief, therefore, the victory of Dodowa was undoubtedly a native victory, and the battle throughout was a contest between Africans.

The militia numbered 500 and the allies 10,820, which brings the total strength of the British force up to 11,380, while the Ashantis are believed to have had about 10,000 men in the field. On the British side, the Royal African

1824-1826 Colonial Corps had no casualties, but Mr. Richter was wounded in the thigh ; Kwesi Amankwa, Naboa the Tufuhin of Akwamu, and the Tufuhin of Akim were the only Chiefs killed, while of the rank and file 800 were estimated to have been killed and another 1,000 slightly wounded. The Ashantis are said to have lost fully 5,000 men, many of whom fell to the knife in the fearful mêlée that occurred when the allies charged. Late in the day, when they had become absolutely satiated with slaughter, the people took many prisoners ; amongst whom were Ekuwa Pusua one of the King's wives, Akiawa¹ an Ashanti Princess, Kokowa a wife of the King of Jabin, and many other important persons.

All that night the troops lay on their arms ; for the King had been seen walking dejectedly over the scene of his blighted ambitions and it was feared he might even yet make a last desperate attempt to retrieve his fallen fortunes by leading the remnant of his army to renew the attack. " At intervals throughout the night the drums of the different allied Chiefs were sounded, accompanied by the usual recitative of voices. Each time, the sounds were repeated all along the line, until they died away in the distance ; and the hollow beat of the drums, mingled with the weird notes of the singers, suggestive of devilish and mysterious rites and human sacrifices, caused many of the Europeans to shudder. These melancholy sounds were generally followed by answering wails and lamentations from the clumps of trees and bushes in front, where the unhappy Ashanti women were searching for their relatives amongst the heaps of slain, and whose voices rose out of the intense blackness of the night like the cries of despairing spirits. It was a veritable night of horror."²

When day broke on the morning after the battle, nothing would induce the allies to follow the Ashantis as they might reasonably have been expected to do after so decisive a victory. Their one thought was to see their booty stored in a safe place, and they set out at once for Accra, all heavily laden. Major Ricketts indeed has

¹ Or Akianwa.

² Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 184.

recorded his belief that if the Ashantis had delayed the battle for a few weeks the coalition against them would have fallen to pieces, so jealous were the various units of each other. The Ashantis might then have marched into Accra practically unopposed.

One result of this victory was that the English for the first time became the owners of the land on which their forts and castles stood and the payments of ground rent on the "notes," which had been such a source of trouble in the past, at once ceased. These notes having been claimed from the Fanti Chiefs by right of conquest, now reverted by the same right to the English, and the sites to which they referred became their absolute property. In the same way, they really became the owners of the land on which Elmina Castle, Fort Crève Cœur and Christiansborg Castle stood and entitled to the rents for them. This right however was never claimed, and the Dutch at any rate continued the payment for Elmina Castle to the King of Ashanti: a fact that gave rise to much trouble in later years.

CHAPTER XXII

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE

1826 TO 1829

1826-1829 **CHAP. XXII** MAJOR-GENERAL SIR NEIL CAMPBELL, the new Governor-in-Chief, landed at Cape Coast on the 21st of August 1826, just fourteen days after the battle of Dodowa had been fought and won. He held an informal meeting with the Chiefs and Headmen of Cape Coast the same day and congratulated them on their recent victory, but beyond this nothing was done until the 26th of September, when Kujo Chibu King of Denkera, Awusuku King of Tufel, Amonu King of Anamabo, and Bafo one of his Chiefs, Aduku King of Mankesim, and the Chiefs and Headmen of Cape Coast were summoned to attend a meeting in the Castle Hall. The Governor, after thanking them in the name of the King of England for the parts they had played in the battle of Dodowa and congratulating them on the bravery they had shown, suggested that the present time, while the King was thoroughly beaten and humbled, would be a suitable occasion on which to send messengers to inform him that, should he desire peace, it would be granted on his giving security for his future conduct towards the English and their allies.

This, after the proclamation of Major-General Turner, was indeed going to the opposite extreme. That officer, after the Ashantis had brought a victorious campaign to its conclusion and only retired to their country on account of sickness and want of provisions, had issued a pompous manifesto in which he asserted that he would only grant them a peace and make a treaty—for which

by the way, they had never asked—upon his own terms ; 1826–1829
while now, after they had met with a crushing defeat CHAP. XXII
and been ignominiously routed, Sir Neil Campbell was proposing to make overtures to them for peace and to assure them that it would be granted upon what would certainly have been very favourable terms. Though such clemency might commend itself to certain European minds, it was so utterly opposed to all African precedent and custom that it could never be understood by the Chiefs. Amongst the people of the Gold Coast, as with other races, it is the conquered who are expected first to sue for peace, and the allies knew only too well, and far better than any newly appointed Governor could possibly do, that any overtures of this nature that they might make would only be construed by the Ashantis into a confession of fear, or possibly even into an admission of defeat, and thus render the victory they had gained fruitless. They, therefore, refused point blank to sanction any such negotiations, and although the Governor used every argument he could think of to persuade them that while such a construction might have been placed on their overtures if they had been made after a defeat, it was impossible that they could be considered in the same light after such a victory, and that their object in going to war in the first instance had been to obtain peace, nothing would induce them to alter their decision.

After a great deal of argument, the Chiefs finally asked that the further consideration of this question might be deferred for twelve months and assured the Governor that within that time the Ashantis themselves would sue for peace. Subsequent events proved the truth of their words ; but the Governor would not hear of any such delay and they then explained that in any case they could not sanction any negotiation without the concurrence of the other allies, the Kings of Akim, Akwamu, and Akwapim, who had not been summoned to the meeting on account of the distance at which they lived. The Governor objected to this on the score of the time required to send for them, but said that he had written to Captain

1826-1829 Hingston instructing him to meet these Chiefs at Accra and ascertain their views, and finally told the Chiefs that his orders from England were peremptory, and that if they would not consent to an immediate settlement he would conclude a peace for the English without making any stipulations on their behalf.

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The Kings and Chiefs, thoroughly dissatisfied with the result of this meeting, still remained in Cape Coast, and the Governor, in continuance of his policy, now decided to send presents and a letter explaining his wishes and proposals to the King of Ashanti. To enable him to do this, the King of Cape Coast was applied to for a party of three men, one of whom was to be able to write, who were to go to Kumasi on this mission ; and the Kings of Denkera, Tufel, Wassaw and Fanti and the Chiefs of Assin were each required to furnish a few men as escort. This, however, they flatly refused to do, and were reported to have said that if any harm befel those who went they would only have themselves to blame for ever having left Cape Coast. Kujo Chibu was, therefore, ordered to come to the Castle and explain his conduct ; but he failed to appear, not from any want of respect for the Governor, but because he was afraid he would be made a prisoner in the Castle and offered to the Ashantis as the price of peace. This reason, however, was not understood at the time, and he and the King of Tufel were ordered to leave Cape Coast at an hour's notice. Thus this brave old man, who had fought side by side with the English with the most consistent loyalty and valour ever since the beginning of the war, was now hounded out of the very town that he had so materially assisted to defend.

All idea of the mission to Kumasi was now abandoned ; but these proceedings of Sir Neil Campbell, who, ignorant of African custom and character, had blindly adhered to the letter of his instructions, had a very bad effect on the people throughout the whole country, reawakening all their old feelings of distrust and alienating them from that friendship for the English which had so recently been cemented by the victory of Dodowa. So universal

was this feeling that, when the Governor went to Accra on the 10th of October to see the Chiefs of the eastern districts, they refused as one man to attend the meeting. Thus, thwarted on every side and unable to make the least progress, Sir Neil Campbell returned to Sierra Leone on the 15th of November, leaving Captain Ricketts in charge of the Gold Coast.

On the 15th of January 1827 messengers arrived at Cape Coast from the King of Adansi,¹ who said he had undertaken to act as an intermediary for the Ashantis in suing for peace and wanted the Governor to depute some officers to attend at Yankumasi Assin, where he would arbitrate between the two parties. Captain Ricketts, of course, declined to listen to any such proposal, and insisted that any palaver in which the English were so directly concerned must be held at Cape Coast, though he had no objection to the Cape Coast Chiefs going to Yankumasi Assin, if they so wished, to hear what the King of Adansi had to say.

A great deal of unnecessary delay now occurred, during which numerous messengers were sent backwards and forwards between Cape Coast and Assin. Amongst others, two soldiers were sent up by Captain Ricketts to ask the King of Adansi through the Assin Chiefs to deliver the following message to the King of Ashanti: "That the Commandant had received orders to make peace with the Ashantis for the English, and for such of the native tribes as were desirous of being included in this pacific proposal; and that if the Ashantis were inclined to peace, he should be happy to see any of them at Cape Coast for that purpose; that should they be afraid of obstruction in their way down, he would, on being acquainted therewith through the Assins, take measures to secure their safety both in coming and returning."² Soon after the despatch of this message a sergeant and a small party of

¹ The Adansis were those Assins who had remained north of the Pra when the remainder of the tribe migrated south during the disturbances in 1806.

² Ricketts, pp. 135-36.

1826-1829 men were sent up to Yankumasi Assin as an escort for any
CHAP. XXII Ashanti messengers who might arrive there and wish to
be conducted to the coast ; but they returned a few weeks
later with a message from the King of Adansi repeating
that he was the person who settled all differences between
the Ashantis and those at war with them and again asking
the Commandant of Cape Coast to send messengers to
him, when he undertook to see the King of Ashanti at
once about peace. To this Captain Ricketts replied on
the 14th of May, thanking the King for his offer, but saying
“ that the King of England wants no war with the natives
of Africa ; justice is all that is required . . . that if the
King of Ashanti is willing to make peace, and if he will
send to Adansi proper persons for that purpose, I will, on
being acquainted therewith through the Assins, send up a
guard to meet them half way : that the Ashantis need
not be afraid of sending to Cape Coast, as I and the Cape
Coast people will take care that none of them shall be
molested, either in coming or returning ; and when peace
shall be made, all quarrels will be forgotten.”¹ After
the interchange of innumerable messages and months
of tedious haggling, during which it was more than once
rumoured that Ashanti messengers were on their way to
the coast, a few men did at length reach Yankumasi Assin
early in September and were detained there until the
Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley, arrived
from Sierra Leone on the 11th of October, when they were
called down to Cape Coast, where they arrived on the 23rd.

At the meeting with Colonel Lumley in the Castle Hall,
the chief messenger, who was a near relative of the King
of Ashanti, when called on to state his business, took
his monkey-skin cap with the gold plate on it and handed
it with a great deal of ceremony to the King of Adansi,
by whom it was passed through several of the Fanti Chiefs
to the King of Cape Coast who finally delivered it to the
Governor. The messenger then stated that he was author-
ized by the King of Ashanti to say that he was very sorry
for what he had done and hoped the English would pardon

¹ Ricketts, p. 137.

him ; that he now realized that it was useless for him to attempt to fight against white men, and therefore wished to be under their control, and that in token of his submission he had sent his cap to be laid at the feet of the King of England. The Governor, on receiving this message, explained that he could arrange nothing definitely until the allied Chiefs were all present, and the discussion of the actual terms of peace was therefore postponed until they could be assembled.

On the 10th of December, a second meeting was held at which the Kings of Denkera, Tufel, Wassaw, Fanti, Assin, Anamabo and Cape Coast and many other less important Chiefs were all present. The terms of peace which should be offered to the Ashantis were then agreed on as follows :

1. That they should lodge 4,000 ounces of gold in the Castle at Cape Coast as security for their good conduct in the future ;

2. That in the event of their again commencing hostilities, this sum should be forfeited and used for the purchase of arms and ammunition for the British allies ; and,

3. That two members of the Royal Family of Ashanti should be sent to Cape Coast as hostages.

The only allies who were not represented at this meeting were the Kings of Akwamu, Accra, and Akwapim and the Queen of Akim ; but their messengers arrived a few days later, and the terms having been explained to them, signified their approval on the part of their respective Chiefs. It was, of course, understood that the allied tribes included in these arrangements were in future to be entirely independent of Ashanti rule.

While these messengers had been in Cape Coast, several attempts had been made to glean a few particulars of the different engagements in the recent war ; but they seemed suspicious of each other and nothing could be learned beyond the fact that there were in Kumasi a white man who had been taken at Efutu and a Cape Coast mulatto captured at Insamankow. The release of these men was, therefore, demanded before anything else would

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be done, and the messengers returned to the capital accompanied by John Carr and John Buckman two educated Cape Coast men, and messengers representing most of the allied Chiefs. They arrived in Kumasi on the 4th of February 1828, and the captives were sent down soon afterwards. They proved to be Private Patrick Riley of the Royal African Colonial Corps, whose capture at Efutu on the 25th of April 1824 has already been mentioned,¹ and John Duncan, a Cape Coast Militiaman.² Carr and Buckman at the same time sent a very favourable report, saying they had been accorded a public reception and were being very well treated by the King, while the people as a whole showed every sign of satisfaction at the prospect of peace.

It now seemed as though peace must speedily be concluded; but just as all the preliminaries had been satisfactorily arranged, a hitch occurred in the negotiations which delayed the final settlement for some months. The Fantis had never forgotten their old grievance against the Elminas for having seized and sold Fanti fugitives in 1807, and their resentment had been increased by the murder of the Komenda women in 1824. The Elminas had, moreover, fought beside the Ashantis in the engagements at Efutu, Beula and Cape Coast, and had supplied them with powder, which, in defiance of the Dutch Governor, they obtained by night from American ships. Now that they had leisure to attend to such matters, therefore, and the Ashantis were no longer in a position to give their friends any assistance, the allies determined to demand reparation for these injuries and represented their grievances to Colonel Lumley, saying they would be satisfied if the Elminas paid compensation. He accordingly wrote to the Dutch Governor on the subject, who replied that the Elminas denied all the charges against them and absolutely refused to pay any sum whatever. The allies therefore encamped around the town and so completely blockaded it that, after the local plantations had been destroyed, the inhabitants were entirely de-

¹ *Vide* p. 369.

² Captured at Insamankow.

pendant for provisions upon what they could grow under the guns of the forts or import by sea.

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This was the state of affairs when the released prisoners arrived from Kumasi. With them the King sent a message pointing out that, in order to prove the sincerity of his overtures for peace, he had released these men immediately on being told of the Governor's wishes, and asking in return that his chief wife and several other members of the royal family who had been taken prisoners at Dodowa might be given back to him, and that Atjiempon and the other Ashantis who were at Elmina and unable to leave on account of the blockade, might also be sent up to Kumasi. On the arrival of these people, he promised to try to collect the sum required as security so as to conclude peace without further delay.

These requests were certainly fair and reasonable, but unfortunately it was found impossible to comply with either of them. The King's wife was in the hands of the Chief of Christiansborg, whose people had not been included in the negotiations for peace because they were dissatisfied with the terms that had been offered to the Ashantis and hoped to utilize their possession of this important prisoner as a means of extorting even better conditions for themselves. The allies, too, who were encamped around Elmina, absolutely refused to allow any Ashantis to leave until the required security for the King's peaceable behaviour had actually been deposited in Cape Coast Castle; for they fully realized that while the two prisoners whom he had just surrendered were of no importance to him, yet those he was now asking in return were persons of some consequence, and they were afraid that if he once gained his ends and had these people safe in Kumasi, he might repudiate the terms of peace altogether, or at any rate greatly delay its conclusion. The blockade of Elmina was therefore maintained.

Both Captain Lumley and Captain Ricketts had now gone to Sierra Leone, and Captain Hingston was in charge of the Gold Coast. At the end of April 1828 a letter arrived from the King, in which he entered a formal protest

1826-1829 against the action of the allies in blockading Elmina, pointing out that he had supposed that all his subjects, amongst whom were the Elminas, would be included in the peace. He also complained that the sum demanded as security, namely, 4,000 ounces of gold (equivalent to nearly £16,000) was excessive, but offered to deposit 400 ounces and promised to send it down immediately on the return of his messenger.

This contention of the King that the Elminas were his subjects and should be considered as included in the peace equally with the Ashantis themselves was a just one. There can be no doubt that they not only did, but always had owed allegiance to Ashanti, and as the British allies were all to participate in the peace on the one side, the Elminas, as the allies of Ashanti, were certainly entitled to be similarly included on the other. In these circumstances, the action of the allies in establishing hostile camps around the town must be regarded as a distinct act of war against Ashanti and a breach of the armistice, to which the King was perfectly justified in taking exception. Captain Hingston, however, ignored this subject altogether in his reply and, having been instructed by the Governor to make no alterations in the terms of peace that had been offered, merely stated that no other terms than those originally proposed, namely the deposit of 4,000 ounces of gold in the Castle and the delivery of two hostages of royal blood, could be acceded to; that Atjiempon and the other Ashantis would not be allowed to return to Kumasi until these conditions had been fulfilled; and that only then would an effort be made to co-operate with the Dutch Governor in settling the dispute between the Fantis and Elminas. This letter was written on the 1st of May, and the King was told he must send back the messengers from the allied tribes within twenty days if he did not intend to agree to these terms.

No reply had been received from the King when Major Ricketts returned from Sierra Leone on the 5th of June, and he, therefore, wrote to Osai Okotu, saying he was sorry to find peace had not yet been concluded and asking to

be informed what he intended doing. Four letters were received from Carr and Buckman during July, from which it was abundantly evident that the King had no intention of concluding peace so long as the blockade of Elmina was continued. His chief grounds of complaint were : That he had surrendered Mr. Williams after the battle of Insamankow without demanding any ransom ; that he had also released Riley and Duncan at the first request, but that the return of the Ashantis whom he had asked in exchange had been refused ; that he had reason to believe that the English and their allies were not so sincere in their desire for peace as they professed to be, but intended to kill the Ashantis at Elmina ; and lastly, that no reduction had been made in the amount of the security that had been demanded. No African ever names the price he really wants in the first instance or dreams of paying that first asked, and this strict adherence to the original amount was so contrary to all local custom that the King was apparently unable to understand it and possibly suspected some trickery or was afraid that, after he had paid the English, he might have to meet similar demands from all their allies as well.

The chief obstacle, however, was undoubtedly the blockade of Elmina ; and in order to facilitate matters as far as possible, Major Ricketts did everything in his power to induce the allies to break up their camps. For this purpose he again visited the town and met the Elmina Chiefs and the Ashantis quartered there, with the Dutch Governor in the Castle. The Elminas said they would be willing to meet the allied Chiefs and bind themselves to act with them in the event of any future aggressions on the part of the Ashantis, for they agreed that in no other way could the peace of the Gold Coast be assured ; but they evidently held the Fantis in profound contempt and said they could not be trusted and would as likely as not themselves join the Ashantis on some other occasion. The Fantis, on the other hand, refused to put faith in any promises the Elminas might make, and the negotiations consequently fell through.

1826-1829 The Home Government now decided to abandon its Possessions on the Gold Coast altogether. A man-of-war was sent out to remove the merchants and their property, and Major Ricketts was ordered to destroy the forts before he left. This decision was the immediate outcome of the late war. The length of time this had lasted, the heavy expenses and the disasters incurred, and the extremely unsatisfactory state of affairs that still existed, had thoroughly sickened the Government of its Settlements in the country and made it only too anxious to retire from so unprofitable a Possession; and since the disgraceful defeat at Insamankow had now been amply avenged by the victory at Dodowa, it was able to take this step without incurring the imputation of cowardice.

These arrangements, however, by no means suited the merchants. They had calculated the risks of trade in such a country before they embarked in it, and although that trade had involved them in many heavy losses, yet they could only regard the prospect of abandoning it now, at the very time when, owing to the defeat of the Ashantis, they seemed likely to reap the reward of their patience, with the greatest dissatisfaction. Moreover, they must have realized by this time that the Ashantis were far too much alive to the advantages of having a convenient source of supply of the numerous articles that they required ever to think of driving them from the country or seriously interfering with their business, and consequently, that whether they eventually conquered the Fantis and ruled the coast or not, their own prospects would be almost equally good. The outlook was even more alarming still to the Fantis and other coast tribes, who pictured themselves thus left unprotected and at the absolute mercy of their enemies.

The merchants, therefore, represented their position to the Home Government, and their views and arguments were so well supported by Major Ricketts that a middle course was adopted and the forts on the Gold Coast were handed over to them on certain conditions.¹ The affairs

¹ *Report of Select Committee on the West Coast of Africa* (1842), part ii, Appendix, pp. 1, 2.

of the forts were to be managed principally by a committee of three London merchants nominated by the Government. They were allowed a grant of £4,000¹ annually to enable them to maintain Cape Coast Castle and James Fort Accra, which were still to be considered Dependencies of Sierra Leone. They were to appoint officers, subject to confirmation by the Government; to render accounts of the manner in which the grant had been spent and returns of the trade, by which the amount of future grants would be estimated; and all correspondence from the Coast was to be addressed to them. The local establishment was to consist of a Governor or President of the Council at £620 a year, who was to be assisted by a Council of Magistrates elected annually on the 24th of June from among the merchants on the Coast; a surgeon and an officer to command the garrison at £200 each, and a commandant for James Fort at £100. Messrs. Barnes, Brown and Forster were appointed to the London Committee. They were not paid, but their Secretary had £200 a year, and Mr. Barnes drew up a code of rules² for the regulation of affairs on the Coast, which was approved by the Secretary of State. The grant, for the proper expenditure of which the London Committee was responsible, was to be used for the payment of salaries, repairs to the forts, the maintenance of a school,³ and pay and presents to the Fanti Chiefs. It was stipulated that the harbours of Cape Coast and Accra should be open to all vessels without the payment of any duty whatever, and the Senior Naval Officer on the West African Station was to make an annual inspection of the forts and report on their condition to the Government. British law was to continue in force within the forts, but the Council of Magistrates was forbidden to "exercise authority or jurisdiction over the districts and natives under the immediate influence and protection of the forts,

¹ From 1834 to 1839 only £3,500 was granted.

² Parliamentary Paper, *Report of Committee on West Coast of Africa* (1842), part ii, pp. 147-8.

³ There were 165 boys attending a few years later.

1826-1829 but solely in the forts, roadsteads or harbours thereunto adjoining, as well as over the persons residing therein."

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Thus the peculiar system was originated by which, while the Gold Coast still continued technically a Dependency of Sierra Leone, its actual government was entrusted to a Committee of Merchants in London; and while they corresponded with and issued orders to their own officer on the spot, who was their servant, the Government of the Crown had to rely upon them for any information it desired as to what went on there.

Pending the appointment of a Governor, the oldest trader on the Coast, Mr. John Jackson, who had been in the service of the old Company, was chosen to act as President of the Council, and Major Ricketts handed over to him the forts and such of the garrison as desired to take service under the new Government¹ on the 25th of June, though he himself did not leave for Sierra Leone until the 20th of September. During his term of office he had done much to improve Cape Coast. He had had all the houses overlooking the Castle pulled down and cleared a large open space around it, and made several good streets through the town, where the houses had hitherto been crowded together without any attempt at orderly arrangement.

Towards the end of 1829 the allies, who were beginning to find the passive occupation of their camps at Elmina rather dull, were joined by a number of the Cape Coast Militia, who came over in defiance of orders and made an attack on the town. They were very easily driven back, however, and the guns of Fort Conraadsburg converted their retreat into a veritable rout.

¹ 185 of the Royal African Colonial Corps engaged for three years.

CHAPTER XXIII

GOVERNOR MACLEAN'S TREATY AND GOVERNMENT

1830 TO 1837

MR. JACKSON'S term of office did not last long ; for though the Committee of Merchants in London offered to confirm his appointment, it was his opinion, as well as that of the other traders on the Coast, that the officer at the head of affairs should have no local interests and be able to devote his whole time to his duties as Governor. They decided, therefore, that it would be better to appoint someone from outside and petitioned the Government to offer the post to Captain George Maclean, an officer in the Royal African Colonial Corps, who had come under their notice when he accompanied Colonel Lumley to the Gold Coast in 1826 as his Military Secretary. He accepted the appointment and arrived in Cape Coast on the 19th of February 1830.

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The new Governor, on his arrival in the country, found its affairs in a most unsatisfactory state. Although the freedom from actual invasion had enabled the people to recultivate their farms and reoccupy many of the bush villages, yet there could be no real sense of security, for no peace had been made and everything was still in a very unsettled condition. The Gold Coast trade was absolutely annihilated ; for intercourse with Ashanti had never been renewed since the war, and such trade as the Ashantis now engaged in was carried on at Assini. The Ashantis themselves were still digesting their defeat at Dodowa and brooding over the wrong done them by the Fantis in investing Elmina ; but, though they had hitherto

1830-1837 remained sullenly inactive and given no sign of open aggression, there was no guarantee that this state of affairs would continue much longer, nor was it likely to do so. Indeed, there was every probability that the conduct of the Fantis, who, as Cruikshank says, never knew any half-measures but were "ever in the extreme of hopeless dejection or arrogant assumption," and were now boastfully singing of their victory and vaunting their own invincibility, would eventually so exasperate the Ashantis that they would make a desperate effort to wipe out their defeat and resubdue the coast tribes. Had they done so, the latter were now so engrossed with intertribal quarrels and disputes that it is very doubtful if they could have repeated the victory gained by their former combination. Their repulse from Elmina, too, had by no means extinguished their hatred of the Ashanti allies, nor their hopes of ultimately being able to visit on them some of the sufferings they themselves had endured in the past.

The authority of the English, such as it had ever been, had now almost ceased to exist; and it was only by the appointment of a man of exceptional ability that the situation could be saved and order restored out of the chaos that reigned. It was indeed fortunate for the Gold Coast people that such a man had been found in the person of Captain Maclean, who was undoubtedly one of the ablest, if not indeed the ablest, and at the same time one of the most maligned Governors the country has ever had. Cruikshank, who served under him, thus describes his character: "Calm and deliberate in forming a judgment, and carefully canvassing in his own mind all the bearings of every subject under review, his caution in coming to a conclusion appeared to a superficial observer to amount almost to timidity. He listened with attention to, and courted the discussion of, every argument, which could be adduced on both sides of a question; not with the intention of adopting the views of either disputant, but of quietly storing his mind with all its pros and cons, and of afterwards submitting them to the ordeal of private rumination. Opinions thus formed, became a portion of

his faith, which it was next to impossible to shake. In proportion to the strength of his conviction, was the decision which he displayed in carrying out his resolutions. Once fully satisfied that the course which he was pursuing was morally correct, and that he was adopting measures most likely to lead eventually to beneficial results, he shrank from no difficulty in the path. Endowed with an extraordinary degree of moral courage, and with a persevering firmness which failures never daunted, he steadily prosecuted his schemes, convinced that sooner or later the result would answer his expectations ; for he had a most abiding belief in the over-ruling direction of Providence. While enemies were maligning his conduct, blackening his fame, and attributing motives and actions to him which his heart had never conceived, strong in conscious rectitude, his constant reply to his anxious friends was : ' I assure you, this gives me no uneasiness at all ; sooner or later the truth will appear, and God would never permit such wickedness to prosper.' And in this belief he reposed with a careless indifference, which others less interested than himself found much difficulty in practising. The same feeling gave rise to the converse idea, also firmly implanted in his mind, that a good object, undertaken from pure and disinterested motives, and prosecuted without injustice, would be crowned with success. It will be easily perceived how invaluable this disposition was to a person intrusted with the government of such a country as the Gold Coast at that time. It rendered him insensible to difficulties, which would have appalled a weaker mind, and led him to undertake measures which to ordinary men, would have seemed to require the slow process of time and progressive civilisation. He thus jumped to difficult results ; and prudently fortifying his new position, and firmly holding every inch of ground which he had gained, prepared for another step. The strongholds of iniquity, which had refused the impress of a single ameliorating influence for ages, were thus captured by a series of skilful *coups de main*, and an opening made for the introduction of a new and better *régime*.

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By never allowing himself to be foiled in any measure, but by resolutely persevering towards the desired object, regardless of temporary obstructions and delays, every new enterprise carried with it the prestige of his never-failing success, until, at last, throughout the length and breadth of the land, his fiat became as irrevocable as the laws of the Medes and Persians."¹ Cruikshank's estimate of Maclean's character is no exaggeration, and explains at once how it was that this remarkable man was able, with the small means at his disposal and in spite of apparently insurmountable difficulties and the worry and anxiety of private troubles, to effect a change in the condition of the Gold Coast greater by far than any single man had ever done before or has done since, and lay the foundation of the widespread authority and jurisdiction that has since developed.

Maclean quickly realized that before any hope of renewed trade or the restoration of law and order on the coast could be entertained, it was essential that some proper understanding should be come to with the Ashantis and a definite peace concluded. He, therefore, turned his whole attention to the accomplishment of this object. Fortunately the Ashantis and Fantis were equally anxious to see an end put to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs and to be able to renew their trade. Maclean, therefore, had little difficulty in convening a large meeting at Accra, which was attended by deputies from Kumasi and all the Fanti Chiefs; but it was by no means so easy to persuade the opposing parties to come to any agreement as to the terms on which peace should be made, and many stormy debates took place before he eventually succeeded in reconciling their views. The Ashantis, on the one hand, found it hard to treat on equal terms with the coast tribes, whom they had been accustomed to conquer whenever they liked and to hold in such absolute subjection and contempt; while the Fantis, on the other, were so elated by their victory, and now thought themselves so strong, that they were unwilling to accept any

¹ Cruikshank, vol. i, pp. 171 *et seq.*

mere guarantee of future security from molestation, but wanted to claim compensation for all the losses they had suffered in the past. The revolt of the Denkeras and Assins, however, had so weakened the Ashantis and strengthened their enemies, that this, combined with the fact that many of the King's relatives were still prisoners in Cape Coast Castle, at last compelled them to listen to reason. The Fantis were then induced to moderate their demands, the Governor plainly hinting that if they failed to do so and thus obstructed the conclusion of the negotiations, the English might very possibly withdraw their protection. Their alarm at the prospect of abandonment when the Crown gave up the government of the country was too recent for this argument to fail. Maclean also warned the Ashantis that any undue delay on their part might lead to a renewal of hostilities, when greater efforts than ever would be made to crush them once and for all. Thus, after most tedious negotiations, terms were finally agreed to and the following treaty was signed at Cape Coast on the 27th of April 1831, when a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from the Castle to celebrate the conclusion of peace.

“ TREATY OF PEACE, 27th APRIL 1831

“ WE the undersigned, namely :

“ The Governor of Cape Coast Castle and British Settlements, on the part of His Majesty the King of England ; the Princess ‘ Akianvah,’ and the Chief ‘ Quagua,’ on the part of the King of Ashantee ; ‘ Aggery,’ King of Cape Coast ; ‘ Adookoo,’ King of Fantee ; ‘ Amonoo,’ King of Annamaboe ; ‘ Chibboe,’ King of Dinkara ; ‘ Ossoo Okoo,’ King of Tufel ; ‘ Animinee,’ King of Wassaw ; ‘ Chibboo,’ King of Assin ; the Chiefs of ‘ Adjumacon ’ and ‘ Essacoomah,’ and the other Chiefs in alliance with the King of Great Britain, whose names are hereunto appended, do consent to, and hereby ratify the following Treaty of Peace and of Free commerce between ourselves and such other Chiefs as may hereafter adhere to it.

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“ 1. The King of Ashantee having deposited in Cape Coast Castle, in the presence of the above-mentioned parties, the sum of 600 ounces of gold, and having delivered into the hands of the Governor two young men of the royal family of Ashantee, named ‘ Ossoo Ansah,’ and ‘ Ossoo In Quantamissah,’ as security that he will keep peace with the said parties in all time coming, peace is hereby declared betwixt the said King of Ashantee and all and each of the parties aforesaid, to continue in all time coming. The above securities shall remain in Cape Coast Castle for the space of six years from this date.

“ 2. In order to prevent all quarrels in future which might lead to the infraction of this Treaty of Peace, we, the parties aforesaid, have agreed to the following rules and regulations for the better protection of lawful commerce.

“ The paths shall be perfectly open, and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic; and persons molesting them in any way whatever, or forcing them to purchase at any particular market, or influencing them by any unfair means whatever, shall be declared guilty of infringing this Treaty, and be liable to the severest punishment.

“ Panyarring, denouncing, and swearing on or by any person or thing whatever, are hereby strictly forbidden, and all persons infringing this rule shall be rigorously punished; and no master or chief shall be answerable for the crimes of his servants, unless done by his orders or consent, or when under his control.

“ As the King of Ashantee has renounced all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Dinkara, Assin, and others formerly his subjects, so, on the other hands, these parties are strictly prohibited from insulting, by improper speaking or in any other way, their former master, such conduct being calculated to produce quarrels and wars.

“ All ‘ palavers ’ are to be decided in the manner mentioned in the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to by the parties to this treaty.

“ Signed in the Great Hall of Cape Coast Castle this 27th day of April 1831, by the parties to this Treaty,

and sealed with the great seal of the Colony in their presence. 1830-1837

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“(Signed) GEO. MACLEAN, Governor.

“ Their marks

- “ X AKIANVAH, Princess of Ashantee.
- “ X QUAGUA, Chief of Ashantee.
- “ X AGGERY, King of Cape Coast.
- “ X ADOOKOO, King of Fantee.
- “ X AMONOO, King of Annamaboe.
- “ X ABOOKOO, Chief of Akomfee.
- “ X OTTOO, Chief of Abrah.
- “ X CHIBBOO, King of Assin.
- “ X CUDJOE CHIBBOO, King of Dinkara.
- “ X GEBEL, Assin Chief.
- “ X OSSO OKOO, King of Tufel.
- “ X APOLLONIA, Chiefs.
- “ X AKINNIE, Chief of Agah.”

The custom of panyarring¹ referred to in this treaty consisted in seizing persons or their goods in order to obtain payment of debts or the return of property that was being unjustly withheld. It was very common on the Gold Coast and was frequently abused and did an immense amount of harm. If a resident of Anamabo was indebted to a Cape Coast man and neglected or refused to pay the debt, or improperly withheld property of any kind from him, the creditor might panyar the first Cape Coast man he could lay hands on and hold him as security. This usually had an immediate effect, for the relatives of the man panyarred would at once bring pressure on the debtor to compel him to pay and release the security. The process, however, was a costly one and while the slave trade existed it was no uncommon thing for a man to be thus panyarred and sold off the Coast before his family could ascertain his whereabouts or to which par-

¹ “ Panyarring (pronounced payaring) is rather a law than a custom, and although sometimes prostituted to bad purposes, is frequently the only way to recover a just debt. If exercised unlawfully, the amount of damages to be paid as satisfaction is so much as to cause the financial ruin of the wrong-doer.” (Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, p. 116.)

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particular captain he had been sold. Such cases gave rise to protracted and very expensive palavers, which frequently terminated in the sale of a whole family.

The prisoners taken at Dodowa were now released and returned to Ashanti, and the gold he had deposited in the Castle as security was given back to the King at the end of the stipulated time. This, in conjunction with the fact that it had never been disturbed but was handed back to his messengers in the original packages, went far to reassure the Ashantis and induce them to renew their faith in British honour, which had been so rudely shaken by Governor Hope Smith's conduct. Of the two Ashanti princes handed over as hostages, Ansa was a son of the late King Tutu Kwamina, and Inkwantabissa of the reigning monarch Okotu. They were granted a pension of £100 a year each and sent to England—where they were present at the Coronation of Queen Victoria—to be educated.¹ Inkwantabissa died² soon after their return to the Coast, but Ansa lived for many years and played his part in subsequent history.

According to Reindorf, the proceedings at Cape Coast were marred by quarrels just as those at Accra had been. He says that a stick and stone fight occurred between some of the Wassaw Chiefs, and that Maclean, to quell the disturbance, ordered a hundred lashes to be given to each Chief who had allowed his people to fight; whereupon one of them, Boampon, felt the disgrace so keenly that he went behind a house in the town and committed suicide by cutting his throat. If this account is true, it may seem to have been a rather high-handed proceeding on the part of Maclean; but after the long and difficult negotiations at Accra had been brought to a successful conclusion and the much-desired peace was at last about to be made, he doubtless saw in these disturbances the beginning of a fresh series of delays, or even danger of an assault on the Ashanti delegates, which might have ended in the abandonment of the treaty or

¹ They were placed in the charge of the Rev. Thomas Pyne.

² 8th of January 1859.

an actual renewal of the war, and felt compelled to adopt extreme measures and treat the offenders with a degree of severity that he might not otherwise have shown.

Exactly what is meant by the last paragraph of this treaty which refers to "the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to," is none too clear. The question, indeed, arose at a later date. There is little doubt, however, that it really refers to the terms that had been offered on the 10th of December 1827, but which the Ashantis, after some hesitation, had rejected. These terms, therefore, were never signed and must be regarded as an abortive treaty. The new treaty modifies them in some respects, but the manner in which future disputes were to be settled now appears to have been agreed to, and this rather vague reference made to it instead of embodying the actual terms in the new document. The following extract from this former memorandum is, at any rate, the only proposal or agreement now extant that seems to cover the ground, with the exception of the similar stipulations in the treaty of 1817, which, apart from its having been abrogated by the subsequent war, was too sore a point with the Ashantis to have been referred to now.

"5. To prevent as much as possible any future war, it is agreed that in case of any of the parties subscribing to these articles committing an act of aggression, and complaint being made thereof to the Governor-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's possessions on this coast (or in the absence of the said Governor from Cape Coast, to the Commandant of Cape Coast Castle for the time being, as his representative), any satisfaction which the circumstances of the case may require, will be adjudged to the aggrieved party by the said Governor-in-Chief or his representative; who will also call to his assistance two or more of the adjacent kings or chiefs as a council.

"6. If any of the allied kings or chiefs shall be the aggressor or aggressors as aforesaid, and if such an aggressor or aggressors shall refuse to abide by the decision of the Governor, or his representative, with the chiefs assembled with him in council; in that case he or they will no longer

1830-1837 be considered as of the confederacy, and must arrange
CHAP. XXIII his or their disputes as they best can.

" 7. In the event of the Ashantees becoming the aggressors, and refusing to abide by the decision of the Governor (or his representative) and council aforesaid, then the sum of money lodged in Cape Coast Castle, for the purpose named in the 4th article of these terms shall be forfeited for ever, and the said sum of money may, if it be deemed expedient, be expended in the purchase of arms, ammunition, and other warlike stores, for the purpose of carrying on war against the King of Ashantee and his people."

Assuming, therefore, that these are the conditions referred to—and this is a point on which there is little room for doubt—then this treaty mutually binds the three parties, British, Ashantis and Fanti allies, by precise rules, and the superior authority of the former is definitely acknowledged by the implied agreement of the other two to accept the Governor as referee in any case of dispute. There was also a tacit understanding that the allies would be afforded British protection in the event of any further aggression on the part of the Ashantis.

Having thus secured the peace of the country, Maclean now had time to turn his attention to the coast tribes and did everything in his power to improve and elevate them, to encourage trade, to ensure the impartial administration of justice, and to discourage, and in course of time abolish those of their customs that were objectionable.

The task he had set himself was not an easy one. The eradication of customs that have been in use from time immemorial and which are, moreover, the outcome of, or at least intimately connected with, the religious beliefs of the people who practise them, can never be accomplished in a day; and the advancement in civilization of a savage race must always be a slow and gradual process, to be effected by time and the increasing knowledge of the benefits to be derived from such improvement rather than by the sudden and rigid enforcement of new laws

and prohibitions. Maclean fortunately realized this fact and thoroughly understood that, although the state of society with which he had to deal sorely needed speedy and drastic remedies, yet the desired changes could only be effected by slow degrees and by the exercise of patient tact and toleration and a confident belief in better things to come. He was careful, therefore, to interfere only with those customs which affected the rights and liberty of the individual and with those laws which seemed to err unduly on the side of harshness. Moreover, he effected his reforms gradually, by exposing the unfitness of the existing state of affairs rather than by sudden prohibitive orders, which, if disregarded, he would have been unable to enforce. He firmly believed in the capabilities of the people under his care, and it was this conviction of the possibility of improving them that enabled him to persevere, and in a large measure to succeed, where another might probably have given up in despair.

In order to carry out these reforms it was essential that the authority of the Governor should be paramount, and that whenever he did give a definite order it should be obeyed. Maclean ruled, therefore, with a firm hand and, while he carefully avoided giving any needless or vexatious commands, required and enforced implicit obedience to such orders as he found it necessary to issue. A soldier was stationed in each of the principal towns throughout the whole Protectorate, and in this way the country was for the first time policed and a general supervision maintained by the Government. Acts of oppression or defiance of the Governor's orders were reported, the roads rendered safe for travellers, trade encouraged, and a simple means provided by which the Governor's wishes or commands could be communicated to the various Chiefs. A court was established in Cape Coast Castle, where Maclean sat as judge, usually assisted by some of the Chiefs. Here justice was cheaply and impartially administered, either in strict accordance with the Akan customary law, or, in those cases in which amelioration of severe laws was deemed advisable, according to a compromise between

1830-1837 this and British law. Much good was done in this way,
CHAP. XXIII and the people soon learned to appreciate the benefits they could thus obtain and appeals from the decisions of Chiefs became more and more frequent. Apart from this direct administration of an impartial and temperate justice, the court enabled the Governor to do something towards the extinction of many superstitions, such as the belief in witchcraft; superstitions which it would have been impolitic, and in fact impossible, to have attacked directly, but which could to some extent be undermined by his constant opposition to the infliction of punishment in such cases and his expressed contemptuous ridicule of these beliefs. The court, too, was frequently attended by the Chiefs of outlying districts with their retainers, so that in course of time, Maclean's ideas of justice became well known and widely disseminated throughout the length and breadth of the country.

It is true that this exercise of jurisdiction and authority beyond the forts themselves was contrary to the strict letter of the conditions on which they had been handed over to the merchants; but Maclean realized that, if good were to result, they must not be interpreted too literally, and by thus blending an absolutely impartial justice with the Fanti law, he did an incalculable amount of good, and the people's appreciation was alone sufficient to justify such deviation from the original instructions.

There was also another point on which the conditions of transfer were disregarded. It had been stipulated that the harbours of Cape Coast and Accra should be "open to all vessels without payment of any duty whatever," but it appears that a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on British and 5 per cent on foreign imports with extra duties on spirits and a charge of two dollars for port dues was levied at about this time, but countermanded by the Committee in London; for a petition by the local merchants is extant praying for a renewal of these "foreign and transient duties once in force," to enable them to maintain fifty militia, the lighthouse on Fort William and canoes for boarding ships. This petition evidently had some effect,

for on the 10th of December 1839 an Ordinance was passed at Sierra Leone, which came into force on the 22nd of April 1840, imposing an *ad valorem* duty of one-half per cent on all imports, whether sold ashore or afloat, and a charge of three dollars for every vessel anchoring, payable only once by the same ship within any one period of six months. A return of the amount thus raised was to be rendered on the 31st of December in each year.

The export slave trade had now been absolutely abolished; and although it was a well-established fact that up to a very short time before this slavers were taking in cargoes within sight of the British forts and in open defiance of the law, there was not a single instance in which a slave was known to have been shipped off the Coast during the whole time of Maclean's administration. Human sacrifices, too, which hitherto had been frequently made by the Fantis, even in Cape Coast itself, were rigidly put down, and though not entirely abolished, so much was done to deter the people from this practice and to ensure the punishment of offenders, that the custom became much less frequent and could only be carried out with great secrecy.

Writing of the changes effected among the people by Maclean, Cruikshank says: "Nothing could more forcibly demonstrate their need of a disinterested superior, and their estimation of the advantages derived from his superintending justice, than the fact, that with a corps of one hundred and twenty men, natives of the country, and with pecuniary resources not exceeding, annually, £4,000, Governor Maclean maintained for a series of years an undisputed sway over an immense extent of territory, comprising a numerous population, composed of different tribes, speaking different languages, and many of them possessed of great physical power. There have been few instances in the history of the world of such an extensive influence, so completely the result of moral force."¹

Yet, though Maclean with his limited means undoubtedly accomplished a marvellous amount of good without having

¹ Cruikshank, vol. ii, p. 6.

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recourse to arms, it must not be supposed that he either did or could effect all this without meeting with occasional instances of opposition and revolt. Many of the Chiefs lived in distant parts of the country where it was not easy to maintain constant supervision and they were consequently difficult to control, while they all realized that their own personal dignity and authority suffered by comparison with that now assumed by the Governor, and soon found that they could no longer enrich themselves easily by the extortionate methods they had hitherto practised under the cloak of administering justice. The fetish-men, too, saw that with the gradual realization of the Governor's plans their own power and influence must be proportionately diminished and therefore urged the Chiefs and people to resist these innovations.

Hence, individual Chiefs from time to time attempted to reassert their independence and defy the authority of the Governor. But though during the first few years of his administration these outbreaks were of frequent occurrence, little or nothing ever came of them. The people were too much alive to the advantages they enjoyed under the new conditions to give their own Chiefs any enthusiastic support, while the other Chiefs were only too ready to assist the Governor rather than see one of their rivals successfully defying the authority to which they themselves had to submit. The malcontents would then be cut off from all external communication and, thus shut up in their own districts, were soon compelled to give in. Fines were then inflicted or the Chief deposed, to be reinstated later when he had given security for his good conduct in the future. Eventually the system of requiring deposits of gold from the Chiefs as security was resorted to, so that in the end it came about that nearly every Chief of importance, including even those of Cape Coast who lived under the very walls of the Castle and were under the immediate supervision of the Governor, had a larger or smaller sum in gold deposited in the Castle, which was liable to forfeiture in the event of his disobedience or failure to preserve order in his district. In

these circumstances, if a complaint was lodged against any Chief, Maclean only had to send a soldier with a message to obtain his attendance in Cape Coast ; but he was careful never to summon a Chief in this manner except for some valid and important reason. 1830-1837
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Under these improved conditions of security, the people were able to travel up and down the country in perfect safety and trade increased to an enormous extent, benefiting not only those who directly engaged in it, but also providing employment for a large number of others as carriers. The manufacture of palm oil had only been engaged in within the last ten or fifteen years and had been carried on to but a small extent ; but this trade now rapidly increased, and cowrie shells were introduced for the first time as a medium of exchange for small quantities of the oil and other articles of trifling value which had hitherto been paid for either in gold-dust or trade goods. In 1831 the value of the imports at Cape Coast had been £130,851 3s. 11½*d.*, but by 1840 it had increased to £423,170. The value of the exports showed a similar increase from £90,282 9s. 6*d.* in 1831 to £325,008 in 1840.

During 1834 a number of complaints were made against Kwaku Akka the King of Apollonia. The fact that the English had built a fort in his country in about 1750, though it had long since been abandoned and was now a mere ruin, led both the natives and the Dutch to regard it as British territory, and some of the Apollonian Chiefs appear to have signed the tri-partite treaty of 1831 as delegates for their King, though it is possible there may be another explanation of the appearance of their mark on this document.

Mr. Frank Swanzy, the Commandant of Dixcove, which was now the nearest English fort, sent in several reports of the barbarities constantly being committed by Akka, and the captains of ships who had called on the Apollonian coast occasionally arrived at Cape Coast and lodged complaints, saying they had been grossly insulted and robbed by the people. It was, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Governor to take some steps to put a

1830-1837 stop to such proceedings ; but Maclean was reluctant to
CHAP. XXII, appeal to arms until he was actually compelled to do so,
and therefore sent several letters to Akka remonstrating
with him on his conduct. But no notice was taken of
them and Kwaku Akka refused to accept the Governor's
last letter and returned it unopened. Just before the
arrival of the soldier who brought it, some Wassaw
traders who were passing through the country had been
seized by the Chief, who had caused twelve of them to
be anchored in the sea and left to perish as they became
exhausted, while twelve more had been crucified on the
beach and left to wither in the sun. The Governor's
messenger was now shown the bodies of these unfortunate
men and told that they and sights like them were the
King's only answer. Soon after his return to Cape Coast
with this report, messengers arrived from Enimil the King
of Wassaw complaining of the outrage against his people,
and Maclean then decided to waste no more time in fruit-
less negotiations, but to lead an expedition against Akka
and take summary vengeance.

Early in 1835 therefore, every man who could possibly
be spared was withdrawn from the garrisons of the different
forts, and a small detachment under Mr. P. Bartells was
also lent by Colonel Lans, the Dutch Governor. Mr.
Frank Swanzy was the only other officer who accom-
panied the Governor. The strength of this combined
force was absurdly small, amounting to only 180 men ;
but no more could be spared and they advanced towards
Apollonia. They had barely crossed the border however,
when, upon the very first sign of danger, the whole of the
Cape Coast Militia, who, of course, were Fantis, were
seized with panic, refused to fight, and deserted. Mac-
lean was thus left with such an insignificant force that
it would have been madness to go any farther and was
compelled to retire on the Dutch fort at Axim. This
misfortune, however, did not turn him from his purpose.
Mr. Swanzy was sent out to find the deserters and suc-
ceeded in bringing them back and order was restored.

In the meantime H.M.S. *Britomart* had arrived at

Cape Coast under Commander Quin, who, at the request of the merchants, at once sailed westward to co-operate with the Governor. A second advance was then made with complete success. The Apollonians were engaged and driven along the beach for miles under a steady fire from the British force, which reached the ruins of Apollonia Fort in safety that night, though the men were completely exhausted by their long march without food or water throughout the heat of the day.

Although the fort was now occupied by a British force and his people had been routed, Kwaku Akka was still in arms and refused to come in and make submission. Maclean therefore, took a bold step and went in person to the Apollonian camp, which was situated some miles from the fort. He was accompanied only by a corporal's guard, though he well knew that the King had offered a reward of 200 crowns for his head. This was precisely one of those acts that are only justified by success and in any other circumstances are called foolhardy and rash. Maclean, however, was an excellent judge of African character and thought this plan offered a good prospect of success and, though he well understood that it must necessarily be attended by considerable risk to himself, believed that the object he had in view justified it. Events proved his opinion correct; for he entered the enemy's camp and returned in safety after having had an interview with the Chief, at which a treaty was drawn up binding Akka to pay all the expenses of the expedition and to deposit a large sum in gold in the Castle at Cape Coast as security for his future conduct. This complete victory, gained as it was without any help from the other tribes, had an excellent effect on them by increasing their opinion of the Governor's determination to punish evil-doers at any cost, and convincing them of his power to carry out his intentions independently of them.

As has already been hinted, there is some room for doubt whether the Apollonians were among the original parties to the treaty of 1831. The occurrence of the words "and such other chiefs as may hereafter adhere

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1830-1837 to it," plainly shows that it was intended to include others
 CHAP. XXIII at a later date if necessary. The Apollonian signature is the last but one, and therefore, if any further parties were added after the 27th of April 1831, the Apollonians and the Chief of Egya must be they. There is no mention of Apollonia elsewhere in the treaty and the question, therefore, arises whether it was agreed to and this signature added at the end of this expedition, and not in 1831 when it was first drawn up. If the latter had been the case, it seems hardly likely that Maclean would have wasted so much time in sending letters instead of taking active measures at once. The fact that Kwaku Akka's name does not appear as the person who signed is quite in accordance with this theory, for the treaty itself would have been in Cape Coast and not carried on a punitive expedition, and if he now agreed to it, it would have fallen to the lot of the Chiefs who were afterwards sent in with the gold for deposit in the Castle to sign on behalf of the tribe.¹

In the meantime, a great civil war had broken out in Ashanti between Kumasi and Jabin. This, according to Ashanti tradition, was the third or fourth such war that had occurred, but it is the first of which anything was known on the coast. Yow Sekyiri the King of Insuta had been amongst those who fell in the battle of Dodowa and there were rival claimants to the vacant stool, one party being favoured by Osai Okotu and the other by Buatin the King of Jabin. It is not quite clear whether this Buatin, in whose time the trouble began, was Buatin Penin who was alleged to have signed the treaty of 1817, or his successor Kofi Buatin, but it was certainly the latter who was reigning towards the end of the time. Buatin was invited to Kumasi for the case to be settled, and went. It is alleged that Mafo, the claimant supported by Osai Okotu, proved that for years past his rivals had been in the habit of murdering and robbing Kumasi traders as they passed through Insuta on their way to Salaga, and that not fewer than eighty persons had thus

¹ *Vide* p. 419.

been done away with. The offenders and their relatives to the number of about sixty were, therefore, seized and put in irons and subsequently put to death at dead of night. When Buatin heard what had been done, he was so enraged that he left the capital immediately and returned to Jabin.

Soon after this, one Kotiaku, a great friend of Kofi Buatin, intrigued with three of his favourite wives and fled to Kumasi; whereupon he demanded not only the head of the adulterer, to which by Ashanti law he was entitled, but those of all his family also. This exorbitant demand was refused by Okotu, who, after the resulting quarrel had lasted three years, sent messengers to Buatin asking him to come to Kumasi and settle the case. This Buatin flatly refused to do, giving as his reason that he had not forgotten what had happened in the Insuta stool case. Kotiaku and his people were then sent back, and a force left Kumasi for Jabin at the same time. Buatin ordered the execution of Kotiaku and his people while the Kumasis were actually outside his town and a battle immediately ensued in which the Jabins were utterly defeated and Buatin and his people forced to fly for refuge to Akim. After this, frequent skirmishes took place between the Jabins in Akim and parties of Kumasis, until at last an embassy was sent by Okotu to arrange a peace.

Macleane and the Danish Governor, Mr. Morck, were asked to assist in the negotiations, and a meeting was held at Accra on the 27th of May 1835, at which peace was concluded. In spite of this, however, Kofi Buatin would not return to Ashanti, though frequent messages were sent by Okotu begging him to do so and he sent some of his people back. Prior to his flight, a misunderstanding had arisen between him and his two cousins, "Aberidwesi" and "Neribihi," and he now required their execution and that of their whole families before he would consent to return. It is said that, although Osai Okotu strongly objected to such a proceeding, yet, so anxious was he for the return of the exiles that some seventy persons were executed in compliance with this demand. The Jabins

1830-1837 then, in 1839, set out on their return journey ; but Kofi
CHAP. XXIII Buatin died on the way under a strong suspicion of having
poisoned himself rather than set foot again in Kumasi.
He had no brother living, and his mother Jabin Saiwa
succeeded him and reached Kumasi in November 1841,
where a great welcome was accorded her and her people.
In the following January the work of rebuilding Jabin
was begun. This was carried out on a far grander
scale than before and much help was given by Okotu
for this purpose.

The presence of the Jabin fugitives in Akim during
all these years had been a source of great anxiety to the
English ; for Buatin's constant refusal to return in accordance
with the terms of the agreement made in 1835 had so
annoyed the King that they had been living in constant
dread that he would lose patience and send an expedition
against him ; indeed, he had once sent down to the Governor
warning him that he need not be surprised if he soon
did so. Maclean had used every argument to prevent
this threat being put into execution ; for he clearly saw
that, if Buatin were attacked in Akim, he would at once
retire on Accra and involve the English in the quarrel.
They would have been forced to choose between giving
him up, and giving him their protection and thus making
an enemy of the King and almost certainly bringing about
another war with Ashanti. Fortunately Maclean's efforts
were crowned with success, and the death of Buatin and
return of his people put an end to a state of affairs that
had been a constant menace to the peace of the country
for many years.

It was during Maclean's governorship that the first
serious attempt¹ was made to introduce the Christian
religion among the people of the Gold Coast. The Basel
Mission first sent out missionaries to Christiansborg in
1827, but they soon succumbed to the climate and the
sole survivor returned to Europe in 1833, so that it is not
until 1843, when they made a fresh start, that this Mission,
then working under the protection of the Danish

¹ With the exception of the early efforts of the Portuguese.

Government, can really be said to have commenced its work. 1830-1837

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As early as 1751 a clergyman of the Church of England, the Reverend Thomas Thompson, had come out to Cape Coast, where he remained for four years and acted as chaplain to the garrison ; but beyond taking a few natives to England to be educated he accomplished nothing. One of these natives, by name Philip Quacoe, was educated at Oxford and subsequently returned to Cape Coast, where he acted as chaplain for not less than fifty years.¹ He too met with no success among his countrymen, and it is even said that on the approach of death he himself lost faith in the religion he professed to teach and reverted to fetishism.

It was not until May 1835, therefore, when the first Wesleyan missionary, the Reverend Joseph R. Dunwell, arrived in Cape Coast, that missionary work among the people living under British protection can really be said to have begun. Mr. Dunwell lived less than six months, dying on the 24th of June of the same year, and was succeeded on the 15th of September 1836 by Mr. Wrigley, who came out with his wife and was quickly followed, in January 1837, by Mr. and Mrs. Harrop. The two latter and Mrs. Wrigley were attacked by fever a fortnight later and all three died. Mr. Wrigley was thus left alone and he also died in the following November. The foundation stone of the Wesleyan Chapel in Cape Coast was laid by Mr. Wrigley in 1836, and the completed building was formally opened and dedicated by Mr. Freeman on the 10th of June 1838.

¹ *Vide* p. 280.

CHAPTER XXIV

MACLEAN'S ADMINISTRATION ATTACKED AND VINDICATED

1837 TO 1843

1837-1843 IN June 1836, some time after his return from Apollonia, Maclean went to England for the benefit of his health, leaving one of the merchants, Mr. William Topp,¹ in charge of affairs during his absence. While he was in London he met Miss Letitia Elizabeth Landon, better known as L. E. L. the poetess, who was then at the zenith of her fame and popularity. She was staying at Hampstead with Mr. Forster, M.P. for Berwick. He was one of the members of the Committee of Merchants in London to whom the government of the Gold Coast had been entrusted and was consequently well acquainted with all that had recently passed there. He had Maclean's report on his Apollonian expedition and gave it to her to read, telling her that it would serve as an introduction to the writer, who was to dine with them that night. The story so impressed her that she seems to have been prepared to fall in love with Maclean at once. At any rate she married him very soon afterwards and decided to return with him and share his life at Cape Coast.

At this time, there were no European ladies on the Coast, and the conditions under which even the officers had to live were very far from satisfactory. Nevertheless, in spite of the warnings and entreaties of her friends, who prophesied all manner of evil consequences and said she would certainly come home by the next ship, L. E. L. adhered to her decision and she and Maclean landed at Cape Coast on the 15th of August 1838. In spite of the many inconveniences attendant on Coast life at that time, she

¹ Afterwards Commandant of James Fort, Accra.

quickly settled down and seems to have enjoyed the novelty of her new surroundings. But it was not to be for long. After living but two months in Cape Coast, she died with appalling suddenness on the morning of the 15th of October, and the mystery surrounding her death in this little-known country gave rise to the grossest calumnies in England against Maclean, which were only too eagerly believed by a scandal-loving and credulous public.

Nothing shows more clearly how entirely without foundation these reports were, than the very full account of these events given by Cruikshank. He was then Commandant of Anamabo Fort and was staying in Cape Coast with Mr. Topp prior to proceeding to England on leave. During this time, and also at an earlier date, he saw a great deal of Mr. and Mrs. Maclean, with both of whom he was on the most intimate terms. On the 14th of October he dined with them at the Castle, and at eleven o'clock that night went into the long gallery, where he walked with Mrs. Maclean for half an hour. She then seemed in excellent spirits, and the Governor joined them for a few minutes; but he was afraid to remain exposed to the night air for long, as he had been in bad health for some time past, and soon returned to his room, where the others joined him a little later. Cruikshank left the Castle at about half-past eleven.

Next morning, while he was having breakfast with Mr. Topp at about nine o'clock, a servant came to say that they were wanted in the Castle as Mr. Maclean was dead. They set out at once, meeting Messrs. Swanzy, Jackson and Hutton on the same errand; but it was not until they reached the Castle gate that they learned for the first time that it was Mrs. Maclean and not the Governor who was dead. This news was even more surprising; for she had been in excellent health and spirits, whereas the Governor had been ill for some time, though his condition had not been sufficiently serious to cause any alarm.

Mrs. Maclean's death was so sudden and unaccountable that it was at once decided to hold an inquest. Cruikshank says: "All that could be elicited, upon the

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strictest investigation, was simply this : It appeared that she had risen, and left her husband's bedroom about seven o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to her own dressing-room, which was up a short flight of stairs,¹ and entered by a separate door from that leading to the bedroom. Before proceeding to dress, she had occupied herself an hour and a half in writing letters. She then called her servant, Mrs. Bailey, and sent her to a store-room to fetch some pomatum. Mrs. Bailey was absent only a few minutes. When she returned, she found difficulty in opening the door, on account of a weight which appeared to be pressing against it. This she discovered to be the body of her mistress. She pushed it aside, and found that she was senseless. She immediately called Mr. Maclean. Dr. Cobbold was sent for ; but from the first moment of the discovery of the body on the floor, there had not appeared any symptom of life. Mrs. Bailey farther asserted that she found a small phial in the hand of the deceased, which she removed and placed upon the toilet-table. Mrs. Maclean had appeared well when she sent her to fetch the pomatum. She had observed in her no appearance of unhappiness.

" Mr. Maclean stated, that his wife had left him about seven o'clock in the morning, and that he had never seen her again in life. When he was called to her dressing-room, he found her dead upon the floor. After some time, he observed a small phial upon the toilet-table, and asked Mrs. Bailey where it had come from. She told him that she had found it in Mrs. Maclean's hand. This phial had contained Scheele's preparation of prussic acid. His wife had been in the habit of using it for severe fits of spasms, to which she was subject. She had made use of it once on the passage from England to his knowledge. He was greatly averse to her having such a dangerous medicine, and wished to throw it overboard. She entreated him not to do so, as she must die without it. There had been no quarrel nor unkindness between him and his wife.

" Dr. Cobbold, who had been requested to make a

¹ In the tower now known as L. E. L.'s Tower.

post-mortem examination, did not consider it at all necessary to do so, as he felt persuaded she had died by prussic acid. He was led to this conclusion from the appearance of the eyes of the deceased; and he believed he could detect the smell of the prussic acid about her person.

“My own evidence proved, that I had parted from Mr. and Mrs. Maclean at a very late hour on the evening before, and that they appeared then upon the happiest terms with each other.

“There was found upon her writing-desk a letter not yet folded, which she had written that morning, the ink of which was scarcely dry at the time of the discovery of her death. This letter was read at the inquest. It was for Mrs. Fagan, upon whom she had wished me to call. It was written in a cheerful spirit, and gave no indication of unhappiness. In the postscript—the last words she ever wrote—she recommended me to the kind attentions of her friend.

“With the evidence before them, it was impossible for the jury to entertain for one instant the idea that the unfortunate lady had wilfully destroyed herself. On the other hand, considering the evidence respecting the phial, her habit of making use of this dangerous medicine, and the decided opinion of the doctor, that her death was caused by it, it seemed equally clear that they must attribute her death to this cause. Their verdict, therefore, was, that she died from an overdose of Scheele’s preparation of prussic acid taken inadvertently. I concurred in this verdict at the time; but I must confess that I have since then had reason to doubt of its correctness. I learned, upon my arrival in England, that L. E. L., previous to her marriage, had all but died in a sudden fit, which was likely to recur.

“It was also afterwards proved that Mrs. Bailey, upon her return to England, with the view of attracting attention to herself and gaining notoriety, had made some flagrantly false statements in reference to this event, and that she was altogether a person undeserving of credit. I then remembered that she had made no mention of the phial having been in Mrs. Maclean’s hand until some time after she had found her mistress on the floor, and only

1837-1843 then in answer to a question from Mr. Maclean ; and it
CHAP. XXIV occurred to me that such a suspicious circumstance, as
a phial being found in the hand of a person suddenly
deceased, could not fail to be immediately noticed and
mentioned without any inquiry. These considerations
induced me to discredit Mrs. Bailey's testimony altogether,
and to believe that the phial had not been found in Mrs.
Maclean's hand at all."¹

Cruikshank's criticisms seem well founded, and although it is, of course, quite possible that the verdict returned may have been entirely correct, there is much room for doubt. The fact that Mrs. Maclean had previously suffered from attacks of some kind, for the relief of which she had been in the habit of using this medicine, renders it at least possible that she may now have had a further attack and have resorted to it again ; but it by no means follows that she took an overdose and thereby brought about her sudden end, nor indeed is this likely. The very fact that she was accustomed to the use of the drug and was well acquainted with the dose makes it improbable that she would have taken it in poisonous quantities, especially when its nature is borne in mind. All preparations of prussic acid are very dilute and keep badly, and it is almost certain that it would have lost much of its strength after having been kept for even a short time in so hot a climate as that of the Gold Coast, and consequently, a much larger dose than usual would have been required to produce any therapeutic effect and still more to cause death. As Mrs. Maclean was accustomed to use this drug and was doubtless well aware of its dangerous nature, it seems incredible that she could have inadvertently increased the dose to such an extent as to cause almost immediate death with a deteriorated sample, and it is far more probable that, if she had a recurrence of one of her previous attacks and took the usual dose from which she had formerly obtained relief, the perished medicine would have failed to act and the attack itself may have proved fatal. This probable loss of strength is further borne out by Cruikshank's

¹ Cruikshank, vol. i, pp. 224 *et seq.*

statement that the but recently emptied bottle retained only a very faint odour, and it is not improbable that the doctor may have been misled by the production of this bottle and predisposed to believe that he could detect the smell of the drug about the body—a smell that others failed to perceive although that of prussic acid is fairly pungent and quite unmistakable. No weight can be attached to the medical evidence as to the appearance of the eyes, for there is nothing distinctive about them in prussic acid poisoning. On the other hand, it must be admitted that if Mrs. Maclean took the medicine for the relief of some sudden symptom and detected its loss of strength, she may have increased the dose ; but even then it is hardly likely that she would have done so to the reckless extent necessary to cause death.

Mrs. Maclean was buried the same evening in the courtyard of the Castle. Mr. Topp read the service and all but Cruikshank were soon afterwards driven to their houses by a heavy storm of rain. He alone remained wrapped in his cloak under a temporary shelter of tarpaulins to see the work of bricking in the arch over the coffin completed by torch-light. The Letters " L. E. L." cut on a large slab of stone in the paving of the courtyard still mark the spot, and a marble tablet on a wall near by bears the following inscription

" Hic jacet sepultum
 Omne quod mortale fuit
 LETITIAE ELIZABETHAE MACLEAN.
 Quam egregia ornatum indole
 Musis unice amatam,
 Omniumque amores secum trahentem
 In ipso aetatis flore,
 Mors immatura rapuit,
 Die Octobris XV A. D. MDCCCXXXVIII
 Aetat. XXXVI
 Quod spectas, viator, marmor,
 Vanum heu doloris monumentum
 Conjux moerens erexit."

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On the 23rd of October 1837 the Ahantas, under their Chief Bonsu,¹ rose against the Dutch and treacherously murdered the Dutch Governor Mr. H. J. Tonneboeyer² and the Commandant of Fort Batenstein at Butri, at Buyamrom on the 28th of October. The first attempt of the Dutch to avenge these murders was a failure, for the Ahantas defeated them near Takoradi, killing four or five officers and a great number of men ; but in the following July a second expedition was sent against them which utterly defeated them and took Bonsu prisoner.³

In January 1838 two more Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Freeman and his wife, arrived at Cape Coast, where they learned for the first time of the death of Mr. Wrigley. Forty-eight days later, Mrs. Freeman also died, but her husband, who was a West Indian mulatto, though very ill for a time, managed to survive. On the 30th of January 1839 he went to Kumasi with the object of establishing a mission station there. The King, of course, had heard of him as a "white fetish-man" and viewed the prospect of his visit to the capital with great mistrust, firmly believing that his journey was prompted by some secret and sinister motive which boded no good to him and his kingdom. Consequently, Mr. Freeman was stopped by his orders at Kwisa and again at Fomana on the Ashanti frontier, where he was detained for a long time and his every movement closely watched and reported to Kumasi by some of the King's boys who were constantly with or near him in the hope of discovering his real object. It was only after a delay of six weeks, when he threatened to return to Cape Coast if he was kept waiting any longer and did in fact start down the road, that he was at last given permission to proceed to Kumasi, the King fearing

¹ Baidu Bonsu II (Asuankai).

² He was on his way to attack Bonsu at Bushua to avenge the deaths of two Dutch Agents, Cremer and Maason, who had been sent to arrest Bonsu, but had been captured near Takoradi, taken to Bushua, and there murdered.

³ Another version is that the expedition of July 1838 met with no opposition and burned Sekondi and Bushua. Bonsu and some other Chiefs were then betrayed into the hands of the Dutch and executed.

that a persistent refusal, by rousing the "fetish-man's" anger, might be attended by even worse results than his visit. It was to be a contest between two powers however, and as he entered the capital he passed between two fresh mounds of earth, one on either side of the road, the graves of two victims who had been buried alive in order to avert any evil that might otherwise result from his arrival. He was received with the customary ceremonies accorded to important persons; but although he remained for some time in the capital, he was constantly subjected to the most rigid supervision and regarded with great suspicion as a man possessed of unknown powers, and in the end was obliged to return to the coast without having attained his object. He reached Cape Coast again on the 23rd of April.

In January 1840 Mr. Freeman was joined by three more missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Mycock and Mr. Robert Brooking, and a mission station was soon afterwards opened at Anamabo. In 1841 John Ansa and William Inkwantabissa, the two Ashanti princes who had been delivered to Governor Maclean ten years earlier, returned from England, and Mr. Freeman made a second visit to Kumasi in their company, taking Mr. Brooking also with him. Presents from the Queen of England and a carriage sent out by the Wesleyan Society as a gift to the King were also taken up, but the latter caused much delay on the narrow paths. It was taken to pieces and the various parts carried separately for the first twenty miles, but they made such awkward loads that it was finally put together again and completed the journey on its own wheels. A party of pioneers then had to be sent on ahead to clear the road, while the King, who knew of the approach of this gift, had the road between Kumasi and the Pra similarly widened. Osai Okotu had died in 1838 and been succeeded by his nephew, Kwaku Dua. The two princes, therefore, were cousins of the present King and what they told him probably went far to reassure him and gain the party a favourable reception. At any rate Mr. Freeman was now granted a piece of land on which to build a mission

1837-1843 house and Brooking was left in charge. About the end of May 1842 he was joined by Mr. Thomas Rowland, who, however, died within a few weeks of his arrival and was thus not only the first missionary who died in Ashanti, but also the first white man who had visited the country of his own accord and died there.

CHAP. XXIV Kwaku Akka, the King of Apollonia, remained quiet for some time after the return of Maclean's expedition, but then began to resume his former ill-treatment of travellers and traders and committed a number of fresh outrages. Maclean wanted to lead another expedition against him, but the Committee in London would not allow it, and nothing was therefore done beyond the forfeiture of the gold that had been deposited in the Castle.

The false rumours against Maclean that had been freely circulated and readily believed in England after the death of his wife have already been alluded to. It was alleged that he had treated her with persistent unkindness and cruelty, that he had constantly neglected her for orgies in the town and for native women, and that there was one part of the Castle, to which she was never admitted, where he gave himself up to all kinds of debaucheries. In short, it was plainly insinuated that he had driven her to commit suicide.

The mere fact that Maclean had been ill during nearly the whole time that his wife was on the Coast should alone be sufficient to dispose of such ridiculous reports. There is, however, in addition to this, the testimony of Cruikshank—which seemingly represents the unanimous opinion of the European residents—that Maclean and his wife lived together in the most perfect harmony. Hutchinson¹ says he visited the room in which L. E. L. was found dead, with "one of the most respectable merchants of Cape Coast,"² who had been an intimate friend of hers, had seen her the night before her death, and to whom she had written a note early on the morning of her death

¹ *Western Africa*, pp. 60-62.

² Probably Mr. Topp with whom Cruikshank was staying, and who would therefore have been likely to accompany him the night before.

asking him to come and see Mr. Maclean who was not well. 1837-1848
 It was while going to the Castle about an hour later that he heard the news that she herself was dead and it was he who picked up the empty prussic acid bottle.¹ He had absolutely no doubt that her death was accidental and indignantly repudiated the charges made against Maclean, explaining that the Accra woman with whom he had formerly lived had returned to her native place long before Mrs. Maclean came out and that he had never since held any communication with her. If Maclean had had the slightest ground to suspect that his wife had any cause to complain of his conduct, he would hardly have allowed the letters she had written just before her death, which were found on her writing-table, to be sealed in his presence by Cruikshank and forwarded to her friends in England, as was in fact done. It is much to be regretted that these reports should again have been circulated in England, and with numerous additions, at the time when public attention was directed to the Gold Coast during the Ashanti War of 1873-74. Even those who make them do not appear to know their own minds. Winwood Reade in one of his books² says: "They quarrelled, and Maclean grew tired of her: he had a passion for intrigue, which almost amounted to disease . . . in fact he spent every night at orgies in the town;" yet in another book³ the same writer says: "A disgraceful and groundless charge was made against Governor Maclean." How he would propose to reconcile such contradictory statements, or what evidence he could possibly have gathered more than a quarter of a century after the event to induce such a change of opinion, it is difficult to imagine.

Ridiculous though these rumours were, they were eagerly believed, and Maclean's reputation in England soon became so evil that nothing was considered too bad to be attributed to him nor too improbable to be unhesitatingly believed. There can be no doubt that L. E. L.

¹ Again contrary to Mrs. Bailey's statement.

² *The Ashantee Campaign* (1874), p. 64.

³ *Savage Africa* (1863), p. 39.

1837-1843 was an exceedingly popular authoress and held a high position in the affections of the public, who, now that they had lost their idol, were readily stirred by these false recitals of her wrongs to seek a means of avenging her by bringing her husband into disgrace. His every act was carefully scrutinized with the one idea of finding fault with it ; but he himself knew nothing of what was going on while he was on the Coast and had no opportunity of contradicting these aspersions on his character. In fact, he was quite unaware of their existence until they had been current for some months.

It was not long before these people found the opportunity they sought. One of Maclean's earliest acts on first assuming the government of the country had been to discourage and by all possible means put down the practice of offering human sacrifices, a custom that was by no means confined to Ashanti, but was universal along the coast also. By his continual efforts he had almost succeeded in putting a stop to it in the case of the Fantis, though isolated instances still occurred from time to time in which it became known that sacrifices had been made with more or less secrecy.

Soon after the death of Mrs. Maclean, the mother of Kujo Chibu died. This was the Denkera King, who had recently removed from his own country and been allowed to settle at Jukwa near Cape Coast, where he and his people enjoyed the same protection and privileges as the other coast tribes. He now sent a message to the Governor informing him of the death of his relative and assuring him that his wishes would be respected and no human sacrifices made. This of course was very satisfactory, and Maclean sent a present to the King to encourage him to keep his promise, warning him at the same time that, should he fail to do so, he would assuredly be punished ; and, knowing very well the kind of saturnalia the people always held at these big funeral customs, and thinking it possible that in their excitement sacrifices might even yet be made, he sent a soldier back with the King's messenger, with instructions to stay in Jukwa until the custom was over

and watch their proceedings. Although Kujo Chibu repeated his promises of obedience, the Governor's fears were justified; for the King, yielding either to his own conscience or to the superstitious fears and entreaties of his people, caused secret sacrifices to be made, which were reported to the Governor in spite of all his precautions. Nor is it in the least surprising that he should have done so; for it must be remembered that, according to his religious beliefs, had he failed to provide these victims, he would have been offering a gross insult to his own mother and the first woman in his kingdom, and have been sending her into the next world very ill provided for.

The belief held by all the Akan peoples is that every man has a dual personality, the actual corporeal man and a tenanting and to some extent protecting spirit known as a "kra." When the man dies, an intangible shadowy man or "sraman," in all respects similar to the man himself during life, is evolved, and the kra is liberated and becomes a "sisa" or kind of wandering spirit. This idea of the kra closely corresponds to the European conception of a soul, and the sraman to that intangible form, a belief in which still persists among many, commonly called a ghost. Among the Akan peoples however, it is the sisa that is believed to remain on earth and have the power of annoying the living in various ways, while the sraman goes to the spirit world (Sramanedzi), where it continues its existence in the same social position as that held by the individual during life. It is this belief that has given rise to the custom of offering human sacrifices at funerals and on certain other occasions, the idea being to liberate the spiritual forms (asraman) of the victims and thus enable them to accompany and wait upon that of the deceased. Hence, at the funeral of a Chief or other great person who has been accustomed to be attended by a number of slaves during life, a proportionately large number of victims is slain. Similarly, the slaughter of prisoners that always follows a victory does not arise from wanton cruelty, for all these men would be of some value as slaves, but is intended as a thank-offering to the gods, to

1837-1843 whom it is believed prisoners of war are specially accept-
 CHAP. XXIV able as having fought on the side of their own opposing
 gods. Others again are killed to wait on the chiefs who
 have fallen. This custom, therefore, owes its origin to
 feelings of love and respect for the dead and veneration
 for the gods, and not to any inherent cruelty of disposition.
 Human sacrifices are, in fact, prompted by the purest
 motives.

Kujo Chibu was at once brought to Cape Coast and heavily fined for what he had done, and a similar punishment was inflicted on one of the Fanti Chiefs who was proved to have provided one of the victims.

Mr. Jackson was strongly opposed to the Governor's decision in this case, and, according to him, the sacrifices were not made secretly but quite openly, though even so they constituted a distinct breach of the promise Kujo Chibu had voluntarily made. In reference to this matter, he wrote: "I would like to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that the acts for which the King of Denkera is accused were not done in secret, but at noon-day in the presence of thousands of Denkeras and Teufels and strangers from all the surrounding country. . . . They know not that they are committing a crime; their money is taken from them, and they are irritated at the circumstance, but they believe the object sought is their gold, for the attainment of which the other is a mere excuse. Milder measures should, in the first instance, be resorted to. You are dealing with a nation, not an individual. They should be reasoned with, which, aided by the assistance of their friends in endeavouring to convince them of their error, would in time succeed with these as it has done with others."¹

There can be no two opinions about the general wisdom of these remarks. In the introduction of any reforms the "milder measures" should always be tried first; but if they fail, a time must come sooner or later when stronger action must be taken. The Government had for a long time set its face against human sacrifices, and the question

¹ Sarbah, *Fanti National Constitution*, p. 184.

as to how soon severer measures are called for in such cases is one upon which there will always be room for an individual difference of opinion. The real point of the whole difficulty, as has already been shown, lay in the fact that this custom was not practised from caprice or any trivial motive, but was intimately connected with the very root of the national religion.

These matters were now reported by the enemies of Maclean to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and it was represented that these and other similar measures were acts of oppression, and that the Governor had no right whatever to punish Kujo Chibu as he had done. They asserted that the position the English held in the country did not warrant such interference with the customs of the people, and in this they were in a great measure correct; for the country had never been conquered by the British, nor ceded to them, facts from which it was now argued that the people could in no way be amenable to English law.

The Secretary of State seems to have had no idea of the circumstances of the English in the country, nor how they maintained their position there, and adopted the view that Kujo Chibu must either be a British subject, in which case he should have been punished by death as a murderer, or that he was an entirely independent chief, in which case the Governor had no authority whatever to fine him. "This view was, however, quite a mistaken one. The King of Denkera was neither a British subject nor independent. He was one of several chiefs who had, in return for British protection, surrendered a portion of their independence and submitted to British control. This control had for years been exercised for the suppression of inhuman customs, and Mr. Maclean was only following out a policy that had been continuous since 1817."¹ The most that could have been said was that the English had no power, either by their legal rights in the country or by the conditions on which they held the forts from the Crown, to interfere with the customs of the people,

¹ Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 204.

1837-1843 and had indeed been specially enjoined by the latter not
CHAP. XXIV to do so except by persuasive means. The position, however, was not so much one for the consideration of strictly legal rights as of policy. It was essential that the Governor's authority should be recognized as paramount, and it would no longer have been so had such disobedience been overlooked. No one understood this better than Maclean. In a letter to the Secretary of State, dated 13th April 1841, he wrote: "Were the Government not to exercise control over the adjoining districts, or were it to refuse to exercise judicial authority over them, the labour of many years would be overthrown in one month and consequences would ensue too horrible to be contemplated. The Forts would become isolated . . . trade and communication with the Ashantee and the Interior would cease . . . oppression, rapine, murder and human sacrifices would take the place of that peace, good order and security of person and property which we have with so much labour and pains established throughout the country."¹ But though the Secretary of State thus defined his views on the subject, he did not go so far as actually to disapprove of the Governor's action; but he warned him to be extremely careful how he attempted to put down or interfere with any native customs, and gave him distinctly to understand that he would have to accept all responsibility for any such measures.

These agitators in England, who probably knew little or nothing about the Gold Coast and were ready to make any allegations that suited their purpose, upon however slight a foundation, and who seem, moreover, to have been actuated by feelings of spite against Maclean personally rather than by any motives of philanthropy towards the natives, now brought a further accusation against the local government and charged it with encouraging slavery. Thus, the very people who had made such an outcry against the Governor because he had tried to abolish the horrible practice of offering human sacrifices, now blamed him for not having interfered with the equally

¹ Maclean's letter-book at Christiansborg Castle.

old-established and infinitely less objectionable custom of keeping domestic slaves ; for this was the only form of slavery that still existed on the Gold Coast, the old slave trade having been completely suppressed along the whole line of coast over which British jurisdiction was exercised. It was, moreover, an institution with which the Crown Government that had preceded the present administration had never made any attempt to interfere, but had, on the contrary, openly abetted and recognized it by frequently employing the slaves of private persons and paying their owners for their services.

Complaint was also made that a Spanish slaver, the *Dos Amigos*, and other vessels employed in the traffic, had been allowed to purchase stores on the Gold Coast. They, however, had no slaves on board at the time and only obtained ordinary stores and not slave-trading equipment, so that Maclean had felt it difficult, if not impossible, to take any action in the matter. He could neither have proved that the vendor was aware of the buyer's occupation, nor that the goods purchased were in fact intended for use in the slave trade. His own letters, written about 1840, long before any enquiry was thought of, are sufficient proof of his good faith and the care he habitually exercised to guard against rendering any assistance to slave traders.

In a letter to the Committee, dated Cape Coast Castle, 17 June 1839, he wrote : " It is perfectly true, and I have stated the fact at least fifty times in my official correspondence, that slave vessels (that is, vessels destined to convey cargoes of slaves from the leeward coast) do frequently anchor both here and at Accra. But has Her Majesty's Government ever invested the authorities here with power to interfere with such vessels ? We are neither at war with Spain, Portugal, nor Brazil : by what authority, upon what pretext, then, could I prevent vessels belonging to those countries from anchoring at any of our ports ? These vessels, though fitted up for the slave trade, do not come here to purchase or ship slaves, but to purchase goods to enable them to carry on the slave trade to leeward.

1837-1843 But you are well aware that I possess no power to prevent
 CHAP. XXIV this, so long as the masters of those vessels comply with our port regulations ; and that if I did presume to interfere with them, a memorial to the Secretary of State would (justly) ensure my being heavily censured, if not dismissed.

“ But I repel, with indignation, the insinuation (if such has been made) that these slave-dealers receive any aid or encouragement whatever from the authorities here.

“ I, on the contrary, assert that we have discouraged the slave trade by every means in our power ; a triumphant proof of which is exhibited in the total abolition of that traffic throughout the whole line of our coast, 150 miles in extent ; a consummation which neither Sir Charles Macarthy, nor his immediate successors, were able to effect, when they possessed twenty times our means, and fifty times our physical power.

“ If Her Majesty's Government disapprove of slave vessels being allowed to trade with this colony, let the order be given ; and I shall take care that it shall be obeyed.

“ With a small armed vessel at my command, I would undertake to prevent slave traders resorting to any part of the Gold Coast.”¹

Judge Stephen pointed out in reply that Maclean had “ an undoubted right to seize all such vessels, and to send the masters and crews to Sierra Leone for trial,” and the authority for such action would be the “ British statute, to which, within the British dominions, all persons . . . are bound to yield obedience.”² He omitted to say, however, how this was to be done in the absence of any armed vessel and with only the small force that Maclean had.

Maclean's position was also supported by Lord John Russell's letter, dated Downing Street, 14 July 1841, in which he wrote : “ The laws of Great Britain are, of course, binding only within the British dominions . . .

¹ *Report on the West Coast of Africa* (1842), part ii, p. 127.

² *Ibid.*, p. 128.

but I do not understand that a British subject would incur any penalty which would be enforced against him in British courts of justice, by holding men in slavery within the limits of any country, by the law of which slavery is permitted. . . . Her Majesty's dominion on that coast (Gold Coast) is . . . of very narrow local range . . . it extends only to the forts themselves . . . beyond the very walls of the forts there is no sovereignty, properly speaking, vested in the British Crown. . . . Whether the residents within Her Majesty's dominions on the Gold Coast are Europeans, mulattoes or natives, the rule of law that no man can be holden in slavery there, is peremptory and inflexible, and must be rigidly enforced. With regard to persons living in the vicinity, but not within the British dominions, the same rule does not apply. If the laws or usages of those countries tolerate slavery, we have no right to set aside those laws or usages, except by persuasion, negotiation and other peaceful means."¹

Domestic slavery was a well-established custom and had probably existed on the Gold Coast for as long as it had been inhabited, and still exists. It formed so integral a part of the social life of the people, whose whole system of society was based upon it, that any sudden attempt to interfere with it would have been bound to fail and would have caused such serious disturbances and have evoked such strenuous resistance and determined opposition that the ability of the English to maintain their position on the Coast must have been seriously endangered. No one understood this better than Maclean, who also appreciated the vast difference that existed between slavery as it is ordinarily understood in European countries, where the slave is a mere drudge and chattel, and domestic slavery as it exists on the Gold Coast, where the slave is almost invariably well treated and regarded rather as a member of the family than as a servant and not infrequently succeeds in accumulating a considerable amount of personal property, and may, in certain circumstances, even

¹ *Report of Select Committee on West Coast of Africa* (1842), part ii, p. 139.

1837-1843 inherit that of his master. Other considerations had
CHAP. XXIV also induced the Government to tolerate this internal
slave trade. A large number of these domestic slaves
were of course born in servitude on the coast, but nearly
all fresh importations, and most of the class originally,
came from Ashanti and were persons who had either been
paid in tribute by subsidiary provinces or captured in war.
In Ashanti, such men, when not immediately required
for sacrifice, were kept as slaves and lived in constant
danger of being chosen for sacrifice on some other occasion.
By allowing the coast tribes to purchase and hold them
therefore, their position was very materially improved;
for they no longer ran this grave risk of being offered as
victims to the gods and their good treatment as slaves
was also fairly assured; added to which was the further
important consideration that these slaves and their issue
greatly increased the population of the British pro-
tected area and provided a large number of men whose
services would be available in the event of further trouble
with Ashanti. Maclean, therefore, had very wisely re-
frained from any open interference with this institution
and had merely endeavoured by every possible means to
better the condition of the slaves themselves and ensure
their good treatment, thus paving the way for the intro-
duction of greater reforms at some future time, should
they be found necessary. In this he succeeded; and so
soon as it became known that cruelty to slaves would not
be tolerated, it quickly ceased. Maclean himself wrote
to the Committee on this subject: "I am certain that no
wise and prudent man, no true philanthropist, would
hastily and rashly endeavour to force upon a people a
state of society for which they are as yet wholly unpre-
pared, and which would inevitably plunge them into a
worse condition of barbarism than that from which they
are now so happily emerging."¹

The people who propagated these reports, however,
made it appear that the Gold Coast was a British Colony, in
which the Governor tolerated and even encouraged slavery.

¹ *Report on West Coast of Africa* (1842), part ii, p. 149.

As a matter of fact, neither of these statements was correct: the Gold Coast was not a British Colony, and the Governor encouraged no form of slavery and only tolerated the comparatively harmless domestic form from sheer necessity and motives of good policy. The mere fact that they were incorrect, however, did not prevent a very widespread belief in them. It is difficult to conceive anything more inconsistent or ridiculous than the conduct of these agitators against Maclean, and the only point that can be urged in extenuation of their folly is that public feeling in England then ran very high on the subject of slavery, so that it was only necessary to make use of the word in order to arouse the greatest indignation, quite regardless of the question whether there was any true foundation for the assertion that slavery in the ordinary sense existed or not. They might with just as much reason have accused Maclean of encouraging the people to fight and exterminate each other because company fights occasionally occurred.

The inhabitants of every town on the Gold Coast are divided into companies; and it was, and indeed still is, not an uncommon thing for one or more of these companies, between whom a certain amount of jealousy and ill-feeling nearly always exists, to insult each other and fight. Besides the company flag proper, which they all have, each one usually possesses a number of other flags, the designs on which are emblematic of and commemorate some event in its history, which, while redounding to its own credit and glory, is often most distasteful to other rival companies by referring to some past defeat or the origin of some long-standing feud. These subsidiary flags are made and exhibited from time to time and almost invariably cause trouble, either by the implied insult or by actually infringing the design of one of another company's flags. The members of rival companies, too, have a taste for composing and singing annoying and insulting songs about each other, and when they are sung publicly, or the objectionable flags paraded through the streets, it frequently happens that the insulted company will take

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up the challenge and a more or less serious riot ensues. This result is all the more certain if such actions take place in the rival company's quarter of the town. The severity of these conflicts varies considerably. They may take the form of little more than a disorderly crowd, or assume the magnitude of a big armed riot or even a pitched battle on chosen ground. An instance of the latter occurred in 1841 at Kormantin, where two companies who had long been jealous of each other's strength took the field after due preparation and began to fight a regular battle, which would probably have ended in the decimation or extinction of one or other of them had not Mr. Cruikshank hurried over from Anamabo and intervened before much damage had been done. Yet, although he stopped the battle thus early, twenty-two men had already been killed when he reached the scene.

The final result of this continued agitation against Maclean was the appointment of a Commissioner, Doctor R. R. Madden, who was sent out by the Home Government to enquire into and report on the state of the British Settlements on the West Coast. Some idea of the effect of the oft-repeated calumnies against Maclean, and the spirit in which a certain section at least of the public regarded Dr. Madden's mission, may be gained from the tone of some verses that were addressed to him at the time of his departure.

“God speed the herald on his way,
To whom the task is given
To check oppression's iron sway,
That mocks at earth and Heaven!
The word he bears from Britain's Isle
Shall Nature's rights restore,
And Freedom's long-forgotten smile
Revisit Afric's shore!
Strike off those fetters from her hand!
Break off those withering gyves!
Then see how native mind expands,
How the crush'd heart revives!
The blind shall see, the dumb shall sing,
The slave forget his woe;”
Etc., etc.

Considering the facts, it would be difficult to imagine anything more absurdly hysterical and misleading than these lines. 1837-1843
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Dr. Madden only stayed a very short time on the Coast, and the brevity of his visit,¹ combined with the fact that he was in very bad health at the time, made it quite impossible for him to form any accurate opinion on the matters he was to enquire into or realize the true relationship in which the Government stood to the people. It was sufficient, however, to enable him to obtain some little superficial knowledge; and because he found that a form of slavery existed that was both recognized and tolerated by the Governor, and that the administration of justice was effected by a compromise between British and Fanti law, his report was most unfavourable to the local Government.

On his return to England, a Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report to Parliament on the state of the West African Settlements. After very lengthy proceedings, this committee eventually agreed upon a report which entirely exonerated the local Government and did justice to Maclean and his administration.

“ We fully admit the merits of that Administration, whether we look to the officer employed, Captain Maclean, or to the Committee under whom he has acted, which, with a miserable pittance of between £3,500 and £4,000 a year, has exercised, from the four ill-provided forts of Dixcove, Cape Coast, Anamaboe and British Accra, manned by a few ill-paid black soldiers, a very wholesome influence over a coast not much less than 150 miles in extent, and to a considerable distance inland; preventing within that range external Slave Trade, maintaining Peace and Security, and exercising a useful, though irregular, Jurisdiction among the neighbouring tribes, and much mitigating and in some cases extinguishing some of the most

¹ He devoted one day only to his “ enquiry ” at Cape Coast. *Vide* Maclean's letter to the African Committee dated Cape Coast Castle, 17th of January 1842. He arrived at Cape Coast on the 19th of February 1841, while Maclean was at Accra, and left on the 26th of March, having been continuously sick for all except the first and last few days.

1837-1843 atrocious practices which had prevailed among them
CHAP. XXIV unchecked before.

“ We would give full weight to the doubts which Captain Maclean entertained as to his authority, until specifically so instructed, to prevent vessels, suspected of being intended for the Slave Trade, but not having slaves on board, from trafficking in lawful goods within his jurisdiction ;¹ and we do not infer from that circumstance, that the Government of these Forts had any partiality for an abominable Traffic, which, on the contrary, they have done so much to check ; but we think it desirable, for the sake of enlarging the sphere of usefulness of these Settlements, and of giving greater confidence in the character and impartiality of their Government, that it should be rendered completely independent of all connection with Commerce, by a direct emanation of authority from the Crown, and that it should be placed, with increased resources, in direct and immediate communication with the general Government of the Empire. . . .

“ . . . The Judicial Authority at present existing in the Forts is not altogether in a satisfactory condition ; it resides in the Governor and Council, who act as Magistrates, and whose instructions limit them to the administration of British law, and that, as far as the natives are concerned, strictly and exclusively within the Forts themselves ; but practically, and necessarily, and usefully, these directions having been disregarded, a kind of irregular jurisdiction has grown up, extending itself far beyond the limits of the Forts by the voluntary submission of the Natives themselves, whether Chiefs or Traders, to British Equity ; and its decisions, owing to the moral influence, partly of our acknowledged power, and partly of the respect which has been inspired by the fairness with which it has been exercised by Captain Maclean and the

¹ The Act by which such interference could alone be justified was never sent to or published in Cape Coast, because in 1833 “ the Government were ignorant of the existence of slavery in any of the British settlements on the western coast of Africa.” (*Vide* Lord John Russell's letter ; *Report of Select Committee on West Africa* (1842), part ii, p. 140.)

Magistrates at the other Forts, have generally, we might almost say, uniformly, been carried into effect without the interposition of force."¹

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In addition to recommending that the Crown should resume the control of the Gold Coast,² the Committee advised the reoccupation of some of the abandoned forts, such as those at Beyin (Apollonia Fort) and Winneba, not with any view to an extension of the territory under British influence, but in order to obtain better control over the Chiefs. They also advised the appointment of an independent judicial officer, who should not be restricted in his administration by the technicalities of British law, and made various other recommendations for the increase of the military forces on the Coast, the employment whenever possible of acclimatized Europeans or educated Africans, the provision of better facilities for educating the people, and the gradual discouragement of domestic slavery.

Accordingly, in 1843, the government of the Gold Coast was once more undertaken by the Crown and the Settlements were replaced under the control of the Governor of Sierra Leone. Winneba Fort was reoccupied, but no other forts were either rebuilt or garrisoned, and a large number of native clerks were employed. A company of the West India Regiment was sent from Sierra Leone to garrison the forts, and the general condition of the soldiers was materially improved.³ Under these new arrangements, Commander Hill, R.N., was appointed Governor and Captain Maclean Judicial Assessor.⁴

¹ *Report of Select Committee* (1842), part i, pp. iv, v.

² In June 1840 a suggestion had been made that an agent of the Crown should live at Cape Coast to watch and report upon the Merchant Government.

³ In 1845 instructions were received for "the enlistment of the Militia or Armed Men into the 1st West India Regiment." This was done on the 1st of February, but only seven of the whole number that volunteered passed for enlistment. Many of the others, thus disappointed, soon became mutinously inclined and a number of them were discharged.

⁴ This officer derived his powers from the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843.

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No stronger proof of the justice of Maclean's government nor of his extraordinary abilities as an administrator could possibly be found than that afforded by the fact that he had governed this country for not less than fourteen years and had only once had to resort to arms ; and in spite of his having assumed control at a most unfortunate and difficult time, when the Ashantis were still smarting under their first serious defeat and were believed to be likely to make an attempt to retrieve their fortunes, and when the tribes on the coast itself were at war with one another and openly defying all authority, yet he had succeeded in restoring and preserving peace and good order, and establishing general security and prosperity throughout the whole country, to an extent to which they had never existed before. All this he had done without losing the respect and love of the people ; and although there must have been an enormous amount of prejudice against him personally at the time of the Commission of Enquiry, yet he emerged from this ordeal, not only exonerated, but even praised to a great extent for what he had done. In 1828 the Government had abandoned the Gold Coast as an undesirable and useless Possession, and it was solely due to Maclean's wise administration that British influence had been so extended and strengthened and the country as a whole brought into so satisfactory a condition, that the Crown now found it worth while to revert to its former policy and resume control.

Thus the long and eminent services of Captain Maclean at last received some official recognition. His duties now were to sit with the Chiefs in all cases in which Africans alone were concerned and to try such cases with them in accordance with the Fanti Customary Law in so far as this was applicable and not at variance with the general principles of British justice. The Secretary of State, in his despatch defining the jurisdiction of the Assessor, laid down that his duties were to " consist in combining with an impartial investigation of the cases brought before him, a mitigation of the severity of the sentences which, in such cases, would be awarded by

native judges, in the event of conviction," and the Assessor was to be specially cautioned of "the necessity for a lenient exercise of the discretion entrusted to him."¹ This mode of administering justice was identical with that originated and for so many years carried out by Maclean, and it thus came about that the very methods which he had inaugurated, but which had been so much cavilled at, were now sanctioned and legalized by an Act of Parliament and continued under Crown rule.

The Crown, moreover, adopted Maclean's policy in dealing with the problem of domestic slavery; for no active interference with the system was made, but the Judicial Assessor continued to use his influence to ensure good treatment to the slaves and discourage by every means in his power those defects and abuses that at times occurred. The old difficulty that had always been felt still existed, namely, that the British had no legal claim to territory or jurisdiction beyond the actual forts, and although some argued that the boundary extended to the limit of the range of the guns, this was too vague a definition to be of any practical benefit. The principle laid down by Lord John Russell, therefore, still held good, that "if the laws or usages of those countries tolerate slavery, we have no right to set aside those laws or usages except by persuasion, negotiation, and other peaceful means."

In 1843 a carriage road, built by Henry Barnes of Anamabo from that town to Akrofu, a distance of ten miles, was completed. It had been begun three years earlier and was intended to facilitate the transport of timber to the coast for shipment, Barnes having been the first to engage in this trade in 1830.

¹ Parliamentary Paper, *Report of Select Committee on West Africa*, 1865, p. 438.

CHAPTER XXV

DISTURBANCES ON THE COAST

1844 TO 1849

1844-1849
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COMMANDER HILL had not long been Governor when he determined to make some agreement with the Fanti Chiefs whereby they might be brought under better control and their relations with the Government be more clearly defined. To this end a treaty was drawn up and explained to them, to which they readily agreed, and it was signed at Cape Coast on the 6th of March 1844. This treaty is usually referred to as the Bond of 1844 and reads as follows :

“ BOND, 6TH MARCH 1844

“ Whereas power and jurisdiction have been exercised for and on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, within divers countries and places adjacent to Her Majesty’s forts and settlements on the Gold Coast ; we, chiefs of countries and places so referred to, adjacent to the said forts and settlements, do hereby acknowledge that power and jurisdiction, and declare that the first objects of law are the protection of individuals and of property.

“ 2. Human sacrifices, and other barbarous customs, such as panyaring, are abominations, and contrary to law.

“ 3. Murders, robberies, and other crimes and offences, will be tried and enquired of before the Queen’s judicial officers and the chiefs of the districts, moulding the customs of the country to the general principles of British law.

“ Done at Cape Coast Castle before his Excellency the

Lieutenant Governor, on this 6th day of March, in the 1844-1849
year of our Lord 1844.

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“ Their marks :

“ X CUDJOE CHIBBOE, King of Denkira.

“ X QUASHIE OTTOO, Chief of Abrah.

“ X CHIBBOE COOMAH, Chief of Assin.

“ X GEBRE, Second Chief of Assin.

“ X QUASHIE ANKAH, Chief of Donadie.

“ X AWOOSSIE, Chief of Domonassie.

“ (Signed) QUASHIE ANKAH.

“ Their marks :

“ X AMONOO, Chief of Anamabo.

“ X JOE AGGERY, Chief of Cape Coast.

“ Witness my seal on the 6th day of March 1844, and the
7th year of Her Majesty's reign.

“ (Signed) H. W. HILL, Lieutenant Governor (L.S.).

“ Witnesses, and done in the presence of :

“ (Signed) GEORGE MACLEAN, J.P. and Assessor (S.).

“ F. POGSON, Lieut., 1st W. I. Regiment (S.)
Commanding H. M. Troops.

“ S. BANNERMAN, Adjutant of Militia (S.).”¹

No innovations were introduced by this treaty ; it conferred no new territorial rights ; but it legalized and defined that jurisdiction in purely criminal matters which had been continuously exercised over the towns around the British forts ever since the commencement of the century and which Maclean had gradually extended to the whole Protectorate. But although nothing new was gained, it was none the less a very necessary step ; for as time went on, it became more and more necessary to have documentary evidence of every agreement or arrangement made with the Chiefs and people, many of whom, in the coast towns especially, were now being educated and could no longer be regarded and treated as simple savages as had been the case in the past.

Soon after Governor Hill's arrival, about December

¹ The signatures of the Chiefs of Dixcove were added on the 21st of August, and those of the Chiefs of Lower Wassaw on the 2nd of December.

1844-1849

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1844, a party of Ashantis was returning through Assin with trade goods from the coast, when a woman carrying a few gallons of rum, who was a little in advance of the others, was suddenly attacked by an Assin, who knocked her down and then, throwing her into the bush, left her for dead and carried the rum back to his village. The other Ashantis, on reaching the village and failing to find the woman there as they had expected, went back to search for her. They found her lying in the bush, but, though still breathing, she was quite unable to speak and died soon afterwards. Near the body they found a piece of cloth which had been dropped by the murderer. Taking this with them, they returned to the village, where they showed it to several people, saying they had found it lying on the road and were afraid they might be suspected of having stolen it if it were found in their possession. A man soon claimed it as the property of his brother, who was then sent for but denied that it was his. It was proved, however, to belong to him, and he was at last forced to acknowledge it; whereupon the leader of the Ashanti party explained the circumstances in which it had been found and accused him of the murder. He was at once seized and taken before the Chief of the village, who sent him to Chief Chibu of Assin, who, however, said the case was far too serious for him to deal with and sent the man under escort to the Governor at Cape Coast.

On their arrival in Kumasi, the Ashantis of course reported what had happened to the King. The news was speedily confirmed and feeling ran high against the Assins, whose independence since 1831 had always been a sore point with the Ashantis. Their resentment was soon turned against the Governor also; for he had omitted to comply with the customary rule of etiquette by sending to inform the King of his assumption of government, and now, as time went on and nothing was heard from him about this murder, they regarded his silence as more than a slight and an actual infraction of the treaty of 1831. They knew that the criminal was in his custody, and expected him to notify the King officially of the murder of

one of his subjects within the protected territory and then punish the offender in accordance with the terms of the treaty. He did neither ; and after waiting a reasonable time, the King called a meeting of all his Chiefs to consider what should be done.

There was in Kumasi at this time a Wesleyan missionary, George Chapman, who had come up with Mr. Freeman in August 1843 and been living in the town ever since. He was on very friendly terms with the King and Chiefs, and, being about to return to Cape Coast, was asked to be present at this meeting in order that he might hear all that passed and be able to state the King's views to the Governor. The Chiefs, after hearing the statement of the leader of the trading party and learning that the King had received no message from the Governor, were greatly excited. Two of them stood up and asked permission to take the great oath that they would at once lead their men against the Assins and exterminate them ; but they were over-ruled by Kwaku Dua who said that, since Mr. Chapman had consented to act for them, they must first wait and see what the result of his negotiations might be ; but he promised that if redress was not forthcoming, he himself would lead his army against the Assins and go through and through their country until no living thing was left in it.

On reaching the frontier at Fomana, all the Ashantis with Mr. Chapman were turned back by the Chief, who had orders from Kumasi to close the road and allow no one to leave the kingdom until the dispute had been settled. Orders had also been sent to the Ashantis then trading on the coast to buy up all the guns and ammunition they could find and return at once to the capital. Parties of men heavily laden with these warlike stores were met all along the road, and when Cape Coast was reached the traders were found in a state of great alarm and fearing an immediate invasion. The discovery had just been made that every store had been depleted of powder, while even in the Castle there was only enough to fire a few rounds of cannon and no more was expected

1844-1849 for at least three months. Worse management cannot be imagined, and if the Ashantis had advanced they must have had everything their own way.

The Governor alone ridiculed the idea of an Ashanti invasion and professed to believe that it would be easy to defeat any army the King could send with 3,000 or 4,000 Fantis and Assins. Mr. Chapman's statements, however, soon dispelled this absurd idea, so that when three Chiefs arrived a little later with the King's message they found him prepared to treat the matter seriously. The murderer was sent up to the place where the crime had been committed and there executed in the presence of the King's messengers, who then returned to Kumasi and reported that the terms of the treaty had been kept and the murder avenged. Thus, what at one time threatened to involve the country in another war was satisfactorily and easily settled by compliance with the perfectly just demands of the Ashantis and removing their fears that the English were about to disregard yet another treaty.

Towards the end of 1845 Commander Hill resigned his appointment and was succeeded in the following year by Commander Winniett, R.N., Mr. James Lilly¹ having acted during the interval.

In 1846 a company fight occurred at Elmina, which assumed such a serious aspect that it was only by firing the Castle guns that it could be stopped and thirty people were killed; and on the 6th of September in the same year a serious riot broke out at Accra between the people of James Town² and those of the Dutch town, during which the greater part of the latter was burned and several lives were lost on either side.

Early in 1847 Governor Winniett visited Abomi, and on the 5th of April concluded a treaty³ of friendship and commerce with Gizu the King of Dahomi. A year later, in 1848, as a result of a motion by Lord Fermoy in the

¹ Colonial Surgeon and Acting Secretary to the Governor.

² British Accra.

³ For full text see *Report of Committee of House of Commons* (1865), Appendix 3, p. 419.

House of Commons to endeavour to stop the barbarous practices so common on the West Coast, Mr. Cruikshank was sent on a mission to Gizu to try to induce him to abandon the slave trade and abolish human sacrifices; but he met with no success, the King pointing out that such innovations would endanger his throne and the very existence of his kingdom by removing the principal and almost sole source of his revenue¹ without providing any means of replacing it.

Although the export slave trade had been entirely suppressed along the whole of the British coast line, it still continued in the eastern districts in spite of the efforts of the Danish Government to abolish it. In 1839 Governor Giede heard of the doings of a Portuguese slave trader named Don José Mora, who had established himself near the mouth of the River Volta, and led a force of sixty men against him. Mora was secured and his goods and slaves confiscated, but was subsequently released on undertaking never again to carry on the slave trade within the jurisdiction of the Danish Government. Three years later, however, in 1842, he was found to be carrying on his old business at Wei and Governor Wilkens, with a force of about 150 men, sailed down in an American ship and landed there by night. Mora escaped by jumping through a window, but his goods and such slaves as he had collected were seized and taken to Christiansborg, where the latter were given their freedom and employed as Government labourers.

In 1844 the Danish sergeant in charge of Fort Prinzenstein at Kitta heard that this same Mora, who had now been joined by two other slave traders, was still carrying on his business at Wei and prepared to arrest him. But before any attack could be made, the slave dealers got news of his intentions and moved. Soon afterwards, however, Mora openly defied the Danes by marching past the fort with a gang of slaves and was stopped. The slaves were brought into the fort, but he

¹ About 8,000 slaves were exported annually from Dahomi, the transit and export duties bringing the King a revenue of 300,000 dollars.

1844-1849 himself was again allowed to go. He and his fellow
CHAP. XXV traders now bribed the Awunas to assist them, and they forced their way into the fort, which was in a very bad state of repair, and compelled the sergeant to surrender the slaves he had taken. Some men, under an officer, were therefore sent from Christiansborg to repair the fort preparatory to taking steps to punish the people for this act; but while this was being done, a quarrel broke out between the garrison and the Awunas, who came up in great force and blockaded it.

Mr. Schmidt had now succeeded Mr. Wilkens as Governor, and so soon as he heard of this outbreak, set out in person for Kitta with about 120 men and entered the fort without opposition. The Chiefs were sent for and asked to explain their conduct. They asked for time in which to prepare their answer and returned to the town promising to bring their reply the next day; but instead of doing so, they collected their men and laid siege to the fort. The town was bombarded and laid in ruins, but the garrison were soon reduced to great straits and were on the verge of starvation, when the French warship *Abeille* put in and relieved them just in time. The Governor then returned to Christiansborg and great preparations were made to crush the Awunas. A large force was collected, and a man-of-war, the *Ornen*, sent out to assist; but the Awunas, disheartened by the last struggle and the damage then done to their town and property, were in no mood for further hostilities and sued for peace. This was granted on payment of a fine, and the slave traders then removed to Popo.

On the 22nd of May 1847 Maclean died of dysentery at Cape Coast after thirteen days' illness, and such was the universal respect that he had inspired by his long and just administration, both as Governor and Judicial Assessor, that for fourteen days after his death every store was closed and all business in the town suspended, while the people held a great funeral custom in his honour and the discharges of musketry were almost continuous. Nor was this feeling confined to the inhabitants of Cape Coast,

but it extended equally throughout the whole Protectorate and even penetrated beyond its borders into Ashanti. The Ashantis had long regarded Maclean as their friend and protector ; for he had never refused to listen to any just complaint nor failed to give them satisfaction, and their traders had always been able to travel through the Protectorate to the coast without fear of molestation or robbery and with a degree of general security that they had never known before. The King, indeed, had considered his friendship of such paramount importance that he had been in the habit of making regular sacrifices in order to ensure its continuance. For weeks and months after his death parties continued to arrive from the outlying districts, and every Chief considered it his duty to take up a position in front of the Castle gate and fire several volleys as a mark of respect for the memory of the late Governor before proceeding to attend to his business. Maclean was buried in the courtyard of the Castle, where a large stone slab bearing the initials " G. M. " may still be seen marking his resting-place alongside that of L. E. L. Mr. J. C. Fitzpatrick succeeded him as Judicial Assessor.

The mere forfeiture of his gold by Maclean had had no effect on the conduct of Kwaku Akka ; but Governor Hill had been unable to take any further proceedings against him because the senior naval officer on the station refused to co-operate with him. Akka, therefore, was still in open revolt when Commander Winniett arrived at Cape Coast. He made several attempts to open communication with him in the hope of inducing him to listen to reason and moderate his conduct ; but in vain. Akka imprisoned his messengers and openly defied his authority. But these acts were as nothing compared to the outrages he committed soon afterwards, which quickly brought matters to a crisis and forced the Governor to take decisive action against him. Besides offering a reward of two ounces of gold for every head brought to him and murdering a party of Wassaw traders who had come down, Akka went still farther and kidnapped a number of the people of Axim, who were, of course, Dutch subjects, and also

1844-1849 waylaid and murdered the French Commandant of Assini. Finally, he sent a message threatening to attack Cape Coast Castle, raze it to the ground, and dine off the Governor's liver. The Governor, therefore, determined to raise a sufficient force and march against him. It was known that Akka had about 2,000 well-armed men, whereas the only troops on the Gold Coast were the single company of the 1st West India Regiment that had been sent from Sierra Leone and about thirty armed police. It was necessary, therefore, to call upon the Chiefs for assistance, and they responded to the appeal so well that the only difficulty the Governor found was in limiting his force to reasonable numbers and refusing the services of those who were not required without giving offence. An expeditionary force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men was thus quickly raised and left Cape Coast on the 24th of March 1848.

It is over a hundred miles along the beach from Cape Coast to Axim ; but the whole of the troops¹ had reached there by the 3rd of April and entered the enemy's country three days later. The Apollonians disputed the passage of the Ankobra River on that day, the 6th, but were driven back ; and a similar attempt to check the English advance at the Abmussa River the day after was equally unsuccessful. Having been decisively defeated on two occasions, the enemy quickly realized that further resistance was useless and sought to make terms. Akka had fled and hidden himself in the bush—the advancing troops firing on his body-guard as he left Ateabu ; but his many cruelties and consistently oppressive rule had not tended to win the love of his subjects nor increased their anxiety to run any serious risks on his behalf, and, still further stimulated by the offer of a reward of 100 ounces of gold, they now seized and surrendered him as the price of peace. An old captain, named Bahini, who had been instrumental in his capture, was elected by the people to succeed him,

¹ Two divisions of Fanti Allies under Messrs. Brodie Cruikshank and Francis Swanzy, and a company of the 1st West India Regiment under Lieutenant Bingham.

and became responsible to the Government for the good order of the country. It is, of course, just possible that it was not until now that the Apollonians became parties to the tripartite treaty of 1831, but in that case Governor Winniett's signature would probably have appeared, so that the date previously given¹ is the one most likely to be correct. On the 18th of April the troops returned with their prisoner to Cape Coast, where he was tried by the Governor and Fanti Chiefs on the 19th of December and condemned to death; but the sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life, and he died in Cape Coast Castle on the 28th of December 1851.²

It seems extraordinary, but it is none the less a fact, that the Secretary of State blamed Governor Winniett for having undertaken this expedition and even threatened to make him pay its whole cost. It was only after its successful conclusion that a reluctant approval was at last extorted. It is difficult to understand in what possible way the Governor could have been expected to avoid acting as he did, or how he could even have been justified in delaying matters for the three months then necessary to communicate with the Secretary of State and receive a reply; nor is it easy to guess to what limits the evil might have extended had he done so. Governor Winniett rightly wrote in his despatch on the subject that "to allow a day to pass without . . . crushing rebellion and establishing good order . . . would be to temporize with a case pregnant with incalculable mischief to the well-being of the British Settlements here."³ It was not only the Wassaws and other tribes, but the Dutch and French also, who naturally and rightly looked to the English Governor for redress, and their opinion of his government could be better imagined than described had he been content to remain inactive in the face of all that Akka had done. Other Chiefs also might have been tempted to revolt had

¹ *Vide* p. 421.

² He lost his reason in prison, and was a helpless idiot for some time before his death.

³ Winniett's letter book at Christiansborg Castle.

1844-1849 they seen Akka successfully defying the Government, whereas the ease and promptitude with which the necessary force had been raised and the rebellion crushed could not fail to have a very beneficial effect on them.¹

In 1848 an attempt was made, in accordance with special instructions that had been sent out by the Secretary of State, to induce natives of the Gold Coast to go as free emigrants to the West Indies. It was hoped that they would obtain an extensive practical knowledge of tropical agriculture, which would prove useful when they returned after a few years. Nothing came of the scheme however, for neither the Chiefs nor the people themselves were in favour of it. The Chiefs, because they failed to appreciate or foresee its possible advantages, and estimated their own power and importance by the number of men they had under their command or as domestic slaves in their retinues, and the people, because they already had plenty of land in their own country, which produced all they required, and were averse to leaving it for any problematical benefits to be obtained in a strange one.

Governor Winniett had received special instructions to put down human sacrifices by every possible means, and, affairs on the coast now being quiet, he left Cape Coast with Mr. Freeman and an escort of one company of the 1st West India Regiment and the band, under Captain Powell, on the 28th of September 1848 for Kumasi, where he hoped to be able to come to some agreement with the King of Ashanti for their abolition. In this he met with no success; but Kwaku Dua seized the opportunity of the Governor's presence in his capital to try to regain his authority over the Assins and asked that they might now be returned to him. The Governor promised to consult the wishes of the people themselves and be guided by their decision, and accordingly, on his return to Cape Coast, sent for the Assin Chiefs and told them of the

¹ It appears that the Apollonians were made to bear the cost of the expedition, for there is an entry in one of the old letter-books at Christiansborg Castle that the Apollonia Chiefs "on the 16th of May 1848 had made themselves responsible to the Crown for the sum of £1,170 4s. 5½d."

King's request. But they preferred to remain under British protection, and the King was soon afterwards notified by Acting Governor Fitzpatrick that they had elected to remain as they were and must, therefore, be considered entirely independent of Ashanti. This visit to Kumasi, the first ever undertaken by a Governor, was not a very politic measure ; for it was claimed by the Ashantis that the Governor, by coming to see their King, had admitted his own inferiority. The coast tribes, too, regarded the matter in much the same light ; for on the Gold Coast, and especially in Ashanti, where court etiquette is always most strictly observed, it is ever the inferior who visits his superior. All things considered, therefore, this visit probably did more harm than good.

When the Basel Mission first began work on the Gold Coast they confined themselves to Christiansborg ; but a little later, one of their missionaries, Ries, visited Kumasi but met with no success. The Society then began to work among the tribes in the Volta River district in the hope of ultimately being able to penetrate to Ashanti by this route, and in 1864 Klauss crossed the river and founded a station on the top of a hill at Anum.

The effects of the establishment of a school at Cape Coast and of mission stations both there and elsewhere now began to manifest themselves. While it would be unjust to blame the missionaries for all the results that were directly or indirectly the outcome of their settlement in the country, it cannot be denied that the first comers at any rate seem to have been actuated by a very large amount of indiscreet zeal and but little foresight ; and though it must be remembered that they had very many difficulties to contend with, they did undoubtedly, though quite unintentionally, bring about some distinctly unfortunate results. These men were strangers to the country, knew nothing of its people, and allowed their anxiety to gain converts to lead them into error. Instead of taking the trouble to study the beliefs the people already held and then trying to eliminate the defects from their creed and engraft something better in their place,

1844-1849 they rashly and erroneously concluded that because they made use of certain inanimate objects in connection with their worship, they must be idolaters and the whole system essentially corrupt ; a conclusion that a little careful study and enquiry would have given them good reason to modify. In their efforts to gain converts, therefore, they tried to expunge every trace of these natural beliefs before propounding a faith which, to an African, cannot be easy to understand, and thus left the majority of their subjects floundering in a sea of doubt and mystification from which they frequently tried to save themselves by grasping once more at their own beliefs, while many of those who adopted Christianity had a most perverted idea of what it really was.

It was at this time, too, when education was first introduced to any large extent, that the "Coast scholar" appeared. This term is usually regarded, and commonly used, as one of contempt or derision ; but if it is applied indiscriminately in this sense a great injustice is done. On the Gold Coast, as in other parts of the world, the amount of knowledge acquired by different individuals varies within the widest possible limits, from the man who can merely read or write, or perhaps scrawl his own name in the most laborious and imperfect manner, to men who have acquired a thorough mastery of the English language and read widely. Such men have educated and trained their minds to such a degree that their opinions, especially when given on subjects concerning their own people and customs, must always carry weight and be entitled to the greatest respect. These men are thoroughly well educated, and their services in various capacities are invaluable and indispensable. But they are exceptional. It is to the youth who, either from a disinclination for honest work, or from a mistaken idea that by acquiring a smattering of the rudiments of education and aping the European in dress and manners, believes that in some mysterious way he will add to his dignity and better his position, that the term "scholar" is correctly applied in its local and restricted sense. He it is who, having learned sufficient at

school to enable him to make some show of education and impose in various ways on the entirely illiterate, lacks sufficient energy or means to complete his education and leaves. His scanty store of knowledge is not enough to gain him employment as a clerk or qualify him for any of the other positions open to the more energetic and ambitious; yet he feels that he must get some return for the money and time he has spent, and being too proud to do any manual labour, is soon driven by necessity to prey upon the wholly illiterate, who seem to regard him with a kind of superstitious awe as a person possessed of wonderful and mysterious powers. Such education as he has acquired, moreover, too often merely enlarges the scope of any criminal instincts he may possess by enabling him to perpetrate various fraudulent offences impossible to the more ignorant. At best, such men do an immense amount of harm to other quite innocent persons, by indulging in all kinds of extravagances and involving their families in debt, and by giving an erroneous impression of the effects of education on the African.

When the missions were first started, the pay given by the missionaries to those whom they were compelled to employ as interpreters and teachers, and to the numerous carpenters, masons and labourers who were required to erect the necessary buildings, fully equalled, even if it did not exceed, the wages they could obtain elsewhere. Employment at the missions, therefore, became so popular that great numbers of people were induced to join them, the majority of whom came there primarily for what they could get. They then heard the teachings of the missionaries which, to them, were so novel and strange that it is not surprising that they were the cause of a great deal of misconception and induced the people to believe that by adopting this new faith they would derive many important temporal benefits. Time, of course, undeceived them, and so it came about that the numbers of so-called converts quickly fell off and the attendants at the missions consisted almost solely of the persons in their employ. But although the vast majority thus fell away, there were

1844-1849 a very few who adopted Christianity in all sincerity and
CHAP. XXV their numbers slowly increased; a fact which seems to
have been largely due to the more politic and temperate
conduct of Mr. Freeman.

The pagan inhabitants of the Gold Coast are remarkable for their easy-going tolerance as regards their own religion and that of others. This is mainly attributable to the fact that most of the Gold Coast deities are local or individual ones, whose sphere of influence and power is limited; so that while a few are revered by a whole district, others are only worshipped by single communities, families or individuals as tutelary gods. It would be considered a foolish act of supererogation for anyone to waste his time by worshipping the local gods of another district who were too far away either to help or molest him, though, should he travel thither and thus come within their sphere of influence, he would probably think it good policy to propitiate them with some small offering. These early Christians, however, became imbued with a fanatical zeal in the cause of their new faith and a contempt for their former beliefs that led them into extremes, and the missionaries seem to have made no attempt to curb them. In the end these people went to such lengths that they quite overstepped the bounds of all reason and ordinary tolerance, and so exasperated the pagan community that serious trouble arose and nearly involved the whole country in a religious war.

Mission stations had been opened at several places away from the Society's headquarters at Cape Coast, and amongst them was a small school at Asafa, where there were about ten or fifteen converts. This village was near Mankesim, where the great fetish Brafo dwelt, and which might, therefore, be regarded as the religious headquarters of all Fanti.¹ This fetish was consulted by persons from far and near and its priests drove a very lucrative business,

¹ Brafo is said to have been appointed by the god Bobowisi of Winneba Hill, who is a general deity, to act as his deputy in minor matters. He was brought to Mankesim from Ashanti, where he had been pointed out by the local priests. (Ellis.)

so that it cannot have been at all pleasant for them to see their god repudiated in the immediate neighbourhood of his shrine. But although this doubtless gave rise to a certain amount of ill-feeling, they took no active steps to interfere with the Christians. The latter, on the other hand, in 1849, moved from their own to another small village, still nearer to the sacred hollow in the forest in which the god was believed to dwell. Here they began to abuse and ridicule Brafo's worshippers, and even went so far as to clear the bush in the immediate neighbourhood of the sacred grove and make their farms there.

This was more than the priests were prepared to stand. The credit of the deity and their own easy means of making a livelihood were endangered, and they therefore called upon the Chiefs and people to defend the honour of their god. They, however, did not consider it necessary for them to take any action, for they were convinced that Brafo would speedily avenge himself without human aid, and it was not until they had been disappointed in this belief and had seen unusually good crops growing on the Christians' farms, even after one of them had shot an antelope¹ in the sacred grove itself, that they felt it incumbent upon them to do something. A council was therefore held, at which it was agreed that the Chiefs should combine to defend the honour of the fetish. Adu, the King of Mankesim, who lived on the spot, was appointed its immediate guardian, but he received the moral support of all the other Chiefs, who promised to share with him the responsibility of any action he might find it necessary to take.

Soon after this arrangement had been made, one of the fetish priests, a member of one of the less important grades, joined the Christians, and he with two others entered the sacred grove and cut several poles there for building purposes. The priests, so soon as they heard of what had been done, went to Adu and called upon him to punish these men, and he, having collected his people, went by night to the village in which the Christians were

¹ Sacred to Brafo.

1844-1849 then living and, reaching it at daybreak, burned it and carried ten of the Christians prisoners to Mankesim.

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These men had been going out of their way to look for trouble, but now that they had succeeded in finding it they were of course the first to complain, and the matter was reported to the Governor, who had known nothing of what was going on. He at once sent a soldier to Mankesim summoning Adu to Cape Coast to explain his conduct, while the Judicial Assessor, realizing that the Chief would hardly have ventured to such lengths unless he had received great provocation and taken a particularly serious view of the matter, tried to save further trouble by sending privately to Amonu the King of Anamabo and asking him to use what influence he had with Adu to prevail upon him to comply with the Governor's summons and not make matters worse by a refusal. The fetish priests, in the meantime, were endeavouring to persuade Adu to drown the renegade; but he refused, and on the arrival of the Governor's messenger, fixed a day on which he promised to come to Cape Coast and bring his prisoners with him, at the same time guaranteeing their personal safety and explaining that he could not come at once as he required time to collect his people. A second messenger was then sent to order him to come to the Castle immediately, who, on his arrival at Mankesim, found Adu on the point of starting and accompanied by all the Fanti Chiefs who had promised him their support and a great number of followers. On reaching Anamabo, the Chiefs wrote to Mr. Bannerman, who was then Commandant of the fort, pointing out the difficulty they would find in maintaining so many of their people in Cape Coast and begging that the Judicial Assessor would come to Anamabo and settle the case there, promising at the same time to abide by whatever decision he might give. This request was granted, and the Assessor, on his arrival at Anamabo, found the whole of the Fanti Chiefs collected there with about 3,000 of their people.

The facts were quite clear and were not disputed by either party. It was admitted that the Christians had gone out of their way to insult the fetish and been guilty of

conduct calculated to provoke its worshippers, and that Adu had thereupon seized them and burned their village. The Court ordered Adu to pay the Christians £56 as compensation for the loss of their property, and an additional sum of £40 to the Government as a fine for his offence, while the Christians on the other hand, were to pay £20 to the Fanti Chiefs as compensation for the insult offered them through their fetish. 1844-1849
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The Chiefs now obtained permission to retire and consult together, and, on their return to the Court, acknowledged the justice of the sentence with the exception of the order for payment of compensation to the Christians for the loss of their property. To this they strongly objected, urging that the losses they had suffered were an altogether inadequate punishment for the offences they had committed and that they would be compromising the dignity of their god if they consented to pay this sum. They further requested that, in deference to the already outraged feelings of the deity, the Christians should be ordered to abandon the farms and village they were occupying. The Assessor replied that his judgment had been based on the principles of equity, without any regard to the religious aspect of the case or the respective merits of Christianity and fetishism, and he could not therefore alter it; but he was ready to mediate between the parties with a view to the prevention of future quarrels, and to advise the Christians to sell their present farms if the Chiefs would buy them. The Chiefs soon saw that it was vain for them to hope to change this decision, though they were far from being convinced by the Assessor's arguments, and merely said: "If our master prefers these ten Christians to the whole of the Fanti nation, we cannot help it; we are sorry, but we submit." It is always hard for the African to believe that might does not necessarily mean right. Anfu Otu the King of Abra, and Amonu the King of Anamabo stood sureties for Adu and agreed to be responsible for the payment of the money.

The case had been heard in the hall of Anamabo Fort, which could only accommodate about 200 of the principal

1844-1849 men, and the remainder of the people had been waiting
CHAP. XXV outside the gate to hear the result of the trial. So soon
as the Chiefs left the fort and the decision was made
known, many of these people seized their arms, which
they had previously hidden in the houses in the town, and
Adu was quickly surrounded by at least 1,000 armed men,
who raised him up on their heads and carried him through
the streets, defiantly proclaiming him the protector of their
god and bearing a few kegs of powder before him as an
intimation that he was prepared to fight. This demon-
stration had been arranged by some of the Chiefs, unknown
to the Abras and Anamabos, and the hearing at the latter's
town had been specially requested with the object of
avoiding the presence of any troops and in the hope of
awing the Assessor by these means into giving a decision in
accordance with their wishes.

The Assessor, fearing they might perhaps proceed to
extremes, and hearing occasional shouts recommending
the massacre of the Christians, came out and ordered Adu
to come down from his palanquin. He obeyed; but was
immediately hurried away by his people, who thought the
Assessor was about to make him a prisoner, while the
Anamabos, fearing some harm might befall the Assessor,
seized their arms and ranged themselves by his side; where-
upon the others, seeing they had not all the force on their
side, at once scattered and fled up the roads towards their
villages. Amonu now began to feel anxious about the
payment of the various sums for which he and Otu had
made themselves responsible and followed Adu in the
hope of being able to persuade him to return. He over-
took him at Great Kormantin, where Adu turned upon
him and reviled him as a traitor to his god and the compact
they had all made when they met in council at Mankesim,
adding that he had only agreed to come to Anamabo to
have the case heard because he had been convinced that
the Fantis were so firmly leagued together on this point
that the Assessor would never dare to give judgment
against him. Since he had done so, however, and Amonu
and Otu had been foolish enough to encourage and abet

him by standing sureties for the various payments, he, 1844-1849
Adu, intended to allow them to pay. CHAP. XXV

For four months Adu maintained an attitude of armed defiance, collecting large quantities of powder and lead, and cutting war paths through the bush, deaf alike to the remonstrances of the Governor and the persuasions of those Chiefs who sided with the authorities. Many of the Chiefs openly supported Adu and camped near the fetish grove, where they kept a constant guard lest any attempt should be made to destroy it or arrest their champion. Otu and Amonu, though willing to redeem their promise and pay the fine, were not called upon to do so; for it was felt that such a termination of the affair would be most unsatisfactory, and the Governor preferred to let matters wait until time and the inconvenience caused by the unsettled state of the country should bring the revolted Chiefs to reason. It would, moreover, have been extremely risky to attempt to use force, for it would have been necessary to call on some of the Chiefs for assistance and it was impossible to know on whom to rely. The nature of the quarrel caused it to be universally regarded as a religious question, and few, if any, of the people would have dared to take up arms against Brafo.

Eventually, the interruption to trade and the generally disturbed state of the country caused such universal discontent that the Chiefs who had at first supported Adu were inclined to be less enthusiastic in his cause, and the Governor considered the time had come when an effort might be made to settle the quarrel. He accordingly sent for the King and Chiefs of Cape Coast, and, after telling them that he was about to lead an expedition against Adu, called upon them for assistance. At this, as had been expected, they demurred; pointing out that, although they were willing enough to fight for the Government on any ordinary occasion, yet they regarded this as a very different matter and dared not take up arms against the Brafo fetish. They, therefore, begged the Governor to defer his plans for another week to give them time to send a final deputation to Adu. This suggestion was readily

1844-1849 agreed to, but a great show of military preparations was
CHAP. XXV made by continually exercising the troops and serving out
ammunition. Adu's long resistance had been solely due
to the fetish priests, whom he had consulted on each occa-
sion when messengers had reached him, but as they now
saw that it would be useless for them to try to hold out
any longer, they informed him that the fetish said he
might go without fear. Adu accordingly came to Cape
Coast attended by most of the Fanti Chiefs and a large
retinue. The greatest excitement prevailed in the town
and every precaution was taken to guard against any
repetition of the disorderly scenes that had taken place
at Anamabo. Fort William, which commands the Castle
and town, was garrisoned by an officer and a party of
gunners ; the whole of the Castle garrison was kept under
arms ; all sentries were doubled ; a request that the case
might be heard outside the Castle was refused ; and the
Castle gate was placed in charge of an officer's guard, who
had orders only to open the small wicket and to admit
none but the principal men.

Over six hundred of the chief men in the country assem-
bled in the Castle Hall, and after the Linguist of the Cape
Coast deputation had related what its members had done,
Adu was brought forward and, throwing his handkerchief
down at the Governor's feet in token of submission, ac-
knowledged his error and begged for mercy, pleading that
he had not acted in his own interests but rather in the cause
of the whole Fanti race and in defence of his faith. He
further said that he thought the Judicial Assessor was
prejudiced against him and asked that his case might be
reheard. This was done ; and the Governor, magistrates,
and principal Chiefs, having retired without the Assessor
to consider their judgment, confirmed the decision that
had been given at Anamabo. Adu was then required to
deposit fifty ounces of gold in the Castle as security for his
good behaviour for two years, but was not otherwise
punished for his disobedience. The fine and compensa-
tion to the Christians were then paid and this long-drawn-
out dispute was finally set at rest.

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While these events had been happening, a fetish man named Kofi Kuma, who had quarrelled with another priest about a woman, privately disclosed the whole fraudulent business of the priests to the Judicial Assessor and furnished him with the proofs of a plot against several of the leading converts to Christianity, namely George Blankson of Anamabo ; Hayfron the fort interpreter ; and William Parker and Stanhope, who were office-bearers at the Wesleyan Chapel. A secret meeting had been held at dead of night on the shore of the lagoon near Anamabo, at which it had been decided to murder these men and subscriptions had been collected for the hire of a fetish man to poison them and thus remove the chief danger threatening their own religion and means of livelihood. The Chiefs were, therefore, summoned to a second meeting, at which this plot and the practices of the fetish priests were fully exposed by the Judicial Assessor. The priests found guilty of conspiracy to poison were publicly flogged in the market place at Cape Coast and subsequently imprisoned for five years in the Castle, while their female confederates¹ received sentences of two years' imprisonment each. But though this exposure seems to have caused a tremendous sensation at the time and the people temporarily lost faith in their beliefs, this effect was by no means permanent, and a year or two later the worship of Brafo began to revive and was soon in as flourishing a condition as ever.

¹ Nineteen persons in all were found guilty.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE POLL TAX

1850 TO 1859

1850-1859 IN 1850, by Letters Patent dated the 24th of January, the Gold Coast was separated from Sierra Leone and constituted a separate government, with Executive and Legislative Councils for the management of its affairs.

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During 1849 the Danish Government had expressed their willingness to dispose of their Possessions¹ on the Gold Coast, and negotiations had been opened which resulted in the purchase of all their forts and rights in the country by the English for the sum of £10,000. Unfortunately the records were not included and were removed to Denmark. It was hoped that the departure of the Danes would facilitate the introduction and collection of Customs duties on imports² and that the sum thus raised would more than suffice to meet the extra expenditure which the maintenance of these forts would entail. It was also found that the anxiety of the Danish Government to dispose of these Possessions was so great, that if England refused the offer it would be made to others Powers. They had, in fact, already been offered to Mr. Forster, of the firm of Forster and Smith, then trading on the Gold Coast, on condition that he would hoist the Danish flag and keep the forts and other buildings in repair, and there was every probability that the French would be given the next opportunity of acquiring them. It was felt, therefore,

¹ It was costing them £4,000 per annum to maintain them.

² The Danes had already refused to co-operate in levying a duty on imported spirits.

that it might possibly lead to a renewal of the slave trade, 1850-1859
or at least to increased difficulties in its prevention, if CHAP. XXVI
these forts passed into the hands of any person or nation
less sincerely anxious than the English and Danes were
to abolish it. Their acquisition was, moreover, desired,
because, although the relations of the English and Danes
with one another had on the whole been very friendly,
doubts had arisen within recent years as to the extent of
their respective jurisdictions, and a dispute in reference to
the districts of Akim and Akwapin had been in existence
ever since 1838. In fact, this question was constantly
cropping up, but had never been definitely settled.

All the arrangements for the transfer of the forts having
been completed, Governor Winniett left Cape Coast on
the 26th of February 1850 with Mr. Freeman, who acted
as his secretary, and Dr. Dolce, and went to Accra to take
them over ; but owing to the illness of the Danish Governor
Mr. Carstensen, it was not until the 6th of March that the
actual ceremony took place. On that day the various
officers, including Mr. Schamarez the Dutch Commandant
of Fort Crève Cœur, left Accra at nine o'clock in the
morning and marched in procession to Christiansborg. As
they entered the Castle a royal salute was fired by the
Danish garrison, the Danish flag was hauled down, and
the Union Jack hoisted in its place and saluted by Fort
Crève Cœur and James Fort. In the courtyard they
were met by Governor Carstensen, the officers of the
Danish garrison and the principal inhabitants of the town,
and the keys of the fortress were formally handed over.¹
The Chiefs were then admitted and the transfer was ex-
plained to them, to which, though naturally sorry to see
the Danes go after having lived under their flag for so
many years, they raised no objection. Mr. Bannerman
was left at Christiansborg as Civil Commandant, with
Lieutenant Stokes and a small detachment of troops to

¹ Governor Winniett wrote "to meet a wish generally expressed here
in this country," asking that Christiansborg Castle should be renamed
"Grey Castle" or "Castle Grey," after Earl Grey, who was then
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

1850-1859 garrison the Castle, and the next morning the Governor
 CHAP. XXVI started on a tour of inspection through the other places
 belonging to Denmark. He was accompanied by Captain
 Schiioning, who had been appointed by Governor Carstensen
 to hand them over.

Teshi Fort, which was in bad repair, was taken over
 the same day, and Ningo Fort, which was little more than
 a ruin, the day after. On the 12th, Kitta was reached
 and the British flag hoisted on Fort Prinzenstein.¹ The
 town itself was still in ruins, never having been rebuilt
 since the bombardment in 1847, and the people were now
 living in another town about two and a half miles away.
 They came in to see the Governor, however, and received
 permission to return and rebuild their old town under the
 fort provided they showed proper respect to the British
 flag. On the 15th Adda Fort, which was also in urgent
 need of repair, was taken over, and from there the journey
 was continued through Krobo and Akwapim to Akropong
 and other towns, the party returning to Accra on the 21st.
 None of the Chiefs or people at any of the places visited
 had raised any objections to the transfer, which was thus
 quietly effected without any trouble.²

The property thus acquired included Christiansborg
 Castle and a Martello Tower³ and burial-ground a few
 hundred yards to the west of it, two houses at Fredericks-
 borg, about a mile inland, and a large tank in the town.
 There were also the four forts, Prinzenstein, Friedensborg,
 Konigstein and Augustaborg at Kitta, Ningo, Adda, and
 Teshi respectively; Fredericksgaor, the plantation in the
 Akwapim Mountains; and Fredericksnople and Frederick-
 stadt, the abandoned plantations near Akropong and
 Dodowa.

All former attempts having proved abortive, the ac-
 quisition of the Danish Settlements was deemed a favour-

¹ Five brass guns from this fort were subsequently removed to Cape
 Coast Castle.

² After the transfer, the Governor moved to Christiansborg Castle,
 which then became Government House.

³ Governor Carstensen wrote some of his letters from "Fort Pro-
 vestein," Accra, which may have been this tower, or the Castle renamed.

able opportunity for the imposition of customs duties. But though the Danes had gone, the Dutch still remained, and, by their refusal to co-operate,¹ rendered the collection of a revenue by this means quite hopeless; for their Settlements were so scattered along the Coast and so intermixed with those of the English, that it would have been impossible to prevent wholesale smuggling.

Soon after the transfer, it became known that a man had been roasted alive at Ningo for witchcraft and several other charges of breaches of the peace were made against the Chiefs and people. The Chief and Headmen were, therefore, arrested, tried at Christiansborg, and imprisoned in Cape Coast Castle. Soon afterwards a similar case occurred at Adda, but when the Chief, Odumfu, and his councillors were summoned to appear at Christiansborg and explain their conduct, they refused to obey and imprisoned the messengers. The Governor, therefore, led a force of 100 men of the 1st West India Regiment under Captain Craig against the Addas, who then sued for peace and surrendered the five principal offenders, who were imprisoned in Cape Coast Castle. The Addas also undertook to pay a fine of 1,600 dollars to defray the cost of the expedition.

The undertaking given by the Chiefs of Apollonia to Mr. Cruikshank on the 16th of May 1848, that they would pay 326 ounces 4 ackies of gold to defray the cost of the expedition against Akka, had never been fulfilled. By the end of January 1849 only 34 ounces 5 ackies had been paid, and an offer was then made to compound the balance by payment of £750, but rejected. The Judicial Assessor, Mr. Fitzpatrick, was therefore sent to Apollonia with orders to obtain payment, but was insulted and threatened by Bahini. After being constantly put off, Mr. Fitzpatrick finally arrested Bahini, and a most riotous scene took place in the yard of the house where the meeting was being held. Blazing fire-brands were thrown on

¹ Sir W. Winniett wrote that Governor Van der Eb was himself an extensive trader, having two vessels of his own, and often being absent from Elmina on trading expeditions.

1850-1859 the roof of Mr. Fitzpatrick's house, and the six militiamen
 CHAP. XXVI he had with him were nearly all seriously injured, while he
 himself received a severe blow in the eye with some weapon.
 In the end, he was compelled to release his prisoner,
 and then demanded the return of the British flag. Another
 Chief, Amaki, however, who had throughout been doing
 his utmost to preserve order, implored him not to take
 the flag from them, and a few days later Bahini and the
 other ringleaders of the riot surrendered themselves and
 were taken to Cape Coast and tried. Bahini was sentenced
 to two years' imprisonment, another man to six months,
 and the remaining three received forty-eight lashes each in
 front of the Castle.

In 1850 an attempt was made to grow cotton on the
 Gold Coast and an American was sent out to supervise
 the plantations: 25,000 cotton bushes were planted near
 Cape Coast, but the difficulty of obtaining labour soon
 caused the business to be abandoned. A few years earlier,
 large quantities of coffee had been grown, but this had
 had to be given up for the same reason. The plantations
 had been worked principally by pawns, and after this
 system was discouraged it was found impracticable to work
 them any longer to advantage.

Governor Winniett died¹ on the Coast on the 4th of
 December 1850 and, after Mr. James Bannerman had
 acted as Governor for twelve months, Major S. J. Hill²
 was appointed in October 1851. During his administration
 an important measure was passed which went farther than
 anything else had yet done to define the true relations in
 which the Government and people stood to each other.
 The failure of Customs duties³ had made the Home Govern-
 ment anxious to devise some other means of raising a per-
 manent revenue for the support of the Settlements, and
 Lord Grey, had, moreover, laid down that the people

¹ Of dysentery.

² Afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel and Governor of Sierra Leone.

³ The Governor reported that, owing to this failure, there were no
 funds available to pay the salaries of the Commandants of Anamabo,
 Winneba, Kitta and Dixcove and the Collector of Customs, some of
 whom were said to be "in real want."

should be expected to contribute something in return for the protection afforded them. A general meeting of the Chiefs was, therefore, held at Cape Coast on the 19th of April 1852, to consult with the Governor and other officers how this object might best be attained. This meeting first of all resolved itself into a Legislative Assembly with power to enact laws, and then passed several resolutions which were embodied in a document which was signed by the Chiefs and approved and confirmed by the Governor. This enactment became known as the Poll Tax Ordinance and was formally adopted by the Legislature as a legal ordinance of the Settlements. Its chief provisions were as follows :

“ 1. That this meeting, composed of his Excellency the Governor, his council, and the chiefs and head men of the countries upon the Gold Coast, under British protection, constitutes itself into a legislative assembly with full powers to enact such laws as it shall deem fit, for the better government of those countries.

“ 2. That this assembly be recognised by Her Majesty's Government as legally constituted, that it be called the Legislative Assembly of native chiefs upon the Gold Coast, that it be presided over by his Excellency the Governor, who shall have the power to assemble, prorogue, and adjourn it at pleasure ; and that its enactment, sanctioned and approved of by the Governor, shall immediately become the law of the country, subject to the approval of Her Majesty the Queen, and be held binding upon the whole of the population being under the protection of the British Government.

“ 3. That this Legislative Assembly being thus duly constituted, having taken into consideration the advantages which the chiefs and people derive from the protection afforded them by Her Majesty's Government, consider it reasonable and necessary that the natives generally should contribute to the support of the Government by submitting from time to time to pay such taxes as may be determined upon by the majority of the chiefs assembled in council, with his Excellency the Governor.

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" 4. That it appears to the chiefs at present assembled in council, that the most productive, the least burthen-some, and the most equitable tax which in the present state of the country can be levied, would be a poll-tax upon the gross amount of the population enjoying the protection of the British Government.

" 5. That entertaining the views here expressed, the chiefs and head men do, for themselves and their people, voluntarily agree to pay annually to the Government the sum of 1s. sterling per head, for every man, woman, and child residing in the districts under British protection.

" 6. That the collection of the tax be confided to officers appointed by his Excellency the Governor, assisted by the chiefs, who, in consideration of annual stipends to be paid to them by the Government, agree to give, in their several districts, their cordial assistance and the full weight of their authority in support of this measure, and to aid the tax-gatherers in taking a census of the population, and in collecting the tax.

" 11. That the revenue derived from this tax, after payment of the stipends of the chiefs and other expenses attending its collection, be devoted to the public good in the education of the people, in the general improvement and extension of the judicial system, in affording greater facilities of internal communication, increased medical aid, and in such other measures of improvement and utility as the state of the social progress may render necessary, and that the chiefs be informed of the mode of its application, and entitled to offer such suggestions on this point as they may consider necessary."¹

Other provisions referred to the details of collection and authorized the Governor to collect the tax for the current year.² A meeting of the Kings of Accra, Christiansborg, Akim, Akwapim and Krepi and other Chiefs of the eastern districts was held at Christiansborg soon

¹ Parliamentary Paper, *Report of Committee*, 1865, p. 420.

² The Governor proposed Brodie Cruikshank as Chief Collector to supervise at a salary of £600 per annum.

afterwards, at which the Governor and Mr. Bannerman explained this Ordinance and its provisions were agreed to.

This Ordinance or Agreement was of very great importance; for it established the right of the people to the protection of the Government, a right that was not clearly defined by any of the treaties then in force and concerning the existence or extent of which great doubts had existed. The convention of an assembly of Chiefs with power to enact laws in conjunction with the Governor and Council was also a great innovation and practically amounted to a parliament of the representatives of the people. What might have resulted from a continuance of this arrangement must always remain an open question, for they were never again assembled. The position of the people was now defined by the Treaty of 1831, the Bond of 1844, and this Poll Tax Ordinance, and there was no longer any room to doubt that, in return for their concessions in the modification of their laws and customs and their agreement to contribute towards the expenses incurred by the Government on their behalf, they were absolutely entitled to protection and the Government was bound to afford it and guarantee their independence of Ashanti.

There is no doubt that the Governor, in forming this Assembly of Native Chiefs, had more in view than the passage of this single measure. On the 22nd of August 1850, James Bannerman and Brodie Cruikshank had addressed a long letter to Governor Winniett, in which they said that, "It is in the nature of social improvement and Civil Government to advance by slow degrees, and so gradual have been the encroachments upon the authority of the Chiefs, but at the same time so decided the elevation of the lower classes, that partly by force, partly by reason, and partly by corruption, an extraordinary modification amounting almost to a subversion, of the rights of the former have been silently and acquiescently effected." They explained that there had been less murmuring under the administration of the Committee of Merchants, because the process had not then gone so far, and a portion of the

1850-1859 Parliamentary grant had been appropriated to giving presents to the Chiefs whenever they had been sent to or for, and they had also been treated with more show of respect for their station. "Thus while his reason acknowledged the justice, his self-esteem was flattered by the condescension of the Government. At present, however, there is no fund appropriated for purposes of this nature, and the Government is only now known to the Chiefs as the instrument of their correction, and the abridger of their privileges." They added that it would be "perfectly impossible to govern the immense population of the Gold Coast without the instrumentality of the Chiefs" and recommended "a legally constituted deliberative assembly, to be called 'the Assembly of Native Chiefs,' to be appointed to meet at Cape Coast Castle twice every year for the purpose of framing, with the assistance of the Judicial Assessor and other Magistrates, such laws as shall when sanctioned and confirmed by the Governor become generally binding upon the Natives of the Country."¹ The members of this Assembly were to receive a small annual stipend from the Government. Governor Hill doubtless had this letter before him and was, to a great extent, acting on the advice contained in it; for he himself, in his despatch to the Secretary of State on the subject of the Poll Tax Ordinance, dated the 23rd of April 1852, wrote: "The Natives having agreed to the payment of this small Tax, I was puzzled as to the manner in which I could frame any law making it binding on the Chiefs and People to fulfil their promise, as possessing no territorial jurisdiction and the Natives not being British Subjects, it was out of my power to frame any Ordinance affecting them. Under these circumstances and with a view to future legislation I considered it advisable to form the Native Chiefs into a Legislative Assembly placing myself at their head." He added that the "scholar" class, consisting of "certain educated Natives with no real pretensions to any power were in the practice of assuming an authority with the people that did not belong

¹ Letter-book at Christiansborg Castle.

to their position, by such means exercising an undue influence with the Chiefs and Headmen, and generally opposing in an underhand manner the efforts of the Governor."¹ He said that he well knew they had done all they could to oppose the Poll Tax Ordinance, and that this opposition had been successfully overcome by placing the chiefs in their proper position and bringing them into direct communication with the Executive.

Now that there seemed to be a reasonable prospect of raising a revenue in the country, it was decided to dispense with the services of Imperial troops and enroll a local corps, to be called the Gold Coast Corps, to garrison the forts.² It had been found that the men of the 1st West India Regiment, who had been doing this duty since 1843, did not stand the climate well, and it was thought that by enlisting natives of the country it might be possible to provide a more efficient force. This corps was to consist of 300 men trained as artillerymen. They were armed with an Enfield carbine and sword-bayonet, wore a Zouave uniform similar to that of the West India Regiment, and were paid *7d.* a day. The officers³ were given command of a company after three years' service and their majority at the end of six, or a captain could retire on a pension of £150 a year.

The only natives of the Gold Coast who were likely to enlist in this corps were runaway slaves or pawns, and Major Hill had received orders not to return any of these men to their masters. Hitherto these instructions had not caused any trouble, for slaves would not run away unless they could obtain employment, and if suddenly emancipated could only steal or starve. Cruikshank, whose work was published at this time, says that nearly

¹ Letter-book at Christiansborg Castle.

² Headquarters and half the Regiment were stationed at Cape Coast, and the remainder at Accra, Anamabo, and Dixcove.

³ Major Hill was appointed Major during his Governorship; three lieutenants of Colonial Regiments were appointed captains, three others lieutenants, and three N.C.O.'s ensigns. The establishment was subsequently increased by three captains, three lieutenants, one adjutant, three European sergeant-majors, and six drummers.

1850-1859 all the crimes on the Gold Coast were committed by runaway slaves who lived by theft and plunder and always gave the same excuse for their conduct, namely, that they had no one to look after and support them. No one appreciated their position better than the slaves themselves; and when Dr. Madden, during his visit to the Coast, told a number of these men at Accra that they were free, they immediately asked him to provide for their subsistence, saying that if the Government freed them and did not intend to support them, they would certainly starve and would much prefer to remain as they were.

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By a diplomatic fiction, it was supposed that no slavery of any kind could by any possibility exist within the limits of British jurisdiction, and, consequently, that any slave or pawn became immediately free by virtue of entering one of the forts and standing on purely British soil. This was of course an extreme view, which, whether theoretically correct or not, was most unsuited to the circumstances and needs of the case and bound to cause difficulties. Major Hill, however, decided to enlist these men in the new corps and thereby nearly brought about a serious outbreak; for it no sooner became generally known among the slaves and pawns that this employment was open to them, than numbers of them came to the Castle, and the Governor, acting up to the strict letter of his instructions, refused to hand them back to their masters and enlisted them as soldiers. These men, or at least the majority of them, were not Fantis or members of any coast tribe, but Wangaras, Gonjas, Grunshis, Dagombas and others who had been captured or taken as tribute and sold by the Ashantis. They were collectively known on the coast as Donkos.

The wealth of many of the Chiefs and principal men consisted almost entirely in slaves, and it can readily be understood that they regarded this sudden detention of their property, which was against all precedent and all Government, as nothing less than pure robbery. A great outcry was raised and for a time affairs looked very threatening and a serious outbreak was imminent. The Chiefs

were determined not to submit to such high-handed 1850-1859
interference with their property, and were moreover CHAP. XXVI
fully prepared to use force in the defence of their rights. The Governor was thus driven to adopt a middle course, and it was arranged that the Chiefs would supply as many men as were wanted, but that they must be paid for by the Governor handing a portion of their pay to their former masters each month until eight pounds, which was the usual price of redemption, had been paid. The difficulty having been got over by this means—which amounted to an official recognition of and connivance at slavery—the Gold Coast Corps was quickly raised and the company of the 1st West India Regiment, which had been reduced by deaths to but fifty rank and file, returned to Sierra Leone early in 1853. It can be seen, however, from the amount of determined resistance that these actions evoked, even from persons who were not directly affected by them but were only defending a principle, how utterly impossible it would have been ever to have attempted to abolish domestic slavery. Nothing short of the most overwhelming force would ever have compelled the people to relinquish so ancient a custom and one that was so closely interwoven with their social system.

About the middle of 1852 trouble arose in Assin, where the Chief, Kujo Chibu,¹ began to intrigue with Ashanti. The Assins, who had revolted against Ashanti during the last war and fought with the Fanti allies at the battle of Dodowa, had had their independence declared by the treaty of 1831 and most of them were living a little to the south of the Pra, where they enjoyed the same protection as the other tribes who lived nearer the coast. There had, it is true, been earlier rumours of secret dealings between the Assin Chiefs and the King of Ashanti, who had more than once shown his anxiety to have these people returned to him, and as early as 1835 the Fanti Chiefs had become alarmed and expressed grave doubts as to the propriety of trusting Chibu too far. He and the other Assin Chiefs

¹ Not to be confused with the loyal King of Denkera, who had now been dead for two or three years.

1850-1859 had then been placed under the immediate supervision of Anfu Otu the King of Abra, who was made responsible for their conduct, and this control had been maintained until 1843, when the Assins, having behaved well, had been released from further surveillance.

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Kujo Chibu, who was dissatisfied with the way in which he had been treated on several occasions and conceived, rightly or wrongly, that the Government was ignoring the power and dignity of the Chiefs too much, now took advantage of the King's anxiety to regain his authority over his people to obtain from him a bribe of 400 ounces of gold by promising to assist him in compelling them to return to their former allegiance, for the Assins themselves were too much alive to the advantages and freedom they now enjoyed to have any intention of willingly renewing their submission to the arbitrary rule of Ashanti. These proceedings reached the ears of the Governor, and a soldier was sent to summon Kujo Chibu to Cape Coast to give an account of his conduct. This messenger was detained by the Chief, and a small detachment under an officer then made a forced march by night and, reaching his village at daybreak, arrested Chibu and brought him to Cape Coast.

The Fanti Chiefs were assembled to sit with the Governor and Judicial Assessor to try him. He was charged with three distinct offences : first, sending a man as a prisoner to the King of Ashanti well knowing that he would be sacrificed ; second, receiving a bribe from the King and endeavouring to persuade his Captains to accept part of it in order to bring them under Ashanti rule ; and third, setting the authority of the Governor at defiance by detaining the soldier and telling him that he intended to throw off his allegiance and return to Ashanti, and that he did not care for anything the Governor could do. Chibu was found guilty on every count and sentenced to be deposed and imprisoned in the Castle for life, while Kobina Gabiri, another Chief, who was also convicted of disloyalty to the Government, but in a lesser degree, was punished by the imposition of a small fine.

A few weeks later, the allied Chiefs petitioned the Governor for Chibu's release and restoration to his stool. While fully admitting his guilt and the justice of his punishment, they considered that he now realized the enormity of his offence and was anxious to have an opportunity of redeeming his character, and they believed that if this was given him he would cause no further trouble. As a guarantee of his good conduct they proposed that the nephews of every Chief and Headman in Assin, who were the rightful heirs to the several stools, should be delivered to the Governor as hostages, so that the matter might be kept constantly before the minds of the Chiefs and people and it would be impossible for any repetition of these offences to occur. They also undertook to make a good road, such as the Governor should approve, from Cape Coast to the River Pra, and that those Assins who were still living on its northern bank should cross and settle within the Protectorate. To these terms the Governor agreed, and Chibu was released in October 1852 and, with all his Chiefs and Captains, renewed his allegiance to the Government.

Chibu, however, on his restoration to his stool, found himself in an awkward predicament; for by accepting a bribe from the King of Ashanti he had by native custom bound himself to serve him, and he well knew that his failure to do so would not be overlooked. At the same time he had sworn allegiance to the Government, given hostages for his good behaviour, and still had vivid recollections of his recent narrow escape from lifelong imprisonment. He tried to reconcile these two opposite positions by openly preserving an appearance of fidelity to the Government, and at the same time continuing his secret intrigues with Kumasi while he cast about him for some scheme whereby he might carry out his obligations to the King without incurring the vengeance of the Government and Fanti allies. The King of Ashanti, meanwhile, knew that his anxiety to regain his power over the Assins had betrayed him into these underhand dealings, and that he could not, therefore, appeal to the Governor for

1850-1859 redress, but must either continue as he had begun or be
CHAP. XXVI content to lose the 400 ounces of gold that he had paid.

In accordance with his idea, Kujo Chibu now proposed to the King that he should send a party of Ashantis to Dunkwa for the ostensible purpose of making custom for Chibu the late King of Denkera, who had at one time been his subject, and that this party, on its way back through Assin, should assist him to escape to Ashanti and compel his people to accompany him. In this way he hoped to satisfy the King and at the same time delude the Governor with the belief that he was being forced to Kumasi against his will. This scheme was approved by the King, who therefore wrote to the Governor on the 26th of March 1853, informing him that he was sending a party down with his brother Atjiempon to make custom for the late King of Denkera, and asking him to send a soldier to be present during the ceremonies at Jukwa to preserve order. This letter was sent by Atjiempon's party, which numbered about 300 armed men ; but they no sooner reached Yankumasi Assin than the people began to suspect treachery, while Chibu, fearing discovery, and in order to keep up the fiction of his fidelity to the Government, pretended to be alarmed and fled to Dunkwa, where he placed himself under the protection of the Chief of Dominasi. His alarm, however, may not have been entirely feigned. It was possibly genuine enough and inspired by his doubts as to what kind of reception he might meet with in Kumasi and whether the King would really be prepared to overlook his failure to carry out his part of the first agreement. The Ashantis advanced a day's march beyond the River Pra to Fesu, where they were stopped by the Chief, who, suspecting the real purpose of their visit, said he could not allow so large an armed party to pass through his district and at once communicated with the Governor.

Atjiempon now tried to obtain permission to proceed to Cape Coast and there personally obtain the Governor's permission ; but before anything had been agreed to, Ensign Brownell and a detachment of forty men who had

been sent up by the Governor arrived in Assin. Atjiempon then delivered the King's letter to him to be forwarded to the Governor and stated the avowed object of his journey. Major Hill replied that the Fantis, having heard of the arrival of this Ashanti force in the Protectorate, were in such an excited state that he feared there might be a collision between the parties if the custom was proceeded with, and that he must, therefore, ask Atjiempon to withdraw. Chibu was sent down by the Fanti Chiefs to Cape Coast for safe custody, and Gabiri was then arrested and confronted with Atjiempon, who, at sight of him, lost all control of himself and disclosed the whole plot, accusing Chibu and Gabiri of having conspired together to swindle the King out of 400 ounces of gold. The wretched Gabiri had not a word to say in reply, and he, too, was therefore sent under escort to Cape Coast.

Atjiempon still made various excuses for postponing his return to Kumasi and was daily being joined by reinforcements, while the Fantis were so enraged by his presence that they seized all the Ashanti traders who happened to be in their villages and soon held about 400 of them prisoners. War seemed inevitable; but Major Hill sent Ensign Hill with forty-six men to reinforce Mr. Brownell and protect the Ashanti captives, but strict orders were given that in no circumstances was a shot to be fired except in self-defence.

Ensign Brownell, having been assured by Atjiempon that the force encamped behind him had come with no hostile intent, but was merely sent to cover his own retreat, decided to visit the camp and settle the matter on the spot. On his arrival, he was surprised to find an army of fully 6,000 men, but was well received and arrangements were made for a palaver to take place on the following day. It was then agreed that the Ashantis then in the hands of the Fantis should be handed over; that the invading force would then retire across the Pra, and that any dispute between the Governor and the King should be settled afterwards. Mr. Brownell rather rashly undertook to remain in the Ashanti camp until the first half

1850-1859 of this agreement had been complied with, and about 400
CHAP. XXVI Ashantis were at once collected and escorted within their
lines; but Atjiempon still made excuses, maintaining
that he could not leave until their property had also been
restored.

Atjiempon's escort was still receiving daily reinforcements, and it was known that a second army under one of the King's sons had arrived and was encamped a short distance in rear of it. Major Hill, therefore, sent another letter to Mr. Brownell conveying an ultimatum to the Ashantis, and informing them that all their people's property would be collected and restored as soon as possible, but that the invading force must retire and the British troops be permitted to leave their camp within twenty-four hours or he should consider war declared. Preparations were at once made to compel obedience to these orders should they be disregarded. In response to a letter from the Governor, Commander Hasseltine arrived in Cape Coast roads with H.M.Ss. *Britomart* and *Alecto* and an army of over 10,000 Fanti allies was sent to Dunkwa under the command of Captain M'Court, who took one officer and 100 men of the Gold Coast Corps, two field pieces and four rocket-tubes with him. Troops were also requisitioned from Sierra Leone and the Gambia and 1,000 men of the West India Regiment asked for, while orders were given to Captain M'Court, that in the event of his being attacked he was to retire steadily on Cape Coast so as to draw the enemy within range of the forts and avoid all risk of being himself surrounded and cut off in the bush.

The Fantis had learned the advantage of combination at Dodowa and, instead of flocking to the forts for protection as they had formerly done on the first rumour of an Ashanti invasion, now answered the call to arms and took the field readily enough, so that the allied force encamped at Dunkwa was quickly swelled to over 24,000 men. These preparations undoubtedly had a good effect and went far towards convincing the Ashantis that the coast tribes would not be the easy prey they used to find

them. The forces, however, never came into collision. On the night of the 6th of April, a messenger arrived in the Ashanti camp bringing orders from the King for Atjiempon's return. This messenger protested that the King had no quarrel with the Government and said he would like Mr. Brownell to wait and see his men recross the Pra so that he might be able to report their departure to the Governor.

On the 9th the Ashantis broke up their camps, and recrossed the Pra on the following days. The threatened war was thus averted without a single shot having been fired, and an Ashanti army for the first time in history had assembled and retired without giving battle; but even though no engagement had taken place and war had never actually been declared, the interruption to trade was estimated to have involved the Cape Coast traders in losses of between £30,000 and £40,000, and twelve small villages in Assin and a number of farms had been destroyed.

It was afterwards ascertained from the reports of Mr. Laing, the Wesleyan missionary then living in Kumasi, that although the roads to the coast were carefully closed after Atjiempon's force had left the capital, yet the King gave out that they had only gone to make custom for Kujo Chibu and that the second force was despatched because he had heard that Atjiempon had been stopped. Atjiempon left Kumasi on the afternoon of Tuesday the 15th of March and would have slept that night in one of the villages just outside the capital—probably Kasi—where he would have remained on the Wednesday also as this was a fetish day. It was, therefore, Thursday the 17th before he resumed his journey, and it would have been impossible for him to have reached and crossed the Pra, advanced another day's journey, been stopped, and then sent back a messenger to Kumasi by the time the reinforcements were despatched on the 21st. This argument has been advanced as conclusive proof of the King's real intentions; but it must be remembered that the Ashantis are not entirely dependent upon messengers for their

1850-1859 information but can communicate with each other by
CHAP. XXVI drumming and other rapid means, and if the news of Atjiempon's reception in Assin was sent in this way it would have reached the capital in a remarkably short time—a few hours at the outside—so that these facts are not in themselves sufficient to prove that the King's intentions were so purely hostile from the outset that he sent a second force to the support of the first before he heard from the latter. The point, however, is of no great importance, for there is no room to doubt the King's main object, and the fact that he had allowed himself to be beguiled by Chibu was no excuse for his conduct.

On the 16th of April Kujo Chibu and Kobina Gabiri were tried by the allied Chiefs, assisted by the Judicial Assessor, in the camp at Dunkwa, and having been found guilty of treason, were condemned to death. They were beheaded on the 18th in the presence of 10,000 of the allies, and Boaben and Kwow Abadu were then elected to the vacant stools.

This is the first occasion on which a King of Ashanti ever contravened the terms of a treaty. Kwaku Dua himself was known to be a peaceable man, a fact to which the satisfactory termination of the affair was probably due; but although the King is the nominal head, his power is not absolute, but is controlled to a great extent by his Council, and it was no uncommon thing for some of the Chiefs when excited to take rash oaths as to what they would do, which they afterwards felt bound to redeem. In this way a peaceable King might easily be overruled in his Council and forced into a war for which he had no personal inclination. Whether this is what happened in the present case is doubtful, but it seems more likely that the King, having allowed his anxiety to regain his dominion over the Assins to betray him into listening to the wiles of Kujo Chibu, then found that he had gone too far to retract. Whatever Kwaku Dua's personal inclination may have been, there is no doubt that the Ashanti Chiefs as a whole were bent on war. Sergeant Hay of the Gold Coast Corps, who had been sent to Kumasi

with a message by Mr. Brownell, reported on his return **1850-1859**
" that the King is the only man in Kumasi who does not **CHAP. XXVI**
avow his wish to go to war with the English, all the other
Chiefs and Captains are most anxious to commence
hostilities."

It was generally felt throughout the Protectorate that only a temporary respite had been gained, and at the end of October 1853 Mr. Blankson, a native trader of Anamabo who knew many of the Ashanti Chiefs, was sent to the King to induce him to send delegates to Mansu to renew the old treaty or make a fresh one. He returned to Cape Coast on the 2nd of January 1854 with a letter from the King acknowledging himself to be still bound by the Treaty of 1831, and in which among other things he wrote that he was " refusing to sign the new treaty, as I have good reasons in so doing ; because I consider that I have not violated any of the rules in the old treaty since it was drawn up at Cape Coast Castle, until the occurrence of the recent excitement, caused by the evil conduct of the Assins, in which case I thought that I was justified in sending a body of people to escort them to Ashanti country, at their own wish and request, without letting Governor Hill know of it. . . . I consider myself blameless in the affairs throughout, from the beginning of Governor Winniett's conduct and others, and have not infringed the old treaty, which require a new to be made or renewed, as you requested. In the meantime I still confirm the old treaty, and will act upon it, and in future also I shall never do anything without letting your Excellency know of it, as you had proposed, in reference to any injury that may be done to myself, or any of my subjects, the demanding of a debt or debts, or any other minor cases. . . . I can assure your Excellency also, that if I have violated the rules in the treaty which deserve a fine, and you asking me to lodge gold in the Castle, I shall not show any reluctance in doing so, knowing that it shall be sent to me again at the expiration of the period of time fixed. . . . Above all I beg your Excellency to represent the statement of the case to the British Government in England,

1850-1859 that they might not think that I have done wrong in
CHAP. XXVI these matters, and refusing to sign the new treaty, as
I have already given you my reasons of the same."

In this letter the King, with a diplomacy by no means peculiar to Africa, altogether ignored his offence in having listened to the overtures of Kujo Chibu and laid stress on his own grievances in the case. He, however, plainly avowed what his real object had been in sending Atjiempon to Assin, and it was evident, not only from his letter, but also from Mr. Blankson's account of what had passed in Kumasi, that he had declined to admit the necessity for a new treaty because he clearly saw that any such admission would necessarily imply that he had broken the former one, and he feared this might be made the ground of a claim for compensation. He also referred to the cases of a soldier at Accra and a niece of Amonu the King of Anamabo, who had cursed him some time previously, an offence for which Ashanti law prescribed the punishment of death, but which the Judicial Assessor had persuaded him to overlook. He evidently regarded these infractions of the treaty by persons under British protection as a fair set-off against his own offence. The King also asked that a British Resident might be stationed in Kumasi, and as there was no European officer who could be spared, an educated African, George Musgrove, was sent up.

In 1853 the first Supreme Court Ordinance was passed. It provided for the administration of justice in causes both civil and criminal and established courts under a Chief Justice. This Ordinance confined the jurisdiction "within Her Majesty's Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast," but in 1856 this jurisdiction was extended by an Order in Council to the "Protected Territories" in all cases in which Her Majesty "might exercise (powers and jurisdiction) without the co-operation of any native chief or authority." The same order empowered the Governor to make regulations by Ordinance "with respect to the exercise of the above-mentioned powers and jurisdiction, provided that equitable regard be paid to local customs."

The offices of Chief Justice and Judicial Assessor were held by one and the same person, and his jurisdiction, therefore, was practically extended to all cases.

The first payment of the poll tax had been made without demur ; but though it had been estimated that it should raise a revenue of £20,000 a year, £7,567 6s. 1*d.*, the amount collected in 1853, was the highest sum that was ever actually produced, and the payments fell off very rapidly until they finally ceased in 1861, when only £1,552 3s. 4½*d.* was obtained. The total amount collected during the years from 1853 to 1861, both inclusive, was £30,286 10s. 8*d.* Great complaints had been made, even as early as 1854, of the manner in which the tax was collected ; but the real cause of its failure was malversation ; for a portion of the money was improperly used for the payment of salaries instead of being wholly devoted to local improvements for the benefit of the people, as had been arranged. No census had been taken, and the collection of all this money was entrusted principally to local agents employed for the purpose. These men worked quite independently of the Chiefs, because it had been feared that if the collection of the tax were left to them, they might use it as a means of oppression and extortion. It does not seem to have occurred to anyone however, that such practices were quite as likely to arise, and in fact did arise, in the case of these paid collectors ; and it is probable that even if the Chiefs had acted in the same way, the people would have taken it better from their natural heads than from men who had no political status or authority and against whom they had no constitutional remedy if they abused the powers given them. It was doubtless a choice of evils, but the greater of the two was the one chosen. The collection of any such tax in such a country would at best be a most difficult task, and could only be attempted with any hope of success through the heads of the people. This tax really received its death blow when Sir Benjamin Pine, who was Governor in 1857, established municipal corporations ; for they also collected taxes in the different districts and the two demands clashed. They in turn

1850-1859 lapsed under the next Governor and were extinct by
CHAP. XXVI 1860.

Early in 1854 the payment of the poll tax was for the first time openly resisted. In the first week in January, Mr. Cruikshank, who was acting as Governor during the temporary absence of Major Hill, visited Christiansborg and informed the Chiefs that it was time for the tax to be collected again. They asked for the usual permission to retire and consult together, and promised to bring their answer in the course of the next few days ; but when Mr. Bannerman sent for them after Cruikshank had returned to Cape Coast, they, having decided not to pay the tax, flatly refused to enter the Castle, and, as he declined to come out to them, returned to the town. On the 14th of January over 3,000 armed men assembled near the Castle, and in spite of the persuasions and arguments of the traders, publicly confirmed the resolution they had already passed.

Mr. Cruikshank then returned to Christiansborg and the garrison was reinforced with the intention of compelling the people to submit ; but before anything more was done, Major Hill arrived, and with the help of messengers from the Kings of Akim and Akwapim, who had been sent to reason with the rioters, peace was finally restored at a meeting held at Labadi on the 6th of March and a small fine was then exacted from the people for the disturbances they had made.

Some months later, however, more serious riots took place. On the afternoon of Sunday the 27th of August, Captain Bird, while walking from Christiansborg Castle towards Accra, met some men rolling a puncheon of rum on which no duty had been paid and promptly seized it. This was no sooner reported in the town than the people turned out and attempted to rescue the rum from the soldiers who were removing it to the Castle, and, after a fierce struggle, in which stones were freely thrown and many blows struck, succeeded in recapturing it and driving the soldiers into the Castle. Lieutenant Brownell had recently arrived in Christiansborg to collect the poll tax,

and the garrison having been reinforced on the 4th of September by an officer and fifty men drafted from Cape Coast, he most unwisely tried to start the collection of the tax while the people were still excited by this dispute. A few traders paid ; but the people were determined to resist, and, having posted guards to intercept any collectors returning to the Castle, fined the traders a puncheon of rum for their weakness. The people seem to have been under the impression that the abolition of the tax had been agreed to when peace was made after the last riots ; but though the exact terms of this peace are not known, it does not appear that this was the case. On the 31st of August the mob tried to cut off all supplies and held up the people who were taking provisions to the Castle; This caused a second stone fight, in which one of the mob was killed.

The whole of the eastern district was now in open rebellion, and matters had gone so far that it was decided to take extreme measures and bombard the town. H.M.S. *Scourge*, Commander John Adams, anchored off Christiansborg at five o'clock on the evening of the 11th of September, and the 13th was fixed for the bombardment. But though the intentions of the Government leaked out and were perfectly well known in the town, the people apparently felt confident that peace would somehow be made, and very few of them went away or troubled to remove their property.

On the 12th, Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe landed with two seamen and helped the garrison to improve their defences and prepare for the bombardment, and on the morning of the 13th the *Scourge* weighed anchor and sailed towards Labadi. This had the immediate effect of drawing off the people of Teshi and Labadi to the defence of their own towns, and at seven o'clock that morning the ship began to bombard Labadi, while the guns of the Castle simultaneously opened fire on Christiansborg. The women and children were at once hurried into the bush for safety, while the men seized their arms and prepared to attack the Castle. There were several stone houses

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within about thirty yards of the walls, and here the hunters and all the best shots entrenched themselves and kept up so brisk and accurate a fire that the garrison were quite unable to work their guns and by noon the batteries were silenced. The *Scourge* was now bombarding Teshi, but the garrison could not signal to her for help, because the flag-staff halyards had been cut by a shot from one of the besiegers. This damage, however, was repaired at considerable risk, and the *Scourge* returned in the evening and, after shelling the houses in which the enemy had concealed themselves, bombarded the whole town. During that night the defences of the Castle were improved so as to afford better protection to the gunners, and on the 14th and 15th the bombardment was continued, while the *Scourge* sailed for Cape Coast, returning on the 17th with another officer and fifty more men of the Gold Coast Corps and fresh supplies for the garrison. Having once more bombarded Christiansborg, she sailed on the 19th and burnt Teshi.

The people had now deserted the town and retired to the bush. The whole place was soon plundered by the soldiers and the houses near the Castle were pulled down; yet, though the town had been reduced to ruins and the people had lost all their property, the casualties were very few. The Christiansborg people lost only five men and two women, while six men had been killed at Labadi and a few more wounded at each of the places attacked. The Castle garrison however, out of a total strength of 131, lost seven killed and had twenty-three more wounded, including Captain Bird and Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe.

Governor Hill arrived on the 27th of October with more warships and reinforcements from Sierra Leone, intending to land some marines and attack the people in the bush. But through the intercessions of King Taki, this project was abandoned, and after the heirs to the several stools had been delivered to the Governor as hostages, peace was concluded. The people, however, did not return to Christiansborg nor attempt to rebuild their houses until

some time later, when Mr. Freeman, the Wesleyan missionary, was Civil Commandant.

In 1855 Accra narrowly escaped a similar fate due to a like cause, and a Commissioner was sent in 1856 to enquire into and report upon the local state of affairs. He found that although the Accras were loyal enough in a general sense, yet they positively refused to pay the poll tax, and in 1857 a mob of the townspeople plundered the French factory in James Town.¹

In 1857 the designation of the Gold Coast Corps was changed to "The Gold Coast Artillery Corps," and the colours of the uniform and facings were changed. A late Lieutenant of the Osmanli Horse Artillery was attached to the regiment for one year as Instructor of Artillery, and was then succeeded by a regimental Lieutenant as Instructor of Musketry.

In 1858 Ologo Patu, the Chief of South Western Krobo, led a rebellion against the Government. This also owed its origin partly to the strong objection the people of the eastern districts had to paying the poll tax, and partly to a quarrel with Odonkor Azu, the Chief of Eastern Krobo, whom Patu attacked. The Gold Coast Corps, under Major Bird who was Acting Governor, was moved to Accra, and contingents having been raised in Accra, Eastern Krobo, Akwapim and Akwamu, the whole force was concentrated at Prampram early in September. On the 11th an advance was made, and on the 13th the army encamped near the Krobo Mountain, but the Akwapim contingent deserted the same night. On the 18th Captain Brownell led a small detachment and attempted to occupy a height overlooking Ologo Patu's town; but the enemy drove him back and then attacked the British camp, but were repulsed with great difficulty after an engagement lasting two hours.

Reinforcements were now sent for, and by the 19th of October a large force had been collected and a fresh advance was made. Nearly 15,000 men were now concentrated at Saddle Hill, about a mile and a half to the south of the

¹ Now Messrs. Swanzy's James Town Factory.

1850-1859 Krobo Mountain, and in the face of this overwhelming force Ologo Patu surrendered. He and some of the other Chiefs were imprisoned as security for the payment of a fine of £10,000, which was imposed on the people, but barely half of this sum had been paid when they succeeded in making their escape, owing to the inexcusable carelessness of the officer in charge of them.

In 1859 a serious riot took place between the Bentil and Intin Companies at Cape Coast. The Captains were prosecuted, and the Court ordered that every Company in the town should, within one month, send into the Castle all the flags they wished to use in future, when the Governor would substitute others for such as were objected to, and the colours and patterns of every approved flag would be registered in the Secretary's office, after which the use of any other would be severely punished. In the light of subsequent events, however, it would appear either that this order was never enforced, or that the registration of all lawful flags at this early date was soon forgotten.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE FIFTH ASHANTI WAR

1860 TO 1864

IN 1862 the Gold Coast, always subject to slight earthquakes, was visited by one of exceptional severity. Seventeen distinct shocks were felt during a period of six weeks, which culminated in one of special violence on the 10th of June, by which all the forts and buildings along the coast were more or less wrecked. At Accra, where the greatest amount of damage was done, Christiansborg Castle and the other forts were almost entirely destroyed, being rendered no longer habitable, and the prisoners confined there had to be removed lest the shattered walls should fall upon and crush them. Another notable earthquake had occurred in 1858.

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On the 3rd of October in the same year, a number of men of the Gold Coast Corps, whose lack of discipline had gained them an unenviable notoriety, broke into open mutiny and attempted to murder several of their officers, who are said to have gambled with the men's pay instead of putting it to its proper use.¹ The attempt fortunately proved unsuccessful and the mutineers fled to Napoleon. Two days later H.M.S. *Wye* called at Cape Coast, and on the 7th H.M.Ss. *Brisk* and *Mullet* landed fifty more suspected men, who had been sent up by Major de Ruvignes from Accra. The Europeans, fifteen in number, occupied the Castle, while the sergeant-major was sent out to treat with the mutineers, who had now entrenched themselves in their position at Napoleon; but they refused all the terms

¹ Ellis, *West African Islands*, p. 178.

1860-1864 offered them. The public, however, showed them no sympathy, and in fact cordially hated them, so that by the 9th they were compelled by want of provisions to lay down their arms and were then sent for trial by General Court Martial to Sierra Leone. One of the ringleaders was shot,¹ and another, a private, sentenced to death and sent back to Cape Coast, where he was executed on the 13th of November. Two more were sent to penal servitude for life, and forty-eight received various sentences of imprisonment. Twenty-one marines under Lieutenant Ogle of the Royal Marine Artillery were then drafted into the Castle as a safeguard against any further outbreaks, and order was restored.

Since the last threatened invasion by the Ashantis, although the eastern districts had been in a disturbed state owing to the resistance offered by the people to the payment of the poll tax, the remainder of the Protectorate had been unusually quiet. The various Chiefs were on good terms one with another, their relations with Ashanti were perfectly friendly, and the whole country was in a very prosperous condition. Trade had never been more flourishing: numbers of Ashantis arrived on the coast daily, bringing gold, ivory and other produce, which they exchanged for European goods; and now that the rebellion in the east had been put down by the Krobo war, the outlook was exceptionally brilliant, and everyone was confidently looking forward to a time of general peace and prosperity. These hopes, however, were soon dashed to the ground by the occurrence of a fresh dispute with Ashanti, and the country was soon afterwards involved in another war, which, as an example of blundering incompetence and hesitancy, and a sequence of unfortunate mistakes, is unique in the history of the Gold Coast.

The trouble originated as follows: Kwesi Janin,² a Captain and subject of the King of Ashanti, was alleged to have found certain "rock gold"³ which, by Ashanti law,

¹ The bugler who sounded the "assembly" at Cape Coast. He was shot at Tower Hill Barracks on the 10th of November.

² Djanin or Gainie.

³ Nuggets.

should have been surrendered to the King, instead of which he had retained it for his own use. Some of the King's messengers happened to pass through his village soon afterwards, and his wife had given information against him, swearing the King's oath that the charges she made were true. Janin at once confirmed the oath, thereby appealing for the matter to be heard before the King's tribunal, and the messengers accordingly ordered the parties to accompany them to Kumasi to have the case settled. Janin, however, possibly because he was conscious of guilt, now began to make various excuses for delaying his departure, putting the messengers off first for eight days, then for ten, and last of all for fifteen ; after which, as he still refused to proceed to Kumasi, the King's men felt convinced of his guilt, and returned to the capital and reported what had happened to the King. Further messengers were then sent to bring the parties before the Court ; but Janin had anticipated this and fled into the Protectorate before they could reach his village, taking several of his people with him. About the same time, too, a slave boy who was returning to Kumasi with his master escaped and fled to Assin, whence he was sent down by the Chief to the Governor.

Early in December 1862, messengers from the King arrived at the Castle to make a formal demand for the return of these fugitives. Amongst them was the bearer of the Golden Axe,¹ showing that the matter was regarded as one of more than ordinary importance. An enquiry was held in the Castle Hall, at which the slave boy complained that he had been ill-treated by his master, and that having sworn the King's oath that he would not return to Ashanti, he would certainly forfeit his head if he were sent back. Janin also protested that he was innocent of the charge preferred against him, and asserted that it had been made solely because he was a rich man, and that the King

¹ This emblematic axe was thought much of by the Ashantis: it was said to have been used as a weapon by one of their earliest Kings before the introduction of firearms, and was kept with and carried in procession before the Golden Stool.

1860-1864 had invented this excuse to ruin him and confiscate his property.

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Governor Pine was fully alive to the difficulties of the position, and in his despatch to the Secretary of State on the 10th of December 1862, wrote: "The refuge afforded to runaway slaves and pawns under the British flag has, during my long experience, proved the source of the greatest irritation and annoyance to native Kings and Chiefs, and the wound the most difficult for Her Majesty's representative to heal. . . . Gladly would I try an experiment and send back these subjects to Ashantee, for if confidence were once created between this Government and Ashantee, the greatest obstacle in the way of amicable relations between us would be removed; and if against the old man there were the slightest shadow of a prima-facie case of criminality, my course would be clear; but as it is, I dare not deliver him up, much less the runaway boy. Their blood would be upon my head; and yet I feel that I am estranging, if not exasperating, the most powerful King on this Coast, and upon whom, according to his ideas, I am committing a gross injustice." Consequently, although the messengers offered to swear the King's oath that if Janin were returned he would receive a fair trial and even if found guilty would not be injured, nor the slave boy's life forfeited, the Governor told them that he could not consent to deliver them unless he was furnished with definite evidence of their guilt, and the men then returned to Kumasi.

Many people expected that war would be the immediate result of this refusal; but the King, following the customary policy of Ashanti, would not resort to hostilities until he had convinced himself that he could not gain his ends by diplomacy. On the 17th of February the messengers returned and were received in the Castle Hall on the following day. A letter was also sent by the King to the Dutch Governor at Elmina complaining of the treatment shown him by the English, but his offer to send one of his officers to Kumasi to mediate in the dispute was refused. At the meeting in the Castle, the chief

Ashanti envoy, Amankwa Akuma, delivered the King's message and a letter, and the treaties and documents dealing with the relations between the Government and Ashanti were laid on the table and frequently referred to during the discussion. The history of the case was briefly told by Amankwa Akuma to show that Janin was charged with having broken the laws of his country, and his extradition for trial was then demanded on the ground that a treaty or agreement existed between the Government and Ashanti that criminals should be mutually given up. The King wrote : " I think you to be my good friend, and always I believe you that I can get back any of my slaves who run away to you ; but in poor George Maclean's time I made agreement with him in certificate, the one in Cape Coast Castle, and another in my hand therein stated, that any Fantee person run up to me to deliver him and to bring him to Cape Coast. And if any slave of mine also run away to Cape Coast, you are to deliver him back also to me, as all the Governors that take charge of Cape Coast Castle did not move from this agreement, but always filled the rules of the said poor George Maclean, except your time has destroyed the agreement. . . . But one of my slaves, named Quarquah, who was witness to the said agreement, and who was the bearer of the certificate for me, is absent in the town, and I have sent messenger after him ; but when he comes I will let him come with the book, that you may see your guiltiness."

The King, therefore, was either inventing a purely fictitious story of an agreement to suit his present purpose, or he genuinely believed that such an agreement existed and had several times been acted upon in the past. It is hardly likely that the former could be the true explanation ; for the King would scarcely have based his claim on grounds that he knew or even suspected to be false, for he would have known that the copy of the treaty preserved at Cape Coast would at once be referred to and the deception exposed. It is far more probable, therefore, that these demands were made in perfect good faith. The allusions to Governor Maclean and Quarquah make it quite clear

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1860-1864 that the treaty referred to was the Tripartite Treaty of 1831, in which the mark of "Quagua" appears on behalf of the King. It is true that there is no article dealing with the mutual surrender of criminals in this treaty; but this is the document in which the vague allusion is made to "the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to" as defining the manner in which all future disputes were to be settled. It must be remembered, too, that the King could not read the treaty for himself, and would be dependent upon what he was told by "Quagua" and his other representatives, and if any further verbal or written agreement had been made at that time, they would probably have included its terms in their general account of the whole transaction, and thus have led the King to believe, and very probably themselves have believed, that such agreement was part of the actual treaty itself.

Apart from all this, there is in fact evidence that some such agreement or understanding really did exist. Cruikshank, who wrote only ten years before these events took place, says: "Another difficulty which our Gold Coast Government has to contend against is the disposal of runaway slaves from Ashantee. It was stipulated in our treaties with the King that his fugitive subjects should be redelivered to him in the same way that Fantees flying into his dominions were to be restored to the Governor. This arrangement was necessary to prevent malefactors escaping punishment. But in many cases the runaway Ashantee seeks a refuge from the fate which is likely to overtake him at the murderous customs which are often taking place at Coomassie, and a natural repugnance is, of course, felt about surrendering him. . . . Under these circumstances, the Governor is obliged to mediate as he best can, and refuses to deliver up the runaway, except upon condition of sufficient security being given that his life will be spared. . . . The security for their safety is simply 'the King's great oath,' taken on his behalf by his messengers. There is no instance known of this oath given under such circumstances being

violated." ¹ Cruikshank had spent eighteen years in the country, had been Judicial Assessor, and had also acted as Governor, and had such an intimate knowledge of Gold Coast affairs, especially during the period of Maclean's administration, that it is ridiculous to suppose that he would have made such a statement as this unless some such agreement actually existed; nor is it likely that Maclean, who was so anxious and did so much to restore law and order and to ensure justice to all, would have omitted to make some such arrangement as this to prevent the escape of criminals. In fact, Maclean himself wrote in a letter dated the 16th of December 1837 to the Committee of Merchants in London: "I have seldom known any but criminals to seek the protection of the British flag, and even these I have very rarely delivered; having almost always made it matter of personal favour with the King that he should allow them to be redeemed for a sum of money. In no case whatever have I ever delivered up a fugitive without receiving undoubted security for his personal safety; I almost always, indeed, stipulate for the personal appearance before me of the party at stated periods. Moreover, no person is given up merely because he is the subject of a foreign Chief; it must be shown he has been guilty of some crime, or that there exists against him some just claim."² Maclean, therefore, had given up criminals and others after their personal safety had been guaranteed, and the procedure described by Cruikshank is so exactly in accordance with the statements made by the King in his letter that there can be no doubt that this claim was genuinely made, and if not made under any actual agreement was at any rate according to established precedent. Colonel Nagtglas, too, who served for many years under the Dutch Government, and was Governor of their Possessions in 1869 and 1870, wrote in a letter dated February 1874: "There is an agreement in existence between the local British Government and the King of Ashanti, either oral or in writing, that on

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¹ Cruikshank, vol. ii, p. 236-7.

² *Report of Committee* (1842), part ii, p. 144.

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Since writing the above, a despatch written by Governor Winniett to the Secretary of State on the 4th of June 1850 has been found in one of the old letter-books at Christiansborg Castle, which settles this question beyond all doubt. He wrote: "I believe your Lordship is perfectly aware that since the close of the war with Ashantee an understanding has existed between the British Local Government and the King to the effect that all runaways from Kumassie are to be delivered back to the King upon application made by him to the Officer administering the Government." He went on to explain that this arrangement had at times given rise to serious doubts in his mind, but that considerations for the peace of the country had been sufficient to overcome his reluctance to adhere to it. In one case he had resisted such a demand in reference to a slave woman who had been ill-treated and run away, but the King had threatened to close the paths and cut off all communication with the coast, and he had been compelled to give in.

Taking these independent statements in conjunction with the King's letter, it is evident that the claim now made by Kwaku Dua was one that he was perfectly entitled to make, and was in fact made in accordance with an agreement or compact of some kind that actually existed and had been repeatedly acted upon for many years. Nor can it be denied that the crime of which Kwesi Janin was accused was a serious one according to the laws of Ashanti. It is one of those specially mentioned by Bowdich. Ashanti was at this time an entirely independent kingdom and only bound to the British Government by treaty obligations; and although Mr. Pine was undoubtedly actuated in what he did solely by feelings of humanity, it is very questionable how far he was justified in the circumstances in refusing to comply with the King's request after his duly authorized messengers had offered to follow the usual precedent and take the King's oath that the lives of the refugees would be spared. So

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far as the slave boy was concerned, there could be no reason for refusing to give him back after the messengers had sworn that he would not be injured, except that he was a slave. But he was a slave in a country over which the Government had no control, and this, above all others, was a case in which Lord John Russell's ruling¹ applied. The futile attempts that had been made to bring European views on slavery into line with those of the African and to make them fit in with African conditions had, in fact, already cost the English their good name for absolute and impartial justice on the Coast itself. There is, moreover, plenty of evidence to prove that these oaths were considered binding and were invariably respected. Cruikshank mentions a case in which some fugitives who were about to be handed over to the King's messengers after they had taken the usual oath requested that they might be required to "kiss the white man's book" also, which they, knowing the King's oath would not be violated, readily consented to do. The King, however, on hearing that he had been bound not only by his own but also by the white man's oath was so alarmed lest some accidental harm might befall the men, that he sent them back, preferring to lose them altogether rather than incur the risk of an unknown danger.

In replying to the King's letter, Mr. Pine wrote: "I am willing to give up criminals, although there is no such agreement, but I do not consider Quasie Gainie a criminal until you prove him so." The question was doubtless a difficult one. Mr. Pine would naturally have found it hard to hand over a man who had claimed his protection, even though he might be the subject of an independent State and have no right to it, and yet on the other hand this agreement undoubtedly existed and had been made with the sole object of dealing with cases of this kind. On the whole, it seems probable that the Governor was mainly influenced by the fact that the offence with which Janin was charged, though a serious one in the eyes of the Ashantis and a breach of one of

¹ *Vide* p. 442.

1860-1864 their oldest laws, was not a crime known to English law ;
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 XXXVII view that Ashanti was an independent State over whose
 laws the English had no control whatever. The real
 question, then, would be whether this agreement provided
 for the extradition of all criminals, irrespective of the
 nature of their offences, or only for the surrender of those
 charged with certain classes of crime. There is the
 strongest evidence that there was some such understand-
 ing ; and if this was so and only certain crimes, of which
 this was not one, were covered, it would surely have been
 admitted and the right of refusal in this case pointed out.
 If there was no extradition treaty the Governor could not
 be asked to give up fugitives except in accordance with
 the precedent that had undoubtedly been set ; if there
 was, he could not refuse.¹

The Governor's decision, however, was fully approved
 by the Secretary of State, who, in a despatch dated the
 4th of March 1863, laid down that " no law should authorize
 such delivery to the authorities of a country in which
 justice is not fairly administered, except in the case of
 heinous crimes clearly proved," though this direction was
 qualified by the statement that if it were necessary for
 the Chiefs to hand over fugitives for their own safety,
 such action should be carried out by the Chiefs themselves,
 but no British authority should be involved in their
 surrender except in cases where clear justice required it.
 Whether or not the present was a case in which clear justice
 required the surrender of Janin is a point upon which there
 is room for a diversity of opinion ; but this extraordinary
 qualification of the general principle laid down shows that
 the Secretary of State felt no more sure of his ground than
 the Governor did. At any rate, seeing that the Chiefs
 were under British protection and amenable to Govern-
 ment control, it is difficult to understand how they could
 have adopted the course here recommended and have
 handed over fugitives without the consent of the English
 being at least implied. The Secretary of State, however,

¹ He had a perfect right, however, to demand proofs.

knew nothing of the King's second message or of the alleged agreement and actual precedent in such cases, and asked "to be informed what is the actual practice with reference to persons taking refuge in the protected territories."

Ellis, in his account of what happened at the meeting with the Ashanti envoy, says that "many of the merchants, with Commodore Wilmot, strongly supported the claim of the King, but the headmen of Cape Coast, who it was said had been bribed by Djanin, and others of the merchants, were against it. The Governor also was of opinion that the fugitives should not be surrendered, so, as a matter of course, the official members of the Council voted with him, and it was finally decided by a considerable majority to reject the King's demand."¹ The Governor, in his despatch of the 10th of March 1863, however, says, "it was the unanimous opinion of all present that my compliance with the King's request . . . was impossible." In his evidence before the House of Commons Committee in 1865, when asked why he had not sent Janin away, he admitted that Governor Hill had established a precedent for such a course, and said: "I suggested it till I was tired, I begged them to let me send him away. The Palaver Hall contained a hundred and fifty natives deeply interested in it, and they protested, when threatened, to send him back by force (to Ashanti). I told him that it was his duty to obey his lawful King, I pointed out that he would not injure him, but simply judge him and do him justice." A little later he says, "The general sentiment of the meeting was the greatest horror at my even hesitating to protect the man."

In the face of these conflicting statements it is very difficult to decide what really did happen. Ellis evidently took his account from a letter written by Dr. Horton to Earl Granville, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated Cape Coast Castle, 12th November 1869, in which the following passage occurs: "The case of the King of Ashantee was set forth in a speech by his war-axe bearer, which was remarkable for its fluency, rhetorical power

¹ Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, p. 226.

1860-1864 and argumentative clearness. There was a division amongst the members. Many of the merchants, with Commodore Wilmot, strongly urged the claim of the King of Ashantee, and recommended that Gamin should be delivered up; whilst the Chiefs of Cape Coast, who had been bribed by Gamin and some of the merchants, were of a contrary opinion. Commodore Wilmot endeavoured to influence them, by showing them how prosperous the country then was and the evils of war, and clearly pointed out that, if they went to war with Ashantee, it would take fifty years to bring the country back to its then condition; but, *quot homines tot sententiæ*, the voice of the multitude prevailed, and Gamin was quietly allowed to remain in the Protectorate."¹ Dr. Horton was almost certainly present at the various meetings, and was writing from his own knowledge of what took place; but this letter, which is a summary of events written some years later, does not go into the details of the several palavers. This is evident; because Commodore Wilmot did not arrive on the Coast until the 29th of March, and cannot therefore have been present at this first meeting. The Governor really seems to have been very doubtful what to do, and to have hesitated and changed his mind more than once, finally giving way to the clamour of the people.

On the arrival of Amankwa Akuma in Kumasi with the Governor's second message of refusal, a meeting of the Council was held, at which it was unanimously decided that such an insult and disregard of obligations could only be avenged by war. It is not known whether Kwaku Dua himself was inclined to hostilities or not. He was certainly the most pacific ruler who ever sat on the Ashanti Stool, but in any case he was bound to be overruled by his Chiefs. But although war was then and there decided upon, its actual commencement had to be postponed for a time, in order to enable the King to replenish his stock of powder and other necessaries. It was indeed commonly reported on the coast, when parties of Ashantis first began to cross the Pra, that the King himself knew nothing of

¹ Horton, *Letters on the Gold Coast*, pp. 54, 55.

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their movements, but that they were led by Chiefs who had taken the King's oath that they would make war. Others said that Kwaku Dua had been forced by his Chiefs to give a reluctant consent to the invasion, which was probably nearer the truth, for his throne would have been endangered had he persisted in a refusal, and neglect to enforce the surrender of Janin would have established a dangerous precedent and have led to the escape of other criminals. The greatest uncertainty, however, prevailed everywhere, and no one really knew what was happening or what might be expected next.

The Governor's difficulties at this time were very great and by no means confined to the prospect of hostilities with Ashanti and the King's failure to reply to his last letter. Much ill-feeling existed between the Dutch and English Accras, and the Governor arrived there only just in time to prevent an open rupture. The men of the Gold Coast Corps, too, were in a state of open mutiny, due partly to the scarcity of officers, but principally to the discontent caused by their being paid only sevenpence ¹ a day without rations, while the men of the West India Regiment, who were serving on the Coast and performed similar duties, received a shilling a day and rations. The people of the Protectorate, too, were in a most excited state, and knowing very well that war was imminent and that the Ashantis were busily engaged in purchasing arms and ammunition at Elmina and conveying them to Kumasi, seized all the Ashantis they found passing through their country and put them "in log."² Amongst them was "Quarquah," who was on his way to Cape Coast to give his version of what had occurred when the treaty was signed in 1831, and though the Governor gave orders for the immediate release of all these prisoners on the ground that war had not yet been declared, it does not appear that he ever reached Cape Coast. The Fantis can hardly be blamed for taking what they felt were wise precautions; but these seizures of Ashantis by the protected tribes while the two countries were nominally at peace, for

¹ ? Eightpence.

² *Vide* p. 338.

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which no compensation was made on their release, gave the King a further excuse for war. In addition to all these troubles, the Governor was left without any European civilian to assist him, and had to rely upon such help as the naval and military officers could give him, while they themselves were preparing to take the field and were already fully occupied with their own duties.

Nearly all the troops were at this time stationed in Accra, Prampram, Pong and other places in the eastern district, where they had been sent to enforce payment of the fine imposed on the Krobos for their recent rebellion. The Governor therefore visited Accra, collected every available man and returned with them to Cape Coast on board the *Adventure* early in April. She had left Lagos with an officer and a hundred men of the 2nd West India Regiment, who had just been relieved and were returning to the West Indies; but in view of the threatening state of affairs, they, too, were disembarked and detained at Cape Coast to reinforce the garrison.

Rumours were now current of the presence of marauding bands of Ashantis in the northern districts, and four heads were sent to Cape Coast, Anamabo, Winneba and Accra which had been taken by the allies from Ashantis whom they had caught pillaging their farms. Supplies of arms and ammunition were then issued to the allied Chiefs for their protection, but they were strictly enjoined to commit no hostile act except in case of absolute necessity. No actual declaration of war had yet been made, and it was therefore decided, at a meeting held in the Castle on the 30th of March, to send a messenger to the King to ask what his intentions really were and whether these incursions of his people had been made with his approval. Prince Ansa, having volunteered his services, was sent up on this mission. A fortnight later it was arranged that Major Cochrane should at once take the field and form an entrenched camp some thirty miles from the coast in order to be in a better position to observe the enemy's movements, to give confidence to the allies, and provide a nucleus around which their forces might rally. He left Cape Coast

for this purpose on the 17th of April and reached Mankesim 1860-1864
two days later.

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The regular forces on the Coast did not exceed four hundred men, all of whom were urgently needed by Major Cochrane. Guns and men were therefore landed from the warships for the protection of Cape Coast: 128 officers and men from the *Rattlesnake* occupied the Castle, Fort William and Barnes' house on Prospect Hill, and raised an entrenched redoubt named Fort Frederick on Connor's Hill, while thirteen men were landed from the *Ranger* to garrison Fort Victoria. Provisions for six weeks were landed and stored in the Castle and Anamabo and Dixcove Forts, the gates and buildings were repaired, and four additional guns sent to Dixcove. Two large camps were formed by the allies; the Gomoas and Agunas occupying Essikuma, while the Denkeras, Abras, Assins, and the detachments from Cape Coast and Anamabo established themselves at Mansu. Messrs. G. Blankson, Hughes, W. E. Davidson, W. Finlason, S. C. Brew and Robert Hutchison all raised small contingents from their own families and retainers and joined the army in the field.

In the meantime the Ashantis had completed their preparations, and their army crossed the Pra and invaded the Protectorate in three divisions. The first, numbering about 2,000 men, entered Wassaw with orders to hold the Denkeras and Wassaws in check, but to avoid any general engagement if possible; the second, 8,000 strong and having similar orders, advanced from Prasu and followed the main road through the very centre of the Protectorate; while the main body, under Awusu Kokor, a relative of the King, crossed the river a little later and entered Akim. This force advanced rapidly through Western Akim without meeting with any opposition until it reached Essikuma, where it suddenly fell on the allied camp and, after a stubborn resistance lasting six hours, in which many fell on either side, the allies were completely routed.

Hearing that Anamabo was threatened, Major Cochrane marched the whole of his force there at the end of April; but after waiting three days without seeing any sign of

1860-1864 the threatened attack, returned once more to his camp
 CHAP. at Mankesim. On the 7th of May he moved through
 XXVII Denkera to Bobikuma, where a number of the allies had
 collected after the battle of Essikuma. The Ashantis
 were still encamped at the latter place, which lay about
 fourteen miles to the north-west of Bobikuma. Anything
 more disgraceful and incompetent than the subsequent
 conduct of Major Cochrane can hardly be imagined.
 " On the 10th of May the Ashantis advanced to within
 a quarter of a mile of the camp of the allies, and a slight
 skirmish took place between them and the native scouts,
 in which several of the latter were killed. A general
 engagement was now confidently expected for the next
 day, and there was a reasonable prospect of victory, as
 the native contingent at Bobikuma numbered nearly
 20,000 men ; but to the astonishment and indignation
 of the entire force, both regular and native, Major Cochrane
 issued orders for the whole of the former and the greater
 portion of the latter to retire to the village of Adijuma ;
 and this retrograde movement was carried out on the
 day following, while the gallant commander himself pro-
 ceeded to the sea-coast town of Mumford. On the 12th
 of May the remnant of the native contingent left at
 Bobikuma was attacked in force by the Ashantis at two
 o'clock in the afternoon, and by five o'clock the allied
 natives were completely routed, losing very heavily.
 The town of Bobikuma was destroyed, and had Awusu
 Kokkor pushed on to Adijuma the disorganised force
 there waiting, without orders and without a commander,
 would no doubt have been swept away before him. Fortu-
 nately, however, he did not follow up his success, but
 after destroying upwards of thirty towns and villages in
 the neighbourhood, retired unmolested on the 24th of May
 to Akim Swaidru, a town on the southern frontier of
 Ashanti-Akim, and close to the River Birrim, the eastern
 tributary of the Prah." ¹

The small portion of the allied force who were thus
 deserted at Bobikuma and left at the mercy of the enemy

¹ Ellis, *History of the Gold Coast*, pp. 228-9.