

MISSION
FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE
TO
ASHANTEE,
WITH A
STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THAT KINGDOM,
AND
GEOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF OTHER PARTS
OF THE
INTERIOR OF AFRICA.

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CONDUCTOR.

“ Quod si præ metu et formidine pedem referemus, ista omnia nobis adversa
futura sunt.”

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African Cases

INTRODUCTION.

A CURIOSITY throughout Europe, proportionate to the ignorance of the Interior of Africa, exacts the publication of the proceedings and researches of every Exploratory Mission, from its Conductor, as a duty to the Public : “ *mandat fieri sibi talia.*”

The Public, in acknowledgment of the performance of the duty, reflecting that it constrains literary efforts which the Author otherwise might never have presumed to expose, should sympathise in his diffidence and anxiety, and receive and review them as a task imposed, and not as a spontaneous essay.

If this indulgence is due even to gentlemen who have had the most enviable opportunities of qualifying themselves at the expense of a liberal Government, it is surely secure to one who never enjoyed those advantages ; but, being suddenly called to the immediate conduct of a Mission, originated by a public Board of very contracted means, when estranged from all facilities, had no resource to aid his realization of the scientific desiderata, beyond the acquirements common to most private gentlemen.

The vessel in which I am making my passage to England having been chartered to trade in the River Gaboon, which is immediately on the Line, I diverted a tedious delay of seven weeks in so

unhealthy a situation, by visiting Naängo, a town about fifty miles from the mouth of the River, where I collected Geographical Accounts of the Interior, from several intelligent traders, and numerous slaves from different countries. I have added this compilation, (as it may borrow some interest from the adjacency of the Congo,) with a few notices of the customs and productions of this ruder part of Africa.

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ERRATA.

Map.—Affix the name Leesa to the river flowing from the Niger by Boussa.

Page 9.—After Frederick James, Esq. add, Member of Council, and Governor of Accra.

Page 72.—For dated, read *dictated*.

GLOSSARY.

Croom. A town or village.

Caboceer. A chief or magistrate.

Pynin. An elder or counsellor.

Palaver. A dispute, debate, argument, or suit.

Book or Note. A certificate of a monthly pension of the African Committee, paid in trade to the Fantee Kings and Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, in consideration of their attachment, influence, and services; which Books or Notes were claimed by the King of Ashantee, as his by right of conquest.

Stool. Throne, seat in council, inheritance.

Custom. A festival, carnival, public ceremony, funeral rite.

Panyar. To seize or kidnap.

A Benda. Two ounces four ackies, or £9. currency.

A Periguin. Two ounces eight ackies, or £10. currency.

An Ackie. Five shillings currency.

A Tokoo. Ten pence.

A Dash. A present.

Fetish. A charm, amulet, deity. Any supernatural power or influence. Any thing sacred.

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MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

PART I.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

CHAPTER I.

The Objects, and Departure of the Mission.

BOSMAN and Barbot mention the Ashantees as first heard of by Europeans about the year 1700; the latter calls it Assiantee or Inta, and writes, that it is west of Mandingo, and joins Akim on the east; he asserts its pre-eminence in wealth and power. Issert, a physician in the Danish service, who meditated a visit to Ashantee, writes, "this mighty king has a piece of gold, as a charm, more than four men can carry; and innumerable slaves are constantly at work for him in the mountains, each of whom must collect or produce two ounces of gold per diem. The Akims formerly dug much gold, but they are now forbidden by the King of Ashantee, to whom they are tributary, as well as the Aquamboos, previously a very formidable nation." Mr. Dalzel heard of the Ashantees at Dahomey, as very powerful, but imagined them, the Intas, and the Tapahs, to be one and the same nation. Mr. Lucas,

when in Mesurata, was informed that Assentai was the capital of the powerful kingdom of Tonouwah. In Mr. Murray's enlarged edition of Dr. Leyden's discoveries in Africa, we find, "the northern border of Akim extends to Tonouwah, denominated also Inta, Assientè, or Assentai, from its capital city of that name, which stands about eighteen days journey from the Gold Coast."

In 1807 an Ashantee army reached the Coast for the first time. I would refer the reader to the extract in the Appendix, from Mr. Meredith's account of the Gold Coast, as the particulars are introductory as well as interesting; and also serve to correct the misstatement in the work last quoted, that in 1808 the King of Ashantee destroyed the English fort of Annamaboe; originating, probably, from the storm of the Dutch fort at Cormantine, at that time.

The Ashantees invaded Fantee again in 1811, and the third time in 1816. These invasions inflicted the greatest miseries on the Fantees. Few were slain in battle, for they rarely dared to encounter the invaders; but the butcheries in cold blood were incredible, and thousands were dragged into the interior to be sacrificed to the superstitions of the conquerors. Famines, unmitigated by labour, succeeded the wide waste of the Fantee territory, the wretched remnant of the population abandoning itself to despair; and the prolonged blockade of Cape Coast Castle in the last invasion, engendered so much distress and hazard, that the Government having averted imminent danger by advancing a large sum of gold on account of the Fantees, earnestly desired the Committee to authorise and enable them to venture an Embassy, to deprecate these repeated calamities, to conciliate so powerful a monarch, and to propitiate an extension of commerce. By the store ship which arrived in 1817, the African Committee forwarded liberal and suitable presents, and associated scientific with the

political objects of the Mission, in their instructions, which I submit in explanation.

“ In order to enable you to redeem the promise to the King of Ashantee (and as we are sanguine in our hopes of the good that may result from it), we send you sundry articles as presents for him, to which you may add such others from the public stores as you may deem desirable, provided they will not materially increase the expense. The Committee are extremely anxious (and in this respect the wishes of all classes of people in this country go with them) that no exertions should be spared to become better acquainted with the Interior of Africa; and we consider the existing state of things to be most favourable for undertaking an exploratory Mission into the dominions of the King of Ashantee. If, therefore, nothing shall have transpired in the interim of this dispatch being received by you, to make the measure objectionable, we wish you to obtain permission from the King to send an Embassy to his capital: if granted, you will select three Gentlemen (one of them from the medical department*) for that service; and let them be accompanied by a respectable escort, you giving them the fullest instructions for their government. In particular, it will be necessary for them to observe, and report upon, the nature of the country; its soil and products; the names, and distances, and the latitude and longitude of the principal places; and its most remarkable natural objects: the appearance, distinguishing characters, and manners of the natives; their religion, laws, customs, and forms of government, as far as they can be ascertained; and by whom each place is governed. When at Ashantee, they should

* We recommend his being well supplied with dressings, &c. for wounds, and bruises, so that he may be able to assist any natives whom he may meet with requiring his aid: services of this sort give Negroes an exalted idea of white men, and are always gratefully remembered.

endeavour to obtain the fullest information of the countries beyond, in each direction; particularly whether any high mountains, lakes, or large rivers are known; and the width, depth, course, and direction of the latter; and whether the water, as well of the lakes as the rivers, is salt or fresh: and how far, and under what circumstances, white men may travel with safety, especially in a northerly direction. They should collect the most accurate information possible of the extent, population, and resources of the Ashantee dominions, and should report fully their opinion of the inhabitants, and of the progress they may have made in the arts of civilized life. They should be directed also, to procure and bring away (with the consent of the chiefs) any specimens of vegetable and mineral productions they may be able: and to ascertain where and how the natives collect the gold, and the extent to which the trade in that article, and in ivory, might be carried on. It would, we conceive, be a most important advantage, if the King of Ashantee, and some of his chiefs, could be prevailed upon to send one or more of their children to the Cape, to be educated at the expense of the Committee (to be attended by their own servants, if required), under the guarantee of the Governor and Council for their personal safety, and that they should be sent back when required.

“ Another great object would be, to prevail upon the King to form, and keep open, a path not less than six feet wide, from his capital, as far as his territories extend towards Cape Coast, you engaging on the part of the Committee, to continue it from that point to Cape Coast, which we presume may be done at a very small expense, by means of monthly allowances to the chiefs of such villages as be in that line; upon condition that they shall not allow the path to be overgrown with underwood, or otherwise obstructed.

“ It may perhaps be found, that high mountains, or a large river, may be not many days journey beyond Ashantee ; in which case, if the Gentlemen composing the Embassy feel themselves secure in the attempt, they may probably be disposed to proceed so far. In such event, we authorize you to pay their drafts for any moderate sums which they may find it necessary to expend, as well as for the general objects of the Mission.

“ Besides the escort of which we have spoken, we think it necessary, or at least extremely important, that the Embassy should be accompanied by natives of character and consequence, conversant with the Ashantee language, in whom you have perfect confidence, selected, one from each of the towns of Cape Coast, Accra, and Apollonia, to whom you may make reasonable allowances for their time and trouble.

“ We have said that you should obtain the permission of the King of Ashantee to send the Embassy : we have doubts of the expediency of requiring hostages ; but, we presume you will concur with us in thinking, it will be necessary, before it leaves Cape Coast, that a man of consequence should be specially sent down by the King, to serve as a guide and protector ; and who, on his journey to Cape Coast, may arrange with the messenger whom you may send to the King, respecting the places at which the Embassy may stop to refresh, and give directions to open the paths that may be overgrown.

“ The Gentlemen whom you may select, will of course be well advised by you not to interfere with any customs of the natives, however absurd ; or in any way to give them offence. And they cannot too strongly impress upon the minds of the King and people of Ashantee, that the only objects his Britannic Majesty has in view, are, to extend the trade with that country ; to prevent all interruption to their free communication with the waterside ;

and to instruct their children in reading, writing, &c. from which, as may be easily pointed out, the greatest advantages must arise to the Ashantees.

“ From what has been said, you, Gentlemen, will perceive, that in selecting the Embassy, it is important that one of the persons composing it should be able to determine the latitude and longitude of places, and that both shall be seasoned to the climate; of ability, physical and mental; of cool tempers, and moderate habits; and possessed of fortitude and perseverance; and that in the selection of their escort also, regard be had to the qualifications of the parties in those respects. Among them there should be a bricklayer, carpenter, blacksmith, gunsmith, and cooper, with proper tools; if these persons can be spared for the purpose. We wish also they should take with them a number of *certificates regarding Major Peddie*, and his companions, to be circulated as distinctly as possible in the Interior; for though the period may be past when they might have been useful to those travellers, it is yet possible that they may be of use in making generally known the object of Government in sending white men to explore that country.”

The suggestion of hostages was wholly impracticable, for there was not even time for a communication with the King. A variety of circumstances conspired to urge the immediate dispatch of the Mission; our interests, to say the least, imperiously demanded its early interference; and had we waited for a formal permission from the King to relieve the difficulties of the enterprise, the rainy season would have been too far advanced, and the critical moment have escaped us. The Governor thought it more advisable to dispatch the Mission without an escort, and two native soldiers only were added to the bearers of the baggage. The perusal of the Governor's instructions will be satisfactory to the reader:

Cape Coast Castle, April 19th, 1817

FREDERICK JAMES, ESQ.

SIR,

IN accepting your voluntary offer of conducting the Embassy to the King of Ashantee, I have every reason to believe, that from your long experience in this country, and your knowledge of the manners and habits of the natives, it will terminate in a manner highly creditable to yourself, and eventually prove of the greatest importance to the commercial interest of Great Britain, which is the more immediate object of the Mission; however, as many subjects of scientific research may be associated with it, they are particularly recommended to your attention. For this purpose Mr. Bowdich will accompany you; and I have no doubt he will be found perfectly qualified to make the necessary observations, in which you will afford him every facility and assistance. He is provided with instruments for determining the latitude and longitude of places. Mr. Hutchison, writer, and Mr. Tedlie, assistant surgeon, will also be attached to the expedition.

The Ashantees, who are appointed your guides, have been selected by the Ashantee Captain who is now here. They will, I hope, aid and assist you in every thing that lays in their power.

In addition to the Committee's instructions, a copy of which you have herewith, you will attend to the following:

On the subject of your journey, I have nothing to observe further, than, that I hope you will take every opportunity of travelling when there will be the least exposure to the sun, as the officers who accompany you have been but a short time in the country, and every precaution will be necessary for the preservation of their health.

As soon as may be convenient after your arrival at the Ashantee

capital, you will of course see the King, and deliver him the various presents in the name of the African Company, to be received by him as pledges of the harmony and friendship which is ever to subsist between them; and also of his good will towards the natives residing under the protection of their different forts. You will not fail to impress upon his mind, the great power, wealth, and consequence of the British nation, and how much it is the interest of himself and his subjects, to promote and perpetuate their present free intercourse with the water side. In the course of your interview many circumstances will doubtless occur, which will suggest various other matters proper to be mentioned to the King, all which I shall leave entirely to your own discretion.

You will acquaint the King, that in order to secure a correct communication between him and myself, I request his permission to allow an officer to reside constantly at Commassey, who will defray all his own expenses, and for whom you will build a house without loss of time. A carpenter, bricklayer, and cooper are sent with you, and you will leave them with Mr. Hutchison, who will remain as Resident. On your departure you will give him full instructions in writing for his future government, a copy of which you will deliver me upon your return.

You will keep an exact diary of every circumstance possessing the least interest, a copy of which you will transmit me by every opportunity.

In the course of your stay in the Ashantee country, you will embrace every occasion of becoming acquainted with the politics of that nation, of ascertaining its extent and boundaries, the power of the King over the lives and property of his subjects, the probable force he could bring into the field, the number of his allies, the sources and amount of his revenues. Whether he is tributary to any other power, and what nations in his neighbourhood are

tributary to him? The amount of tribute, and in what articles paid? The rule of succession to the throne? What are the punishments for crimes of all descriptions? Who are the persons of most consequence next to the King? The names of their offices, and the extent of their power: by whom, or how paid? What are the most prominent features in the character, manners, and habits of the people, &c. &c. &c.?

Are any human sacrifices made? Upon what occasions, and to what extent? How are prisoners of war now disposed of?

Of what nation are the Moors that frequent the Ashantee country, and for what purpose do they go there?

Ascertain the current medium of exchange, whether gold, or cowries; also the usual prices at which the Ashantees sell the goods they purchase from the Europeans on the sea coast; and the extent of their commercial relations with the Interior.

You will enquire whether any European travellers have ever been seen or heard of in any of the countries to the northward; and what became of them? Whether any thing be known of the river Niger, or Joliba, as it is called by the natives? This information you will probably obtain from the Moors.

Ascertain the position of the Doncoe country, and the city of Kong; also the mountains of that name. Refer to Park's Travels, and acquire as much information as possible of the regions lying between Ashantee and the last places he visited. In short, leave nothing undone that may add to our present imperfect geographical knowledge of the Interior.

You will receive herewith copies of certificates relative to Major Pedde's expedition, which you will distribute amongst any persons you find travelling into the Interior from Ashantee.

It would be of the first importance to have a road cut directly down to Cape Coast; and this you will urge to the King in the

strongest manner. Your observations will, of course, enable you to point out the proper directions.

I inclose a sketch of a treaty, and it would be highly desirable if you could procure its ratification by the King. He might perhaps make some objection at first, but may be persuaded at length, by your address, and reasoning. If he wished any trifling alteration made, you might use your discretion in this respect.

You will acquaint the King, it is my wish that in future he receive his company's pay at this Castle, and not at Accra, as formerly. Should he say any thing of an increase to his present allowance, you may give him hopes that it will be granted to a reasonable extent, provided the objects of this Mission be fulfilled, and after twelve months experience shall have proved the sincerity of his friendship to the British Government, and to the natives resident under its protection at the various forts on the Coast.

From the jealous disposition of the natives of Africa, it is highly probable, that in the prosecution of your enquiries, you will be subject to many unfavourable suspicions. These you will take all possible care to remove, by the most candid explanations on every point that may be required.

You will particularly explain to the King, the ill treatment the people of Cape Coast have experienced from those of Elmina, which has added very much to the distresses they have for some time suffered from the extreme scarcity of provisions; and there is reason to believe, that this unjust persecution has been induced, from their presuming on their connection with the Ashantees. Being perfectly aware that it has been done without the concurrence of the King; I have no doubt but he will, by a proper representation of the affair from you, exert his influence, and prevent what is at present to be apprehended, and what the

Elminas are endeavouring to provoke — a war between the two people.

In all cases not provided for in these Instructions, you have of course a discretionary power, which I am convinced you will make use of with deliberation and prudence, and with becoming zeal for the service upon which you are employed.

Wishing you a prosperous journey and a safe return,

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HOPE SMITH.

CHAPTER II.

The Route, and Reception of the Mission.

THE Mission left Cape Coast Castle on the morning of the 22d of April, with the intention of quitting the water side at Moree, three miles and a half to the eastward ; but on reaching it, we were told that the path thence to Payntree's croom, always bad, was then impassable from the rains ; and that we must proceed to Annamaboe before we struck into the bush for the Interior.

The reluctance of the carriers, who had been pressed into the service by the authorities of the town, became thus early almost insuperable ; the consideration of pay and subsistence, and the reflection, that the dearth inflicted by the invasions the Mission was to deprecate, allowed them but a bare existence at home, were entirely lost in their aversion to the undertaking, which was equally influenced by jealousy and indolence : eleven deserted the first day ; and the slender authority of the King and caboceers of Annamaboe, delayed the procuring of others to replace them until the next evening. One party was then started, attended by a soldier and a messenger, as they persisted in laying down their loads, even in the town ; and many of the Annamaboes who had been procured, after lifting their packages, which were of moderate weight, walked off again, with the most insolent indifference. The devices by which these people displayed their ill will were pecu-

liarly their own, and none could be more ingeniously tormenting. At four o'clock on Thursday morning we started the remainder of the packages, and followed them at half past six. Proceeding about two miles in a N. N. W. direction, we descended a steep hill, a quarter of a mile in length, and entered a beautiful valley, profusely covered with pines, aloes, and lilies; and richly varied with palm, banana, plantain, and guava trees: the view was refreshed by gentle risings crowned with cotton trees of a stupendous size. I never saw soil so rich, or vegetation so luxuriant.

The first croom we reached was Quama's, about three miles and a half from Annamaboe; it presented but a few hovels; and we passed through three others, Simquoi, Taphoo, and Nasmam, just as wretched and insignificant, before we reached Booka, romantically situated amidst the luxuriant foliage of a high hill, terminating the valley. Abra is about three miles eastward of this croom: it has been entirely deserted since the last invasion, the Ashantee army under Appia Nanu having made it their head quarters. It formerly exceeded Annamaboe, but the little that now remains is in ruin, the inhabitants having retired to the small crooms of their caboceer, or Captain Quaggheree.

Passing through Tachradi, which scarcely existed but in name, we ascended a gentle rising, with a small croom, called Acroo-froom, on the left hand. The astonishment of its miserable inhabitants engaging our attention, the extensive area of the summit burst upon us with the more effect. It was environed by small groves; and clumps of cotton trees rose so happily in frequent spots, as to afford all the scenery of a romantic little park; the broken rays of the sun stealing through the small trees in the distance, to make the deep shade of the foreground more imposing. The path then became more hilly, and the landscape fuller of wood: our descents and risings frequently through long vistas, so

richly gilded with the sun on the summits, that, impressed with the description of Issert, we naturally yielded to the expectation, in ascending each eminence, that it would afford us the delightful prospect of an open country; but we were disappointed, and passing through Dunnasee and Assoquah, both small crooms, the latter situated on a long level, about three miles and a half from Acroofroom, we shortly after arrived at Payntree's.

On the higher hills the soil was generally gravel, with large stones; on the lesser, white flint and whinstone abounded: the levels presented few stones, and the earth was black, strong, and rich, producing grass from four to ten feet high. The country was very thinly inhabited, and more sparingly cultivated, the cassada frequent, but producing little from the want of cultivation.

I made Payntree's croom barely fifteen miles from Annamaboe; judging from time, it was guessed to be eighteen or twenty; but the impediments which the path almost incessantly presented to a hammock, the inequalities of the ground, and many delays which insensibly consumed the time, conspired to make such a calculation of distance very fallacious. The plan I adopted throughout, though laborious, entitled me to more confidence; and the observations confirmed the pretension. Mr. Tedlie, who was always just ahead of myself, took the angles of the path by his compass, which I pencilled as he uttered them, with their several lengths, allowing four yards and a half for every six paces. It is allowed too by the natives to be an easy four hours walk. Several hours elapsed before all the carriers came up; most of those who had been started by us the preceding day, slept in the bush, and one more had deserted.

The prevailing courses and their proportions were N. $\frac{1}{4}$; N.bW. $\frac{1}{8}$; N. N.W. $\frac{1}{8}$; N. N.E. $\frac{1}{8}$; the rest of the distance being made up of small lengths, in every point of the compass, from S.W. to S.E.;

the variation $17\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ W. The latitude of Payntree, by two altitudes of the sun, was $5^{\circ} 20' 30''$ N.; the longitude, by the course and distance, as afterwards corrected, $1^{\circ} 47' W.$

We received the compliments of Payntree and several cabo-
ceers, under a large tree, and were then conducted to a neat and comfortable dwelling, which had been prepared for us: a small square area afforded a shed for cooking in on one side, and a sleeping room in each of the others, open in front, but well thatched, and very clean: from this we passed to our sitting room, the floor of which was elevated about two feet from the ground.

The croom was prettily situated on a level, encircled by very fine trees, and consisted of a very broad and well cleaned street of small huts, framed of bamboo, and neatly thatched. Just beyond the north end of the croom, there was a stream running to the N. N. E. and more than a mile of marshy ground was distinguished by the deeper shade and luxuriance of the foliage. We observed a great number of small birds, which were even more beautiful from their delicate symmetry, than their brilliant plumage; they were generally green, with black wings, and their nests hanging from the trees.

The Ashantee captain, who expected to continue there some months, on the king's business, sent us a sheep, pleading the scarcity, and his being a stranger, as apologies for so small a present. Old Payntree was attentive and obliging; he dashed us some fowls, yams, and palm wine. We remained there the next day, to allow our people to procure four days subsistence, as they would not be able to meet with provision on the path during that period.

I walked with Mr. Tedlie along a very neat path well fenced, and divided by *stiles*, to a corn plantation of at least twenty acres, and well cultivated. Payntree's farm house was situated here, and afforded superior conveniences; a fowl house, a pigeon house, and

a large granary raised on a strong stage. As we returned we paid him a visit, and were refreshed with some excellent palm wine: his dwelling was a square of four apartments, which were entered from an outer one, where a number of drums were kept; the angles were occupied by the slaves, and his own room, which had a small inner chamber, was decked with muskets, blunderbusses, cartouch belts fantastically ornamented, and various insignia. The order, cleanliness, and comfort, surprised us; the sun had just set, and a cheerful fire on a clean hearth supported the evening meal. The old man was seated in his state chair, diverting himself with his children and younger wives, the elder one was looking on from the opposite apartment with happy indifference; it was the first scene of domestic comfort I had witnessed among the natives. There was a small plantation or garden neatly fenced in, near the house, for the supply of the family.

On Saturday the 26th we left Payntree's croom, and proceeded through two romantic little valleys, with a few huts in each: the variety of trees increased with the number, and ornamented the hills with almost every tint and character of foliage: the path was frequently covered with water. Just before we reached Cottacoomacasa, a most beautiful landscape opened, the fore-ground darkly shaded with large cotton trees, and the distance composed of several picturesque little hills; their fanciful outlines, and the beautiful variety of fresh and sombre tint of the small groves which encircled them, forcibly reminded me of the celebrated ride by Grongar hill, from Carmarthen to Llandilo.

Cottacoomacasa is about six miles and a quarter from Payntree's croom, and consisted but of a few miserable huts and sheds, which scarcely afforded shelter, and were close and filthy. I took the angles of a cotton tree near us, and the height proved to be 139 feet; generally speaking, those we had passed were, to appearance,

much higher. The bearers had all settled themselves here, and not contented with a long rest, refused for some time to proceed until the next day; several were intoxicated with the rum from some ankars they had designedly broken. We started again however about half past three, and almost immediately entered a large forest impervious to the sun; the risings were frequent but gentle; the path, crooked and overgrown, presented such constant obstacles to a hammock, that Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Tedlie, and myself, were glad to dismount, and found it was much more comfortable as well as more expeditious to walk; the only inconvenience was the troops of large black ants, which were too thick to be avoided, and stung us sadly. We passed two little streams running E. N. E. About six miles from Cottacoomacasa we found all the baggage, the people making their fires, and settling themselves for the night; it was almost dark; Quamina, our Ashantee guide, had gone on without us, and Mr. James we knew must be far behind; we therefore determined to halt for the night, and our hammocks were slung to the trees. The distance marched this day was twelve miles. The longitude of Cottacoomacasa was one mile E. of that of Payntree by account, that of our resting place $1^{\circ} 46' 30''$ W. and the lat. $5^{\circ} 28' N$.

The next morning we continued our march through the same dark solitude, and passing three small streams running E. we reached Mansue soon after ten o'clock. We had scarcely seated ourselves under a tattered shed, which could not defend us from the burning sun, when we were encircled by the cooking fires of the party, and nothing but violence could remove them to a proper distance.

Mansue had been the great Fantee market for slaves from the Interior, and its former consequence was evident from the extent of its site, over which a few sheds only were now scattered.

We proceeded again at one o'clock, and passing through a small river, Assooneara, running eastward, we came to a second, called Okee, running in the same direction to the Amissa, which falls into the sea between Annamaboe and Tantum. We passed five or six swamps, one nearly half a mile long; in these the soil was a dark clay, but otherwise gravelly. We halted in the woods at a spot where our guide Quamina was busied in cutting down the underwood to accommodate himself and his women; the bearers, resolute in their perverseness, had gone on with our provisions and clothes. The ground of our resting place was very damp, and swarmed with reptiles and insects; we had great difficulty in keeping up our fires, which we were the more anxious to do after a visit from a panther: an animal which, the natives say, resembles a small pig, and inhabits the trees, continued a shrill screeching through the night; and occasionally a wild hog bounced by, snorting through the forest, as if closely pursued. This day's distance was eight miles, and the course N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. b. E. $\frac{1}{6}$. Lat. and long. by account $5^{\circ} 34'$ N. and $1^{\circ} 48'$ W. Thermometer in shade 6 A. M. 74.

We started the next morning at seven o'clock, and after three miles and a half crossed a small river called Gaia, and sometimes Aniabirrim, from a croom of that name being formerly in its neighbourhood; it was ten yards wide and two feet deep, and ran to the E. just across the path, but afterwards N. N. E. to the Amissa. Here Mr. Hutchison waited for Mr. James to come up, whilst Mr. Tedlie and myself walked on to overtake the people. The doom and iron-wood trees were frequent; the path was a labyrinth of the most capricious windings, the roots of the cotton trees obstructing it continually, and our progress was generally by stepping and jumping up and down, rather than walking; the stems or caudices of these trees projected from the trunks like flying buttresses, their height frequently 20 feet. Immense trunks

of fallen trees presented constant barriers to our progress, and increased our fatigues from the labour of scaling them: we were also frequently obliged to wait the cutting away of the underwood before we could proceed, even on foot. The large trees were covered with parasites and convolvuli, and the climbing plants, like small cables, ascending the trunks to some height, abruptly shot downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists and turnings, that it soon became impossible to trace them in the general entanglement. We passed through two small streams running S. and several swamps, richly covered with palm trees. Parrots and crown birds were numerous. At the end of ten miles we came to a small river called Quatoa, four yards wide, also running eastward to the Amissa; and immediately after to a few sheds bearing the same name, where we found the last party of the bearers all lying down, and a soldier ineffectually endeavouring to rouse them: we started them with difficulty. A mile and a half thence we met with the Okee again, running over its rocky bed in a transparent stream, which reflected the richest foliage; its course S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., the breadth nine yards, and we stepped across it from rock to rock. We soon afterwards walked through the Antoonso, a smaller river running W. S.W., which probably crossed the path to the eastward in one of the small streams near Cottacouacasa, as every report confirmed its also running to the Amissa; it was very near Fousou, where we had scarcely arrived, before the Fantees, such was their perverseness, insisted upon going on, the Cape Coast messengers either had no influence or would not exert it; we soon stopped them with the assistance of Quamina, our Ashantee guide, Mr. James not coming up until late in the evening. Fousou was formerly a large town, but had been destroyed by the Ashantee invasion of 1807; it presented but a few sheds, in one of which we observed

the Ashantee traders to deposit yams and plantains to subsist them on their return ; so severe was the scarcity in the Fantee country : we could purchase nothing, and were admitted to the best hovel with reluctance. This day's distance was 14 miles. The courses N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. b W. $\frac{1}{8}$. The latitude of Fousou by observation, was $5^{\circ} 43' 20''$ N. and the longitude by account $1^{\circ} 52'$ W.

The next morning, the 29th of April, we marched seven miles to Ancomassa, a name given to half a dozen sheds ; the path was still of the same rugged nature, and the gloom unvaried. A strong fragrance was emitted from the decaying plants and trees of the mimosa kind, whilst others in the same incipient state of putrefaction were very offensive. We passed through two small rivers, Bettensin and Soubin, six yards wide, and shallow ; they both ran eastward to the Owa, of which I could not learn more than that it emptied itself into the Boosempra.

We proceeded at four o'clock, and had not gone two miles on our gloomy route before it became dark. The path was level, but very swampy, and generally covered with water. The fire-flies spangled the herbage in every direction, and from the strength of their light, alternately excited the apprehension of wild beasts, and the hope that we approached the resting place our guide, whom we never saw after starting, had told us of in the morning. The greatest fear of the people was of the spirits of the woods, (whom Mr. Park's interpreter, Johnson, propitiated by a sacrifice between Jing and Gangaddi) and the discordant yells in which they rivalled each other to keep up their courage, mingled with the howls and screeches from the forest, imposed a degree of horror on this dismal scene, which associated it with the imaginations of Dante. Three or four times we suddenly emerged from the most awful gloom into extensive areas, on which the stars shed a brilliancy of light gradually softened into the deep shade which

encompassed them; they were the sites of large and populous crooms destroyed in the Ashantee invasions. About nine o'clock we discovered a few miserable sheds, which the noise of the bearers, who had long arrived, convinced us to be Accomfodey. We had passed two small rivers, the Aprinisee and Annuia, both running to the Boosempira. This day's distance was 11 miles, and the courses N. $\frac{1}{3}$ N. b W. $\frac{1}{5}$. The lat. and long. by account $5^{\circ} 49'$ N. and $1^{\circ} 55'$ W. Thermometer 11 a. m. 80.

We marched early the next morning. The scenery of the forest, excepting on the banks of the small rivers, was very naked of foliage, and only presented a harsh and ragged confusion of stems and branches intricately blended. We passed a small river soon after leaving Accomfodey, bearing the same name and running eastward; and shortly after another, six yards wide and two feet deep (the Berrakoo), running N. E. to the Boosempira. The path was sometimes trackless, and appeared to have been little used since the invasion of 1807; several human skulls were scattered through this dark solitude, the relics of the butchery. We halted about two o'clock by Mr. James's direction, and passed the night in the forest. This day's distance was eight miles, the prevailing courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. b W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N. N. W. $\frac{1}{8}$, N. b E. $\frac{1}{8}$. The latitude and longitude by account $5^{\circ} 53'$ N. $1^{\circ} 55'$ W. Thermometer 2 p. m. $88\frac{1}{2}$, 7 p. m. $82\frac{1}{2}$.

The next morning we passed some sheds, on the sites of the crooms Dansamsou and Meakirring. At the end of five miles and a quarter, the herbage to the right disclosed the cheerful reflections of the sun from the water; and we descended through a small vista of the forest, to the banks of the Boosempira or Chamah river. Nothing could be more beautiful than its scenery: the bank on the south side was steep, and admitted but a narrow path; that on the north sloping; on which a small Fetish house, under the shade of

a cachou tree, fixed the eye; whence it wandered over a rich variety of tint and foliage, in which light and shade were most happily blended: the small rocks stole through the herbage of the banks, and now and then ruffled the water: the doom trees towering in the shrubbery, waved to the most gentle air a rich foliage of dark green, mocking the finest touch of the pencil; the tamarind and smaller mimosas heightening its effect by their livelier tint, and the more piquant delicacy of their leaf: the cotton trees overtopped the whole, entwined in convolvuli, and several elegant little trees, unknown to me, rose in the background, intermixed with palms, and made the coup d'oeil enchanting. The bright rays of the sun were sobered by the rich reflections of the water; and there was a mild beauty in the landscape, uncongenial to barbarism, which imposed the expectation of elegance and refinement. I attempted a sketch, but it was far beyond my rude pencil; the expression of the scene could only have been traced in the profile of every tree; and it seemed to defy any touches, but those of a Claude or a Wilson, to depict the life of its beauty. I took two angles from a base on the south side, which gave the width of the river, forty three yards; the depth was 7 feet, and the course N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W. with a very strong current. A small river called Nimeä, ran into it, close to our right as we landed: we crossed in the hollow trunk of a tree, thirty feet long, the ends plastered up with sticks and swish.

Mansue was said to have been the last town of the Fantee territory; but we had no opportunity for comparison until we passed the river, the country thitherto presenting all the gloom of depopulation, and the forest fast recovering the sites of the large towns destroyed in the Ashantee invasions. The inhabitants of the few wretched hovels, remotely scattered, seemed as if they had fled to them as outcasts from society; they were lost even to curiosity, and

manners were brutal and sullen.* We could purchase nothing for our subsistence.

The scene brightened from our crossing the Boosempira; the path improved, and Prasoo, the first town, only three quarters of a mile from the river, presented a wide and clean street of tolerably regular houses; the inhabitants clean and cheerful, left their various occupations to gratify their curiosity, and saluted us in a friendly and respectful manner: indeed the Assins may be considered, collectively, a more mannerly and orderly people than the Ashantees. Kickiwherree, one mile and a half distant, was a larger town, not so regular, but presenting the same neat appearance, improved by the white-washing of many of the houses. We halted here under the ganian† tree, used, generally speaking, for recreation only, palavers being talked in the open fronts of the houses. We were conducted to a comfortable dwelling, affording us four very clean rooms, about 12 feet by 7, in which there were shelves containing many articles of superior domestic comfort; a curtain or skreen of bamboo let down in the open front, and the floors raised about a foot and half from the ground, were washed daily with an earth of the neighbourhood, which coloured them Etruscan red. The iron stone abounded. Kickiwherree was 7 miles from the previous resting place, and the prevailing courses $N.\frac{1}{4}$ N.b.W. $\frac{1}{7}$. The latitude by observation was $5^{\circ} 56' 40''$ N; the longitude by account $1^{\circ} 57'$ W. Thermometer 8 a. m. 77; 1 p. m. 91.

My observations had not been so frequent as I wished; the nature of the country, and the season of the year were both very

* Every account I received afterwards, confirmed the boundary of the Fantee and Assin territories to be between Mansue and Fousou; also that Ancomassa, Accomfodey, Dansamsou, Meakirring, &c. &c. had all been large Assin crooms, destroyed with many others in their neighbourhood, in the Ashantee invasion of 1807.

† This is the same tree as the banian or India fig.

unfavourable to them. I worked the double altitudes, invariably by Dr. Pemberton's rule in Keith's trigonometry, which requires no assumed latitude, and is in all cases accurate.

Mr. James having determined to rest the next day at Kickiwherree, we did not proceed until Saturday the 3rd of May. We passed through a small river close to the town, called the Ading, six yards wide and two feet deep; and soon after a second, the Animiasoo, nine yards wide, and three feet deep, both running to the Boosempira; close to the latter was a large croom of the same name, the seat of Cheboo's government. Pagga and Atobiasee were also large crooms near each other, and within four miles of Kickiwherree. At Atobiasee was a small river called Prensa, five yards wide, and two feet deep, which ran E.S.E. to the Boosempira: two miles thence we came to Becquama, a very old croom, with a river nine yards wide, called Prapong, running E. by S. to the Boosempira; and at the end of nine miles we halted at Asharaman, a small croom on an eminence, where the Assins under Apootey and Cheboo, first engaged the Ashantees in 1807. There was a small plot of corn near this croom, the first we had seen since we left Payntree, though every croom was surrounded by a tract of cultivated land, or plantation of plantains. The path continued through forest. Distance 8 miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$. Latitude by observation, $5^{\circ} 59' 20''$. Longitude by course and distance $1^{\circ} 57' 40''$ W. Thermometer 6 a. m. 76, p. m. 89.

The next day we passed through Ansa, a large croom, where Amoo had governed; north-west of which, at a little distance, was Aboiboo, the residence of his enemy Apootey. A small river near Ansa, called Parakoomee, eleven yards wide, and three feet deep, ran south to a larger, called Ofim or Foom, which rises six days northward of Coomassie, and falls into the Boosempira some miles westward of our crossing. The path was very swampy, and we

did not reach Akrofroom until three o'clock : this was by far the largest croom we had seen. The heavy rains during the night floated us in our lodgings, and, as Quamina reported, rendered the path to Moisee impassable for the next day ; consequently we did not proceed until Tuesday the 6th. Distance 12 miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{5}$, N. N. W. $\frac{1}{4}$. Latitude by observation, $6^{\circ} 5' 40''$. Long: C and D $2^{\circ} 2'$, W. The path still through forest, presented frequent acclivities, and the iron stone, and a soft grey rock abounded ; the soil was sometimes gravelly, but generally of a red coloured clay used in the native pottery. We passed the Parakoomee again twice, and at the end of 11 miles halted at Moisee,

“ Cingebant silvæ ; quem collibus undique curvis,”

the last Assin town, at the foot of three high hills covered with wood, bearing W. N. W., N., and N. N. E. ; the barriers of the Ashantee kingdom. Course N. $\frac{1}{5}$, N. W. b. N. $\frac{1}{7}$. N. b. E. $\frac{1}{8}$. Latitude by observation $6^{\circ} 8' 50''$ N. Longitude C and D $2^{\circ} 4' 20''$ W. The thermometer was broken on the 4th.

We passed the northern boundary the next morning ; the ascent was a mile and a half in length, and very rocky ; a small river called the Bohmen ran S. W. to the Jim, which falls into the Ofim : the water of the Bohmen is said to instil eloquence, and numerous Ashantees repair annually to drink of it : it flowed in a very clear stream, over a bed of gravel, and was three feet deep, and eight yards broad. The expectation of an open country was again disappointed ; I bore several eminent points, in the hope of being able to do so again at some distance, and of thus, with the intermediate course, checking the distance computed by paces ; but the forest soon shut them out entirely. The first Ashantee croom was Quesha ; and we soon after passed through Fohmannee, which had been a very considerable town. We stopped there awhile at the request of a venerable old man, who regaled us with

some palm wine and fruit : his manners were very pleasing, and made it more painful to us to hear that his life was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the king to commiserate his infirmities so far as to allow him to be executed at his own croom, and to be spared the fatigue of a journey to the capital : he conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over the log with an emotion of dignity rather than shame : his head arrived at Coomassie the day after we had. On ascending the hill, the soil became a dark brown clay, and very productive. We passed the first large plantation of corn we had seen since we left Payntree, and halted at Doompassee. Distance 6 miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{3}$. N. N. W. $\frac{1}{5}$. N. W. $\frac{1}{6}$: Latitude by observation, $6^{\circ} 11' 30''$.

Doompassee had been a very large croom, but the caboceer having intrigued with one of Sai Cudjoe's wives, who had permission to visit her family in this place, the greater part of it was destroyed in consequence, and the caboceer decapitated : the woman possessing irresistible art in practising upon the numerous admirers of her beauty, the king spared her life, and employed her thenceforth to inveigle those distant caboceers, whose lives or properties were desirable to him. It was the most industrious town on the path ; cloths, beads, and pottery were manufacturing in all directions, and the blacksmiths' forges were always at work. The intelligence of the beginning of the King's fetish week, and Mr. James's attack of fever, delayed us at Doompassee, and a messenger was dispatched in the interim to announce our approach. During our stay, I observed an eclipse of Jupiter's first satellite, which gave the longitude $2^{\circ} 6' W$.

We did not leave Doompassee until the 14th of May ; after two miles, passing a small stream running N. W. we ascended a high

hill, on which a large croom, called Tiabosoo, was situated. I looked into a pit here six feet deep; the first stratum was vegetable mould, the second gravel, the third, a kind of potter's clay, and the remaining of brittle stone of a reddish brown, resembling that they call cabouc in the East Indies. The next croom was Sanquanta, where the path took an easterly direction, and about seven miles from Doompassee we passed Datiasoo, where large quantities of pottery were manufacturing, exclusively: it was not more than a mile distant from Dadawasee, where we found a messenger from the king, expressing his regret that we had come up in the rainy season, as he had heard it was a very unhealthy one for white men, and appointing us to enter the capital on the Monday following; he sent us a present of a sheep, forty yams, and two ounces of gold for our table; he had also given six ackies to our messenger, who returned at the same time. The path had been cleared by the king's order, the plantations became more frequent and extensive, and numerous paths branching off from that we travelled, shewed that the country was thickly inhabited, and the intercourse of the various parts direct and necessary for an interchange of manufacture and produce: the crooms hitherto had appeared insulated. The Acassey or blue dye plant grew profusely. Distance seven miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. b W. $\frac{1}{7}$, N. N. W. $\frac{1}{7}$, N. N. E. $\frac{1}{8}$. Latitude by observation $6^{\circ} 16' 20''$ N. long: C and D $2^{\circ} 7' 30''$ W.

The next day, leaving Dadawasee, close to which was another large croom called Modjawee, we descended a very steep hill, and passed the Dankaran or Mankaran, a small river, in the rainy season eleven yards wide and four feet deep, running to the Birrim: not far from this river was Sahnfoo, and a short distance from that croom, a smaller river called Yansee, running N. N. W. We then passed through Korraman, near which was the small river Dansabow, running westward, and three other large crooms,

Aquinasee (having a neatly fenced burial ground,) Amafou, and Agabimah; crossing another small river called Soubirree, near the latter, we reached Assiminia, distant eight miles from Dadawasee. The path was frequently eight feet wide, and kept as neatly as that of a garden in the environs of the crooms, which now disclosed themselves very prettily at some distance. Courses N. $\frac{1}{5}$, N. b E. $\frac{1}{6}$, N. N. E. $\frac{1}{6}$. Latitude by observation $6^{\circ} 22'$, longitude C and D $2^{\circ} 7' 50''$ W.

There was a violent tornado in the night, during almost the whole of which the rain continued in torrents, increasing the small streams near the town from ancle to three feet deep. Almost all the inhabitants were employed in weaving the staple manufacture of Assiminia, which was formerly of much greater extent. Mr. James rested here the whole of the next day, and on Saturday we proceeded through Boposoo (on a very high hill), Agemum, Yoko, and Aboutum; near which we crossed the Biaqua, running west to the Jim, and about seven yards wide and two feet deep; between this and Sarrasou, where we halted, were two large crooms, Pootooaga and Fiasou.

The path was continually well cleared: each croom presented one wide central street, with the ganian or cachiou trees at the extremities. The soil ceased to be sandy, and became a reddish earth: we observed some quartz, but silex prevailed. Distance 11 miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{4}$, N. N. E. $\frac{1}{5}$. Lat. by observation, $6^{\circ} 30' 20''$. Long. C. and D. $2^{\circ} 6' 30''$.

The river Dah runs close to Sarrasou, rising at Sekooree near Dwabin, and falling into the Ofim at Measee in the Warsaw path; it is generally about sixteen yards wide, and four feet deep. There was an ingenious fishing weir in this river; two rows of very strong wicker work were fixed across it, supported against the rapidity of the stream by large stakes, driven into the ground

obliquely on each side of them, and connected above and below by the trunks of two large trees. The funnel-shaped baskets, thickly inserted at the bottom, were of split cane, and about twelve feet long. There are large plantations of corn around Sarrasou, which is a great nursery for pigs. We left it on Monday morning, the 19th, and passing through a small croom, Oyoko, stopped at another, Agogoo, about four miles distant, to dress ourselves in full uniform. The soil from Sarrasou was a rich black mould, and there were continued plantations of corn, yams, ground nuts, terraboys, and encruma: the yams and ground nuts were planted with much regularity in triangular beds, with small drains around each, and carefully cleared from weeds.

Two miles from Agogoo, we crossed the marsh which insulates Coomassie; the breadth at that part forty yards, and the depth three feet. Being within a mile of the capital, our approach was announced to the king, who desired us by his messengers to rest at a little croom, called Patiasoo, until he had finished washing, when captains would be deputed to conduct us to his presence. Distance $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Courses N. $\frac{1}{6}$, N. N. W. $\frac{1}{6}$.

We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exerted with a zeal bordering on phrenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry, confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing

from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze; and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs. Their followers kept up the firing around us in the rear. The dress of the captains (see drawing, No. I.) was a war cap, with gilded rams horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportion by immense plumes of eagles feathers, and fastened under the chin with bands of cowries. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes and saphies* in gold and silver; and embroidered cases of almost every colour, which flapped against their bodies as they moved, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells, and knives; long leopards tails hung down their backs, over a small bow covered with fetishes. They wore loose cotton trowsers, with immense boots of a dull red leather, coming half way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist belt; these were also ornamented with bells, horses tails, strings of amulets, and innumerable shreds of leather; a small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from their right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end of it. A small spear was in their left hands, covered with red cloth and silk tassels; their black countenances heightened the effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human.

This exhibition continued about half an hour, when we were allowed to proceed, encircled by the warriors, whose numbers, with the crowds of people, made our movement as gradual as if it had taken place in Cheapside; the several streets branching off to the right, presented long vistas crammed with people, and those on the left hand being on an acclivity, innumerable rows of heads

* Scraps of Moorish writing, as charms against evil.



Drawn by T.E. Bowdich Esq.

N^o. 1.

CAPTAIN in his WAR DRESS.

rose one above another : the large open porches of the houses, like the fronts of stages in small theatres, were filled with the better sort of females and children, all impatient to behold white men for the first time ; their exclamations were drowned in the firing and music, but their gestures were in character with the scene. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed, to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. Here we were gratified by observing several of the caboceers pass by with their trains, the novel splendour of which astonished us. The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes, trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies ; whilst the immense umbrellas, made to sink and rise from the jerkings of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air, under a burning sun, clouds of dust, and a density of atmosphere almost suffocating. We were then squeezed, at the same funeral pace, up a long street, to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the king. Here our attention was forced from the astonishment of the crowd to a most inhuman spectacle, which was paraded before us for some minutes ; it was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice ; his hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of 8 ; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin ; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder blade ; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him ; the feeling this horrid barbarity excited must be imagined. We were soon released by

permission to proceed to the king, and passed through a very broad street, about a quarter of a mile long, to the market place.

Our observations en passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations ; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us : an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificence and novelty. The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected, with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massy gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs ; the horns flourished their defiance, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious ; and a pleasing instrument, like a bagpipe without the drone, was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most shewy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold ; they were of various shapes, but mostly dome ; and the valances (in some of which small looking glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed ; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopard skins, and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers ; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides.

Innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the glare, by contrasting the sober colouring of nature.

“ *Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.*”

The king's messengers, with gold breast plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer, which, as their household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.

The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths, of extravagant price from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour, as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet generally encircled their temples, and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought; suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of aggrary beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ancles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes, and canes dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves and rams heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills, and rusted in blood; the sheaths were of leopard skin, or the shell of a fish like shagreen.

The large drums supported on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced around with the thigh bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettle drums resting on the ground, were scraped with wet fingers, and covered with leopard skin. The wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and curiously shaped pieces of iron, which ginged loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth; the horns (the teeth of young elephants) were ornamented at the mouth-piece with gold, and the jaw bones of human victims. The war caps of eagles feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans, of the wing feathers of the ostrich, played around the dignitaries; immediately behind their chairs (which were of a black wood, almost covered by inlays of ivory and gold embossment) stood their handsomest youths, with corslets of leopard's skin covered with gold cockle shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate; cartouch boxes of elephant's hide hung below, ornamented in the same manner; a large gold handled sword was fixed behind the left shoulder, and silk scarves and horses tails (generally white) streamed from the arms and waist cloth: their long Danish mukets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some, with silver basins. Their stools (of the most laborious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them) were conspicuously placed on the heads of favourites; and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these, and so thickly as not to admit of our passing without treading on their feet, to which they were perfectly indifferent; their caps were of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds

which hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pig's skin) were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them; on their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour.

We were suddenly surprised by the sight of Moors, who afforded the first general diversity of dress; there were seventeen superiors, arrayed in large cloaks of white satin, richly trimmed with spangled embroidery, their shirts and trowsers were of silk, and a very large turban of white muslin was studded with a border of different coloured stones: their attendants wore red caps and turbans, and long white shirts, which hung over their trowsers; those of the inferiors were of dark blue cloth: they slowly raised their eyes from the ground as we passed, and with a most malignant scowl.

The prolonged flourishes of the horns, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the king: we were already passing the principal officers of his household; the chamberlain, the gold horn blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain for royal executions, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal burial ground, and the master of the bands, sat surrounded by a retinue and splendor which bespoke the dignity and importance of their offices. The cook had a number of small services covered with leopard's skin held behind him, and a large quantity of massy silver plate was displayed before him, punch bowls, waiters, coffee pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and clawed feet, which seemed to have been made to hold incense; I

observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they seemed generally of that manufacture. The executioner, a man of an immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him, clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The king's four linguists were encircled by a splendor inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles like fasces. The keeper of the treasury, added to his own magnificence by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow pan, boxes, scales and weights, were of solid gold.

A delay of some minutes whilst we severally approached to receive the king's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him; his deportment first excited my attention; native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous was a curious spectacle: his manners were majestic, yet courteous; and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch; he appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggrary beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggrary beads, and his ancle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of

saphies ; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold ; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair, were cased in gold, and covered with small jaw bones of the same metal ; the elephants tails, waving like a small cloud before him, were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one massy piece of gold about his neck : the royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments, cased in gold, about the thickness of cartridge paper : large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased ; hatchets of the same were intermixed with them : the breasts of the Ocras, and various attendants, were adorned with large stars, stools, crescents, and gossamer wings of solid gold.

We pursued our course through this blazing circle, which afforded to the last a variety exceeding description and memory ; so many splendid novelties diverting the fatigue, heat, and pressure we were labouring under ; we were almost exhausted, however, by the time we reached the end ; when, instead of being conducted to our residence, we were desired to seat ourselves under a tree at some distance, to receive the compliments of the whole in our turn.

The swell of their bands gradually strengthened on our ears, the peals of the warlike instruments bursting upon the short, but sweet responses of the flutes ; the gaudy canopies seemed to dance in the distant view, and floated broadly as they were springing up and down in the foreground ; flags and banners waved in the interval, and the chiefs were eminent in their crimson hammocks, amidst crowds of musquetry. They dismounted as they arrived within thirty yards of us ; their principal captains preceded them with the

gold handled swords, a body of soldiers followed with their arms reversed, then their bands and gold canes, pipes, and elephants tails. The chief, with a small body guard under his umbrella, was generally supported around the waist by the hands of his favourite slave, whilst captains holla'd, close in his ear, his warlike deeds and (strong) names, which were reiterated with the voices of Stentors by those before and behind; the larger party of warriors brought up the rear. Old captains of secondary rank were carried on the shoulders of a strong slave; but a more interesting sight was presented in the minors, or young caboceeders, many not more than five or six years of age, who overweighed by ornaments, were carried in the same manner, (under their canopies), encircled by all the pomp and parade of their predecessors. Amongst others, the grandson of Cheboo was pointed out, whom the king had generously placed on the stool of his perfidious enemy. A band of Fetish men, or priests, wheeled round and round as they passed with surprising velocity. Manner was as various as ornament; some danced by with irresistible buffoonery, some with a gesture and carriage of defiance; one distinguished caboceer performed the war dance before us for some minutes, with a large spear, which grazed us at every bound he made; but the greater number passed us with order and dignity, some slipping one sandal, some both, some turning round after having taken each of us by the hand; the attendants of others knelt before them, throwing dust upon their heads; and the Moors, apparently, vouchsafed us a blessing. The king's messengers who were posted near us, with their long hair hanging in twists like a thrum mop, used little ceremony in hurrying by this transient procession; yet it was nearly 8 o'clock before the king approached.

It was a beautiful star light night, and the torches which preceded him displayed the splendor of his regalia with a chastened

lustre, and made the human trophies of the soldiers more awfully imposing. The skulls of three Banda caboceers, who had been his most obstinate enemies, adorned the largest drum: the vessels in which the boys dipped their torches were of gold. He stopped to enquire our names a second time, and to wish us good night; his address was mild and deliberate: he was followed by his aunts, sisters, and others of his family, with rows of fine gold chains around their necks. Numerous chiefs succeeded; and it was long before we were at liberty to retire. We agreed in estimating the number of warriors at 30,000.

We were conducted to a range of spacious, but ruinous buildings, which had belonged to the son of one of the former kings, and who had recently destroyed himself at a very advanced age, unable to endure the severity of disgrace: their forlorn and dreary aspect bespoke the fortune of their master, and they required much repair to defend us from the wind and rain, which frequently ushered in the nights.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings and Incidents until the Third Dispatch to Cape Coast Castle.

Coomassie, May 22nd, 1817.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, CAPE COAST CASTLE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE important objects of the Mission, and the safety and prosperity of the Settlements, have this day demanded our public dissent from our superior officer, Mr. James ; to prove the act tutelary to these objects, can be our only justification.

The Mission has engrossed our thoughts and exertions from the moment we were honoured by the appointments ; we have felt that the credit of the Committee, the character of the service, and the good of our country were associated in the enterprise ; and that we were personally responsible for these important objects, to the extent of our industry, fortitude, and ability. Our reflections naturally associated obstacles commensurate with the importance of the objects affected ; and to overcome the former in a manner auspicious to the latter, we conceived to be the duty expected from us, as composing a Mission originated to remove a portion of the formidable barriers to the interior of Africa. We anticipated prejudice, intrigue, and difficulty, as inevitable ; as obstacles to invigorate and not to sicken our exertions.

At Dadasey, on Wednesday the 14th instant, we received a present from the King, of two ounces of gold, a sheep, and thirty yams, with a second appointment to enter his capital the succeeding Monday. When within a short distance, the messenger who announced us, returned, to desire us to wait at a room until the King had washed. We were permitted to enter soon after two o'clock, and the King received us with the most encouraging courtesy, and the most flattering distinction. We paid our respects in turn, (passing along a surprising extent of line) to the principal caboceers, many of remote, and several of Moorish territories; and all of these encircled by retinues astonishing to us from their numbers, order, and decorations. We were then requested to remove to a distant tree to receive their salutes; which procession, though simply transient, continued until past eight o'clock. It was indescribably imposing from the variety, magnificence, and etiquette: its faint outline in Mr. Bowdich's report, will impart our impression of the power and influence of the monarch we are sent to conciliate. The King as he passed, repeated his former condescensions.

The next morning (Tuesday) the King sent to us to come and speak our palaver in the market place, that all the people might hear it: we found him encircled by the most splendid insignia, and surrounded by his caboceers: we were received graciously. Mr. James, through his linguist, declared to the King's, (who are alone allowed to speak to him in public) that the objects of the Mission were friendship and commerce; impressed the consequence of our nation, and the good feelings of the Committee and Governor towards the King, as would be testified by our presents; he submitted the wish of a Residency, and of a direct path. The King enquired if we were to settle the Commenda palaver; the reply was, no! He rejoined, "that he wished the Governor of Cape Coast

to settle all palavers for him with the people of the forts, and that he had thought we came to make all things right, and so to make friends with the Ashantees." The King had previously observed, as literally rendered, that "the forts belonged to him," meaning (as the context, and the whole of his sentiments and conduct have confirmed) nothing humiliating to our dignity and independence; but simply, that the advantages derived by the Fantee nations from the forts, should now be his. He desired the officer to be pointed out to him who was to be the Resident; and then enquired if that was all our palaver, he was told yes: he said he would give us his answer the next day.

Soon after we returned to our house, the King's linguist delivered this message. "The King knows very well the King of England has sent him presents; if you wish to be friends with him you must bring these presents to his own house, and shew them to him and his friends, and not give them before all the people." This, in our judgment was a policy, to prevent any favourable bias of the body of caboceers and people anticipating the King's and his councils satisfaction of our motives and professions.

We attended: all the curiosity the packages excited could not incline the King to regard them, until he had desired distinctly to understand who had sent them, the King of England, or the Governor. He was told, the Company to whom the forts belonged under the King; the interpreter seemed to render it the King individually; it was more intelligible, and the agreeable impression it made was striking. The presents were displayed. Nothing could surpass the King's surprise and pleasure, but his warm yet dignified avowal of his obligations. "Englishmen," said he, admiring the workmanship of the different articles, "know how to do every thing proper," turning to his favourites with a smile as auspicious to our interests, as mortal to the intrigues of our rival. Much of

the glass was broken ; Mr. James expressed his regret, and offered to procure more ; the King replied, “ the path we had come was bad and overgrown, that we had many people to look after ;” and waved our excuses with superior courtesy. He desired the linguists to say, “ this shewed him that the English were a great people, that they wished to be friends with him, to be as one with the Ashantees ; that this made him much pleasure to see, (and to repeat again and again,) “ that he thanked the King of England, the Governor at Cape Coast, and the officers who brought the presents much, very much.” He made very liberal presents of liquor to our people, and delivered the distinct presents to his four principal caboceers in our sight.

We learned from Quashie, the Accra linguist, the favourable reports he had collected through his intimacy with some of the principal men. All the caboceers, he said, had thought we had come for bad, to spy the country ; the King thought so too a little, but much fetish was made, and all shewed that we meant well, and now the King thought so ; the mulatto sent by General Daendels, directly after Mr. Hydecoper, and who arrived just before us, had sent to the King for a pass to go back, and the King told him, that he would give him this message, “ that the King had thought to do good to the Dutch, but now he sees their white mens faces, he should do good to the English.” This mulatto man (who is not in the service, but a free man of Elmina town) visited us afterwards, and his complaints and sentiments confirmed these reports in our favour.

On Wednesday morning the King’s sisters (one the caboceer of the largest Ashantee town near the frontier) paid us a visit of ceremony, and retired to receive our’s in return ; their manners were courteous and dignified, and they were handed with a surprising politeness by the captains in attendance.

Mr. James being indisposed, we went by invitation to see the chief captain's horse, when the King sent to us to say, he was walking that way, and requested us to get our chairs and wait, that he might bid us good morning. Directly he saw us he ordered the procession to alter its course, and stopped to take us by the hand. The procession consisted of about 2000 men, and was marked by all the suit and parade of royalty. The caboceers that day in attendance appeared as warriors, being divested of the rich silks of the preceding day; the executioner, the master of the bands, and the cook, were in the train, with suits which shewed the importance of their offices; the latter was preceded by a massy service of plate. Mr. Bowdich's report will be more particular.

The king sent his messenger this morning to repeat, that he thanked the King of England and the Governor very much for yesterday.

The King was much pleased when Quashie, the Accra linguist (who is our only intelligible medium,) attempted to describe the use of the sextant; consequently, when Mr. Bowdich saw the King's chief captain this morning, he offered to shew it to the King, with the camera obscura and telescope; the captain said it would please the King, and reported, that the King was much pleased with us, that he liked to be friends with the English, that he wished to make pleasure with us, and would send for us by and by to do so. We have been particular in these lesser circumstances, as they are the evidence of the King's good feelings, and of the fair prospect of the consummation of the Mission, superior to all the prejudice and intrigue opposed to it.

We were sent for to the King's house; he was only attended by his privy counsellors; he expressed much delight at the camera obscura and instruments. He said, "the Englishmen knew more than Dutchmen or Danes—that black men knew nothing." He

then ordered our people to be dismissed, said he would look at the telescope in a larger place, that now he wished to talk with us. He again acknowledged the gratification of Tuesday, and desired Mr. James to explain to him two notes which he produced, written by the Governor in Chief at the request of Amooney, King of Annamaboe, and Adokoo, Chief of the Braffoes, making over to Saï, King of Ashantee, four ackies per month of their company's pay, as a pledge of their allegiance and the termination of hostilities. The impression seemed instantly to have rooted itself in the King's mind, that this was the Governor's individual act, or that he had instanced it; his countenance changed, his counsellors became enraged, they were all impatience, we all anxiety. "Tell the white men," said the King, "what they did yesterday made me much pleasure; I was glad we were to be friends; but to day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know, with my own powder, with my own shot, I drove the Fantees under their forts, I spread my sword over them, they were all killed, and their books from the fort are mine. I can do as much for the English as the Fantees, they know this well, they know I have only to send a captain to get all the heads of the Fantees. These white men cheat me, they think to make 'Shantee fool; they pretend to make friends with me, and they join with the Fantees to cheat me, to put shame upon my face; this makes the blood come from my heart." This was reported by his linguist with a passion of gesture and utterance scarcely inferior to the King's; the irritation spread throughout the circle, and swelled even to uproar.

Thus much was inevitable; it was one of our anticipated difficulties; it was not a defeat, but a check; and here originates our charge against Mr. James, whom we declare to have been deficient in presence of mind, and not to have exerted those assurances and

arguments which, with a considerate zeal, might at least have tended to ameliorate the unjust impression of the King, if not to have eradicated it. Mr. James said, "the Governor of Cape Coast had done it, that he knew nothing about it, that he was sent only to make the compliments to the King, that if the King liked to send a messenger with him, *he was going back and would tell the Governor all that the King said.*" This was all that was advanced. Was this enough for such a Mission to effect? the King repeated, "that he had expected we had *come* to settle all palavers, and to *stay* and make friends with him; but we came to make a fool of him." The King asked him to tell him how much had been paid on these notes since his demand—that he knew white men had large books which told this. Mr. James said he had seen, but he could not recollect. Nothing could exceed the King's indignation. "White men," he exclaimed, "know how many months pass, how many years they live, and they know this, but they wont tell me; could not the other white men tell me." Mr. James said, "we never looked in the books."

We were not so indiscreet as to expect or wish Mr. James to commit himself by *promising the satisfaction* of the King's wishes; but dwelling on the expense and importance of the Mission, on the expectations it had excited, and feeling the reason of the King's argument, that its object should be to settle all palavers if we wished to be good friends, we conceived we but anticipated the feeling of the Council and of the Committee, in our anxiety for Mr. James to offer to communicate with the Governor by letter, and to wait his reply, with a confidence that his good feeling towards the King, his instructions from England, and his own disposition, would lead him to do every thing that was right to please him.

Mr. James's embarrassment had not only hurried him to extricate himself as an individual at the expense of his own dignity

and intellect, but, which was worse, he had thrown the whole onus of this invidious transaction on the shoulders of the Governor in chief, against whom the King's prejudice would be fatal to all, and whose interest in his honour was most flattering to the King, most auspicious to us, and the hopes of the Mission; not only the future prosperity, but the present security of the Settlements hung upon this, and the dagger was at this moment suspended from a cobweb. Mr. Bowdich urged this in the ear of Mr. James, urged the danger of leaving the King thus provoked, the fatal sacrifice of every object of the Mission, the discredit of the service, the disgrace of ourselves; Mr. James replied, "he knew the Governor's private sentiments best." The Moors of authority seized the moment, and zealously fanned the flame which encircled us; for the King looking in vain for those testimonies of British feeling which presence of mind would have imposed, exclaimed, as he turned his ear from the Moors, "I know the English come to spy the country; they come to cheat me; they want war, they want war." Mr. James said "No! we want trade." The King impatiently continued, "They join the Fantees to put shame upon my face; I will send a captain to-morrow to take these books, and bring me the heads of all the Fantees under the forts; the white men know I can do this, I have only to speak to my captains. "The Dutch Governor does not cheat me; he does not shame me before the Fantees; he sends me the whole 4 oz. a month. The Danes do not shame me, and the English 4 ackies a month is nothing to me; I can send a captain for all; they wish war." He drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat exclaimed, "Shantee foo! Shantee foo! ah! ah!" then shaking his finger at us with the most angry aspect, would have burst from us with the exclamation, "If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me." Mr. James was silent.

Gentlemen! imagine this awful moment, think what a fatal wound menaced the British interests; the most memorable exertion of the Committee, the pledge to the Government of their energies, of the zeal and capabilities of their officers, this important and expensive Mission falling to the ground, the sacrifice to supineness; the Settlements endangered instead of benefited, ourselves disgraced as officers and men, our key to the Interior shivered in the lock, and the territories of a great and comparatively tractable prince shut against us for ever. Could we be expected to look with indifference on these sacrifices, to risk nothing to avert them; to be auxiliary to the triumph of the intrigues and duplicity of our rival, which you know to have been exerted even to our destruction? Not a moment was to be lost; Mr. Bowdich stood before the King, and begged to be heard; his attention was arrested, the clamours of the council gradually abated: there was no interpreter but the one Mr. James brought from his own fort, and no alternative but to charge him promptly in the Governor's name, before reflection could associate the wishes of his master, to speak truly. Mr. Bowdich continued standing before the King, and declared, "that the Governor wished to gain his friendship more than he could think;" that we were sent, not only to compliment him, but to write what he had to say to the Governor, and to wait to tell his answer to the King, and to do all he ordered; to settle all palavers, and to make Ashantees and English as one before we went back. That the Governor of Accra was sick, and in pain, and naturally wished to go back soon, but that himself, and the other two officers would stay with the King, until they made him sure that the Governor was a good friend to him. That we would rather get anger, and lose every thing ourselves, than let the King think the Governor sent us to put shame on him; that we would trust our lives to the King, until we had received the Governor's letter, to make him

think so; and to tell us to do all that was right, to make the Ashantees and English as one; and this would shew the King we did not come to spy the country, but to do good." Mr. Bowdich then assured Mr. James that no outrage on his dignity was meditated; that we should continue to treat him as our superior officer, but that we felt the present act imperative, as our duty to the Service and our Country.

Conviction flashed across the countenance of the interpreter, and he must have done Mr. Bowdich's speech justice, for the cheerful aspect of the morning was resumed in every countenance. The applause was general; the King (who had again seated himself) held out his hand to Mr. Bowdich, and said, "he spoke well; what he spoke was good; he liked his palaver much." The King's chief linguist came forward and repeated his commendations with the most profound bows; every look was favourable; every where there was a hand extended. The King then instructed his linguist to report to Mr. Bowdich, personally, his arguments respecting the books. "That he had subdued the Fantees at the expense of much powder and shot; and that, in consequence, all their notes were his: that he had only to send a Captain to bring all their heads, that he did not want to do no good, and keep the books; he would do more for the forts than the Fantees could; that the Dutch Governor did not cheat him, but gave the four oz. a month. That he wished to be friends with the English; but that the 4 ackies a month put shame upon his face." To this Mr. Bowdich replied, that he could only say he knew the Governor would do what was right; that he could not say more until he heard from him; but that he would write every word the King said; and he was sure the King would see that the Governor would do what was right. We shook hands and retired.

All the Fantees being detained by the King, Mr. Bowdich and

Mr. Hutchison went in the evening to the chief captain to request a messenger from the King to Cape Coast; about two hours afterwards he reported the King's reply almost literally as follows: "The King wishes you good night; this is his palaver and yours, you must not speak it to any one else, the white men come to cheat him. The King recollects the face of the white man who spoke to him to day, he likes him much, he wishes he would talk the palaver; the King likes the other white men who stood up with him very much; he thinks the Governor of Accra wishes to put all the wrong on the Governor at Cape Coast, and not to tell any thing. The King thinks that not right, and he sees you do not like that. You must not speak this palaver again; 'tis the King's palaver, and yours; the King's captain will speak right to the King what you say, and you shall have a messenger."

We again affirm positively, that Mr. James made no offer to communicate with the Governor, but spoke only of his return, which we know he was meditating at the expense of the treaty, and every object of the Mission.

Referring to our detail previous to the serious business of to day, you will find every circumstance to have been encouraging, and in our opinion, auspicious to the consummation of the Mission. Yet at that moment, unclouded as it was, we know Mr. James, by his own confession, to have written to head quarters with a gloom which existed only in his own imagination; this letter did not go from the detention of the Fantee bearers. We believe firmly, that had there been no interference on our part at the critical moment, Mr. James would have returned forthwith to Cape Coast, without effecting one object of the Mission, and that the future good of the Settlements would not only have been sacrificed, but their present security endangered.*

* "The government of the country is a military despotism, and I have this day re-

Mr. James may write that Mr. Bowdich rose with great warmth: this we deny, and affirm that he displayed no more than a temperate zeal, considerate in its declarations, and respectful even in its dissent from Mr. James. The attention of the King was arrested by the novelty of a white man addressing him in the oratorical manner of his own country, but it was not until the linguist had conveyed the arguments, that the King held out his hand and the applause was general. Mere observations whispered in the ear of the linguists had lost all effect, and would not have answered the crisis.

Mr. James has talked, and perhaps written much of the King's suspicion, but we must contend that much of this is misnamed, and is no more than that deliberate policy which is a pledge of the durability of the confidence it precedes. Certainly there has been suspicion, but not more than must have been expected, not more than was commensurate with the important novelty which challenged it. It has been confessed here, that our political rival has exerted all his address to vitiate our objects in the eyes of the King, to convince him our ostensible views were pretences; our real ones dangerous and unjust; that we sought sovereignty, not commerce. The Moorish chiefs and dignitaries by whom the King is surrounded, whose influence is powerful, not only from their rank but their repute, naturally urged these arguments against unbelievers and competitors in trade, and their extensive intercourse has unfortunately possessed them of facts to the point of our ambition. Let these considerations be weighed, let our account of the King's general deportment be again referred to; let us impress, that he has never once adverted to our destruction of his

ceived private information, that it is already settled, that if the refusal of the notes occasions a war, and any one is hurt or killed by the forts, our lives will be the forfeit." Mr. James's Dispatch.

troops before Annamaboe, or of the critical situation of the fort ; that he has evinced a disposition to a sound understanding, by veiling every irritating retrospect, by acknowledging every conciliatory circumstance.

We do not presume to enter our opinions into the important question of the King's demand of the whole of these two notes ; we have advanced nothing but our assurance that the Governor will do what is right, and we have pledged our lives to convince the King of this ; the importance of the Mission would have claimed a more valuable pledge.

Whilst we impress the surprising power and influence of the King, we must do him the justice to acknowledge the convincing manner in which he urged the injuries and forbearance which preceded the Fantee war ; his willingness to do every thing for the forts, and the conduct of the Dutch Governor in giving him the whole of the four ounces, were impressively and ingeniously associated.

To wear away suspicion, Mr. Bowdich has ceased his enquiries and observations for a time. The resources for intelligence of the Interior are infinite. Timbuctoo has been visited by most of the sojourners, and a mass of valuable information may be gathered with caution.* The eclipses of Jupiter's satellites will be regularly observed by Mr. Bowdich, and the mean longitude reported ; the want of a good watch imposes considerable trouble.

We have reflected on what we have done, and if we are so unfortunate as to be visited by your and the Committee's displea-

* " In the present suspicious state of the King's mind respecting us, I fear it would be impolitic to make the enquiries you ordered in your instructions. I think it will be more prudent to leave them to time. Mr. H. if he remains, will be able, from time to time, to obtain such information as they can give, without creating that suspicion which would certainly arise from any questions put at the present moment. I have kept Mr. H's hammock men, as it is yet uncertain whether he will remain." Mr. James's Dispatch.

sure, we shall console ourselves in our reluctant change of pursuit, by the satisfaction of our own minds of the honourable zeal of our motives.

We most respectfully solicit our récall, as we cannot implicate our character and our responsibility with Mr. James's judgment and perseverance in prosecuting the Mission, of the consummation of which we cannot agree to despond. We could not reconcile ourselves to the sacrifice of one of its important objects to our personal apprehensions (supported as we are by authority and circumstances) whilst the recollection of the illustrious energies of an enterprising traveller, forlorn and destitute, appeals to our spirit, and impresses the expectations of our country. We are, &c.

(Signed)

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

W. HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

Coomassie, May 24, 1817.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, CAPE COAST CASTLE.

GENTLEMEN,

THE act our former letter has avowed, and we would presume (after the most deliberate reflection) to add justified, has made it our duty to communicate (independently of Mr. James) the circumstances of the interval we may await your pleasure.

If this duty had not been imposed on us by the act in question, the imminent fatality engendered in the debate of to day, and quickened by the ardor of the captains, would have demanded from our private as well as our public feelings, the most energetic representations (as auxiliary to those of Mr. James,) in impressing

the calamities and the sacrifices which menace the Settlements and the Mission, to secure your serious deliberation, as the only preventive we can look to with confidence.

Yesterday we were conducted some way without the town to an assembly of the Moorish caboceers and dignitaries, who exert every device against us. A chapter was read from the Koran, and we were ordered to swear by that book that we had no rogues palaver, and that we had put no poison in the King's liquor. We severally refused to swear on the Koran, but offered to do so on our own prayer books. The King's linguist mediated, and asked us if we would only strike that book three times, and then declare as much, because the Moors said, that book would kill us if we lied. We did this, and were about two hours afterwards ordered to sit without our house and receive the following present from the King:

One bullock, 2 pigs, 8 oz. of gold, for Mr. James.

One sheep, 2 oz. 4 ackies of gold, for each of us.

To each of the numerous Fantee messengers, 10 ackies of gold.

To our cooks, a large assortment of pots and country vessels, 100 large billets of wood, 100 yams, 100 bunches of plantains, four of sugar cane, four (24 gallon) pots of palm oil, three jars of palm wine.

To the soldiers, 10 ackies of gold.

To the Accra linguist, 10 ackies of gold.

On Saturday we were summoned to the King, and waited as usual a considerable time in one of the outer courts of the palace, which is an immense building of a variety of oblong courts and regular squares, the former with arcades along the one side, some of round arches symmetrically turned, having a skeleton of bamboo; the entablatures exuberantly adorned with bold fan and trellis work of Egyptian character. They have a suit of rooms

over them, with small windows of wooden lattice, of intricate but regular carved work, and some have frames cased with thin gold. The squares have a large apartment on each side, open in front, with two supporting pillars, which break the view and give it all the appearance of the proscenium or front of the stage of the older Italian theatres. They are lofty and regular, and the cornices of a very bold cane work in alto relievo. A drop curtain of curiously plaited cane is suspended in front, and in each we observed chairs and stools embossed with gold, and beds of silk, with scattered regalia. The most ornamented part of the palace is the residence of the women. We have passed through it once; the fronts of the apartments were closed (except two open door ways) by pannels of curious open carving, conveying a striking resemblance at first sight to an early Gothic screen; one was entirely closed and had two curious doors of a low arch, and strengthened or battened with wood-work, carved in high relief and painted red. Doors chancing to open as we passed, surprised us with a glimpse of large apartments in corners we could not have thought of, the most secret appeared the most adorned. In our daily course through the palace there is always a delay of some minutes, before the door of each of the several distinct squares is unlocked; within the inmost square is the council chamber.

To day, after the delay of nearly an hour (which seems an indispensable ceremony) in the outer court, (where different dignitaries were passing to and fro with their insignia and retinues,) we were conducted to a large yard, where the King, encircled by a varied profusion of insignia, even more sumptuous than that we had seen before, sat at the end of two long files of counsellors, caboceers, and captains; they were seated under their umbrellas, composed of scarlet and yellow cloth, silks, shawls, cottons, and every glaring variety, with carved and golden pelicans, panthers, baboons,

barrels, crescents, &c. on the top ; the shape generally a dome. Distinct and pompous retinues were placed around, with gold canes, spangled elephants tails to brush off the flies, gold headed swords, and embossed muskets, and many splendid novelties too numerous but for a particular report, which will not be neglected. Each had the dignitaries of his own province or establishment to his right and left ; and it was truly " Concilium in Concilio." When we recollected the insignificant, though neat appearance of the few Ashantee towns we had passed through on the southern frontier, and even the extent and superior character of the capital, this magnificence seemed the effect of enchantment.

We have intruded this sketch to impress the power and resources of the monarch we are to conciliate, and to anticipate in some degree the delay of Mr. Bowdich's report, the transcription of which must yield to the present momentous communication.

The King having decided a cause then in course, by which one of his captains was condemned to death for cowardice, ordered the question of the Annamaboe and Braffoe notes to be resumed. The several Fantee messengers were heard, the King of Annamaboe's, Amooney's, and Payntree's (the interior caboceer) having joined us in the path. They appeared all equivocation and embarrassment, as Quashie's interpretations confirmed ; they were incompetent to answer the King's linguists, and unable to use the few uninterrupted intervals which were allowed them to any purpose : it seems they would not acknowledge what the full amount of these notes was. Mr. James was asked, he said " white men's heads were not like black men's, and he could not recollect ; but he thought 4 oz. and 2 oz." He did not offer to learn from the Governor. Several impassioned harangues were made by the King's linguists and counsellors : the King said, " he had 4 oz. from Elmina, and 2 oz. from English Accra ; was it not putting shame upon him to send

him 4 ackies from Cape Coast?" The Cape Coast messenger (Quashie Tom had absented himself) spoke again with great trepidation; the King could not conceal his emotions; his counsellors became clamorous; in an instant there was a flourish of all the horns; all the captains rose and seized their gold headed swords from their attendants; the head general snatched Mr. Tedlie's from his scabbard; numerous canopies crowded one upon the other in the background, as if some considerable personages had arrived; there was nothing but commotion, wrath, and impatience. The captains, old and young, rushed before the King, and exclaimed, as Quashie reported, (who seems to have been afraid to tell us all, and was restrained by Quamina) "King, this shames you too much; you must let us go to night and kill all the Fantees, and burn all the towns under the forts." They then presented themselves successively with their bands of music and retinues, and bowing before the King, received his foot upon their heads; each then directed his sword to the King (who held up the two first fingers of his right hand) and swore by the King's head, that they would go with the army that night, and bring him the books, and the heads of all the Fantees. Each captain made the oath impressive in his own peculiar manner; some seriously, some by ridicule, at our expense, and that of the Fantees, pointing at our heads and ears, and endeavouring to intimidate us by the most insolent action and gesture as they held out their swords. The old general (Apokoo) who swore the last, after he had done so in the most expressive manner, threw Mr. Tedlie's sword to him, over the heads of the people with contemptuous defiance. The number was so great, that we thought this awful ceremony would never finish.

The King left the council a short time. In the interval, Quamina Bwa (our guide) told Accra Quashie to beg Mr. James to speak

to the King when he came back, and try and appease him. Mr. James did so, but without the zeal, presence of mind, or argument the crisis demanded; it was not adequate even to ameliorate the King's impression of the Governor and the English; it was no more than he said at first. The King took not the least notice of it, but declared angrily, that "if he did not see white men's faces he would cut off the heads of every Fantee messenger on the spot." Some sheep and gold were then brought forward and presented to the Captains, and the King rose abruptly from his chair. In this anxious moment we reflected that the mulatto of General Daendels had a long audience of the King just before we were received; no resource was to be left untried, that was manly and appropriate. Mr. Bowdich stepped before the King, and declared through the linguist, "that he wished to speak what he knew would make the King think that the Governor would do him right, and was his good friend." The King said he would hear him speak in the house; we retired amidst the insults and menaces of the assembly.

About two hours after, we were summoned, and, as is the etiquette, kept some time in waiting; in this interval, Mr. James said that our situation being very critical, it was a pity any difference should be observed, and that he thought it much better to be reconciled. Mr. Bowdich replied, that he could not think it possible our sentiments to be delivered to the King could differ at such a moment; that if they did we should assimilate ours to his as much as possible; but feeling the necessity for the greatest energy, for every address and argument for the conviction of the King, we must, for the public good, continue our assumption of the privilege of strengthening his declarations by our own until our recall, that we should be tender of his dignity, but that it being a difference on a point of public duty, we could not compound it, but would take the consequences. We were received; the King's aspect was

stern; he prefaced that "he did not wish to make war with the English; but that the 4 ackies a month shamed him too much; that the captains said to him, King! they cheat you, they put shame on you; we will go to night and bring you the heads of all the Fantees; that he was forced to say to them, I beg your pardon, but as I see the white men's faces, I beg you to stay till to-morrow, when they can write to the Governor, and they will tell me themselves what he says; then if he does not send me Amooney's and the Braffoes books, you shall go and kill all; that he had been obliged afterwards to dash them sheep and gold to make them stay until the white men got the Governor's letter." Mr. James assured the King "that the King of England and the Governor wished to be friends with him, to do all that was right; and he thought in his own mind that the Governor would give up the books." The King took no notice, and continued serious: the moment called for the most energetic appeal to his reason, for every imposing argument and circumstance. There was a long pause; Mr. Bowdich rose, and charged Mr. James's linguist to interpret truly. We took the precaution of making notes of this speech, feeling we should be particular where we pledge our honour, and volunteer our affidavit; it was as follows.

"We swore yesterday as the King wished, to day we wish to swear as we should before our own King." The King held up the two first fingers of his right hand as he did to the captains. "We swear" (presenting our swords and kissing the hilt, as the most imposing form that occurred to us) "by our God, and by our King, and we know the Governor of Accra will do the same, that we mean no bad to the King, that the King of England and the Company ordered the Governor to send us to make the Ashantees and English as one, that we are sure the Governor will do the King right, and that when we write him all the King says, we will

write also that we think the King's palaver good. We were sent to make the English and Ashantees as one, because our's is the greatest white, your's the greatest black nation, and when two great nations are friends, it makes good. I came out in the ship that was sent to tell the Governor this, and when he heard it, he said it gave him very much pleasure. The King of England and the Company thought the Governor should send to the King, to send some of his great men to Cape Coast, that we might be safe ; but the Governor said, no ! there was no occasion, and wrote to the King and the Company that he could trust all his officers in Ashantee, because the King's honour made them safe, so we came without sending, because we knew the King was our true friend.

“ The Governor wished always to do the King right, but the Fantees never would tell him what was right, so he wrote to the King of England to send him some presents, that he might send his own officers to the King, and hear properly from the King's own mouth what was right, because the Fantees never would tell him what was true, or what the King said. When the Governor reads what we shall write him, then he will know the truth for the first time. We shall stay to make the Ashantees and English one, and we pledge our lives to the King, that we speak a proper palaver, and when we speak true before God and the King we cannot fear.”

There were repeated and general applauses as each sentence was interpreted ; the King smiled, and desired his linguist to say to Mr. Bowdich as Quashie interpreted, “ The King likes you, you speak a proper good palaver, you speak like a man, the King wishes to be a friend to white men ; he thinks white men next to God.” Here the King raised his hands to heaven, and then covering his face, Quashie continued to interpret. “ The King thanks God and his own fetish, that they have sent him white men to talk proper like this to him, and when you three white men go

back to Cape Coast, and the Governor has bad put into his head, and think you did wrong, then if you want any thing to eat, send a messenger to him and he will send you plenty, for the King thinks you do right to God and him, and to your King, and to the Governor, and that you will get much honour when you go back ; so the King thanks you, and says you speak well." The King then asked Mr. James if he would swear on his sword like us, as we said ; Mr. James did so. The King made an observation which it seems we cannot convey to you in its full force, or nearer than, that he liked the three white men because they always stood up to speak, and pushed forward to get what they wanted. Many auxiliary observations were afterwards offered casually by each of us, to confirm his change of sentiment. The Fantee linguists attempted to intimidate the linguist Quashie of Accra, but ineffectually ; this man is invaluable from his influence and intelligence, he is our only safe medium, and interprets to the King anxiously and impressively.

The King appeared much pleased, and made us a long speech. " The King says the Fantees are all rogues, the Governor knows that very well ; the King thinks they always put bad palaver in the Governor's head, he always tells his captains so ; he is sure you come to do him right. The King wishes all good for the English ; he swears by God and by the fetish, that if the English could know how the Fantees serve him, and all the bad they do, they would say his palaver was good. The King speaks true." He then gave us an outline of the Fantee war, which must have convinced even the most prejudiced, of his injuries and forbearance, and their injustice and cruelty.

The King says, " if the English trust to him, he will take more care of the forts than the Fantees can, he will do them great good, he does not want to do nothing. He will send the English his

trade; he will send them good gold like what he wears himself, (shewing his armlets,) not bad gold like he knows the Fantees make, his people don't know how to do that, the Fantees do it in their own houses before they give it to white men. If at any time the English in the forts are in want of any thing to eat, and send to him, he will send them every thing. To morrow is Sunday, but the next day is Monday, then he will give you a proper messenger."

We cannot do justice to the King's sentiments either in detail or in expression; they were incredibly liberal, and would have ennobled the most civilized monarch; they seemed to break the spell which has shut the Interior. He begged us to drink with him, and Mr. James agreed in the toast of "May the Ashantees and English always be one;" it pleased him, and he begged us to touch his glass with ours. He then turned suddenly to the Fantee messengers (who were trembling in the rear) and said, "you made me very angry with you, and I am very angry with you, but never mind, come and drink some of my liquor."

Our critical situation demands the delivery of our sentiments on the subject of these notes; we do so with diffidence and respect. The services of the Braffoes, who hold the one, are merely nominal, their enmity nugatory from their political situation; the issuing of a fresh note to Amooney will be but a small addition to the expenditure, and even the expense of renewing them both cannot be weighed with the prevention of another Fantee war, of the destruction of a whole people, and the ruin of our Settlements in their defence, with the defeat of the intrigue and devices of our rival, and the acquisition of the confidence of a powerful and liberal monarch, whose influence may perfect the views of the British Government on the Interior. We hail the circumstances as auspicious, even in the present serious moment.

Mr. James confesses that he desponds of consummating the objects of the Mission; we do not; we would be responsible for all of them, but we diffidently await your decision. We must claim this momentary calm of the King to ourselves, because it only affords us the credit, or rather the justification of having done our duty, which we are resolute in repeating Mr. James has not. What has been said through Mr. Bowdich is here reported faithfully; we have not committed the Governor or ourselves.

Gentlemen, our situation is critical; if your answer determines the King on war, we are his prisoners; if, as we cannot doubt, the valour of our countrymen again retards his progress by defences as memorable as that of Annamaboe, we may be the victims of an irritated soldiery, though we feel it would be with the reluctance of a generous prince, who is not independent, but, unfortunately, controlled by a military despotism, which deposed his brother and invested him.

But, Gentlemen, if in your better knowledge and reflection, you cannot consistently with your honour and your trust, meet the King's demand, the history of our country has fortified our minds with the illustrious example of a Vansittart, and his colleagues, who were situated as we are, when the dawn of British intercourse in India was scarcely more advanced than its dawn in Africa now; and their last request to their Council is our present conclusion to you—"Do not put our lives in competition with the honour and interests of our country."

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed)

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

W. HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

Coomassie, May 28th, 1817.

TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.

GENTLEMEN,

ON Sunday the King visited us at our quarters, and expressed much gratification with the trifles we presented him individually, and our solicitude in explaining some plates of botanical and natural history, which he sends for frequently.

On Monday we had a public audience before the Captains, (whose ill-will has been acknowledged,) when two messengers were ordered to accompany one of ours to Cape Coast, with the letters to the Governor, and were impressively sworn; they received their instructions in a speech from the linguist of nearly two hours; it seemed to be intended to conciliate the Captains at the same time.

In the afternoon the King sent for us again, and said he wished to dictate a letter to the Governor. Mr. James wrote the sense of the King's expressions, but was obliged to leave off from indisposition. The King would not trust it out of his hands. Yesterday evening it was concluded, when the King proposed to make his mark, and insisted on repeating it in the direction. We have taken the pains to preserve this curious letter verbatim, which from its length, and our constant interruption, we are compelled to reserve with many curious particulars for the General Report.

We are anxiously waiting a summons to hand our dispatches to the messenger. Nine days are allowed for the journey to Cape Coast, and nine for the return. The whole time has been gradually extended, by intreaty of the Fantee messengers, from eighteen to thirty days.

Mr. Hutchison is ill with a bilious attack, and several of the people with a fever and dysentery. The heat is very powerful

here, but Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Tedlie continue in excellent health.

We would recommend the sending up a common green silk umbrella, and a Company's dirk, as presents to the King's favourite nephew.

Our confinement to the house is rather irksome ; we are not allowed to walk in the town without Captains accompanying us.

12 o'clock. The King sent to say Mr. Bowdich must come to the palace, and mount the chief captain's horse, and shew him how Englishmen ride. Mr. Bowdich went, and by the King's desire galloped up and down the opposite hill. The King expressed great anxiety when the horse was made to play his tricks ; and when Mr. Bowdich persevered, and made him gallop back and alighted, the King sent him word that " he rode like a proper man, that he stayed on the horse well, and made him do proper."

4 o'clock. The King sent for us at two, to make some additions to the letter, and to seal it in his presence. A long prayer was uttered by a Moor after the sealing of the letter, and we were called back to be again impressed with the example and justice of the Dutch as regards the books. Mr. Hutchison's illness prevented his attendance to day. The messengers are to go to night.

May 29th, 3 p. m. The messengers and the Fantee bearers, have been delayed in consequence of the death of a person of rank, and their assistance in the custom. I am now assured that they will leave Coomassie at 4 o'clock.

In reply to the request we urged to Mr. James, that he would dismiss our hammock men, as they had been of so little service to us in coming up, and were a considerable expense ; he impressed that it would be contrary to your instructions.

Only one message from the King to day, and that a private one to Mr. Bowdich, with permission for him to ride : he went all

round the town, which he considers to be about three miles in circumference: the King afterwards sent him word, that to-morrow he must ride on a cloth only, as he had heard the English did.

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed)

T. E. BOWDICH.

H. TEDLIE.

P. S. Mr. James had a severe relapse of fever last night, and was very ill this morning; at 10 o'clock a. m. he had the cold bath, and some febrifuge medicine. Mr. Hutchison is rather better, the soldiers also, but the hammock men continue much the same.

SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies,*
to JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British*
Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.

THE King sends his compliments to the Governor, he thanks the King of England and him very much for the presents sent to him, he thinks them very handsome. The King's sisters and all his friends have seen them, and think them very handsome, and thank him. The King thanks his God and his fetish that he made the Governor send the white men's faces for him to see, like he does now; he likes the English very much, and the Governor all the same as his brother

The King of England has made war against all the other white people a long time, and killed all the people all about, and taken all the towns, French, Dutch, and Danish, all the towns, all about. The King of Ashantee has made war against all the people of the water side, and all the black men all about, and taken all their towns.

When the King of England takes a French town, he says,

“ come, all this is mine, bring all your books, and give me all your pay,” and if they don't do it, does the Governor think the King of England likes it? * So the King has beat the Fantees now two times, and taken all their towns, and they send and say to him, you are a great King, we want to serve you; but he says, Hah! you want to serve me, then bring all your books, what you get from the forts, and then they send him four ackies, this vexes him too much.

The first time he made war against the Fantees, two great men in Assin quarrelled, so half the people came to Ashantee, half went to Fantee. The King said, what is the reason of this, so he sent his gold swords and canes to know why they did so, and the Fantees killed his messengers and took all their gold. † After they fought with the Elminas and Accras, the Fantees sent word to the King they would serve him; the King sent word to the Assins, if it is true that the Fantees want to serve me, let me hear; after that they sent to say yes! they tired of fighting, and wanted to serve him, he said, well, give me some gold, what you get from the books, and then you shall hear what palaver I have got in my head, and we can be friends; then he sent some messengers, and after they waited more than two years, the Fantees sent word back, no! we don't want to serve the King, but only to make the path open and get good trade: this vexed the King too much.

Then the Fantees sent to a strong man, Cudjoe Coomah, and

* This is an extraordinary impression, that all the towns in Europe are supported like those under the forts, holding notes from their governments for annual stipends.

† Here the King's linguist ceased, and by his desire requested us to repeat all the King had said, he was much pleased with our accuracy, and begged us to take some refreshment, (spirits and palm wine were introduced in silver bowls) fearing he had kept us too long without eating, and would continue the letter to-morrow. He locked up what had been written, and heard it read again the next day, before his linguists continued.

said, "come, let us put our heads together against the King;" after that, when the King heard this, he sent one, not a great man, but his own slave, and said, well you will do, go kill all the people, all the Aquapims, and Akims, and all; and so he killed all, and after he killed all he came and told him.

When he sent against Akim, the people in Akim sent word, that they told their head men not to vex the King, but they would not mind them, so he killed the head people, and the others begged his pardon.

When the King went to fight with the Fantees they sent this saucy word—we will kill you and your people, and stand on you; then they did not kill one Ashantee captain, but the King killed all the Fantee captains and people. They do not stand on him.

That time, after the King fought, all the Fantees sent word, well we will serve you, but you must not send more harm to hurt us, we don't want to fight more, but to make good friends with you. Then the King said, what caboceer lives at Cape Coast and Annamaboe, what books they get from the forts, let them send all, and then we can be friends. And the King sent word too, if my messengers go to Cape Coast fort, and if they bring pots of gold, and casks of goods, then I can't take that, *but I must have the books.*

After that the King sent word to the Governor of Cape Coast and the Governor of Annamaboe, well! you know I have killed all the Fantees, and I must have Adocoo's and Amooney's books, and I can make friends with you, good brother and good heart; but now they send four ackies, that is what makes the King's heart break out when he looks on the book and thinks of four ackies, and his captains swear that the Fantees are rogues and want to cheat him. When the white men see the Fantees do this, and the

English officers bring him this four ackies, it makes him get up very angry, but he has no palaver with white men.

All Fantee is his, all the black mans country is his ; he hears that white men bring all the things that come here ; he wonders they do not fight with the Fantees, for he knows they cheat them. Now he sees white men, and he thanks God and his fetish for it.

When the English made Apollonia fort he fought with the Aowins, the masters of that country, and killed them ; then he said to the caboceer, I have killed all your people, your book is mine ; the caboceer said, true ! so long as you take my town, the book belongs to you.

He went to Dankara and fought, and killed the people, then he said ; give me the book you get from Elmina, so they did, and now Elmina belongs to him.*

The English fort at Accra gave a book to an Akim caboceer, called Aboigin Adjumawcon. The King killed him and took the book. The Dutch fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Curry Curry Apam. The Danish fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Arrawa Akim ; the King killed all and took their books.

This King, Sai, is young on the stool, but he keeps always in his head what old men say, for it is good, and his great men and linguists tell it him every morning. The King of England makes three great men, and sends one to Cape Coast, one to Annamaboe, and one to Accra ; Cape Coast is the same as England. The King gets two ounces from Accra every moon, and the English wish to give him only four ackies for the big fort at Cape Coast, and the same for Annamboe ; do white men think this proper ?

When the King killed the Dankara caboceer and got two ounces from Elmina, the Dutch Governor said, this is a proper King, we

* The King always spoke of the acts of all his ancestors as his own.

shall not play with him, and made the book four ounces. The King has killed all the people, and all the forts are his ; he sent his captains to see white men, now *he* sees them, and thanks God and his fetish. If the path was good when the captains went, the King would have gone under the forts and seen all the white men. The Ashantees take good gold to Cape Coast, but the Fantees mix it ; he sent some of his captains like slaves to see, and they saw it ; ten handkerchiefs are cut to eight, water is put to rum, and charcoal to powder, even for the King ; they cheat him, but he thinks the white men give all those things proper to the Fantees.

The King knows the King of England is his good friend, for he has sent him handsome dashes ; he knows his officers are his good friends, for they come to see him. The King wishes the Governor to send to Elmina to see what is paid him there, and to write the King of England how much, as the English say their nation passes the Dutch ; he will see by the books given him by both forts. If the King of England does not like that, he may send him himself what he pleases, and then Saï can take it.

He thanks the King and Governor for sending four white men to see him. The old King wished to see some of them, but the Fantees stop it. He is but a young man and sees them, and so again he thanks God and his fetish.

Dated in the presence of,

T. EDWARD BOWDICH,

WILLIAM HUTCHISON,

HENRY TEDLIE.

May 30. Apokoo sent us a present of 30 ackies of gold and some fruits.

June 1. The King sent to desire Mr. Tedlie to bring his instruments and medicines, and explain their uses to him; he was shrewdly inquisitive, and presented Mr. Tedlie with 6 ackies of gold in approbation of his intelligence

June 4. The King paid us a visit at our quarters, and expressed himself highly gratified with some botanical engravings: he said white men tried to know so much they would spoil their heads by and by. We were allowed to take a walk in the town to day, in charge of two captains. We had scarcely passed the palace when two men were decapitated for cowardice: three others had been executed during the night.

June 5. Bakkee, to whom our house formerly belonged, had been sent the second in command of the army with which Appia Danqua invaded Fantee the second time, in pursuit of the Akim and Aquapim revolters. Wearied of the procrastination and labours of the campaign, he inconsiderately observed to a public messenger, that, as the King had declared when he invaded Fantee in person, that he would have the head of every Fantee caboceer, and yet returned with a part only; so he could not be expected to forego the enjoyment of the riches and luxuries of his home, until every revolter was killed. On his return to the capital without leave, he was charged with this, and not denying it, was stripped of all his property, and hung himself. Aboidwee our present house master was raised to Bakkee's stool, or seat in council, to which 1700 retainers are attached.

June 9. The King sent us two sheep and a large quantity of fruit; his nephew also sent us a sheep.

June 11. We were invited to attend the King's levee, on the Adai custom, and were presented with a flask of rum and a fat

sheep. This walk was a great relief, for the longest court in our quarters was not more than 14 feet.

June 12. The King sent us a large Hio sheep to look at; it measured $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the head to the insertion of the tail, which was two feet long, its height was three feet, and it was covered with coarse shaggy hair.

June 13. The King sent for us late at night; he assured us he wished to think well of the English; and that if Cape Coast was not so far off, he should send messengers daily to wish the Governor good morning, but the Crambos (Moors) and his great men thought we came to do bad, and spy the country; so he sent for us when it was dark, that they might not know it. He had only two persons with him. Mr. James was too ill to attend.

17. The King sent a present to our quarters of

2 ounces of gold to the officers.

20 ackies to our people.

10 ackies to our linguists.

1 hog, 1 sheep, and a profusion of plantains and oranges. This was his reproof of a disgraceful attempt to borrow money of him for our subsistence; of which Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Tedlie, and myself, had publicly disclaimed our knowledge and sanction. Nothing could be more injurious to our dignity.

18th. Mr. Tedlie having ventured to walk a few yards without the town, was arrested by a captain, with about 100 followers, who detained him in his house whilst a message was sent to the King, who desiring Mr. Tedlie to be brought before him, enquired if he had his small box (compass) in his pocket, and finding he had not, affected to reprove the captain severely, for supposing either of us could wish to run away, whilst the King was our friend. After this we seldom went out.

21st. Bundahenna, one of the King's uncles, begged him for

permission to go and make custom for some relatives whom he had lost in the last Fantee war, as he feared their spirits were beginning to trouble him. The King subscribed four ounces of gold, two ankers of rum, one barrel of powder, and four human victims for sacrifice, towards this custom. We received a present of 11 ackies of gold from Quatchie Quofies household.

26th. We received a present from a captain called Oöossa Cudjo, of 10 ackies of gold, and another from Jessinting, of the same quantity, a sheep and some plantains.

28th. The King sent us a large quantity of plantains and oranges. Apokoo, one of the four greatest men in the kingdom, hearing his mother's sister was dead, killed a slave before his house, and proceeded to her croom to sacrifice many more, and celebrate her funeral custom; but, when he found, on opening her boxes, that the old woman from her dislike of him, had thrown almost all her rock gold into the river, and that he should only inherit a number of hungry slaves, he sacrificed but one more victim, and made but a very mean custom.

29th. Attended the King's levee, and were presented with a flask of rum, and a fat sheep. The King sent us word that he would be glad to let us walk out, but there were many bad people who would kill us if they could. We were gratified by an invitation to visit Odumata, one of the four aristocrats; he begged us to drink palm wine with him, and ordered a large jar of it to be sent to our servants. He told us he was the first captain who fought with the English at Annamaboe; and that if the books were not sent, he would be the first to do so again; he asked us if we would take him to England to see our King, and engage to bring him back again; for, having sold an immense number of captives as slaves, he expected some of them might recognise him, and call out to the King of England to stop him, because he had sent them out of their own country.

July 2. A girl was beheaded for insolence to one of the King's sons, and a man for transgressing the law by picking up gold which he had dropped in the public market place, where all that falls is allowed to accumulate until the soil is washed on state emergencies.

3rd. This morning one of the King's sons (about 10 years of age) shot himself: his funeral custom was celebrated in the afternoon, and a smart fire of musquetry was kept up until sun-set, amidst dancing, singing, and revelry; two men and one girl were sacrificed, and their trunks and heads were left in the market place till dark. The mother of this child, a favourite wife of the King's, having added crime to a continued perversity of conduct, had been put to death; the boy was banished the King's presence from that time. This morning he had stolen into the palace for the first time, and the King desiring him to be removed, observing that he had, doubtless, as bad a head towards him as his mother had shewn; he replied, that if he could not be allowed to come and look at his father, he had better die; half an hour afterwards he destroyed himself privately, by directing a blunderbuss into his mouth, and discharging it with his foot. The keeper of the royal cemetery was this day imprisoned. His wife was soon afterwards charged by the council with making fetish to turn the King's head; she replied that it meant no more than to make the King think better of her husband; but they insisted that she invoked the Fetish to make the King mad, and she was executed.

5th. A loud shout from our people announced the return of the messengers from Cape Coast Castle, after an absence of thirty-eight days.

CHAPTER III.

*Proceedings and Incidents until the Third Dispatch to Cape Coast Castle.**Cape Coast Castle, June 21, 1817.*

SIR,

MR. JAMES being ordered to return here as soon as possible, will deliver you his instructions, and you will immediately on receipt of this letter, take upon yourself the management of the Mission. I have every reliance on your prudence and discretion, and still firmly hope that the termination of the Embassy will be attended with success, and that the sanguine expectations which we have entertained as to the result of it, will not be disappointed.

The King has received a very erroneous impression of the affair of the Fantee notes, which I regret to hear was the cause of a serious disturbance: I am glad however to find that by your prompt mode of conduct, you were in some measure able to repress the unfavourable bias it seems to have occasioned, and I have no doubt that an explanation of the circumstance will effectually remove any remaining prejudice. This transaction was entirely between the Ashantee messengers and Fantees, negotiated, and determined on by them at Abrah, and afterwards ratified here by their mutual consent. Hearing that messengers from the King were at Abrah, I invited them down, wishing through their medium to communicate with him concerning the conveyance of the pre-

sents I had received from the Committee. After some delay they arrived, and on their first interview made known their errand to the Fantees, and the manner it had been arranged, applying at the same time for two notes to be made out in favour of Zey, at four ackies each, which were to be deducted from the notes of Amooney and Aduecoe; not being perfectly satisfied from the representation of these people as to the justness of the claim, I delayed complying until it was stated to be a pledge of good faith and allegiance on the part of the Fantees, and a confirmation of the final adjustment of all differences between the two parties, and as such they were given them. The nature of the claim having been fully and satisfactorily explained, I have no hesitation in complying with the wishes of the King; and this I do the more readily, knowing that by the extension of his authority, good order and subjection will be better preserved.

This will, I hope, evince to the King my friendly intention towards him; and you will impress upon his mind, that it is my earnest desire to cultivate his friendship, the establishment of which will be mutually beneficial; and in order that the union between us may be more closely cemented, I am particularly desirous that Mr. Hutchison be permitted to reside at Ashantee, which will be the means of preventing any interruption to the good understanding which, before you leave, will, I hope, be firmly settled.

I have no objection to you returning by way of Warsaw, but your undertaking the journey on foot, I am apprehensive, you will find too fatiguing. The hammock-men are engaged for the trip, therefore the only additional expense will be their subsistence; I however leave it to you to dismiss them or not.

The Accra linguist being so very useful, and the only man who will interpret faithfully, you will retain him until you return.

I have sent you, by the King's messenger, 40 oz. of gold to defray

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

your expenses; should any loan have been granted by the King, you will of course repay him.

I send you a piece of muslin and 10 danes for presents to the Moors, whose friendship it will be highly necessary to conciliate. I have also at your request, sent a dirk and umbrella, intended for the King's chief captain and his favourite nephew.

Quamina, the Ashantee captain at Abrah, has refused to allow any letters to pass that place which may be given in charge to Ashantee traders, on the plea that by so doing he would incur the displeasure of the King; who, he says, expects that especial messengers will be engaged here to proceed with all letters to the capital. Not long ago a trader who had received a letter, was detained by him at Abrah, and the letter returned. The expense of employing messengers here on every occasion would be material, which is quite unnecessary, as opportunities almost daily occur for forwarding letters by the different traders going from hence. I therefore hope your representation of this affair to the King, will induce him to countermand his orders to Quamina, if any such have been given him.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HOPE SMITH.

To Thomas Edward Bowdich, Esq.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa, to SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee.*

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 26th ult. and am happy to find that you are sincerely desirous of cultivating the friendship of the British nation. Both inclination and duty urge me to reciprocate the sentiments expressed by you, and I shall be anxious at all times to promote the harmony and good understanding which, I hope, will now be established between us respectively, and which cannot fail to be mutually advantageous,

I regret to find there has been so much trouble about the Fantee notes, and I am sorry you did not apply to me in the first instance, as the affair should have been settled immediately to your satisfaction; but I knew not of it, except from the Fantees having begged me to take four ackies per month from each note, which they said they had agreed for with your messengers at Abrah.

I observe by the many instances quoted in your letter, that the notes of conquered countries have been transferred to your ancestors, therefore it shall be the same on the present occasion. Herewith I send you two notes, one for two oz. per month, formerly held by Amooney, also one from the caboceer at Abrah for two oz. the latter was only 12 ackies per month, and I have added 1 oz. 4 to it. These, and the notes you hold from Accra, will make your Company's pay six oz. per month, which shall be regularly paid at the Castle.

I hope my ready compliance with your wishes will convince you of the good will of the British nation, but I have every reason to believe that attempts have been made to prejudice you against it,

however your own good understanding will readily suggest to you that the only motive is jealousy in trade.

The conduct of the English you will always find very different; they enter into fair competition with the other European residents here, but they never, by clandestine means or false assertions, endeavour to injure their character with the natives of this country.

I have learned with regret that the people of Elmina are using their influence to induce you to make a palaver with the Comendas. They are a mere handful of people, extremely poor and not worth your notice; besides they are under my protection, therefore I hope you will not think further of the affair, and I shall consider your compliance in this instance, as the greatest possible proof of the sincerity of your intentions towards the English.

I wish you health and happiness, and I hope you will reign many years, enjoying the love of your subjects, and the respect of all the Europeans resident in this country.

I am, Sir,
your faithful friend,

(Signed) J. H. SMITH.

Cape Coast Castle, 20th June, 1817.

P. S. The abolition of the slave trade was an act of the King and the Parliament in England, in which the government in this country had no concern.

Coomassie, July 9, 1817.

TO JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THE messengers returned on Saturday the 5th instant.

To be confirmed by your approbation, in the opinion that my zeal for the public good had not exceeded my duty, is a most flattering satisfaction. The appointment you have conferred on me, is an acknowledgment so far transcending my conduct, that it must stimulate every ability to exert itself for the success of the Mission, to justify such an honourable distinction.

The box containing the letters was opened in the King's presence, but being engaged in a custom on the death of a son, he deferred the reading of your letter, retaining it with the notes. His acknowledgments of your justice were associated with the declaration, that, although you had sent him the notes, still, if I could not fortify him with the prices of the various articles to be received in payment, you would have it in your power (though he did not suspect you) to reduce the intrinsic of the whole, to that of the moiety rejected. The proposition of the same prices as those attached to the Accra note, was annihilated by the argument, that Accra was a small fort, and not like Cape Coast or *Elmina*. So much stress was laid on the instance of the latter, that I felt called upon to declare, as the only striking conviction, that you did not wish, in the payment of these notes, to treat the King like a trader, and therefore would not allow the *Elmina* Governor to act more liberally in prices than yourself: the conviction was entire and instantaneous.

The next audience did not take place until Monday, Mr. James being present. I did justice to the utmost of my ability to your impressive letter; the effect was honourable to you, and encou-

raging to myself; the King ordered me to take his hand, in his sensibility to the strong appeal of the several paragraphs, and again at the conclusion, as a pledge of his cordial satisfaction of the whole; his linguist followed his example, (as did the whole council) when he laid his fore-finger on his head and breast, as the invocation to Heaven for the vouchsafement of your several good wishes, as I concluded with them. I was reluctantly compelled to yield a minor object to a custom consecrated by their constitution. The laws of the three first Kings (who were brothers, and cotemporary leaders of the colony, whose conquests established the Empire) are sacred; and it was a law of Saï Cudjo, the younger brother, and the grandfather of the present King, which granted to particular captains the honourable patent of receiving the pay of small forts, distinctly, each being responsible for his separate duties to his settlement. If this law were not inviolable, the King pleads, that it would be an invidious act, and unjust to the merits of the Captain of English Accra, (Asquah Amanquah) to remove the payment of the Accra note to Cape Coast; but as the other appointments originate in him, he will respect your wish, by constituting one captain to receive both the Abra and Annamaboe notes at Cape Coast. He enquired if it was your wish that no Ashantee trader should go to Accra? I replied no! you were only desirous to induce as many as possible to come to Cape Coast.

The Cape Coast linguists, and our guide, Quamina Bwa, confirmed your report of the conduct of Quamina Bootaqua, the captain now at Payntree, in the negociation of the notes; it excited the greatest surprise and indignation; his interception of letters was disclaimed, and will be done away with. I submitted to the King, on retiring, that in my next audience, I should be desirous of declaring the purport of the official instructions transferred to me (which had not been yet avowed) with other credentials,

explanatory and impressive of the good wishes and intentions of the Government, the Committee, and yourself. I was favoured with my first separate audience at 8 o'clock this morning. I first impressed from the dispatches of the Committee, every motive and sentiment that was convicting or imposing; urging your waving the hostages and escort, as the demonstration of your confidence in the King's honour and friendship; and insinuating that the establishment of a school at Cape Coast, was solely in anticipation of the King's committing some of his children to your care for education, as the foundation of the pre-eminence of Europeans. I then passed to your instructions, rendering them in a manner as persuasive and auspicious as possible; associating in favour of the Residency, the commanding motive of facilitating political interests, with the imposing one of securing justice to the Ashantee traders. Lastly, I introduced the Treaty, as a pledge from the King to give force to your application to the Government at home, for the increase of his pay; for, as he continued to dwell on the grant of 4 ounces from Elmina, I availed myself of this liberty of my instructions, to divert the impression, and to propitiate his ratification of the Treaty. I considered the pretence of your being obliged to address the British Government on the subject, as preservative of the opportunity of judging of the sincerity of his professions, and of the duration of the union.

I think I may pledge myself for three great pillars of our commercial intercourse, by the accomplishment of the Residency, the Education, and the Treaty.

I reconcile myself to fresh difficulties by the reflection that they are inseparable from all great political views; and that without them, I should be deprived of the satisfaction of proving myself, in a small degree, worthy this confidence and distinction, by patience and perseverance. A letter accompanies this, written in

the King's presence, on the subject of the Commenda palaver, which wears so decided an aspect, that whilst I pledge all my energy and address, and look with hope to the aid of your suggestions, I must candidly confess, I do not think it can be compounded in any thing like a reasonable way. I appealed to the King's magnanimity, and depicted the poverty of the Commendas, but every appeal and every argument was ineffectual; their aggravated offences admit of no amelioration of the King's feelings. I depreciated the plea of General Daendels' repeated messages, by submitting that they were addressed to the Town, and not to the Fort, and I succeeded in retiring him from the negotiation, as an interference inconsistent with your dignity, and the present good understanding.

I did not discourage the King's great anxiety for clothes of the English costume, considering that his example would be more auspicious than any thing else, to the introduction of these manufactures. I have distributed the muslins, &c. as politically as possible, including with the Moors of repute, the aristocracy, or four captains controuling the King, his four linguists, his brother and successor, our housemaster, and some other captains of superior influence. I made a point of conciliating a Moor of influence, about to return through Sallagha or Sarem (the capital of the Inta country, and the grand emporium of the merchandize of the interior) to Houssa, feeling the policy of communicating every favourable impression to the neighbouring kingdoms. In my second interview I obtained permission from the King to dismiss the remaining Fantees. It was one of the first considerations, for the sake of our dignity, to avoid the humiliating circumstances and impressions, which have ensued from the want of foresight, and the consequent inability to meet the demands of our people. Their conduct since has been so mutinous and insulting, with the

exception of six, that to preserve the impression of the firmness of an English officer, I secured one who encouraged the others, by persisting in some insulting indecencies, in contempt of my remonstrances, and ordered him to be punished.

The others (with the above exception) having refused in a body, aggravating their disobedience with the grossest insolence, to go with a cane to Payntree, and bring the biscuit which had been deserted there; I have disclaimed them, and left them to act for themselves, only securing them the King's permission to depart.

I shall request the King to furnish me with his own people, on the conclusion of the business of the Embassy. Such an arrangement favours œconomy, and impresses the confidence I affect.

The frequent presents had enabled me to present the Fantees with large supplies of plantains and hogs; and on paying them their arrears, which I did the same evening I received your gold, I gave them a bullock which fell to my share in a division with Mr. James.

You will see by the balance of the annexed account, that (preserving our dignity) every expense should be avoided that can be; and I assure you, that in making the present arrangement for bearers for our baggage only, I do not disregard your solicitude for our health. I shall order one Cape Coast messenger to attend Mr. James, and also the bearers left behind, being sufficiently recovered.

The statistical and scientific desiderata so impressively recommended to my attention, are daily realising beyond my expectations. Mr. Tedlie has had a severe attack of fever and dysentery, but is convalescent: Mr. Hutchison and myself are in perfect health.

I am, with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

T. E. BOWDICH.

Sai TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee and its Dependencies*, to
JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British
Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.*

THE Commenda palaver now rests with you and the King of Ashantee only, the Dutch Governor has no more to do with it, so the King recalls the captain sent to him, and sends a proper messenger to treat with you individually.

The conduct and messages of the Commendas have been so irritating and insolent to the King, that nothing but believing you to be his good friend, could induce him to treat at all with them, or do any thing but kill them ; but for your sake, he will settle the palaver, and you must help him properly.

The King wants to begin the union without any palaver remaining, and as this Commenda palaver is the only one, it must be settled, and if you do this, he will take care the Elminas shall not do wrong to the Fantees, but he will help you in all your palavers.

The Elminas are always sending him messages about the insulting conduct and expressions of the Commendas towards him, and this is very vexatious to him, so he wishes to put an end to it with your help.

Adoo Bradie, his favorite nephew, the son of the former King Sai Quamina, is sent with a proper captain, Quantree, to help you settle the palaver.

Two thousand ounces is the demand.

The origin of the palaver is, that after the King returned from his own campaign against the Fantees, the Commendas went to the Elminas and said, "well, you help'd the King, and now he is gone back we will fight for it."

Again, when a war was about to take place between the Cape Coast people and the Elminas, the Commendas went to the latter and said, well, we will help you if you will give us plenty of

powder to fight for you: they did so, and immediately the Commendas used it to seize 98 Elminas, and sold them as slaves—this the King thinks you will say is very bad.

The Cape Coast people and the Fantees having joined against the Elminas, they sent to tell the King, stating, when he demanded the reason, that it was because they had not resisted him when he came down against the Fantees; adding, that the Commendas, who were their natural allies before, had now joined their enemies, and begging the King to revenge this act of perfidy. The King much angered, immediately sent a captain for the purpose of their destruction (Yaquokroko,) but the Dutch governor sent to him, and then sent to the King to beg him to stop, because the English and Dutch being one, it would put shame on his face.

Col. Torrane by giving up Cheeboo, induced the King to consider the Cape Coast people as his friends, and they took fetish accordingly, but their joining the Fantees afterwards to fight against Elmina for assisting the King, has made him distrust them always since.

He considers his favourite nephew as the adopted son of Col. Torrane, to whom he gave him, and the Colonel gave him English clothes, so he is all the same as a Cape Coast Boy.

Col. Torrane being dead, he considers his nephew to stand in the same relation to you, and that he is therefore the proper messenger to send to you about this palaver.

You must write in your great book, that the King is your good friend, that he likes you too much, that he thanks God very much, so that every future Governor may read that in the Cape Coast Books.

The mark ✕ of Sai Tootoo, King of Ashantee,

Present.

Per T. E. BOWDICH.

WM. HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

Coomassie, July 9th, 1817.

Coomassie, July 12th, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQUIRE, GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c.

SIR,

I AM just returned from reading your letter to the King, and extracts from that to myself, before the assembly of the captains: the effect was satisfactory; and Quamina Bootaqua is ordered up to answer for his conduct. The King enquired if the pay now due on the two notes would be liquidated on application; I replied, immediately; he is anxious for it, on account of the approaching yam custom.

I am, &c.

(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

I will not continue to copy the rude diary before submitted, it is only a register of dull or disgusting circumstances, illnesses, human sacrifices, and ceremonious visits. I would not anticipate the better arrangement of my reports, or break the thread of the correspondence on the political difficulties opposed to the Mission. I will abridge some passages of my diary, merely to give an idea of the nature of our conversations, and the biography of the leading men. Mr. Hutchison has sent me copious extracts from his diary, as Resident, his leisure and tranquillity having afforded him better opportunities of social intercourse and domestic observation, than I had, or could afford time to cultivate, without neglecting my reports. I shall adjoin these extracts, expecting they will contribute to the rational entertainment of the public, and to the credit of an active and intelligent officer.

A captain called Asofoo, sent us a present of seven ackies of

gold, and we also received twelve from Amanquateä, and three from our house master. On the 9th of July the King sent us ten ackies of gold, and repeated his satisfaction of the result of the late correspondence, and daily presents of meat and fruits from various quarters, evinced the better opinion of his chiefs.

I paid my first private visit to Baba the chief Moor, and took some pens, paper, ink, and pencils with me as a present; the paper and pencils were much esteemed, but he preferred his reed and vegetable ink. He received me courteously, and was contemplating a curiously intricate figure like a horoscope; the ms. was filled with them; he laid his finger on it, and said, if you have any hard palaver, this can make me settle it for you when no other person can; or if you have any dear friend in England you wish to see, tell me the name, and this shall bring him to you. I thanked him, observing, that when Englishmen knew their palaver was right, they always left it to God, and that England was too good a place for me to wish any one I regarded to leave it. His disciples and pupils were writing on wooden boards, like those Mr. Park describes. When a charm was applied for, one of the oldest wrote the body of it, and gave it to Baba, who added a sort of cabalistical mark, and gave it a mysterious fold; the credulous native snatched it eagerly as it was held out to him, paid the gold, and hurried away to enclose it in the richest case he could afford. I had a long conversation with Baba, and he begged me to visit him frequently; he was much gratified with the specimens of African Arabic at the end of Mr. Jackson's work, and read them fluently. I visited him the next day, when he sent hastily for a Moor, who he told me was very learned, and just come from Timbuctoo. This man expressing no surprise when he first saw me, Baba explained it, by telling me, spontaneously, that this Moor had seen three white men before, at Boussa. I eagerly enquired the parti-

culars of the novelty, and they were again repeated to Baba, and were thus interpreted: "that some years ago, a vessel with masts, suddenly appeared on the Quolla or Niger near Boussa, with three white men, and some black. The natives encouraged by these strange men, took off provisions for sale, were well paid and received presents besides: it seems the vessel had anchored. The next day, perceiving the vessel going on, the natives hurried after her, (the Moor protested from their anxiety to save her from some sunken rocks, with which the Quolla abounds) but the white men mistaking, and thinking they pursued for a bad purpose, deterred them. The vessel soon after struck, the men jumped into the water and tried to swim, but could not, for the current, and were drowned. He thought some of their clothes were now at Wauwaw, but he did not believe there were any books or papers." This spontaneous narrative, so artlessly told, made a powerful impression on my mind. I saw the man frequently afterwards, his manners were very mild, and he never asked me for the most trifling present. He drew me a chart before he went away, and I dispatched some certificates for Major Peddie by him, endorsed with Baba's recommendations. I heard exactly the same thing afterwards from another Moor, but he had not been an eye witness. I begged Mr. Hutchison, when I left Coomassie, to note any other report on the subject of Mr. Park's death, and he afterwards sent me the ms. a translation of which is in the appendix. I continued to call on Baba three or four times a week; these visits afforded much information, for at each I found strange Moors just arrived from different parts of the interior, sojourning with him. They always affected to deplore the ignorance of the Ashantees, and presumed it must be as irksome to me as to them. Baba telling one that I could speak different languages, he said that he would try me, and addressed me in several, all very uncouth to my ear,

and their names even unintelligible, except one, which he called Hindee or Hindoo; neither had I heard of any of the great cities he enumerated, until at last he pronounced Room (Rome) and said, if I did not know that I was not a Christian. I never saw the Shereef Brahima (to whom I was introduced about this time by a Jennë Moor) at Baba's, they did not appear to be on terms; I think the latter was envious of the greater learning and intelligence of the former, who had been to Mecca and Medina. One day I requested Baba to draw me a map of the world, he did so, encircling one large continent with a sea, bounded by a girdle of rocks. Old Odumata's notion of geography was as strange; for he mentioned one day, that when on the coast above Apollonia, he had an idea of walking to England, for he was told he should reach Santonee (Portugal) in 30 days, and that after that, the path was very good. He greatly enjoyed our singeing the hair of a foppish attendant of his, with a burning glass; the man's amazement was inconceivable, Mr. Hutchison was at some distance, and not suspected.

We were now permitted to walk four or five miles beyond the city, and felt quite at home. We seldom went out in the morning, lest an occasion for an audience should occur. Apokoo and several other daily visitors diverted us with their anecdotes, and in the afternoon we made our round of calls. Apokoo was always facetious, and looked with much anxiety for our entry, as his greatest recreation; he was very desirous of learning tennis and sparring, and daily made some essays, so comical, that neither we nor his attendants could contain ourselves. Apokoo became very communicative of Ashantee politics, and asked innumerable questions about England; particularly, why the King of England did not send one of his own sons to the King of Ashantee, with the presents, and why so great a King sent such a small force to Africa.

The Spanish campaign was gone through, again and again, and never tired him. He gave us an excellent dinner, as did Odumata repeatedly. Both were extravagantly enraptured with the miniature of an English female, and called all their wives to look at it.

Having been advised by a note from the Governor, of the arrival of an Ashantee boy and girl at Cape Coast Castle, sent by the King without any explanation, I desired an audience on the subject, and forwarded the following letter, which also communicates the baseness of one of the King's messengers, just returned from the Coast, and other inauspicious circumstances.

Coomassie, 10th Aug. 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THE King has explained to me that he sent the boy and girl you mention to have arrived at Cape Coast, to become the property of the Committee or Government, conceiving it to be obligatory on him, in justification of his possession of the notes, to allow an Ashantee family to rear itself under the Governor's protection, for the service of the Settlement, and as an acknowledgment of the duties he owes it. He begs me to observe that he put the same plates of gold around their necks which distinguish the royal attendants.

I had reason to believe, from a coolness and some invidious comparisons on the part of the King, that the messenger lately arrived, Ocranameah, who was so particularly recommended to your favour, had been unjust in his report of the treatment he had experienced. I did not hesitate to avow my impression to the King, having solicited an audience for the purpose. The King

confessed he had felt his private feelings hurt ever since the return of that messenger, having received his assurance, that you would scarcely admit him to your presence ; that he received no present or compliment from you, and was wholly neglected during his stay at head quarters. I instantly pledged my honour to the King that Ocranameah (who was present) was guilty of falsehood and ingratitude, adding, that I was not prepared to confront him with the particulars of the presents he received from you and the officers ; though I was positive, from private letters, as well as my own conviction, that you had not slighted the opportunity of evincing your private friendship for the King ; and as I might possibly identify some trifle, I wished the King to allow a search to be made. On the messenger's box being sent for and opened, two engravings appeared, to the surprise of the King, and which I recognised ; but as the messenger still persists in *your* entire neglect of him, and of his not having received any present or compliment worth mentioning, I must trouble you for the particulars of his treatment at Cape Coast Castle, for the entire conviction of the King. The King expressed his suspicion (founded on reports) that many Ashantees imposed on your generosity, by introducing themselves as attached to him in various capacities ; and hoped that you would only listen in future to such as he recommended to your notice by letter, which his three messengers above had been ; the second (Ocranameah) the more particularly, and that recollection had made him so sensible of the neglect. You will regret, with myself, that this inauspicious circumstance has been unavoidable.

The recent intelligence respecting the Buntooko war, has imposed serious anxiety, in the place of the King's former confidence. The revolt of that people, as may be expected in all revolts from arbitrary controul, has gradually induced the secessions of some other

tributaries; and the King feels called upon by these unexpected difficulties, to conduct the war in person; not with his former expectation of witnessing their rapid subjugation, but from his present conviction of the necessity for every stimulus and energy. His precaution has dictated some popular acts, ameliorating the condition of the lower order of his subjects. The confidential ministers have been instructed to hint to me, that it would be indiscreet in the King to expose even his temporary reverses in an arduous war, by the residence of a British officer; and that he would most probably defer that part of the mutual wish, until the contest was terminated. I used the same medium to impress upon the King, that such a feeling towards the delegate of a friendly power was misplaced; that you had expedited his ex-parte views in the confidence of his consummation of the reciprocal objects of the Mission, without which (as they had been instituted for his benefit and aggrandisement) I could not think of returning; since a protraction would be construed into a slight of the friendly overtures of the British Government, which (from its dignity and pre-eminence in Europe) could not be vouchsafed whenever they might be solicited.

I anxiously await your communications on the Commenda palaver, to further my exertions for the full accomplishment of the Mission. The King and his Council labour under so much anxiety and business at the present moment, that though we pay and receive visits of ceremony, it is almost impossible to effect an audience, but on the receipt of dispatches.

I am, &c. &c.

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

The most entertaining *delassement* of our conversations with the chiefs, was, to introduce the liberty of English females ; whom we represented, not only to possess the advantage of enjoying the sole affection of a husband, but the more enviable privilege of choosing that husband for herself. The effect was truly comic, the women sidled up to wipe the dust from our shoes with their cloths, and at the end of every sentence brushed off an insect, or picked a burr from our trowsers ; the husbands suppressing their dislike in a laugh, would put their hands before our mouths, declaring they did not want to hear that palaver any more, abruptly change the subject to war, and order the women to the harem.

One of the King's linguists was a very old man, called Quancum ; he spoke but seldom, yet the greatest deference was paid to his opinion ; the King appeared to consult him more than any other. I was so much interested by this man's deportment, that I enquired his history. He had been the linguist of two former Kings, who paid frequent, and large sums of gold, as damages for his intrigues ; neither had age corrected his fault, until very lately, though the present King used the most friendly remonstrances ; and urged, that from his paying large sums so frequently for him on this account, his subjects thought, that he countenanced the depravity. Quancum confessed to the King, that his ardour for women was perpetuated by the sensual devices of one of his wives. Soon afterwards, he was detected in an intrigue with the wife of a captain of great consequence, and the King refused to interfere, The captain declaring that the punishment of Quancum, and not gold, was his object, the King permitted him to be despoiled of all his property, even to his bed. The favourite wife was amongst the spoil, and the injured captain being much smitten with her, assured her of an indulgence and preference, even greater than that she had enjoyed with Quancum ; she replied, she must always hate

him, and intreated to be sold. After much importunity the captain agreed to do so, provided she would put him in possession of all the presents Quancum had lavished on her; she produced them, stipulating, that her son might retain a small sum of gold, which Quancum had lately presented to him; this was agreed to, and she was immediately sold to a distant caboceer; but her son followed her, and buying her with his little property, presented her again to his father. On this, the King gave Quancum a house, and some furniture, and takes care to continue small supplies of gold daily, adequate to his and this woman's comfort; having exacted a solemn oath from him, that he would devote himself to this one wife, and never try to recover any of the others.

Mr. Tedlie's interesting interview with the King, when he desired his attendance to exhibit and explain his surgical instruments, and medicines, is best described in his own words.

“The King sent for me this morning, saying he wished to see the medicines, books, and instruments. I went immediately, and explained through Quashie, the Accra linguist, the proper use and advantage of each instrument: he was very particular in his enquiries, and asked if I had performed the operations I described; I assured him that I had, and as a proof, exhibited a piece of bone that I had taken out of an Indian black man's head in Ceylon, who had been wounded, and who lived. The King held up his hand as a mark of approbation, and all his attendants were astonished. I applied the instruments first on myself, then on the linguists, afterwards on the King's two captains, and lastly on the King: nothing could exceed the King's approbation. He then desired me to shew him the medicines; he enquired the virtues and doses of each, what time in the day they should be taken, and whether it was proper to eat or drink after taking them? I told him: he asked if I would sell them? I said no. I brought these medicines

for the officers ; I could not sell them, but I would give him as much as I could, keeping in view that some of the four officers might be sick ; he said that I was right, but he could not help coveting the greater part of the medicines ; he viewed them all over five or six times, and asked me to give him some of them. I did give him as much innocent medicine as I could with propriety afford ; he thanked me “ very much.” I then shewed him the botanical books ; he was astonished, held up his hand and exclaimed hah ! at every brilliant or high coloured plant which he saw. All his attendants were closely arranged around : the two captains laid hold of a volume each, and were admiring the flowers ; when either of them ejaculated an admiration, the King would seize it, and ask me what that tree was ? After I had told him the use of them, I said all these trees grow in England ; and the reason the English write all these in a book is, that they may know which is a good tree, and which is bad. He expressed the greatest astonishment at the flax (*linum*), oak “ that we build our ships with,” poppy “ that makes a man sleep,” and the sensitive plant (*mimosa*), which he pointed out and described himself. During this time he whispered to one of his attendants, who went out, and returned in a short time with a bit of cloth containing 9 ackies of gold ; the King presented it to me ; I accepted it, and returned thanks. He then asked me if I would come and see him at any time he sent for me ; I assured him I would do every thing to please him, consistent with my duty. He shook hands with me and went into his house. He returned in a short time, leading his sister by the hand, in a manner that would shame many beaux in Europe, saying, “ this is the white doctor I told you of ; go, and take his hand ; you are sick, tell him your complaint, and he will do you good : the lady complied with his request. He then said “ give me that gold I gave you, the cloth is not clean ; I want to

put it in a clean cloth for you." He then put it in a piece of rich silk, and after he returned the gold he said "I like you; I like all the English very much; they are a proper people, and I wish to drink health with you." He retired to his own apartment, and returned with a flask of gin, and two servants with a silver vase and water and glasses; he helped himself and me, made a bow and said "Sai wishes you good health." I returned the bow, saying, I wish good health to the King, and hope he never will require any of my medicine: when this was explained to him he held out his glass to me, we touched and drank. He then took my hand, saying, "If I send my sister to you will you talk with her?" I assured him I would talk with and advise all the King's friends whenever he wished. After I gave all the medicine I could conveniently part with, he sent for a small Dutch liqueur case; he desired 10 or 12 of his attendants, and his eunuch, to keep in their heads what I said; and requested me to repeat again the use and dose of each medicine I gave him, with the proper time and method of using it. I did so. He placed his hand on his head saying "Sai recollects what the white doctor says;" then placing the medicines in the case himself said "that good for my head, that good for my belly, that good for my stomach," &c. One of the King's sisters sent a message that she wanted to come and see the white gentlemen; and shortly afterwards arrived with her stool and retinue, being head caboceer of a large town. After exchanging compliments, she complained that her left hand pained her very much. I examined it, but must confess I could not see any thing the matter with it; however I rubbed a little liniment on her hand, which seemed to gratify her; she asked if I would come and see her in the evening? I answered yes. Quamina, our Ashantee guide, came to conduct me: he said I must dress, put on my sword and hat, as this woman was a caboceer, and the King's

sister; he would carry my umbrella. When I arrived I found the princess lying on a mat in one of the inner apartments of the house she occupied; she ordered a stool for me; I rubbed some more liniment on her hand; she wished me to stop and drink palm wine; this I declined, alledging the English did not like palm wine in the evening, because it is sour."

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings and Incidents until the Signing of the Preliminaries to a General Treaty.

[The Governor's reply to my communication on the subject of the Commenda palaver, reached me on the 27th of August.]

Cape Coast Castle, August 11, 1817.

T. E. BOWDICH, ESQ.

SIR,

I ENTERTAINED a confident hope that no further mention would have been made by the King concerning the Commendas, after the receipt of my letter, and I am sorry that he should allow so insignificant a set of people to protract in the least the settlement of our union. As it is my particular wish to remove this impediment, I have used every endeavour to bring the affair to a conclusion, and trust the King will not suffer it to be invincible. The Commendas are also naturally anxious for its termination, but their poverty is so great, that they have it not in their power to comply with his demand. They have acknowledged their fealty to the King, and have agreed to pay the sum of 120 oz. of gold, of which, messengers are sent by his nephew to enquire whether he will accept. This, with the sum they have been unavoidably obliged to promise the principal persons deputed to negotiate this business, will increase the sum to at least 150 oz. The many proofs the King has had of

my friendly intentions towards him, and the consideration of the benefits that will accrue to him from his alliance with the English, will, I hope, induce him to concede to the terms offered by the Commendas. A refusal must be considered as an avowal of his determined resolution not to conciliate the affair, and as the indigent circumstances of these people, make it utterly impossible for them to pay a larger sum, you will, should he persist in exacting more, procure his permission to leave the country, and return with the other officers as soon as you can. To sacrifice the Mission, after the heavy expences which have been incurred, and when we are induced to believe that every other object is propitiated to our utmost expectations, should be avoided if possible; but if he insists on a larger sum being levied from the Commendas than has been offered, there remains no other alternative. The dignity of the flag must be the superior consideration to all others.

The King has no need to doubt in the least the sincerity of the Cape Coast people, they are his friends, and have every inclination to continue so; and I am convinced his nephew will, on his return, confirm this report to him.

I will make known to the Committee his request for a crown and clothes, and I have no doubt but it will be complied with.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HOPE SMITH.

Coomassie, Aug. 29, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

I HAVE the satisfaction to enclose a copy of the Preliminaries to the general Treaty, as signed this day by the King in Council, adjusting the Commenda palaver, agreeably to your letter of the 11th, which did not reach me till the 27th instant.

I proceed to acquaint you with the transactions of the interval.

The charge of a political Embassy, in a part of the world where respect and security are founded upon the opinion imposed by our conduct, exacted a spirit and dignity, which might have been abated in insinuating a Mission through the country for scientific purposes, but the inviolability of which was inseparable from the improvement and safety of neighbouring settlements. Since my last dispatch, I have been obligated to resist various encroachments, of which I shall mention two or three to justify my treatment of them.

The death of Quamina Bwa, our Ashantee guide, in the early part of the last week, creating an idle, but popular superstition that he had been killed by the fetish for bringing white men to take the country; I was applied to in the King's name, to ameliorate this impression, by contributing an ounce of gold towards the custom to be made by the King for his repose. I refused on two grounds; first, that Quamina Bwa had himself unjustly incensed the people against us, by panyaring* their provisions in the King's name, for our subsistence, and defrauding them of the gold we gave him for the payment: secondly, that the rites of customs were unnatural to our religion, which bound us, at least, not to encourage them. Fifteen persons had been sacrificed the

* Seizing.

week before (in a custom for the mother of a captain) with aggravated barbarity.

Several of the principal men having applied to me to send to Cape Coast for silks, to be paid for on receipt at Coomassie (a very dangerous and impolitic indulgence), I impressed, indignantly, that I was not sent as a trader to make bargains with them, but as an officer to talk the palavers with the King.

These circumstances, and a personal chastisement of some insults from inferior captains, which was provoked after much patience, influenced *ex parte* representations, which, though they may not have sickened the King's regard, induced hauteur and neglect. In proceeding to the King's house on public occasions, which I never did without the flag, canes, and soldiers, we had been expected to make way for the greater retinues of superior captains, who would rudely have enforced it; and after soliciting audiences for two days, I was kept in waiting above an hour in the outer courts of the palace. On the last occasion of the latter treatment, knowing that it was affected, I returned to our quarters until I received the King's invitation; representing to him, that as an officer dignified by an authority to make a treaty with him in the name of the British Government, I could not submit to disrespectful treatment at the Palace, nor allow the English flag to give place to any but himself; that, if it merely affected myself as an individual, my esteem for the King would induce me to compromise these points of etiquette with his captains; but, according to the custom of England, I dared not; for if I did, my sword would be taken from me on my return to Cape Coast Castle. It produced the desired effect; the gong gong proclaimed in every street that all captains must make way for the flag; and at the monthly levee of the captains (the Adai custom) the King's linguists were deputed to us first, with the customary present of a

sheep and rum ; and presented us the first to pay our compliments to the King, being followed by Amanquateä, Quatchie Quophi, Apokoo, and Odumata ; the four captains composing the Privy Council, or Aristocracy, which checks the King. The first (whose power approximates to that of the Mayor of the Palace under the early French dynasty) sent his linguist and gold swords to compliment us on the ground. I determined to take advantage of this impression, and of the comparative facility of intercourse, and demanded an audience to discuss the treaty, a copy of which I enclose, and hope my additions will be satisfactory. I have the King's assurance that it shall be formally executed in eight days ; when all his tributaries will be present for the yam custom, and when I hope to make the King of Dwabin and its dependencies a party, whose power is equal to the King of Ashantee's.

To resume—the audience was granted ; and I read the treaty before the King and his Council, submitting it article by article, to their consideration. It was debated the whole of that and the succeeding day. I considered that if I could get the treaty discussed and executed in this favourable interval, removing the Commenda palaver from the situation of an obstacle, and reserving it as the first proof of the King's disposition to coincide with you in what was reasonable and just, I might, on the receipt of dispatches, gain the better terms for that people.

On Saturday the 22d instant, I was summoned to declare the articles of the treaty before the assembly of captains, who were seated with their attendants and warriors in the large yard of the palace, with all the imposing pomp and military parade, which had before been collected to subdue us, in the scene of the declaration of war. The King's sisters, with the females of his family, were seated, with their numerous attendants, on an elevated floor behind. The deputies from the Fantee towns in the interior, were

placed within hearing, and the crowd was almost impervious: the most ghastly trophies were mixed with this blaze of ostentation. We were seated near the King immediately opposite to his linguists.

In reading the treaty, I paused after every article, leaving it to be formally repeated to the King through his linguists, and then sat down whilst it was discussed by the assembly. It is not necessary to repeat the various debates; and I will only notice that Amanquateä, through his linguist, proposed the renewal of the Slave Trade as a *sine qua non*;* this, however, as I had all along declared it to be impossible, was at length over-ruled, but with considerable difficulty. It was also proposed to attach a fine to the infraction of the treaty; but this I resisted as derogatory to the dignity of the contracting parties; and urged, that as the King and his dignitaries would consider his oath as sacred, as you and the Government would mine, I considered no *infraction* of the treaty could take place; though it might possibly be *offended* by the conduct of his subjects, or of individuals under British protection, which was provided for, and must be visited accordingly by the authorities pledged to the treaty.

I had declared from the first, that it would be expected that the King should swear in the form of his country to the fulfilment and preservation of the treaty, and that his oath should be attested by his principal captains, from my anxiety to fortify to the utmost, a

* Presents from two Spanish slave ships were received through the Mulatto Brue on the 16th instant; they were general, but I can only particularise the following:

To the King, 3 pieces of cloth, 1 umbrella, and a hat.

To the chief linguist, 1 piece, do. 2 flashes liquor.

To the 4th do. (Otee) 1 do. 2 ditto, do.

To Odumata, 2 do. 2 ditto, do.

To Quamina Bwa, agent for the purchase of the slaves, 2 pieces of cloth, 1 umbrella, and 1 Dane gun.

measure not only valuable to commerce but to humanity, in averting the renewal of a war, recorded by indelible marks of carnage and devastation.

At the moment I expected the King to execute the treaty, a fresh design was disclosed, in a long speech from the chief linguist, setting forth the wrongs the King had just received from the people of Amissa, who had scourged his messengers, and couched their insulting defiance in the foulest language; yet, he said, the King did not want to invade the Fantee country for the sake of one town, and therefore I must stay and assist him to settle that palaver; he would then readily swear to the treaty. I replied at length, declaring particularly that I could not, and would not recognize the Amissa palaver; that the King vitiated the compliments he had been pleased to pay me, in expecting me to be such a fool as to involve you in the palaver of a people, over whom you neither possessed nor desired authority; and that if I had not a right to think better of the King, I should view such a proposal as evasive of the treaty, and fatal to the hope of a thorough understanding.

✦ The chief linguist rejoined, that I had declared in announcing the treaty, that it was the wish of the British Government to put an end to war, and for the King to have no occasion to trouble the Fantees; whereas, if the people of Amissa were not persuaded to retract, the King must send a captain to destroy them, which could be done at a word, and this perhaps would make another war. I urged that the Fantee towns under the British forts must be considered distinctly, and that those, and those only, were viewed by the Government and the treaty; yet, for the cause of humanity, I would request you, for the King, to advise the people of Amissa better, through some medium, which I hoped might do good, but if disregarded, you could not even repeat it: that was all I could

promise, and if that was not enough, our negotiations were at an end. No! that was not enough, I must stay and see the palaver settled.

We immediately rose, and I declared as impressively as I could, that as the officer of the King of England, your orders only could be obeyed by me, that I dared not remain or allow myself to be stopped, even if I should be killed on the path, for my life was not my palaver, but the King of England's. As I bowed to retire, the linguist exclaimed, that the King promised to see me again in an hour.

I used the interval for reflection, and resolved to act upon the conclusion, that nothing but an undaunted resolution could check these encroachments, which were to be attributed to the Government rather than to the King.

The hour having fully expired, I sent a cane to Adooçee, the chief linguist, to desire the audience; he sent me word that the King was asleep, and no one dared to awake him. I then went to Odumata (who resides within the palace) and repeated to him, that I was determined to go, if the King did not keep his word and see me; he said I could not; I rejoined, I would, and left him. I then went to Adooçee's house, declared the same, and received the same reply. I left a cane in waiting at the palace, with orders to quit and return to me at 4 o'clock, (which allowed altogether four hours instead of one) if he was not dispatched with a message in the interval. No notice was taken; there was no alternative to my making good what I had said. The views of the Mission were at risk, but they would have been too dearly purchased by such concessions, and I was sanguine, rather than apprehensive of the success of the measure I adopted; without spirit and fortitude nothing was to be done.

I ordered all the baggage out, planted the flag, and giving the

soldiers' muskets to the officers, converted them and the artificers into bearers, as well as our own servants, for I saw the previous dismissal of my own people was considered a hold on me. I ordered the linguists to declare to the party publicly, that I would flog any man who attempted to leave the town in debt; I paid all they confessed, by advances on their pay to the amount of 10 ackies: this gave the greatest publicity to our movements.

The King's uncle, Bundaenha, and another superior captain came in form to entreat me to stay, whilst they affected to address the King. I saw through this, and that I might presume on it; holding the watch in my hand, I promised to wait half an hour, and no longer. They returned within the time to conduct me to the King, but after being kept unusually long in waiting, the answer to my remonstrance through the linguists, was, that the King was very busy hearing a great palaver; I saw they lingered still in their hope of my submission. I sent the two canes to tell the King that mine was a great palaver, and ought to be heard, not only from its importance, but because he had passed his word that it should; that after a King disregarded his promise, it was useless to wait any longer. Returning to our quarters, I ordered the people to load the baggage.

At the moment of starting, a royal messenger ran up, to say the King was waiting to see me. I dismissed him with the message, that I could not stop, unless a person of consequence was sent to *promise* for the King. The King's uncle came, and assured me the King would receive me himself at the entrance of the palace. We went, and were instantly ushered into the presence of the King and his captains, who were debating by torch light: the clamour and deportment of this assembly might have been subduing, had it been novel. The uproar having abated, the King demanded, through his linguist, why I had determined to leave so suddenly,

and whether he had not behaved well to me, adding to much declamation, that he knew the King of England and the Governor wished to please him, and would not countenance the act. I replied, that "I had not only gone the full length of my instructions to please the King, but exceeded them; and all that I had to fear was, that you would not approve my remaining a moment after he had trifled with me. The King's behaviour to me, as an individual, I should always be proud to speak of, but his respect of the Embassy was a very superior consideration. Every thing he wished had been done, and now he tried to impose a palaver on me, with which you had no more to do than with the Buntooko war. The King had promised me to settle the point of the treaty, I waited the discussion patiently, he pledged his word to see me that evening, he had avoided it; I had said I would wait no longer if he did not keep his word; no English officer dared to break his word, if he did, he lost his sword." Much declamation ensued, but the King's conviction silenced the assembly, and realized the triumph I expected. He said, what I told him was true, that he was very sorry, but he had too much to think about; he liked the Law (the Treaty) very well, but begged me to wait a little longer till all his captains came. I received his promise to see me the following day. The next morning the head linguist came in form to acquaint me that some palavers had arrived in the night, which had made it necessary for the King to go to Berramang (a croom about five miles to the N. E. on the road to Sallagha, the capital of the Inta country) but he had orders to furnish us with the King's hammock-men, if we were inclined to follow him the next day. We did so, and I enclose an extract from my diary, with the circumstances of the day, as they do not affect the point in question: on taking leave in the evening, the King promised that I should hear from him the next day.

Apokoo, who had been left in charge of the town, visited me in form by the King's orders, with the criers and insignia, to assure me there should be no more impediments to the treaty, and that the King would return the next day. The evening was productive of another disturbance, from my resistance of an indignity. The Cape Coast messenger arriving, informed me that the dispatches and letters were retained by Adoo Bradie's messenger, who accompanied him. I sent the canes to Apokoo's to demand them, but ineffectually; I then went myself, and insisted on the delivery; he said it could not be allowed until the King returned to the capital. I protested so strongly against the act, that he sent for the chief linguist (Adoocee) and after a palaver, they promised to send me the letters on my return to the house: I left the canes in waiting. The time allowed having expired without the receipt, I went again to Apokoo's, who referred me to Adoocee. I went to him, and he said he dared not interfere in the business. The Cape Coast messengers refusing to do so, we proceeded instantly to Adoo Bradie's house, and finding the messenger, demanded the letters, and obtained them. I had scarcely read them, before Adoocee came with some captains, and about 100 persons, (being then 9 o'clock) to demand my delivery of your letter to his charge, until the King's return. I indignantly refused, asserting my authority, and crimiating such a request as injurious to the rights of the meanest subject of the King of England, and an insuperable affront to you. He tried threats and entreaties alternately; the former I treated with contempt, the latter I regretted I dared not yield to. The palaver was prolonged till 10 o'clock at night. I determined not to lose ground. The King did not arrive until the evening of the next day, I sent three canes with my compliments on his return, and received his with an appointment of an audience the next (this) morning.

We were sent for early, the affair of the letters was opposed to

me. I repeated my declarations to Adoocee, and added, that I should not think of leaving a Resident, if such were the forms of the Ashantee Court. The Ashantee messengers declared that you had ordered your letters to be delivered to the King. I said that was impossible. The King was very gentle, but such was the suspicion of the assembly, that they requested me to swear on my sword, that I had not altered any part of your letter; I did so, prefacing the act as such a suspicion merited. I then read your letter, abating nothing of its spirit and firmness, and laying stress upon your disposition to benefit the King, and the proofs you had given. I concluded my illustrations with the declaration, that you did not settle the King's palaver from fear, but from friendship, as it remained with him to prove. I submitted the preliminaries in form, for rejection or acceptance. After an ardent debate among the captains, they were executed and attested, and I lose no time in forwarding the copy. I left a duplicate with the King, as I shall of the treaty.

The King intends to dispatch a messenger directly to empower Adoo Bradie to receive the gold, and hopes you will recommend the people of Commenda to restore any of the slaves in their possession belonging to Elmina, although that is not his palaver.

The King desired me to communicate his best thanks for your handsome treatment of his nephew, whose reports have been very flattering.

I urged my intercessions for Quamina Bootaqua, until the King vouchsafed me his assurance that he would pardon him.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have been able, privately, so far to conciliate the Moors, as to have witnessed their forwardance of the certificates* to the Interior, with their own letters of recommendation indorsed.

* For a copy of these certificates vide the opposite engraving.

I advocated the merits of the Castle linguist, De Graff, as you desired, and successfully. I flatter myself this will anticipate the arrival of the King's, and the Cape Coast messengers.

I am, &c. &c.

T. E. BOWDICH.

Preliminaries of a General Treaty, to be made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH, Esquire, for the Governor and Council of Cape Coast Castle, and on the part of the British Government, with SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies.

1st. The King accepts the offer of the people of Commenda, through the Governor in Chief; namely, one hundred and twenty ounces of gold for himself, and the customary fees to his ambassadors, as a settlement in full of all demands.

2nd. The people of Commenda shall acknowledge their fealty to the King, and be entitled to all the benefits of his protection.

3d. The King shall authorize some responsible captain to receive the gold, from the hands of the deputies of the people of Commenda, at Cape Coast Castle.

4th. It is hereby agreed, that every palaver is now settled preparatory to the General Treaty, which shall be executed forthwith.

Signed and sealed this twenty-ninth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

The mark of SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA. ✕ (L. S.)

In the presence of

T. E. BOWDICH. (L. S.)

WILLIAM HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

ADOOCEE, Chief Linguist.

APOKOO, Keeper of the Treasury.

QUAMINA QUATCHIE, } Linguists to the Mission.
QUASHEE APAINTREE, }

Extract from Diary.—Monday, 25th August, we started soon after seven o'clock, and proceeding in a N. E. direction, crossed the marsh close to the town, where it was about two feet deep and one hundred and fifty yards broad. We travelled the path to Sallagha, through a beautiful country, abounding in neat crooms (of which we passed through seven), the sites spacious, and environed by extensive plantations. The path was wide and so nearly direct, that the eye was always in advance through beautiful vistas varied by gentle risings. The iron stone still prevailed.

The King received us in the market place, and enquiring anxiously if we had breakfasted, ordered refreshment. After some conversation we were conducted to a house prepared for our reception, where a relish was served (sufficient for an army) of soups, stews, plantains, yams, rice, &c. (all excellently cooked) wine, spirits, oranges, and every fruit. The messengers, soldiers, and servants were distinctly provided for. Declining the offer of beds, we walked out in the town, and conversed and played drafts with the Moors, who were reclining under trees; the King joined us with cheerful affability, and seemed to have forgotten his cares. About two o'clock dinner was announced. We had been taught to prepare for a surprise, but it was exceeded. We were conducted to the eastern side of the croom, to a door of green reeds, which excluded the crowd, and admitted us through a short avenue to the King's garden, an area equal to one of the large squares in London. The breezes were strong and constant. In the centre, four large umbrellas of new scarlet cloth were fixed, under which was the King's dining table (heightened for the occasion) and covered in the most imposing manner; his massy plate was well disposed, and silver forks, knives, and spoons (Colonel Torrane's) were plentifully laid. The large silver waiter supported a roasting pig in the centre; the other dishes on the table were roasted ducks,

fowls, stews, pease pudding, &c. &c. On the ground on one side of the table were various soups, and every sort of vegetable; and elevated parallel with the other side, were oranges, pines, and other fruits; sugar-candy, Port and Madeira wine, spirits and Dutch cordials, with glasses. Before we sat down the King met us, and said, that as we had come out to see him, we must receive the following present from his hands, 2 oz. 4 ackies of gold, one sheep and one large hog to the officers, 10 ackies to the linguists, and 5 ackies to our servants.

We never saw a dinner more handsomely served, and never ate a better. On our expressing our relish, the King sent for his cooks, and gave them ten ackies. The King and a few of his captains sat at a distance, but he visited us constantly, and seemed quite proud of the scene; he conversed freely, and expressed much satisfaction at our toasts, "The King of Ashantee, the King of England, the Governor, the King's Captains, a perpetual union (with a speech, which is the sine qua non) and the handsome women of England and Ashantee." After dinner the King made many enquiries about England, and retired, as we did, that our servants might clear the table, which he insisted on. When he returned, some of the wine and Dutch cordials remaining, he gave them to our servants to take with them, and ordered the table cloth to be thrown to them and all the napkins. A cold pig, cold fowls (with six that had not been dressed) were dispatched to Coomassie for our supper. We took leave about five o'clock, the King accompanying us to the end of the croom, where he took our hands, and wished us good night. We reached the capital again at six, much gratified by our excursion and treatment.

Mr. Tedlie had brought Quamina Bwa (our guide) into a very advanced state of convalescence; but he so eagerly betook himself from low diet to palm oil soups, and stews of blood, that he

soon relapsed, and a gathering formed on his liver, aggravated not a little by the various fetish draughts he swallowed. Seeing there was no other chance, Mr. Tedlie, who is a very skilful operator, would have scarified the liver ; but although I had great reason to rely confidently on his judgment and ability, I thought our situation too critical to run such a risk. A Fantee boy having fractured his leg, and his dissolution appearing inevitable, the parents, in great distress, applied to the surgeon of an English outfort, who amputated the limb, and after much wearying attendance, to the surprise of every one, restored the boy to health. The family then brought him into the fort, and laying him down in the hall, addressed the surgeon (who was in charge of the fort) thus ; “ As Master cut off poor boy’s leg, and so spoil poor boy for work, we come to ask Master how much he think to give poor boy to keep him.”

Quamina Bwa was fetiched until the last moment, and died amidst the howls of a legion of old hags, plastering the walls, door posts, and every thing about him, with chopped egg and different messes. I forget how many sheep he had sacrificed to the fetish by the advice of these harpies. The King sent him a sheep and a perigun of gold, when he heard he was ill. This man had settled the palaver with Mr. White, after the blockade of Cape Coast, in 1815, the third invasion of the Ashantees, and was universally odious, for his cruel extortions ; these being reported to the King, he was disgraced ; and being very extravagant, became much involved. Being at Payntree, he prevailed on Quamina Bushmaquaw to allow him to conduct us, to retrieve his finances a little. Excepting Adoocee, the King’s chief linguist, he was the most plausible villain I ever met with.

The head of an Akim caboceer arrived in Coomassie about this time. The King and the Ashantee government had proposed that

every croom of Akim should pay 20 periguins of gold as an atonement for their late revolt. Ten periguins were advanced immediately by each, and the other moiety was excused until after the harvest; but Aboidedroo caboceer of Manasoo resolutely refused to pay a tokoo. The King's messengers, however, appealed to his people with so much address, that they rose upon their caboceer, killed him, and sent his head to the King, with the 20 periguins required.

CHAPTER VI.

Proceedings and Incidents until the Ratification of a General Treaty.

THE report of an Ashantee having been flogged to death in Cape Coast Castle, which was aggravated every hour to our prejudice, was explained by the following letter :

Cape Coast Castle, August 17, 1817.

T. E. BOWDICH, Esq.

SIR,

THE day before yesterday an Ashantee man was guilty of a most daring insult to the fort. On passing the gate, he was desired by the sentinel to take his cloth off his shoulders, but instead of complying, he turned round and struck him. The offender was instantly secured, and I ordered him to be put in irons. Last night about nine o'clock, the captain of the guard came to me to say, that the sentry on duty had reported the Ashantee to have hung himself. The place in which he was with others confined, was immediately opened, and he was found in a room adjoining to that in which the prisoners sleep, with his under cloth attached to a beam not more than three feet high, and very tightly drawn round his throat, part of his body was lying on the ground, and it must have been by the most determined resolution that he succeeded in strangling himself. The surgeon was present, but his

efforts to recover him were ineffectual. This is the second offence of a similar nature that has occurred; the first person, I most assuredly should have punished, had he not ran past the sentry and made his escape.

The King's displeasure will no doubt be excited when he hears of such acts of insolence, and I hope he will issue such orders to his people, as will make them more circumspect in future.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,

J. H. SMITH.

Coomassie, 31st August, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter last evening respecting the suicide of the Ashantee. I procured an audience this morning, and have just returned from the palace, where I had the honour to address you a letter, in the name of the King, on this, and other subjects.

The messenger sent up by Adoo Bradie, was the brother of the deceased, and declared before the King upon oath, that he had been killed by the officers. The master (our landlord) proposed a fine to the captains assembled, but after the audience was gone through, the King retired to council, which is the form, and returning, dictated the sentiments I had the honour to communicate to you, and rebuked our house-master severely for his proposition. Of course I impressed the insult to the fort, as the superior consideration of your letter.

The insolence of the lower orders here became insufferable, they proceeded even to pelting us with stones; after every effort on our

part to conciliate them by the exhibition of the telescope and other novelties. As may be expected in a military government, they are beyond the King's control, out of the field. He declared however, that he would behead any man I would point out to him, and begged me to punish them as I thought proper: a summary chastisement of two inferior captains repressed this spirit.

All the captains of consequence have become friendly and respectful; Apokoo was deputed in form yesterday, in the name of the whole, to thank me for my conduct in negotiating with the King.

The Treaty will be brought forward to be executed in six days, before the annual assembly of Kings, caboccers, and captains. All the Kings tributaries and allies being compelled to attend him at the yam custom.

The King intends your linguist De Graff, to take fetish with his five linguists, to be just to both the powers to be pledged to the treaty, and is convinced of his probity.

I am, with respect, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

Coomassie, 31st Aug. 1817.

SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee, &c.* to JOHN HOPE SMITH, *Esquire, Governor in Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

THE King assures you, that, anticipating the permanent union of the English and Ashantees, so far from allowing the death of one man to retard it, he should take no notice if a thousand were flogged to death by you, as reported here, well knowing the inso-

lent disposition of the lower order of Ashantees, which is as vexatious to him as to you. He is satisfied however, that this man came to his death by his own hands.

The King wishes you to adjust the palaver between the Comendas and Elminas, as soon as convenient to you; that all the people who serve him may be united, relying entirely on your justice.

The King will thank you very much if you will make the people of Cape Coast, Elmina, and Commenda "*all one together.*"

The little palaver between these people, is the only one remaining; and therefore, though it is not his, he wishes you to settle it.

The King hereby, and by his messenger, empowers his nephew Adoo Bradie, and the Captain Quantree, to receive the gold from the deputies of Commenda in your presence.

You must settle the compliments and fees, which the Comendas send to the King's linguists and captains.

The King hopes you will advise the people of Amissa, through some medium, to retract their insolent message to the King, that the whole of the Fantee territory may be quiet.

The King has condescended personally to solicit Mr. Bowdich to protract his stay fifteen days, and obliged all his captains to the same condescension, so that you will consider it the King's act from the wish to send him down with an honourable escort, and other marks of his favour.

The King wishes you health and happiness.

The mark ✕ of Sai Tootoo Quamina, &c.

In the presence of

WM. HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

A few only of the many curious observations of our Ashantee friends recur to me. One captain told us he had heard that the English were so constantly in palavers, one with another, that their houses, which he understood to be made of wood, the same as their ships, were always fixed on wheels; so that when a man had quarrelled with his neighbour, he moved to another part of the bush. Another insisted that monkies (whom the Moors said sprung from the Israelites, who disobeyed Moses) could talk as well as men; but they were not such fools; for if they did, they knew men would make them work.—This is better than Pliny's account of monkies playing chess.

The King walked abroad in great state one day, an irresistible caricature; he had on an old fashioned court suit of General Daendels' of brown velveteen, richly embroidered with silver thistles, with an English epaulette sewn on each shoulder, the coat coming close round the knees, from which the flaps of the waistcoat were not very distant, a cocked hat bound with gold lace, in shape just like that of a coachman's, white shoes, the long silver headed cane we presented to him, mounted with a crown, as a walking staff, and a small dirk round his waist.

The King presented one of our servants with six ackies of gold, for making trowsers for his child, and mending him a pair of drawers, which he thought it extravagant to put on under trowsers or small clothes, and therefore wore them alone.

I fixed a rude leaping bar in the outer yard of our house, and trained the horse to it, preparatory to getting him over the trunks of trees on the path: this brought even greater levees than the camera obscura, or the telescope. Sometimes a gazer would start from the eye piece of the latter, to lay hold of the figure at the end, as he expected; and they all insisted on both being taken to pieces in their presence, that they might see what was inside. At length,

being inexplicable, it was pronounced fetish. A captain had told the King, that with the telescope we saw, when at Doompasie, all that he was doing at Coomassie : and happening, in a sudden and heavy rain, to gallop from Asafoo to our house, with Mr. Tedlie on the horse behind me, holding the umbrella, it was immediately reported to the King as our plan of travelling to Cape Coast.

Our Accra linguist pointed out a man to me named Tando, whom he recollected to have visited the Coast some years, in great pomp, never going the shortest distance, but in his taffeta hammock, covered with a gorgeous umbrella, and surrounded by flatterers, who even wiped the ground before he trod on it. This man had now scarcely a cloth to cover him. He had been retired from his embassy to Akim, in consequence of a dispute with Attah, then the king of that country ; for though Attah was adjudged to be in fault, after the palaver was talked at Coomassie, the Ashantee government thought it politic to displace Tando, though he had become disagreeable to the other, only for his vigilance and fidelity. After a long interval of the most luxurious life the capital could afford, he was instructed to proceed to Elmina, to talk a palaver for the King ; but thinking it would be a coup d'éclat much more important and agreeable, if he could settle the Warsaw palaver as well, he visited the country on his return, and persuaded them to conciliate the King, and avert their ruin, by carrying a considerable sum of gold to Coomassie, and agreeing to pay twenty-four slaves for every Ashantee subject killed or injured by one of Warsaw. Deputies returned with this man for this purpose ; but the King dismissed them contemptuously ; and to the disappointment and surprise of Tando, declared that no man must dare to do good out of his own head, or perhaps he would find he did bad, as Tando had done, in spoiling a palaver which he and his great men meant to sleep a long time. Tando was immediately stripped of

all his property for his presumption, and from a noble became a beggar.

The Moors now became friendly, and sent us some very good coffee, and choice pieces of meat.

Coomassie, Sept. 8th, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQUIRE, GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c.

SIR,

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you, that the treaty was signed and sworn to yesterday, by the King of Ashantee, and this day, by the King of Dwabin. The whole of the caboceers, captains, and tributaries having arrived, the treaty was finally discussed on Saturday, and two of the four members of the Aristocracy, with the two oldest captains (Ashantee and Nabbra) were deputed to swear for that assembly, with the King, whose oaths (being very rare) are solemnized by the presence of his wives.

The King sent a handsome procession of flags, guns, and music, to conduct us to the palace on the occasion ; and meeting us in the outer square, preceded us to the inmost, where about 300 females were seated, in all the magnificence which a profusion of gold and silk could furnish. The splendour of this coup d'oeil made our surprise almost equal to theirs. We were seated with the King and the deputies, under the large umbrellas in the centre, and I was desired to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty, to an old linguist, peculiar to the women. The King displayed the presents to them ; the flags were all sewn together, and wrapped around him as a cloth.

I was afterwards desired to stand before the King, and swear on my sword that I had declared the truth : I did so, with the other

officers. The next form dictated was, that I should seat myself, and receive the oaths of the deputies, and lastly, of the King himself, for his brother the King of England. They advanced in turn, extending their gold swords close to my face, as they declared their oaths. I rose to receive the King's, all the women holding up two fingers, as their mark of approbation when he received the sword, and one of his counsellors kneeling beside him with a large stone on his head. The King swore very deliberately, that his words might be fully impressed on me, invoking God and the fetish to kill him; first, if he did not keep the law, if we had sworn true; and secondly, if he did not revenge the Ashantees to the full, if we had bad in our heads, and did not come for the purpose I avowed. The assurances, and the menaces of the oaths of the captains were equally forcible. The King sent an anker of rum to our people to drink on the occasion, and paid each captain the customary fee, of a periguin of gold on his oath.

The King having communicated my wish, by a formal message, to Boitinee Quama, the King of Dwabin, who holds his temporary court on the north side of the town, I seconded it, by sending the canes to request an audience; at which I had again formally to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty, which, after a great deal of form and enquiry, received his signature, with the attestations of his chief linguists, Quama Saphoo, and Kobara Saphoo, who are his principal counsellors. His court was equally crowded with the King of Ashantees, who sits on his right hand when he visits Dwabin; a reciprocal etiquette.

By an addition to the 4th article of the treaty, I reconciled the point of the Amissa palaver; and the securing you the opportunity of mediation, (without attaching any thing like responsibility) I considered to be not only a precaution due to humanity, but a prudent and legitimate measure for the extension of our influence.

The value of this treaty is enhanced by the reflection, that the justice, dignity, and spirit, of the British Government have been preserved inviolate; and that it has been the result of the impression, and not of the abatement of these characteristics.

We are flattered by your acknowledgment of our offer to accompany the King to the Buntooko war, and feel the force of your reason in the present view of the invasion of that country. The lake proving to be southward instead of northward, and close to the Accra path, I did not think it prudent to aggravate suspicion, for so secondary and well defined an object, whilst every day exacted some exertion (beyond vigilance) to wear away the difficulties opposed to the more important views of the Mission.

I expect the King will permit me to take leave on Saturday next. To-morrow Apokoo gives us a dinner in public.

I am, with respect, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

T. E. BOWDICH.

Treaty made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH, Esquire, in the name of the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast of Africa, and on behalf of the British Government, with SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, and BOÏTINNEE QUAMA, King of Dwabin and its Dependencies.

1st. There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects in this country, and the subjects of the Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin.

2nd. The same shall exist between the subjects of the Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin, and all nations of Africa residing under the

protection of the Company's Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast, and, it is hereby agreed, that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

3rd. The King of Ashantee guarantees the security of the people of Cape Coast, from the hostilities threatened by the people of Elmina.

4th. In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed, that in any case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the Kings shall complain thereof to the Governor in Chief to obtain redress, and that they will in no instance resort to hostilities, even against the other towns of the Fantee territory, without endeavouring as much as possible to effect an amicable arrangement, affording the Governor the opportunity of propitiating it, as far as he may with discretion.

5th. The King of Ashantee agrees to permit a British officer to reside constantly at his capital, for the purpose of instituting and preserving a regular communication with the Governor in Chief at Cape Coast Castle.

6th. The Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin pledge themselves to countenance, promote, and encourage the trade of their subjects with Cape Coast Castle and its dependencies to the extent of their power.

7th. The Governors of the respective Forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee and Dwabin, who may resort to the water side.

8th. The Governor in Chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any subject of Ashantee or Dwabin guilty of secondary offences, but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the Kings, to be dealt with according to the laws of his country.

9th. The Kings agree to commit their children to the care of the Governor in Chief, for education, at Cape Coast Castle, in the full confidence of the good intentions of the British government, and of the benefits to be derived therefrom.

10th. The Kings promise to direct diligent inquiries to be made respecting the officers attached to the Mission of Major John Peddie, and Captain Thomas Campbell; and to influence and oblige the neighbouring kingdoms and their tributaries, to befriend them as the subjects of the British government.

Signed and sealed at Coomassie, this seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

The mark of SAÏ TOOTOO QUAMINA ✕ (L. S.)

The mark of BOÏTINNEE QUAMA ✕ (L. S.)

THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH. (L. S.)

In the presence of

WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Resident.

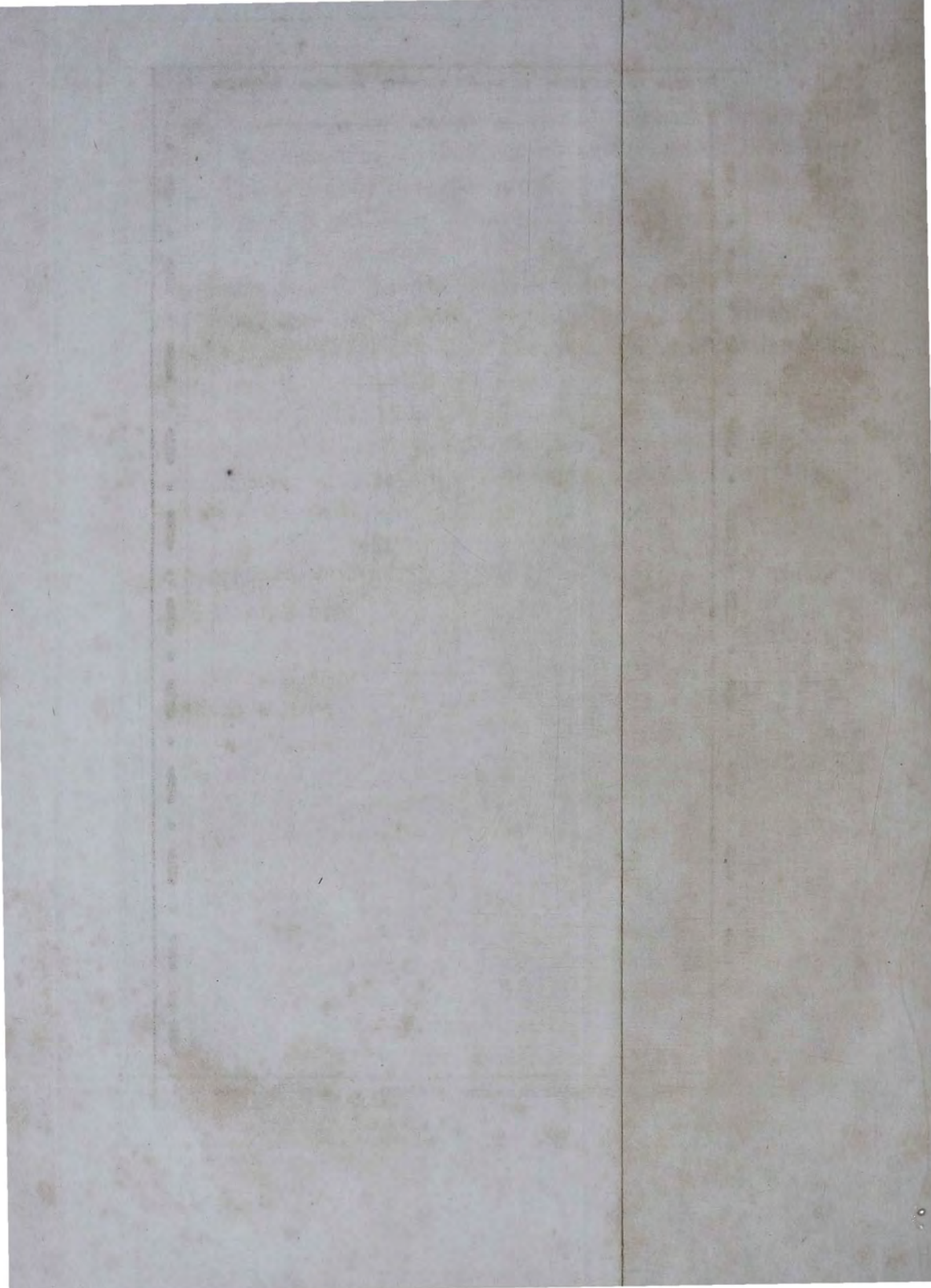
HENRY TEDLIE, Assistant Surgeon.

The mark of APOKOO	✕	} Deputed from the General Assembly of caboceers and captains to swear with the King.
ODUMATA	✕	
NABBRA	✕	
ASHANTEE	✕	
KABRA SAPHOO	✕	} Linguists to the King of Dwabin.
QUAMINA SAPHOO	✕	
QUASHEE APAIN TREE	✕	Accra Linguist.
QUASHEE TOM	✕	} Cape Coast Linguists.
QUAMINA QUATCHEE	✕	

This



is to make known that Major John Peddie, Capt. Tho^s. Campbell, and Surgeon Will^m. Cowdry; have been employed by the British Government to proceed from Senegal into the interior of Africa, to trace the course of the River Niger; and to obtain such information respecting the Countries through which they pass, as may be useful in the extension and improvement of Commerce which is the object of the British Government in sending those persons to Africa; and that any Person who may happen to meet with those Gentlemen, and shall be the Bearer of a Letter to the Governor of CAPE COAST CASTLE on the Gold Coast, from either of them, shall receive five Ounces of Gold, and be liberally rewarded for any Service or Act of



We were present at the trial of Appia Nanu, who had accompanied his brother Appia Danqua in the last invasion of Fantee, and was ordered by the King, on his death, to take the command of the army, and prosecute the campaign. In the irritation of the moment, he exclaimed, before the royal messengers, that though the King did not prevent him from succeeding to the stool, and the honours of his brother, he kept back all the rock gold which belonged to the inheritance, and desired to wear him out in the pursuit of the revolvers, to prevent his claim and enjoyment of the property of his family. From this time he was very inactive, and became suspected of cowardice; however, having succeeded in getting the head of one of the revolvers, he returned to Coomassie; where he was coolly received, but not accused until the 8th of July. The witnesses were the messengers the King had sent to him, who had been concealed in a distant part of the frontier ever since, that Appia Nanu, believing the general report of their death, might be the more confounded when they burst upon him at the moment of his denial of the charge. He was deprived of his stool and the whole of his property, but permitted to retire with three wives and ten slaves; the King hearing the next day that he still loitered in the capital, exclaimed, that no proper man would bear so much shame before all the people, rather than leave his home, and ordered only one wife to be left to him, whereupon Appia Nanu hung himself. The King considers, that none but the basest spirits can endure life after severe disgrace.

The Moors celebrated the feast of Ramadan in this month: there was nothing curious in this ceremony. Men and women were dressed in their richest suits, and seated on large skins before their houses, for they occupy one street exclusively. They rose occasionally in small troops, made short circuits in different directions, saluted each other, and then sat down again. In the evening,

the superiors exchanged visits at their houses; the one visited always accompanied the other some distance along the street on his way, where they exchanged blessings, and parted. The slaves who carried their small umbrellas over their heads, seemed thoroughly jaded by this incessant parading.

The King regretted in one of his visits about this time, that they were not more frequent; he said, our conversation entertained him more than any thing else, because it told him of so many things black men never heard of, but when he wished to see us on that account, his great men checked him, and said, it did not become him as a great King to want us, but that he should only send his compliments, see us, and make us wait a long time when he sent for us to the palace.

CHAPTER VII.

Proceedings and Incidents until the completion of the Mission and its return to Cape Coast Castle.

ON the 11th of September I received the Governor's reply to my letter of the 10th of August.

Cape Coast Castle, August 25, 1817.

T. E. BOWDICH, Esq.

SIR,

I HAVE received your letter of the 10th instant. The boy and girl shall be disposed of under the protection of the Government here, agreeable to the King's wishes.

The messenger (Ocranameah) has grossly misrepresented to the King, the reception he met with at Cape Coast; he was treated with the greatest civility during his stay, and on leaving, expressed himself gratified by the attention which had been shewn him.

For the King's satisfaction, I have subjoined a list of the articles I made him a present of;* the three first which I gave him, on taking leave, will, when produced, convince him how much he has been deceived, and prove to him, that his recommendation of the messenger was not unattended to.

The Buntooko war, I consider a mere pretext for getting rid of

* One piece of silk. 10 handkerchiefs of Dane. 1 umbrella. 4 gallons of rum. 20lbs. of pork. 1 basket of rice. Biscuit. 1 sheep.

the Resident; it cannot be the true motive: to oppose however, any disinclination to the measure, either on the part of the King or his principal men, would be entirely useless; the aversion to it has no doubt originated in the latter, with whom, under the present order of things, the Resident would be very unpopular; consequently unsafe. The eager desire which the King has manifested for enquiring into every trivial occurrence, is another cause of its being objectionable. The residence of a British officer would afford him the opportunity, not only of doing this, but of making demands which he might otherwise not have thought of. These and other circumstances, which were entirely unforeseen, have materially altered my opinion in regard to the Residency, which is certainly not so desirable as I before considered it. You will therefore, on your return, bring Mr. Hutchison with you.

I am not aware of any Ashantees having introduced themselves here, but such as were duly authorised by the King; you will however inform him, that none will be attended to unless they bear his cane.

As Mr. Hutchison is to return, it will be a most important point that you bring down two of the King's sons for education, and I am very solicitous that you should accomplish this object if possible.

The Commenda palaver being terminated, there will be nothing to detain you longer at Ashantee. Your returning by way of Warsaw will be desirable, and I hope the King will not object to your so doing.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

JOHN HOPE SMITH.

Coomassie, Sept. 16, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

I DID not receive your letter of the 25th of August, until the 11th instant, four days after I had advised you of the execution of the treaty. I considered it my duty to acquaint you of every variation in the prospects of the Embassy, although, even when communicating the discouraging circumstances of my letter of the 10th ult. I could not abate my hopes, or allow doubt to sicken my exertions. I valued on the reflection, that I had not been heard before the King in vindication of the Residency; the motives of which I knew to have been grossly misrepresented by our natural enemies the Moors, to whose arts the suspicion of the natives have been suitably auxiliary. My confidence was justified by the favourable impression the King and the Government manifested, when the subject was publicly advocated; since which I have never heard of an objection to it: it has indeed, become a favourite measure with the superior captains, who, as far as may be judged from the respect and deference with which they have treated us from that time, seem not only to have been conciliated, but won by the recent circumstances of the negotiation. The terms of the treaty, by exceeding your expectations, will compensate for the accumulation of difficulties which have been opposed to us. We are taught to believe that no law has ever been enacted in this kingdom with equal solemnity, or an oath, so serious, been before submitted to by the King, or imposed on the captains. Had the treaty disappointed, instead of exceeded our expectations, I must have viewed it as inviolable, and submitted myself to your candour; which I would now, and justify myself by answering the reasonable appre-

hensions which have recently affected your opinion of the Residency, rather than by the plea that the treaty was executed before I received them.

If I had been convinced that it was dislike, and not suspicion, which actuated the opposition to the Residency, I should not only have considered it imprudent, but derogatory, to have persevered in the view; but, sensible that it was the latter, (from the evidence of the King's deportment, and the knowledge of the intrigue and calumny excited against us,) I felt the greater anxiety for its accomplishment; since, to have yielded to suspicion, without every labour to eradicate it, would have been to have excluded ourselves from the kingdom hereafter.

If the King had been actuated, individually, by the desire of detecting the frauds of his messengers, I should have viewed the measure as pernicious; but the Government itself having anxiously recommended it, for the sake of their own interest, (Fort pay, and purchases from the treasury being always divided amongst the superior captains) I considered it harmless; and not solely from the power of its advocates, but also from the impotence of the royal messengers in state affairs, being generally attendants on the King, and therefore jealously watched by the other parts of the Government. This desire has only been addressed to me in two instances, both of which I think justified it: first, respecting the fort pay; it having been since proved, and confessed, that, out of 62 oz. paid at Christiansburg Castle in 1816 and 17, the Ashantee Government has been defrauded of 23 oz. by the messenger: and secondly, respecting the goods purchased by Ocranameah, where the fraud could not escape notice. Such peculations have probably, in the first case, given rise to doubts of our honour; and in the latter, have certainly proved a prejudice to the trade. On the occasion of Ocranameah's baseness, I myself requested the King to

allow me to address you for the particulars of his treatment ; and if you consider the mischievous influence of the report, the fatality of the impression that the King's Embassy had been subjected to contempt, whilst we had been treated with generosity and respect, you will admit that the disproof was imperious on me : he has been disgraced, and owes his safety to my intercession. Nothing but the most decisive conduct can arrest villainy here. The reports of Adoo Bradie have been highly flattering. The King will certainly have a better opportunity of making demands from the residence of a British officer ; neither can I lessen the probability further than by my opinion, which though only indulgent of the people in general, is certainly favourable of the honour of the King, and the superior captains. The advantages and prospects of our preserving our footing by a Residency, have been too fully suggested by your experience, to require my dwelling on them.

I will proceed to acquaint you of the circumstances subsequent to my receipt of your letter, one of which had nearly been serious. After the settlement of the Commenda palaver, the King requested me to wait 10 days, which were afterwards extended to 15, as you were advised in his letter of the 31st ult. This time expired on Saturday last, but the King said then that we must not go until Monday. Accordingly, on that day, I delivered Mr. Hutchison written instructions (a copy of which I enclose) and sent several messages to the King to remind him of his promise. We were not sent for until six o'clock in the evening, when the King said he could not let me go then, nor before he had time to send me away properly. This I considered to be the mere affectation of state ; I pleaded that your orders were binding, and that it was insulting to you, as well as dangerous to me, to prevent my respect of them, now every thing like business was settled. The King said he would only ask me to stop until Wednesday. I replied, that if he

would give me his hand, and promise that I should go then, I would wait. No! he could not, but he would promise me for the Monday following. I saw that yielding to this would subject me to an indefinite delay. I told the King that I should be obliged to go, though unwillingly, without his approbation, and that not only my duty but his promise justified me. I had only to ask him if he still wished me to leave Mr. Hutchison? All the reply I could get was, that I might break the Law if I thought proper. I told them the Law would never be broken by an English officer, but still, if they were sorry that they had sworn to the Law, I would send for it and tear it in pieces before them; we did not make laws from fear. No! they liked the Law, and could not break it, but I might if I chose. I repeated my willingness to stay till Wednesday; the promise could only be given for the Monday: the King and the council retired abruptly. I followed them, told them I was obliged to be determined, and begged the King to shew his respect for you, and the friendship he had condescended to profess for myself, by considering your orders: this was construed as indecision; and Monday, or when the King has time, was the reply. I thanked him formally for all his kindnesses, told him I must go, and retired. It was necessary, at least, to make the attempt, although it was then eight o'clock. I left all the luggage in the charge of Mr. Hutchison, except two portmanteaus, the sextant, and the box containing my papers. We had scarcely proceeded fifty yards before the gong-gongs and drums were beat all around us, and we were attacked by a crowd of swords and muskets, headed by our house master Aboïdwee, who in the first rush seized the luggage and the flag. I felt myself compelled to attempt to regain the flag; and the value of my papers, and the impolicy of being intimidated by the outrage, were also considerations. I begged the officers not to draw their swords till the last moment, and taking

the muskets, the butt ends of which cleared our way to the luggage, we fastened on it, with the soldiers, artisans, and our servants, who supported us vigorously. The Ashantees did not attempt to fire, but attacked us only with their heavy swords and large stones. We kept our ground nearly a quarter of an hour, though our belts and caps were torn away, and we frequently fell. At this time, Mr. Tedlie (who had regained his sword, which had been torn from his side) was stunned by a blow on the head, and as all were much bruised, and some of the people cut, I contented myself with the recovery of the flag, the sextant, and the papers, and we retired slowly to the house, not expecting they would follow us; but they did so, with a fury which led me to believe they intended our destruction. We posted ourselves in the door-way, and I immediately dispatched the canes by a back way to the King, to tell him we had not yet drawn our swords, but we must do so unless he rescued us immediately. The tumult did not allow expostulation, we had no alternative but to defend ourselves, which the narrow passage favoured. The captain, Aboidwee, who was quite mad with fury and liquor, made a cut at me as I held him from me, which would have been fatal but for the presence of mind of one of the soldiers, through which it only grazed my face. We were soon rescued by the presence of Adoocee, the chief linguist, and Yokokroko, the King's chamberlain, with their retainers. Nothing could exceed their servility, they offered to swear the King was not privy to the outrage, ordered Aboidwee before them, and threatened him with the loss of his head. I told them I knew the King's controul, and was not to be treated as a fool; he had forcibly detained us as prisoners, and must take the consequences; I should say no more. They continued their professions and entreaties upwards of an hour, and did all they could by their menaces to Aboidwee, and their deference to the evidence of our

people, to convince me of their discountenance of the outrage. I divided the people into watches for the night.

By day light the next morning all our luggage was returned, I refused to receive it. Yokokroko and Adoo Quamina then sent to say they waited below until we had done breakfast; a long palaver succeeded, of the same tenour as that of the preceding night. About 11 o'clock, the linguists, Adoocee, Otee, and Quancum; Yokokroko, and a crowd of captains came from the King with a present of 20 ackies, two flasks of liquor, and a large hog. I asked them if they came to put more shame on my face, by bribing me to settle the great palaver they had made the night before with the King of England. They flattered and menaced by turns to make me take it, and urged, that to refuse the King's present was to declare war. I persisted in refusing every thing short of an interview with the King. The Cape Coast messengers, impelled by their apprehensions and their avarice, had the temerity to declare at this moment, that you had sent them as a check upon me, and that they knew I was not doing as you wished in talking so to the King, and that you would make a palaver with me for not waiting the King's pleasure. It was necessary to annihilate the impression of such language immediately. I deprived them of their canes, and threatened to put them in irons. The King not long after sent his eunuch and followers to conduct us to the palace, where he had assembled the superior captains. We went in plain clothes, alleging that we dared not wear our uniforms as prisoners. The King said, I must not say that; he was my good friend, and would do me right; he did not think I would have tried to go without his leave, and never meant his people to fight with us, he would give me the heads of all those who led them on, and beg me himself for the rest, as I begged him for Quamina Bootaqua; he never begged any body before; he did not send the gold, as I thought,

he sent it to pay for any thing the people had spoiled, and meant to do us right all the same; it would break his heart if the King of England heard he had used his officers ill, and if I liked him, I must settle the palaver easy.

Of course I would not hear of any heads being cut off, though they all pressed it repeatedly, and doubtless would not have regarded sacrificing a few inferior captains to varnish their allegation; yet, I must declare, it is my firm opinion, and it is supported by the evidence of our private friends, that the King and his principal men merely intended Aboïdwee to stop us, by placing his numbers before us and pleading the King's orders, not dreaming of any outrage, or that the impetuosity of this man, irritated by the loss of his retainer at Cape Coast,* would hurry him to order his soldiers to assault us: he has not an atom of influence; but the King selected him as a near relative of his own, to succeed to Bakkee's stool, to which 1700 men are attached: the King repeatedly offered me his head. To resume, the King requested us to drink with him, and then to shake hands, begged us to resume our uniforms, and ordered his own people to attend us at our house. I renewed the subject of our departure. The King said this was a bad week, and he did not like us to go in it, he would thank me very much to stay till Monday, and then he could get a proper present ready. Sunday too was the Adai custom, and then I must put Mr. Hutchison's hand in Adoocee's, and Adoocee place it in his, and he would promise to take proper care of him before all the captains. Odumata and Adoocee came forward to give me their hands, as a pledge of their responsibility. I said I could receive no one's hand but the King's on such an occasion, but I ordered Quashie Apaintree to do so, and it was sworn to. The King then said Adoocee had told him the Cape Coast messengers

* The man who hung himself.

had tried to put shame on my face—he was very angry with them—they ought to know God made white man's head better than black man's, and they must come before him, and put my foot on their heads. I told him, I could not let any one do so, but I sent for their canes, and entrusted them to them again, with a suitable reprimand. The King then begged me to receive his present, which I did, giving the people the hog and liquor, they had received another on the Friday before, which the King sent me, with 39 yams.

I have observed that the Government's anxiety for the force of the Treaty, and for the Residency, has heightened in proportion to the indifference I have affected. I consider the affair of yesterday to have perfected the impression of our spirit. I certainly would not think of leaving any but an officer of the most considerate conduct as a Resident, and, I believe, Mr. Hutchison, by tempering his spirit with judgment, may safely realize the objects of the situation; if, however, on my return, you consider I have left him in a precarious situation, I volunteer my services to replace him, and deliberately to retire the Residency.

It occurs to me, the Amissa palaver may possibly be the design of this interval, if it should, you may rely on my remaining resolute on the subject.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

Coomassie, Sept. 1817.

To WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Esquire, British Resident.

SIR,

I AM directed by the Governor in Chief to leave you written instructions for your future government.

The conviction of the honour and justice of our public negotiations, having procured us a footing in opposition to the arts which have been practised upon the suspicion of the natives, your conduct is looked to, with confidence, to support it, by originating an opinion of our moral character, equally auspicious to the benevolent views of the British Government. The simplicity of our religion, tolerating the calumny of the Moors, that we are destitute of any, you will have the satisfaction of perfecting the confutation, by a regular retirement to its duties, and by the practice of that benevolence and forbearance, equally congenial to the policy prescribed to us.

It would be premature, as well as dangerous, to direct any other than the tacit reproof of your own conduct and sentiments, to the cruelties consecrated by the superstitions of the Ashantees; you must be content to avoid the countenance of them by your presence, by adhering to the plea of the repugnance of your religion. This conduct, associated with a humanity always inclining you to induce mercy, whenever the offence, or prudence, may admit of an interference, will propitiate your own wishes, and the expectations of the Government.

The friendship and respect which the King, and the superior captains have manifested, will not only be preserved, but strengthened, by a dignified deportment, and a considerate use of the private intercourse these feelings have established; and you will cultivate the frequent opportunities of instilling into their minds,

that education originated the pre-eminence of Europeans; and that peace is most auspicious to the greatness of a Nation, directing all its powers to commerce and the arts, and thereby founding its superior comfort, prosperity, and embellishment. The power and resources of your own country should be quoted to illustrate this truth; and you will impress that it is the experience of it, which has imposed the benevolent anxiety of the British Government, to improve the condition of the people of Africa, through the legitimate medium of commerce. This impression you will extend, deliberately, to the visitors from other kingdoms, particularly to those from the Sarem and Mallowa countries.

In encouraging the trade with the Coast, your measures must disprove any view but that of a fair competition; and your vigilance of the British interests must be distinct from any thing like jealousy, suspicion, or intermeddling: you will act as the advocate of the views of Europe, but not allow any interference to be imposed on you, without the sanction of the Governor in Chief, whose letters will be, exclusively, attended to, and to whom you will candidly communicate any circumstance or reflection, affecting our new connection.

You will repress, rather than encourage the disposition of the King and the Council, to detect imposition through your assistance, by confining your justifications, as much as possible, to public transactions; for although the Government is gratified by it, it may tend to make the Residency unpopular.

I enclose you a copy of the Treaty, and particularly direct your attention to the 4th article, which authorizes you to submit to every thing like a mediation, separable from responsibility, to the discussion of the Governor in Chief, for the sake of peace and humanity; but you will do this, invariably, with diffidence; without betraying any sanguine expectations.

You will be more sensible to insult than injury ; and the most politic conduct will be, to declare that the British Government exacts from all its officers, on pain of disgrace, a firm repulse of the former ; and that they dare not admit the influence of their private feelings, as in the latter case.

I leave you in possession of the esteem of the King, and the friendship of the superior Captains, and with every thing favourable to the objects of the Residency ; but, should any caprice in the Government make you invidious to any thing like a party, or diminish their respect, you will immediately address the Governor in Chief, who will order your presence at Head Quarters. Another important consideration will be your health ; also the character of the captain who may be left in charge of the capital, should the King go himself to the Buntooko war. Your personal safety is out of the question at present, but should the least doubt arise in your own mind hereafter, you must consult the Governor's solicitude, rather than your own spirit.

You see the necessity of keeping in with the Moors ; the flattering their intelligence is most conducive to this, and also elicits valuable information.

I shall afford you a perusal of the dispatch of the Committee, and the instructions of the Governor in Chief, to perfect the present.

I have directed Mr. Tedlie to leave you a supply of medicines, and you will take charge of the Resident's flag.

I am, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,

(Signed)

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

Baba had a great number of Arabic manuscripts ; I have preserved a leaf finely illuminated. Apokoo astonished us by offering to lend us some books to read ; he shewed us two French volumes on geography, a Dutch bible, a volume of the Spectator, and a Dissuasion from Popery, 1620. It was gratifying to recollect that this chief, now become so much attached to us, was the man mentioned in our early dispatches as snatching Mr. Tedlie's sword from him, on the declaration of war, to make his oath against us the more inveterate. Telling the King one day that Mr. Hutchison's and Mr. Tedlie's countries, Scotland and Ireland, were formerly distinct from mine, he begged directly to hear specimens of the different languages, and was reluctantly persuaded that it was the policy of England to get rid of all national distinctions between her subjects. Apokoo was very fond of scribbling, and with a smile frequently begged to know what he had written. They could not comprehend how any hieroglyphic that was not a picture, could express an object. My name, said the King, is not like me. He was rather uneasy at my sketching ; the Moors, he hinted, had insinuated that I could place a spell on the buildings I drew. I told him, without drawings, the people in England could not be convinced that I had visited him ; he appeared satisfied, and begged to be drawn handsome.

There are only four direct descendants now living of the noble families which accompanied the emigration of Sai Tootoo, the founder of the Ashantee monarchy ; none of them are wealthy, and Assaphi, who is one, is a beggar, wandering in the bush, having been disgraced from the highest favour, for the following fraud. An old linguist of the former King's (Sai Quamina) having died at a distant croom, the King, according to custom, sent Assaphi with four periguins of gold, and a quantity of expensive cloths and mats to bury him ; Assaphi kept the gold, and substi-

tuted inferior cloths of his own. The wife urged the great and zealous services of her husband to Saï Quamina, and her indignation at such a mean acknowledgment as the King had sent. Assaphi returned, reported her gratitude, and that every thing had been handsomely done, to the credit of the King. The wife privately dug up the cloths buried with the corpse, and suspecting the fraud, secretly conveyed them to the King, with a full account. The King sent for Assaphi and again enquiring the particulars, with seeming indifference, suddenly required him to swear to the truth, which he advanced to do, when the King said no! you must not swear, and the woman was immediately discovered to him with all the cloths. He then confessed the particulars, was stripped of every thing, and is now the more despised for not killing himself; and the King could not put him to death, as the direct descendant of one of Saï Tootoo's peers. Part of the King's reproach to him was curious: "my brother's linguist did him great good, so when he and my brother, who now live with God, make God recollect all, and tell him the shame you put on him for me, in so burying him, God will kill me."

A man and a woman were beheaded on the 17th of this month, for an intrigue: the woman was very handsome, and the wife of a captain: on their being suspected, both were ordered to drink doom, which choking them, they were immediately executed. The King's sister sent for Mr. Tedlie to go and see her, he enquired into her complaint and recommended some medicine, which she very thankfully agreed to take; he prepared some for her, and went to give her the proper directions; upon which, she handed the cup to her husband, who beginning to swallow it very fast, Mr. Tedlie stopped him, and said he had only prepared sufficient for one person; the lady replied, "let him drink this to day, and I can have more to-morrow" he told her that he had very little

medicine, and could not afford to give it to people that were in good health: she did not appear pleased with this reasoning. A man of Assiminia, who had received medicine and advice from Mr. Tedlie on our march up, sent him a third present about this time, of fruit, vegetables, and wild deer, with the account that he was quite well.

Apokoo enquired very anxiously, why the King of England had not sent one of his sons with the presents to the King of Ashantee. He said he had himself conquered five nations, during the present and the preceding reign, and he named twenty one nations which now paid tribute to Ashantee; but he added, there were three countries which would not; two eastward, and one to the north-west; each of those eastward had defeated the Ashantees; the one north-westward, on the King sending for tribute, desired that he would come and take it, and afterwards entirely destroyed an Ashantee army.

Akrofrom, Sept. 26, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THE King only availed himself of our detention to introduce us to fresh ceremonies, and to augment the testimonies of his friendship. The Amissa palaver was not attempted, and nothing like design has disclosed itself.

On the Monday there was a general assembly of the caboceers and captains, the King of Dwabin being present, with his linguists, also several Dagwumba caboceers, and the Moorish dignitaries. The King announced the execution of the Treaty by himself and the deputies, and impressed, in a long speech through his linguists, that he would visit the least offence against it with the greatest

severity. I was then requested to read it for the last time, and the King's duplicate was executed in a similar manner.

In the evening, the King gave us our last audience before all his superior captains: a letter was dictated, which I shall present to you on my arrival; and Adoocee, the chief linguist, was formally deputed to receive Mr. Hutchison's hand from me, and to place it in the King's, who received it with a solemn avowal of his responsibility for the charge. The linguist then presented from the King,

To the Government, four boys for education.

To the British Museum, six specimens of the goldsmith's work. (I had interested the King, by my account of this national repository.)

To the Governor in Chief, one boy, one girl, to be brought up in his service.

To Mr. Bowdich, one boy, one girl, and 2 oz. 6 ac. of gold.

Mr. Tedlie, one boy, and 1 oz. 4 ac. of gold.

Accra linguist, one cloth, - 10 ditto.

Cape Coast linguists, two cloths, 10 ditto.

De Graaff's messenger, - 10 ditto.

The officers servants, - - 10 ditto.

The soldiers, - - - 10 ditto.

I afterwards received a Sarem cloth and some trifles as a further dash from Apokoo; one sheep, &c. &c. from Baba the chief of the Moors; and 15 ackies of gold from the King's linguists, with their acknowledgments of my firmness during the negotiation.

The King having a palaver at present with the Warsaws, objected so strongly to our returning through their territory, that after one or two attempts to over-rule his apprehensions, I found it would be imprudent to persevere in the wish, although the disappointment was great; the King assured me the Warsaw path was two days longer, and that he will not spare any labour on that of

Assin directly after the war. I had permission to go some miles on the Warsaw path, to convince myself of its neglected condition.

The King's favorite son (a child about five years old) whom he had dressed in our uniform for the occasion, was so alarmed at the idea of being given over to us, that the King's feelings obliged him to promise me that he would send the children after me; he is too jealous of the advantages to allow those of his great men to participate, until his own family are first distinguished by them.

The King supplied me with bearers, and pressed me to take six hammock men in case of sickness; he would not hear of pay for any, and persisted in appointing one of his captains to take care of us. He yielded the point of an escort reluctantly, which I had combated from the consideration of the expense of a present to such a number. The King requested me on taking leave, to wait a short time until his captains had distributed the powder to salute as on our departure, and it being then dark, to proceed no further than a small croom just beyond the marsh, where the people should join us in the morning. The King and his captains were seated by torch light with all their insignia, without the palace, and we quitted the capital, preceded by the King's banners, discharges of musketry, and every flattering distinction that could be thought of.

The King has provided one of the best houses for Mr. Hutchison, very superior to any we could have raised at so short a notice, and has anticipated every thing to make him comfortable, and respected; nothing could be more considerate or kind, than his speech to him on my taking leave.

A messenger of the King of Dwabin's accompanies me for a suit of our uniform for the King's wear, which I could not refuse.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

Coomassie, September 22, 1817.

Sai TOOTOO QUAMINA, *King of Ashantee, &c. to JOHN HOPE SMITH, Esquire, Governor in Chief, &c. &c. &c.*

SIR,

WE are from this time forth good friends, and I shall send all the trade I can to Cape Coast Castle, and I hope that you will by and by have confidence in my word.

I beg you will send my best compliments to the King of England, and accept them yourself, in proof of my satisfaction of the purposes of the Embassy, and its happy termination.

You will call all the Fantee caboceers before you, and impress the importance of the Treaty, and exact their respect of it, as I have from all my great men and caboceers.

I hope you will always act towards me as a friend, and I shall always be ready to protect and support the British interests.

I wish you health and happiness, and all my captains send their best compliments to you.

I am, Sir,

your sincere friend,

The mark ✕ of Sai Tootoo Quamina.

Present,

W. HUTCHISON.

HENRY TEDLIE.

I will thank you to impress on the King of England that I have sworn not to renew the war with the Fantees, out of respect to him, and I shall consider them as his people. I hope therefore he will, in turn, consider if he cannot renew the Slave Trade, which will be good for me.

I hope the King of England will now let all foreign vessels come to the coast to trade, and you must say that the path is now clear to do as much English trade as your supplies will allow.

The following letter was sent after me, to Doompassie.

Coomassie, 23d September, 1817.

JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

THE King of Ashantee desires me to request you will write to all the Governors of English forts, on the African coast, to order the caboceers of each town, to send a proper person to Cape Coast, and that you will add one messenger yourself; that they may all proceed to Coomassie to take the King's fetish in his presence, that none may plead ignorance of the Treaty concluded between his Majesty and the British nation.

The King wishes me to express, that he is fully satisfied with the objects of the Mission, and that the Treaty may be read by me to all the Fantee deputies you may send for that purpose.

I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

W. HUTCHISON.

My last private letters from Cape Coast Castle had imposed the most painful anxiety; the two lives naturally beyond all others the dearest to me, were imminently endangered by the seasoning illness of the country; one yielded to it before I could arrive, yet, under all the impatience of my affliction, I must confess, when I took

the King's hand for the last time, when I reflected on the benevolence, the solicitude, and the generosity I had experienced whilst my life was in his hands, affected by the most untoward and irritating political circumstances, by the aggravated suspicions of his chiefs, and by the poisonous jealousy of the Moors, there was a painful gratification in the retrospect, which blended the wish to linger another hour in listening to acknowledgments of esteem and obligation, more affecting than flattering, and enhanced by the consoling reflection, that they were the natural emotions of one of those monarchs we are pleased to call barbarians. Night was coming on, but as I had so positively declared before the King and his council, on the former occasion, that nothing should deter me from keeping my word in quitting Coomassie on this day, it would not do to delay even until the morning. A strict observance of your word, is every thing in the eye of a Negro. The King said, he would not beg me to stay, as I had declared I dared not; he would only ask me to go no further than Oogoo, that night, and his people should join me early in the morning. Our exit was a brilliant scene, from the reflection of the glittering ornaments of the King and his captains by the torches; they were seated in a deep and long line, without the palace, accompanied by their retinues; all their bands burst forth together, as we saluted the King in passing, and we were enveloped in the smoke of the musketry. The darkness of the forest was an instantaneous and awful contrast, and the howlings and screeches of the wild beasts, startled us as we groped our way, as if we had never heard them before. The torches provided for our protection against them were extinguished in crossing the marsh, which had swollen to between four and five feet deep, and the descent to it from Coomassie was rocky and abrupt. The linguists and soldiers lost themselves in the forest, and did not arrive at Oogoo until long

after Mr. Tedlie and myself. The inhabitants were asleep, but they rose cheerfully, cleared the best house for us, and made fires. The next morning I received the dash of gold from the King's linguists, in a Mallowa bag, with a long compliment; the conclusion of which was, that I must always be ready to use the same spirit and address, in talking a palaver for the King of Ashantee, as I had shewn in talking that of my own King. This testimony of their good feeling and esteem, which they could not avow whilst we were political antagonists, was grateful.

Marching through Sarrasoo, where we were liberally refreshed with palm wine, we halted in the evening at Assiminia. We were received with great hospitality by the principal man, who provided us with excellent lodging, to his own inconvenience, and presented us with some fowls. The path was almost a continued bog, for the rainy season had set in violently. The next day we marched through Dadasey to Doompassie, and occupied our former comfortable dwelling. One party spent the night in the woods. Thursday morning, the 6th, we had a short but most fatiguing march over the mountains dividing the frontiers, to Moisee, the first Assin town. The difficulty of procuring provisions until the people returned from the plantations, detained us in Moisee until four o'clock in the evening. As the stage from Doompassie had been short, (although fatiguing) I determined to proceed to Akrofrum, as we should gain a day by it. The Ashantees remonstrated, knowing the swollen state of the several small rivers, and the aggravated difficulties of the path from the heavy rain; but I was so apprehensive of being detained, by their pleading their superstitious observance of good and bad days for travelling, that I was afraid of seeming to yield to them, lest it might encourage the disposition. I recommended them to go back, and started without them, but they were soon at my heels, declaring, they should lose

their heads if they quitted us. Mr. Tedlie, myself, a soldier, and the Ashantee next in authority under the captain, outwalked the rest of the party, and found ourselves out of their hearing when it grew dark. We lost some time in trying to make torches to keep off the beasts, and to direct us in the right track, for we were walking through a continued bog, and had long before lost our shoes. A violent tornado ushered in the night, we could not hear each other holla, and were soon separated ; luckily I found I had one person left with me (the Ashantee) who, after I had groped him out, tying his cloth tight round his middle, gave me the other end, and thus plunged along, pulling me after him, through bogs and rivers, exactly like an owl tied to a duck in a pond. The thunder, the darkness, and the howlings of the wild beasts were awful, but the loud and continuing crash of a large tree, which fell very near us during the storm, was even more so to my ear. The Ashantee had dragged me along, or rather through, in this manner until I judged it to be midnight, when, quite exhausted, with the remnants of my clothes scarcely hanging together, I let go his cloth, and falling on the ground, was asleep before I could call out to him. I was awoke by this faithful guide, who had felt me out, and seated me on the trunk of a tree, with my head resting on his shoulder ; he gave me to understand I must die if I sat there, and we pursued the duck and owl method once more. In an hour we forded the last river, which had swollen considerably above my chin, and spread to a great width. This last labour I considered final, and my drowsiness became so fascinating, that it seemed to beguile me of every painful thought and apprehension, and the yielding to it was an exquisite, though momentary pleasure. I presume I must have slept above an hour, lifted by this humane man from the bank of the river to a drier corner of the forest, more impervious to the torrents of rain ; when, being awoke, I was

surprised to see him with a companion and a torch; he took me on his back, and in about three quarters of an hour we reached Akrofrom. This man knew I carried about me several ounces of gold, for the subsistence of the people, not trusting to our luggage, which we could not reckon on in such a season and journey. Exhausted and insensible, my life was in his hands, and infested as the forest was with wild beasts, he might after such a night, without suspicion, have reported me as destroyed by them; this had occurred to me, and was an uneasy feeling as long as my torpor left me any. It was about two o'clock in the morning, and the inhabitants of Akrofrom were almost all asleep, for it was too rude a night for Negro revelry; however, I was directly carried to a dry and clean apartment, furnished with a brass pan full of water to wash in, some fruits and palm wine, an excellent bed of mats and cushions, and an abundance of country cloths to wrap around me, for I was all but naked. After I had washed, I rolled myself up in the cloths, one after the other, until I became a gigantic size, and by a profuse perspiration escaped any other ill than a slight fever. A soldier came up about mid-day, and gave me some hopes of seeing Mr. Tedlie again, who arrived soon afterwards, having left his companions in a bog, waiting until he sent them assistance from the town. Our gratification was mutual, for the only trace he had had of me was by no means an encouraging one; my servant meeting an Ashantee in the forest with fragments of my clothes, which he persisted he had not taken from any person, but picked up on his way. Mr. Tedlie (whose feet were cut and bruised much more than mine, and whose wretched plight made him envy the African toga I had assumed) after we had separated, and the storm had drowned our mutual hollainings, the howlings of the wild beasts meeting his ears on all sides, had just determined to roost in a tree for the night, when an Ashantee appeared with a

torch, and conducted him out of the track to the remains of a shed, where four or five of the people had before strayed and settled themselves. Another party arrived at Akrofrom about four o'clock, and the last, with the Cape Coast linguist and the corporal, not until sun set; they had lost the track altogether, and spent the whole day, as well as the previous night, in the woods. We made an excellent duck soup, our grace to which was, "what a luxury to poor Mungo Park;" the name recalled sufferings which made us laugh at our own as mere adventures.

On Saturday the 8th we marched to Asharamang. Here we found great difficulties in getting provisions until the Ashantees came up, for Quamina Bwa's knavery had been ascribed to us; and here, panyaring all we required, he had not given the inhabitants a tokoo of the gold. At length we were well supplied and comfortably lodged. The next day we marched through Kicki-wheree to Prasoo, where we occupied a good house, and an Ashantee captain proceeding on an embassy, dashed us a supply of fowls and yams. We crossed the Boosempira early the next morning, and thence began to leave the rains behind us. Persevering in making but one journey of the distances which occupied us two and three days going up, we pressed forward, passing by our former bivouacs in the woods, scarcely distinguishable, until we reached the site of Accomfodey, for only one hut now remained; the wretched inhabitants having deserted it in terror of the Ashantees. The solitary Fantee who occupied it, had the address to assure me, that I should find much better lodging at Ancomassa, where we recollected to have left some comfortable huts going up, and we resolved to try another stage, and were recompensed by finding scarcely a wreck of the place, and some tattered sheds only instead of the sound roof we had quitted. We proceeded early the next morning, passed Foosou, which was

entirely deserted, and marched until we found ourselves at sun set on the banks of the Aniabirrim. The people were all behind, and the Ashantees coming up about an hour afterwards, informed us they had settled themselves for the night about two hours walk distant. Unfortunately we had no flint, and after fasting all day, we had the mortification of losing our supper merely for want of a fire; the wood was all so wet that friction had no effect on it, we could find no shelter, and a heavy rain set in as it grew dark; fatigue luckily beguiled us of cold and hunger, and of our apprehensions of a visit from the beasts, who were howling about the banks of their watering place. I wrapped myself up in the Inta cloth Apokoo had given me, and wet as the ground was, I never slept better. Hence the forest visibly declined in height towards the coast. We pressed on by day light, found some excellent guavas to allay our hunger, and reaching Mansue, made a good soup of our fowls, peppers growing luxuriantly all around us. We waited until we heard of the people behind us, and then proceeded; about five in the evening I reached Cottacoomacasa, with the Dwabin messenger only. The place was deserted, and a body of Ashantee traders had occupied the remaining shed. I would not disturb them, but waiting until sun set for Mr. Tedlie, I left him a supply of guavas, and proceeded to Payntree. There was a charm in the name of that place, being but one journey from the sea, superior to the recollection of the former night's adventure. It was a brilliant night, and the dark gloom and hollow echos of the long vistas of the forest, formed a fine contrast to the extensive areas (sites of large Fantee crooms destroyed by the Ashantees) into which we frequently emerged. The wild music and cheerful revelry of the inhabitants of Payntree stole upon my ear, and raised the tone of my spirits in proportion as the sounds strengthened.

A loud and continued shout warned me that I was announced;

torches and music instantly encircled me, and I was conducted to old Payntree's residence, who had built himself a new house somewhat in the Ashantee fashion. An excellent bed was prepared for me of an accumulation of mats and country cloths, and a famous supper of soups, stews, fruit, and palm wine. Quamina Bootaqua paid his respects, and old Payntree, Amooney King of Annamaboe, and two or three other caboceers, unknown to me, made a long adulatory speech, complimenting my ability, bewailing my hardships, and magnifying their obligations. I was requested to seat myself on old Payntree's state stool, whilst they stood around me, and he begged me to listen to an air composed by his band on the occasion of the embassy, and its successful termination; "all would now be well, and Fantee revive and flourish." I sat up till midnight, vainly expecting Mr. Tedlie and the soldiers; they awoke me by their arrival before sun rise; they had passed the night in a sound hut, on the path, which from the want of a torch had escaped my notice.

Hearing, as I expected, that there was a path from Payntree to Cape Coast Castle, avoiding Annamaboe (whence the Mission had departed), I determined to explore it, and Payntree furnished me with a guide. The country was beautifully diversified with hill and dale, but the soil was generally lighter and more gravelly than that between Annamaboe and Payntree. We passed through several groves of guava trees, and all the other tropical fruits abounded. Occasionally there were small plantations of Guinea corn, where a few wretched Fantees still lurked in the ruins of the crooms the Ashantees had destroyed. We passed through eleven which had been considerable, and now presented but a few mud houses scattered over extensive sites. Their names were Assequah, Daöoramong, Amparoo, Taächoo, Coorikirraboo, Perridjoo, Abikar-rampa, Aquoitee, Miensa, and Amosima. The only water was near

Amparoo; it was a large pond nearly two miles in circumference, and sixty yards broad, impregnated with vegetable matter. After travelling 15 miles, we climbed some very steep and rocky hills, apparently of iron stone, and descended into a flat country, continuing until a small rising about two miles from Cape Coast Castle, (which I judged to be 20 miles from Payntree by this interior path) opened the sea to our view; as delightful to our sight, as land would have been after a prolonged and perilous voyage. The shouts and greetings of the natives were a grateful introduction to the more congenial congratulations of our countrymen.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

PART II.

MISSION TO ASHANTER

PART II

CHAPTER I.

Geography.

THE impression of the Natives that we came “to spy the country” was sedulously strengthened by the Moors, who were actuated by alarm, jealousy, and a spirit of intolerance unmitigated by a previous intercourse with Europeans. I felt compelled, therefore, to suppress all curiosity for a considerable time, lest the anxiety to detect us in geographical enquiries, to make their calumny more imposing, might have been gratified. Latterly, when better feelings had been induced through patience and candour, as the Moorish charts and MSS. evidence, the inaptitude rather than the reluctance of the natives, made the shortness of our stay unaccommodating. I shall pass over a mass of memoranda recorded on individual report, and only select such, wherein Moors and natives, unknown to each other, have agreed; describing their travels in their own way, without my questions anticipating or directing them. These routes and observations were further confirmed by the evidence of children, recently arrived as slaves from the various countries, whose artless replies decided my credence. It may be remarked, that the children of the African Negroes, early accustomed to travel with their parents for their convenience or their assistance, and unoccupied by the difficulties of incipient education, observe nature more attentively than European children of the same age would; for they have nothing else to think of, or

to divert the fatigue of these reiterated trading journies : their evidence, therefore, was a genuine and acceptable check on the Moorish and Negro adults.

The difficulty of adjusting geography by investigation only, is not diminished by the numerous small states, scarcely less frequent than those of modern Italy, which we find to compose this part of Western Africa.

Any thing like observations of the Sun's place, during a journey, seemed to be so uncommon to the Natives, and so secondary to the Moors, from their confused accounts of the occasional changes, that, after expending much time to no purpose, I was obliged to content myself with placing the different kingdoms in the same direction as their several paths bore from Coomassie, taking every precaution to be convinced that the paths did not cross each other; and afterwards adjusting the positions by the various auxiliary evidence which occurred in the general course of my enquiries. I allow 15 miles for each days journey (which, from observation and report, I have reason to think is the average) and two thirds of the sum to be made good on the horizontal distance, as we found this to be nearly the case in our journey from Annamaboe to Coomassie; the distance travelled being 146 miles, Annamaboe laying in $5^{\circ} 4' N.$, and $1^{\circ} 43' W.$, and the latitude of Coomassie being $6^{\circ} 34' 50'' N.$; and the longitude $2^{\circ} 11' W.$ by the mean of the observations of the eclipses of Jupiter's 1st and 2nd satellites.

I procured the numerals of the various countries whenever I could, to assist future enquirers.

There are nine great paths leading from Coomassie, the Dwabin, Akim, Assin, Warsaw, Sauee, Gaman, Soko, Daboia, and Sallagha.

Dwabin is not more than three quarters of a day's journey

eastward from Coomassie, by the route No. 1.; in which I have retained only the larger towns, omitting the villages; as I shall invariably. The river Dah is crossed close to the westward of Dwabin, and said to be as wide as we found it at Sarrasoo. Two journies beyond Dwabin is a small dependent district called Mohoo. Several names, such as Meäsee, Marmpon, Akrofrom, &c. will be found common to different states, as Larissa, Argos, and Thebes were in antient Greece.

There is an eastern branch of the Akim path, entered immediately on leaving Coomassie, to a country called Quaöo, northward of Akim, (of which it seems formerly to have been a district) and adjoining the Volta. Diabbee is its principal town, and the second Wantomoo, 8 journies from Coomassie by route No. 2. The latter is situated at the foot of a mountain whence the Boosempra issues, with two smaller rivers, the Soobirree and Seseë, running to the Kirradee. This district is entered the 3d day from Coomassie.

There are two routes to Accra through Akim, the capital of which is Bannasoo, 5 journies, and the northern frontier town Feëa, 3 journies from Coomassie. The easternmost route to Accra is 15 journies; the other is made 17 journies to pass near the lake Boosmaquee. This lake, 3 journies from Coomassie, was described as four miles long, and nearly three broad; upwards of thirty small crooms were reckoned situated around it, supported by fishing: the water was said to be unpleasant to drink, and to give a reddish hue to the hair of the people who washed in it. Fish were forwarded thence daily for the King's table, by relays of men. It was called the white mans fetish, there being a popular superstition, nourished by the Moors, that Europeans were to join it with the sea, to introduce vessels for the subjugation of the country. Close to the lake is a mountain called Quashee Boposoo,

sometimes seen clearly from Coomassie, abounding in large black stones, described as basaltes. By this route (No. 3.) to Accra, the Akim country is entered the 4th day, the Boosempra is crossed on the 6th, by a tree laid over it, and the Birrim, by a line and raft on the 12th; it is much wider than the Boosempra is where we crossed it, and runs to that river, falling into it just above our crossing. The Aquapim, a clear and mountainous country, is entered on the 16th day. By the eastern route, No. 4, the Akim country is entered the 4th day; a large hill called Abirrawantoo is passed the 9th; thence the Birrim springs, crossing the path twice before it runs to the Boosempra. Three days westward from this mountain, is a second, called Papow, in which the Ainshue or the Winnebah river rises. A river called Dinshue rises also in this neighbourhood, running to the Saccomo, which falls into the sea 8 miles west of Accra. Isert, who visited Aquapim, called the capital Kkommang, but Akropong is so now. The distance from Coomassie to Accra may be estimated at 230 miles, which bears about the same proportion to the horizontal distance, as the path we travelled through Assin from Annamaboe. Dr. Leyden was much imposed on in the extravagant account he has given of the extent, power, and commerce of Akim,* which is placed in the map accompanying his work, eastward of Dahomey, instead of westward of the Volta. Dr. Isert was a Danish gentleman, who had the good fortune to cure the former King of Ashantee's sister of a lingering disorder, after she had exhausted all the skill of the

* "On the west of Aquamboe lies the powerful state of Akim, sometimes denominated Akam, Achem, and Accany, which occupies almost all the interior of the Gold Coast, and is supposed by the natives to extend to Barbary. The Accanese are represented as carrying on an extensive commerce with the interior kingdoms of Africa, particularly Tonouwah, Gago, and Meczara, by which Mourzouk the capital of Fezzan seems to be intended."

fetish women, and came to Christiansburg Castle in despair. He afterwards expressed his wish to visit the Ashantee kingdom; and being encouraged, he set out in June 1786, and staying some days in Aquapim, was just about to enter Akim, when he was recalled by the Governor. A dangerous illness, heightened by his disappointment, soon afterwards disgusted him with the country, and he left it for the West Indies. As Dr. Isert's letters are only known in German and Dutch,* and he was an industrious and scientific observer, an extract from his description of the Aquapim country will be acceptable. I am indebted for a Latin translation of this and other passages, adduced on different subjects, to Dr. Reynhaut of Elmina Castle.

“ I began my journey early in the morning of the 17th of June, and after walking two hours I arrived at a little village, picturesquely situated, named Aschiana. Two hours behind this lies a chain of mountains, which are composed of granitous stones; flints are but rarely found. The whole prospect shews itself here in a very different manner to that observed in sandy countries; the rocks are covered with lofty trees, which are encompassed with small forests almost impervious. The soil, no longer sandy, becomes argillaceous, and excellent for vegetation. Behind these forests I arrived at a Negro village called Abodee, eight leagues from Christiansburg: the inhabitants of this place are very tenacious of native ceremony and etiquette. Thence I passed by an irregular path through the following villages, Fiasso, Fientema, Futu, Mampon, Odaky, Manno, and Manseng. An hour afterwards I reached a village named Kommong, the residence of H. R. H. the Duke of Aquapim. Here the country is charming, though forests are still to be found. Mountains, rocks, and vallies vary each

* “ Reize van Kopenhagen naar Guinea, &c. Door den Heer Isert. Amsteldam, 1797. Naar het Hoog Duitsch.”

other in the most striking order ; fresh water, so rarely obtained in maritime countries, is found here of an excellent quality. Near this village a stream constantly rushes from the summit of a rock, and affords a fresh and crystalline water. Trees of a very large circumference are also found ; I calculated one of the biggest to be 45 feet round and 15 in diameter. These trees are not the same as those of which Adanson speaks in his description of Senegal, (*Adansonia digitata*) but are of a peculiar species ; they much resemble a round tower, as they do not bear either flowers or fruits. Here I found the *Ammonium Grana Paradisi*, the *Ammonium Zerumber*, and a new genus in a perpendicular tree ornamented by flowers, which resembled tulips, (*Novum Genus Tetandriæ*) and of great elegance : also a new species of aloe, of which the inhabitants make thread ; a new species of citron with indented leaves, and a multitude of unknown trees and shrubs. In the thickest forests grows a species of Spanish cane, very straight and well proportioned, and often attaining six feet in height ; it is to be wished that it could be made use of, treating it as the Chinese do, for if, when dry, an equal degree of tenacity could be induced, it would prove superior in quality. I observed, on the boughs of the trees, the *Senna* plant (which is parasitic, and consists entirely of a flower), it was almost the shape of a pine when open, and the inside is of a very deep red ; the Negroes use it in the syphilitic disorder, when first attacked. I took it for the *Aphuteia Hydrora* of Thunberg, but on examination it differs much, as it belongs to *Icosandria*. Palm trees are here very rare, except the oliferous (*Elois Guineensis*) and the viniferous (an *Phoenix*) which are cultivated in great numbers ; also the true cocoa nut trees (*Cocas nucifera*) and the false (an *Borassus*.) In a word, nature entirely changes her form as soon as you reach the summit of the chain of mountains, and I do not believe one

twentieth part of the plants found here are the same as those on the Coast. With regard to natural history, I was less happy in making discoveries. The elephant, so abundantly inhabiting the environs of Fidah, (Whydah) and other wild beasts, are here very rare, which may be attributed to the scarcity of grass, the growth of which is prevented by the almost impenetrable forests. Several sorts of birds are here seen, principally paroquets, of which I knew six species, *Psittacus*, *Erythæus* and *Pullarius* (Linn.) the others seem to be new, and I also saw a great number of insects of new species. The mineral kingdom would perhaps be richer if they had mines here. The rocks are solely composed of rough stones like granite and gres, and their species; dry quartz and slate stones are often found; on the other hand I could not discover calcareous earth. The soil is varied, but consists in general of a rich aluminous earth, traced in different colours, and of a rich black earth with which sand is never mixed. The atmosphere seemed more salubrious than on the sea coast, though physicians generally deny this quality to exist near the forests which grow in warm climates. I believe the elevated situation of the country contributes much to it. The Europeans who inhabit the Coast in forts, would do well to establish an hospital and a garden here. The *Arum Esculentum*, the Banana (*Musa sapientum*) the Ananas (*Bromelia Ananas*) the *Carica Papaia* and Citron all abound here."

The Assin path is that described in the route from Annamaboe to Coomassie, it branches off at Foosoo to Ensabra, two journies from Winnebah, through Anissoo, Asoidroo (the head quarters of the King of Ashantee in the invasion of 1807) and Atoäperrim, which means "to fire a gun." The principal town of Assin is Ansa, through which we passed, Akrofrom, apparently larger, is called the second. A range of stony hills is the boundary of Assin and Akim.

The path to Elmina, through the Warsaw country, makes so considerable an angle to the westward, that the Ashantees invariably declared it occupied more time to travel than the Assin; it is allowed to be ten journies at Elmina, by route No. 5. The Dah is crossed the first day at its town Adahsoo, and in the evening Becquoi (one of the five large towns built by the Ashantees) is reached. The Dankara country is entered the third day, the Tufel the fourth, the Warsaw the sixth, the Boosempira is crossed the tenth day, the Ofim, which skirts this path to the westward (having received the Dah at Meeäsee) falling into it. The capital of the Dankara country is four journies westward of Coomassie, and the frontier is entered the second by route No. 6: it is the most productive of gold, but has been extravagantly over-rated in Bosman's report of its population. The river Seënnee, or, as the Portuguese have called it, Ancobra, from its serpentine course, has been thought to rise just beyond the north eastern frontier, but it will presently appear to be a branch of the Tando of the Ashantees. In the Dutch copies of the old Portuguese charts, Dankara is placed eastward of Ashantee. The Warsaw country will be noticed more particularly, in considering the maritime geography from Cape Coast Castle to the river Assinee.

The Warsaw path has two grand branches, one to Apollonia and one to Aöwin, each thirteen journies; the former is in the small kingdom of Amanäheä. The Aöwin country extends from Apollonia to the river Assinee, five journies in length and three in breadth; it is governed by seven or eight caboceers, like those of Warsaw, independent of each other: it can furnish about 5000 soldiers. The numerals of Amanäheä and Aöwin will appear in an essay on the Fantee language. Both countries are at the mercy of the Ashantees, who extort gold from them frequently, though they have not yet fixed the tributes.