

Sauëe lies eight journies W. N. W. from Coomassie, and Moinsan fifteen. I could not procure the routes, but Wom and Sannasee are two of the largest towns which are passed through.

Buntookoo, the capital of the kingdom of Gaman, is 11 journies N. N. W. of Coomassie by route No. 7. The river Ofim is crossed the second day, the Tando the fifth, thence the country becomes open. Yammee, the frontier town of Gaman, is reached the eighth day. The name of the King of Gaman is Adinkara; the capital, though not so large, is allowed to be better built than Coomassie, and the Moorish influence has been longer established. It is incomparably the richest country in gold, and small pits were described to me, like those Mr. Park saw at Shrono. The numerals are,

One	-	-	Tah.
Two	-	-	Noo.
Three	-	-	Sah.
Four	-	-	Nah.
Five	-	-	Taw.
Six	-	-	Torata.
Seven	-	-	Toorifeenoo.
Eight	-	-	Toorifeessa.
Nine	-	-	Toorifeena.
Ten	-	-	Noonoo.

The four principal Gaman towns, are Sarem, which some call the capital, Bandakeëa, Bundoo, and Nasseä, five journies from Kong, and seven from Buntookoo.

A powerful kingdom called Bahooree, which has hitherto successfully resisted the Ashantees, was described to be westward, and expected to afford refuge to the King of Gaman on the approaching invasion.

I had heard it reported that the Tando formed the Assinee river,

about 35 miles westward of Cape Apollonia, but a very intelligent Ashantee satisfied me this was a mistake, arising probably from Seënee being the native name of the Ancobra, which is formed by one branch of the Tando; a second running westward. The Tando is not near so large as the Boosempira, and therefore very unlikely to form so large a river as the Assinee; the western branch may possibly run into it. Mr. Meredith, writing from report without sufficiently checking it, has made the Tando and the Chamah or Boosempira the same; yet, p. 225, he adds, "the Volta is more probably a branch of the Tando, a large river reported as running to the eastward, and which the Ashantees are obliged to cross in coming to the Coast:" he did not reflect that he thus laid down a river running out of the sea. The Tando, we have seen, is five days northward of Coomassie, it rises in some rocky hills called Toofeeä, near the large town Aënkroo, between the Banda and Inta paths.

Soko (formerly a province of Gaman) is 11 journies from Coomassie; and Banda, four beyond, and a little to the eastward; see route No. 8. The first day, Tafoo is reached, a large aboriginal Inta town, for, as will be seen in the historical report, the Ashantees emigrated, and subjected several Inta districts now forming the northern part of their dominions, and trenched considerably on that declining kingdom, now entirely at their mercy. If Mr. Dalzel had reflected, it would have occurred to him, that the Taffoe, Tafoe, or Tafu of Snelgrave (placed so absurdly in his map, 60 miles west of the mouth of the Volta) and the In-ta* he heard of at Dahomey, and confounded with Ashantee, were the same: for the In in In-ta is scarcely audible, and only a slight nasal sound barely amounting to n, as N-ta; foo is merely an adjunct equal to people or men in our language, affixed in the present

* This induced me to think that In-ta and Ta-pah, as well as Assiantee might mean the same place, as we find of Mahee, Yahn, &c.—Dalzel.

infancy of African language to all names of countries, as if we always said the Scotchmen or Irishmen, instead of the Scotch and Irish. The Ofim is crossed one day beyond Tafoo at its croom Ofeesoo, the Tando four journies beyond at Tandosoo. Takima is reached the eighth day, whence the Fantees are reported, by tradition, to have emigrated, and there is yet but little difference in the languages.

Sixteen journies N. N. E. of Coomassie is Boopee (which I have placed accordingly in $8^{\circ} 42' N.$ and $1^{\circ} 19' W.$) the frontier town of Inta, hitherto confounded with Ashantee, than which it is more populous and more civilized. The Moorish influence has been long established there, and almost all its caboceers affect to profess that faith. The river Adirri, which we shall presently identify with the Volta, is crossed four hours southward of Boopee, and is described as about 120 yards broad; it rises eight journies N.W. of Boopee, in a large mountain called Kondoongooree, one of the mountains of Kong, which were distinctly and invariably reported not to be a chain, but frequently and individually scattered, from Kong eastward. Seven journies from Coomassie, on the Inta route, is the smaller kingdom Coranza (probably the Corisseno of the old maps) the people of which are of the same origin as the Ashantees by tradition, but, as the King himself assured me, of much more genius and aptitude. Three journies from Boopee is Daboia, the second town of Inta. The first journey is to Minsiroo, where lions are numerous; the second to Moronko, the inhabitants of which are so fearful of being carried off as slaves by the Ashantee traders (who travel in great numbers) that they have no doors to their houses, but ascending by a ladder, which they immediately draw up, they enter through the thatch. Close to Moronko is a river, about as large as the Boosempra, called Adiffofoo. Pahmee, three journies south eastward of Daboia, and Yabo which I cannot

place so precisely, are the alternate residences of the King of Inta. There is a constant commercial intercourse between Inta and Dahomey, the frontiers being five journies apart. The numerals of Inta are

One	-	-	Koko.
Two	-		Anyoe.
Three	-		Assa.
Four	-		Anna.
Five	-	-	Annoo.
Six	-	-	Assee.
Seven	-		Assoonno.
Eight	-		Adoobrooa.
Nine	-	-	Digrakoono.
Ten	-		Koodoo.

Sallagha, the grand market of the Inta kingdom, is 17 journies north-eastward from Coomassie, by route No. 10. The first is to Marmpon, one of the five large towns built by the Ashantees, and possessing palatine privileges; the second, through five smaller towns to Aphwaguiassie, the largest market in the Ashantee kingdom; the 9th day the rivers Kirradee and Oboosoom are crossed, each about 60 yards wide, and flowing so near together, as to appear one in the rainy season; a high mountain, Aduarreekennee, is just beyond them, the boundary of Ashantee and Booroom. The tenth day the river Sennee is forded, which afterwards enlarges considerably, and runs into the Volta; it rises five journies from Coomassie (by route No. 11) between the Boopee and Sallagha paths. The Booroom country is quite open, and the Ashantees give the river the figurative name of Birrinsoo, which means that its distance is so deceiving, that you will cry before you reach it. The capital of Booroom is Guia, a considerable town, noticed in the route to Odentee, a fetish sanctuary of great repute, and said

to be splendidly furnished. The Ashantee language is spoken very commonly in Booroom, but the vernacular numerals are

One	-	-	Ekoo.
Two	-		Enoo.
Three	-		Essa.
Four	-		Enna.
Five	-	-	Annoo.
Six	-	-	Esseä.
Seven	-		Assoono.
Eight	-		Aquiay.
Nine	-	-	Akonno.
Ten	-	-	Edoo.

The tenth day the Adirri or Volta is crossed, more than a mile wide, but much interrupted by rocks, and described to be full of hippopotami (which they call sea elephants,) and alligators. This river divides Booroom from Inta, Sallagha being one day's long march from it. Calculating the 17 journies to Sallagha at 15 miles each, the course as N.E. by E. and supposing two thirds to be made good on the horizontal distance, according to our own experience, which gives 170 B. equal to 147 G. miles, Sallagha will lie in latitude $7^{\circ} 56'$ N., and longitude $9''$ W. As a check upon this position, it will be necessary to follow the Adirri or Volta as far as the natives navigate it from Adda, where it is called the Flou (as the falls of the Senegal.) Isert's report may be interesting as an introduction.

“The people of Adda think it derogatory to cultivate land, and live by fishing, and making salt, which they sell to the people of the Interior. The Volta has no breakers, and therefore may be presumed to be deep.” This is an extraordinary mistake; Dalzel says there are high breakers. Colonel Starrenberg (of Engineers) at Elmina Castle, who went about 60 miles up the Volta, accom-

panied by a Danish officer and flag, and met with no impediment so far, but turned back reluctantly in three or four fathoms of water, observed to me, that he thought the channel between the breakers about a mile wide. Dalzel mentions an American brig making good her passage over the bar, on which there is about two fathoms water; and a Danish schooner has done so since. "An arm goes from the mouth to Quitta." This must be the river running from Lagos into the Volta, near the mouth, as will be shewn in considering the errors in the maritime geography. "Six English miles from the mouth, it forms a lake 60 miles long and 48 broad, whence an arm extends to Pottriba, 3 miles eastward of Quitta: in this lake are more than a hundred islands." Colonel Starrenberg thought the river widened about 9 British miles from the mouth, but the number of small islands prevented even ocular demonstration. So large a lake would certainly have been spoken of by the natives to Europeans ere this; those whom I have questioned, have gone up the river to the extreme navigable point, and crossed it in many parts; and they all declare that at Ascharee, 2 days from Adda, it is not two miles wide. I never could find either an Ashantee, or a waterside native, who knew of the arm running to Pottriba, a name they had not heard of; neither could Col. Starrenberg learn any thing of it; no branch appeared as far as he went. Isert probably alluded, from report, to the river Assuafröo, which runs from eastward into the Volta, 7 journies from Adda, as will appear in the natives account. "From May to December the water is good to drink, being then higher than the sea; in the other months it is not so, but produces more fish. The river overflows in July, and August, and the neighbourhood of its banks is excellent for the cultivation of rice." Rice is abundantly cultivated in the Inta kingdom. "Three miles from the sea is an island, called Bird Island, full of pelicans of peculiar kinds. There

is a fish in this river called hardrass, which, when smoked, is exactly like European salmon. There are also hippopotami and crocodiles: quantities of oysters adhere to the mangroves, but when the river is fresh they are good for nothing. There are a great number of singing birds, and a nightingale equal to the Polish, which sings in May and December." Col. Starrenberg heard a nightingale, but saw only one hippopotamus. There is a kind of cedar tree, (*Avicennia* nov. spec.) which shoots up many branches from the ground, about as thick as a pipe, and bare of leaves: this tree is so very salt in its nature, that in the morning a great quantity of liquid salt is found on the leaves, chrySTALLIZING in the course of the day.* Amalfee is on an island, 48 miles from the mouth, the inhabitants of which, and those on the banks of the river, of Agrafee, Wefee, Tophirree, and Bettoo, call themselves river inhabitants. The former are the brokers of slaves for the

* "In the province of St. Jago, in Chili, there is a plant of this class and order (*Didynamia* gymnosperma) supposed to be a species of wild basil (*Ocimum salinum*), resembling the common basil so much as to be hardly distinguished from it, except that the flower stem is round and jointed, and its scent and taste not like the basil, but rather like the sea flag, or some marine plant. It is an annual, shooting forth in the spring, and continuing till the commencement of winter: every morning it is covered with hard and shining saline globules, resembling dew, which the countrymen shake off the leaves to serve them as common salt, and in some respects is thought to be of a superior quality. Every plant produces daily about half an ounce of this salt; but Molina, a scientific naturalist, to whom we are indebted for this information, says, that it is extremely difficult to account for this phenomenon, as the situation where he found these plants was in the most fertile part of the kingdom, and at a distance from the sea of more than seventy miles. When we see some plants secrete flint, separate and distinct from their fibres, as well as combined with their organic structure; and when we also know that plants secrete alkali, in every situation, I cannot perceive why Molina should consider the contiguity of the sea to be essential to the production of a neutral salt in the *Ocimum salinum*." *Linnaean System*, London, 1816, vol. ii. p. 303.

Riley, whose narrative has recently appeared, saw in the desert, "A dwarf thorn bush from two to five feet high with succulent leaves strongly impregnated with salt."

Creppee country, and receive a vast number from one of its provinces called Acottim, 3 journies eastward."

Mr. Meredith could scarcely have enquired about the Creppee or Aquamboe countries, to have placed them west of the Volta. The natives who carry salt up the Volta, pull the 1st day, by Agrafee, Foomee, and Tefferee to Amanfee, on the banks; the 2nd to Dofu on an island; the 3rd, by Ascharee, on the western bank, to Adomö; the 4th by Assafoo to the Aquamboe country; the 5th to Sowa; the 6th to Pessee; the 7th by Appasoo, to Deyatoompon, where a large river flows into the Volta from the eastward; to Doodee the 8th; to Tombo the 9th; to Akorosoo the 10th; to Odentee the 11th. Here the river becomes too rocky to proceed conveniently, and hence to Sallagha by land is 4 journies, through the large towns Oboëkee, Akuntong, Enkungquakroo, and Apapsee, famous for making cotton cloth. There is a small state northward, between Aquamboe and Inta, called Anoöchoo, subject to Ashantee, bordering on which is Guasoo, the southern district or province of Inta. The Creppee country borders on Aquamboe eastward, and is independent.

I am not in possession of Colonel Starrenberg's bearings, but the course of the river may be pretty well ascertained from fixing the points of Odentee, Quaöo, and Ascharee. Odentee is 6 journies southward of east (by route No. 12) from Pattooda, in the Booroom country, and mentioned in the route to Sallagha. Quaöo, the country where the Boosempira rises, has already been mentioned as entered 8 journies from Coomassie. Ascharee, 2 days and a half pull up the river, is reached in 1 day's walk from Ningo. The course of the Volta is consequently about W. N. W. to Quaöo, N. E. by N. to Odentee, and N. W. by Sallagha, which course it appears to continue to Boopee, if not to its source in the Kondoon-gooree mountain. The 10 days pull from Adda to Odentee, and

the 4 journies by land thence to Sallagha, agree very well with the distance and position of that place, as before calculated by the 17 days route from Coomassie. The houses of Sallagha and other towns of Inta were mentioned as peculiar from being round. Leo Africanus observed houses built in the form of bells at Timbuctoo.

Seven days from Sallagha, N. E. according to the Moors, through the Inta town of Zongoo, is Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba, which I have placed, calculating the course at N. E. by E., and allowing 18 miles for each journey, as the country is said to be open, in $55'$ E. and $8^{\circ} 38'$ N.: the position is assisted by the common account of its being 8 journies from Daboia, by route No. 13, and that two obscure, but direct paths to Daboia and Yahndi, from Coomassie, occupy the first 19 days, and the latter (described as laying between Daboia and Sallagha) 23 days. Sir William Young, in his Report of the Geography and History of Northern Africa, writes, "the Slatees of Old Calebar are said to carry on their trade to Degombah *northward*," which also supports my placing it more to the eastward than it appears in Major Rennel's map. Yngwa, a district and large town of Dagwumba, is said to lie 8 days northward of Yahndi, through Sakoigoo; its distance from Daboia, by report 6 journies, places it about N. N. W. Two journies from Daboia, towards Yngwa, is the river Adiffofoo, about 60 yards wide, running eastward, 2 journies from which is Kooboro, a large Dagwumba town.

North-eastward of Yahndi is Tonomah, of which I do not recollect more than the name, though I think it is a town and district of Dagwumba. The kingdom of Tonowah, of which Assentai has been described as the capital by the Shereef Imhammed,* must

* In the Dutch copies of the old Portuguese charts, Xabunda (perhaps Banda) is

have been derived from this name, being otherwise unknown. Three journies north-eastward of Yahndi is Sokoquo or Ensoko, also a considerable town.

Yahndi is described to be beyond comparison larger than Coomassie, the houses much better built and ornamented. The Ashantees who had visited it, told me, they frequently lost themselves in the streets. The King, Ināna Tanquāree, has been converted by the Moors, who have settled there in great numbers. Mr. Lucas called it the Mahomedan kingdom of Degomba, and it was represented to him as peculiarly wealthy and civilized. The markets of Yahndi are described as animated scenes of commerce, constantly crowded with merchants from almost all the countries of the interior. Horses and cattle abound, and immense flocks are possessed even by the poorer class. The numerals of Dagwumba and Yngwa differing, I submit both.

		<i>Yngwa.</i>		<i>Dagwumba.</i>
One	-	Lakoo	-	Yahndo
Two	-	Ayee	-	Ayee
Three	-	Attah	-	Attah
Four	-	Anāhee	-	Nasee
Five	-	Leerennoo	-	Ennoon
Six	-	Ayoboo	-	Yohbee
Seven	-	Ayapai	-	Poiee
Eight	-	Annee	-	Nehenoo
Nine	-	Awai	-	Whyee
Ten	-	Peä	-	Edoo.

Yahndi is named after the numeral one, from its pre-eminence. Sarem is the name of a region, including Gaman, Inta, and Dagwumba, so called from the open nature of those countries.

placed as the capital of Ashantee, and two or three large Portuguese towns, one St. Lawrence, with several convents and crosses between it and the Coast.

One day from Sallagha, towards Yahndi, and scarcely one journey westward from the latter, is the river Laka, described to be as large and as rapid as the Adirri or Volta, which it joins below Odentee, and may therefore be safely concluded to be the Assua-froo; for the names of rivers are very mutable in Africa, each country through which they pass naturalising them to its own language, and thus increasing the perplexities of a geography founded on investigation. I could not procure any authorized account of the northward course of this river, the best opportunities had escaped me when I heard of it.

Five journies N. E. from Yahndi is the smaller kingdom of Gamba, the birth place of Baba the chief Moor at Coomassie, and the boundary of the Ashantee authority, though its influence, through the much respected medium of Dagwumba, would extend to the Niger. Seven journies northward of Yngwa is the kingdom of Fobee: the river Koontoorooa is crossed four days from it, being about half a mile broad, it has an eastern and western branch, the former running to the Karhala, one day farther, considerably wider, and the course south-eastward. One journey from the river is a large mountain called Sarraka, the same distance from Fobee, the capital of the kingdom. Lakoo, Lamma, Karhala, and Koomada are the next largest towns. Five journies northward is an independent kingdom called Chouoocha. The position of Fobee is checked by Goorooma, being 15 journies from it, (a kingdom to be noticed presently in the direct northern route from Yahndi to Houssa,) and Kawerree only nine, doubtless Cayree, a kingdom in the route of the Moors from Coomassie to Jinnie. The numerals of Fobee are

One	-	-	Koroom.
Two	-	-	Nalay.
Three	-	-	Poompevarra.

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Four	-	Leetaynalee.
Five	-	Kakwassee.
Six	-	Mannassa.
Seven	-	Noottoosoo.
Eight	-	Borafay.
Nine	-	Pirrifay.
Ten	-	Nanooa.

Five journies from Yngwa is Mosee, a more warlike but less visited kingdom ; it consists of many states, but the superior monarch is named Billa, and the capital Kookoopella. I place this N.W., because, although its traders pass through Yngwa, they do not cross the Karhala, or indeed any river but what they can walk through. The numerals are

One	-	Yimbo.
Two	-	Ayeeboo.
Three	-	Ataboo.
Four	-	Annasee.
Five	-	Annoo.
Six	-	Ayobee.
Seven	-	Owhi.
Eight	-	Ennee.
Nine	-	Aihopoi.
Ten	-	Peega.

A few days northward of Fobee, through Chamday and Kobafoo, is Calanna, described as a very large city, rivalling Yahndi as a market, and situated at the foot of a mountain abounding in iron stone, which they manufacture for rude purposes in much the same manner as Mr. Park witnessed at Jeningalla. Calanna is probably the Calanshee of Imhammed, who told Mr. Lucas that it was a dependency of Tounouwah or Assentai, situated mid-way between it and the coast, 18 journies from each. The numerals are

One	-	-	Kodoom.
Two	-		Naboolla
Three	-		Naweedazoo.
Four	-	-	Nabonaza.
Five	-		Nabonoa.
Six	-	-	Lodoo.
Seven	-		Logwa.
Eight	-		Littaizoo.
Nine	-	-	Nako.
Ten	-		Yewoo.

Kumsallahoo I have not attempted to lay down, having no other guide for placing it than the report that it is one moon's journey from Dagwumba, that its traders pass through Mosee, and cross only one river, the Fachinga, and that not large. The numerals are

One	-	-	Yumbo.
Two	-		Yeeboo.
Three	-		Tabo.
Four	-	-	Nasee.
Five	-		Annoo.
Six	-	-	Yobo.
Seven	-		Poihee.
Eight	-		Nehee.
Nine	-	-	Wahee.
Ten	-		Pega.

We will now return to Coomassie and proceed northwards to Jinnie, or as it was generally pronounced, Jennë. This route to Tombuctoo (or Timbooctoo) is much less frequented by the Moors than that from Dagwumba, through Houssa. They alledge that the people northward, are neither so commercial, so civilized, or so wealthy as those north-eastward. The first 12 journies are to Buntookoo, seven journies whence is a river called by the natives

Coombo, and by the Moors, Zamma ; it is described as half a mile broad, and running westward. I could not find any Ashantee who had travelled beyond this river, which is the northern limit of their authority. Five journies eastward of north from the river, is Kong, the King of which is named Asequoo. A large mountain called Toolileseena is near the capital, and a small river, Woorra, four journies from it. The kingdom is said to be by no means so wealthy or powerful as that of Ashantee ; the market is supplied from Houssa, the country is populous, horses numerous, and elephants killed daily. The people fight with spears, and bows and arrows. Seven journies from Kong several mountains are passed, called Koonkooi. Mr. Park says, that “ Kong signifies mountain in the Mandingo language, which language is in use from the frontier of Bambarra to the western sea.” The language of Kong seems to be a corruption of the Bambarra or Mandingo : the numerals are

One	-	-	Kiddee.
Two	-		Filla.
Three	-		Sowa.
Four	-		Nanoo.
Five	-	-	Looroa.
Six	-	-	Wora.
Seven	-		Ooranfilla.
Eight	-		Leeaygee.
Nine	-	-	Konunto.
Ten	-	-	Tah.

The Ashantees calling all the slaves whom they brought down to the water side Dunkos, it had been, for many years, naturally concluded that there was a large country of that name in their neighbourhood. Isert writes, “ the Dunkoers are a people behind Ashantee.” On enquiry, however, I found to my surprise, that

there is no country of that name, but that it is merely an epithet, synonymous with the barbarian of the Greeks and Romans, which they apply to all the people of the interior but themselves, and implies an ignorant fellow. I first suspected this from observing some Dunkos were cut in the face, and some not, and I presently discovered their vernacular languages were various, and unintelligible to each other. Generally speaking, the bush or country people of Dagwumba have three light cuts on each cheek bone, and three below, with one horizontal under the eye; those of Yahndi, three deep continued cuts; the people of Mosee, three very deep and long, and one under the eye; those of Bornoo are frequently cut in the forehead; of Marrowa all over the body in fine, small, and intricate patterns. In Fobee, Kumsallahoo, and Calanna, the lower orders have a hole bored through the cartilage of the nose. These cuts are made during infancy, to insinuate fetish liquids to invigorate and preserve the child.

Nine journies northward of Kong is Kaybee, the King of which, named Mamooroo, killed the former monarch Dabbira. The country was said to be very populous, the capital behind a mountain called Beseeree, the soil chalky, and asses as numerous as horses. Three journies from the frontier of Kaybee, over a large mountain called Seboopoo, and across a large river, is Kayree, through which country it is very dangerous to pass, the people laying in ambush in small parties to rob or kidnap travellers, and subsisting by rapine. Five journies thence is Garoo (probably Gago*) a very powerful kingdom, the King, Batoomo, lives at Netaquolla. Twenty journies beyond is the kingdom of Doowarra, the people of which are indifferent warriors, but superior agriculturists, and

* Gago oppidum amplissimum nullis quoque cingitur muris, distat a Tumbuto meridiem versus quadringentes fere passuum millibus, inclinatusque fere ad Euroaustum.
Leo Af.

plant extensively : the soil is red earth. A smaller kingdom called Filladoo or Firrasoo, is in the neighbourhood. Five journies north of Doowarra is the Niger, and on an island, about a mile from the southern bank, is Jennë. The route from Kong to Jennë is the only one which has not been checked by Negro evidence, but I had reason to think well of the Moor who furnished it, who never contradicted himself, though repeatedly cross questioned during the four months I was at Coomassie. The places reported to Mr. Park on this route, it is true, are none of them mentioned, but, probably, the people who were insuperably adverse to his proceeding, were the least likely to satisfy his curiosity but by imposing on him.* Mr. Park in his route from Segoo to Bædoo, has a town called Doowassoo, only four journies from Segoo ; but I was assured repeatedly that Doowarra is a powerful kingdom. In the first Mission, Mr. Park reported the kingdom of Gotto to be so close to the Niger, that its chief, Moösee, embarked on it to attack Jinnie, and Major Rennell has placed it accordingly : but, in the second, he writes, “ one month’s travel south of Bædoo,” (which he makes 30 journies southward of Segoo) “ through the kingdom of Gotto, will bring the traveller to the country of the Christians, who have their houses on the banks of the Ba Sea Feena.” He says the Ba Nimma rises in the Kong mountains south of Marraboo, but does not mention the kingdom of Kong in his route, which is about one moon’s travel from the sea, as he has described Bædoo to be.

* “ To what degree the natives of Silla would have contradicted each other in their accounts of Tombuctoo, Park’s short stay there could not have allowed him time to ascertain, even if his knowledge of their language had enabled him to understand their accounts as well as he did those of the slatees on the Gambia.

“ Several instances of the contradictory testimony of the Negroes occur in Park’s travels, Jennië, for instance, is stated in his first Mission to be situated on the Niger, but on his second journey he renounces that opinion, on the apparently good authority of an old Somonie (canoe man) who had been seven times at Tombuctoo.” Adams’s Editor,

Now it is very unlikely, if Bædoo had been but 20 journies from Coomassie, that we should not have heard of it; and it is next to impossible, that if any kingdom called Gotto laid still nearer, (which it must have done, to have been passed through from Bædoo to the sea) that it should have been unknown. Indeed, if the kingdom of Bambarra extended 28 days south of Sego, as appears by the route given to Mr. Park, the Ashantees would not have spoken of it from mere report, but would probably have become acquainted with it, either through war, commerce, or negotiation. It is a little extraordinary that the kingdom of Ashantee, reported as eminently powerful to Mr. Lucas even so far distant as Mesurata, and which must be well known in the neighbourhood of Jenné, from the number of Moors who visit it from that city, should not even have been noticed to Mr. Park in this southern route from Silla or Sego to the sea. Mr. Park writes of the Moors not being able to subject Jinbala; I believe they insinuate themselves as residents every where, but I could not hear of their having established themselves by force, or of their composing even the greater part of a population any where.*

* Mr. Hutchison writes, that from Inta to Jenné is said to be 41 journies. This Gentleman, the Resident at Coomassie, merely accompanied the Mission to act in that capacity in case the object could be accomplished, and was not instructed to report: the officer conducting the Mission being responsible to the extent of his industry, and the opportunities, for the various desiderata, excepting the Botanical and Medical, which were expected from the Surgeon, Mr. Tedlie. Mr. Hutchison's time was much employed in making duplicates and copies of the frequent and voluminous dispatches to head quarters. The Moors disliking even a second European to be present at their geographical communications, Mr. Hutchison, through his obliging disposition, which accommodated itself to every thing auxiliary to the pursuits of the Mission, rendered me a great service, and quieted the uneasiness of the Moors by keeping watch, and diverting the various Ashantee visitors who would have intruded, with great patience and address. There was no time even for a communication of the data I had collected before the Mission left Coomassie, for we may be said to have lived in public the latter part of the four months,

Having reached the Niger it is time to observe, that it is only known to the Moors by the name of Quolla, pronounced rather as Quorra by the Negroes, who, from whatever countries they came, all spoke of this as the largest river they knew; and it was the grand feature in all the routes (whether from Houssa, Bornoo, or the intermediate countries) to Ashantee. Mr. Horneman wrote that the Niger, in some parts of Houssa, was called *Gaora*, which must sound very like Quorra. The Niger, after leaving the lake

and Mr. Hutchison's genius inclining more to the cultivation of the Ashantee and Arabic languages, which I had no doubt would yield to his great industry, I did not intrude less congenial pursuits on his attention, (the desiderata having been amply realized,) but merely requested he would let me know what any intelligent Moor, arriving after my departure, might say of the Interior, and, if possible, procure a chart from him, especially if he was not a native of Houssa or Bornoo, which two of the Moors who had drawn for me were. After I had finished my Geographical Report, Mr. Hutchison sent, with some other interesting particulars, added as notes with his initials, a chart drawn by a Jenné Moor just arrived, confirming all I had collected in the most satisfactory manner. The names of the countries from the source of the Niger to Egypt were written in Arabic, with Mr. Hutchison's expression of the pronunciation in English opposite. I particularly recollect that his ear differed somewhat from mine, which accounts for the trifling differences in our spelling. I shewed Mr. Hutchison my charts as curiosities, but he took no minutes of the names, uninteresting from his never having had an opportunity of reading Major Rennell's Dissertations, which would alone make them so to any one. He gives a better proof of this, than my own impression, by the following extract from his letter to me, accompanying the chart: "The Bornoo you used to talk about, you will find the same as the lake Chaudi, or Al Bahare Noohoo, or else you know a country I do not recollect hearing of;" but, in the postscript, he writes, "On looking over my memoranda, I find Bornoo is the principal monarchy the Arabs alone stand in awe of, and one of the four kingdoms best known on the Quolla." Mr. Hutchison *unconsciously* confirming what I had learned, is even more satisfactory than if I had left him any basis for his enquiries; indeed, his own object, the acquirement of the language, was too important to be interrupted unnecessarily. Before I attach any quotation from this Gentleman's letters, I must acknowledge the assistance I had previously derived from his spirited zeal as an officer, as well as that which has since resulted from his interest in intellectual pursuits.

Dibbir, was invariably described as dividing in two large streams; the Quolla, the greater, pursuing its course south-eastward until it joined the Bahr Abiad, and the other branch running northward of east near Timbuctoo, and dividing again soon afterwards; the smaller stream running northwards by Yahooodee, a place of great trade,* and the larger turning directly eastward, and increasing considerably, running to the lake Caudi or Cadi under the name of Gambaroo.† The Moors call the branch running by Timbuctoo the Jolliba, I presume figuratively, as a great water, for I was assured by a native of Jennë, who had frequently visited Timbuctoo, that this branch was called Zah-mer by the Negroes.‡

The variety of the concurrent evidence respecting the Gambaroo, certainly made an impression on my mind almost amounting to conviction. De Lisle, in his map of Africa for the use of Louis XV. (the accuracy of which in one point where our latest charts are in error, the Lagos river, will be shewn towards the close of this Report) makes a branch from the Niger running near Timbuctoo; and what is even more to the point, writes "Gambarou ou Niger." It was not till sometime after my return from Ashantee, that I unexpectedly discovered this solitary European record of such a

* The Moors particularly mentioned buying their writing paper there. One told me that the Joliba ran to a river called Hotaiba after it passed Yahooodee, which river ran towards Toonis. Several talked of vessels coming to Yahooodee, navigated by white men, but whence I could not learn, and Brahima had never visited it, though such reports were familiar to him.

† The rivers Arauca and Capanaparo in Cumana form bifurcations similar to those of the Niger. The Arauca divides itself into two rivers, the northern one, the Araquito, runs through the lake Cabullarito into the Orinoco, and the southern retaining the name of Arauca, also flows to the Orinoco. The Capanaparo falls into the Orinoco in two streams, the northern retaining the original name, and the southern acquiring that of Mina. See Humboldt's map of the eastern part of the province of Verina.

‡ See note, p. 189.

name, and it will at least be allowed that so respectable a character as De Lisle, would neither have laid down the branch from the Niger (for it is as likely to be so in the absence of explanation, as a river running into it) without some authority, nor have invented the name *Gambarou*: and it will also be allowed, that he must have heard of it as being a very large river, to have confounded it with the Niger. De Lisle has preserved most of the names reported to me, more closely than any other geographer.* In the judicious compendium of Mr. Murray, I observe the following note. "It is but justice to D'Anville to say, that in his map of central Africa, inserted in the 26th volume of the *Academie des Inscriptions*, he has represented a river passing close to Timbuctoo, running S.W., and falling into the Niger. This delineation has not been copied by others, but it is not the less probable that that excellent geographer may have had positive information on which to found it." Now, I may presume, this is only recorded in delineation, and not noticed by D'Anville in the text, or, his authority would have appeared. I shall be indulged in such a conjecture, when it is

* "No one who compares the maps of De Lisle and D'Anville with the materials then published, can doubt the excellent means of information with which they must have been supplied both by government, and by private individuals." Murray.

We find a remarkable instance of De Lisle's accuracy in Major Rennell's construction of the geography of Mr. Horneman's expedition. "Mr. Horneman was informed that there are 101 inhabited places in Fezzan." It is remarkable that this is precisely the number stated in M. Delisle's map of Africa, drawn in 1707; and, according to Mr. Beaufoy's informant, there are nearly 100.

I have since found an older authority for the name *Gambaroo*, and which also shews that the name *Quolla* and its connection with the *Gambaroo*, have not been wholly unknown hitherto. It is in the *L'Afrique de Marmol*, livre viii. chap. 3. "C'est une chose estrange que ce fleuve venant de si loin, car Ptolomée le fait venir du lac *Quellonide*, et de celui de Nuba, il n'entraîne pas tant d'eaux par ce costé-là, et la marée ne monte pas si avant, que par l'autre bras que Ton appelle *Gamber*." One may almost fancy *Quolla* and *Quellonide* to have been derived from the *Chalonides* of Ptolemy.

recollected I am writing where I cannot satisfy myself, in a place destitute of literary facilities. If it is only to be found in the delinea- tion, it is of course, as likely to be a branch running N. E. from the Niger, as a river running S.W. into it. Mr. Park has described the Niger as dividing into two large branches after leaving Dibble, and their re-union has been admitted by considerate investigators, to be a very improbable addition to that report.* Sidi Hamet assigns no course to the great river which he described as about an hour's ride with a camel south of Timbuctoo, and distinguished from the Niger, or, as he called it, Zolilib, by saying the latter was two hours ride. Adams placed La-mar-Zarah, about three quar- ters of a mile wide, two miles south of the town, without hesitation, but he only *conceived* that the course was S. W.† Leo, ambiguous as the context may be, certainly writes that there is a *branch* of the Niger passing Timbuctoo, "Vicino a un ramo del Niger." Mr. Beaufoy's Moor says that below Ghinea is the sea into which the river of Tombuctoo disembogues itself; on which Major Rennell observes, "by the word sea, it is well known the Arabs mean to

* "The fact of a large lake like the Dibble, discharging its waters by two streams flowing from distant parts of the lake, and re-uniting after a separate course of a hundred miles in length, has always appeared to us extremely apocryphal, at least we believe that the geography of the world does not afford a parallel case." Adams's Editor.

† "According to these statements of the Moorish traders, Adams would seem to have *mistaken* the course of the stream at Tombuctoo. In fact, I do not recollect that he told me at Mogadore that it flowed in a westerly direction: but, I think, I am correct in saying, that he discovered some uncertainty in speaking upon this subject, (and almost upon this subject alone) observing, in answer to my inquiries, that he had not taken very particular notice, and that the river was steady, without any appearance of a strong current." Dupuis on Adams.

Adams's name, La-mar-Zarah (for of course he did not attach *La mar* to indicate water, but pronounced La-mar-Zarah, as an integral name) seems accounted for by his confounding or connecting the Arabic name of the river, *Lahamar*, with the Negro name *Yça* (for we find these names in Marmol, tom. 3. liv. 8.) making *Lahamar-yça*, La-mar-Zarah.

express a lake also:" this river of Timbuctoo is, doubtless, the branch of the Niger forming the Gambaroo, and the sea below Ghinea, the lake Caude. In the Description de l'Afrique, traduite du Flamand, D'O Dapper, à Amsterdam, 1686, I find "Ce Royaume de Tombut ou Tongbutu environ à quatre lieuës d'un bras du Niger." The account, to be submitted presently, that this branch of the Niger passing Timbuctoo is not crossed until the third day going from Timbuctoo to Houssa, is not an argument against its identity with the Zarah of Adams, or the river of Sidi Hamet, only two or three miles from the city; because, giving a northerly course to the branch, and Houssa laying north eastward 20 journies from Timbuctoo, as will be shewn presently, the direction of the path would not require the river to be crossed immediately, but, evidently, not till the second or third day.

De Barros, who considered the Senegal to be the Niger, wrote, that it received various names,* and was called by the Caragoles (Serawoollies) Collë; on which Mr. Murray reasonably observes, "this name seems readily convertible into Joli-ba, the latter syllable being merely an adjunct, meaning a river:" this I was also given to understand. Now, if the name Joliba had not been reported on the authority of Mr. Park, I might submit that Collë is more readily convertible into Quolla, which approximating even more closely to Kulla, seems to identify the Collë and Kulla under the common name of Quolla.† Mr. Park in his memoir to Lord

* Les Sénégalers le nomment Sénédec, les Jalofes Dengueh, les Turcorons qui sont plus au-dedans du pays Maye, les Saragoles qui sont plus haut Colle, et en un contrée plus vers l'orient Zimbale: au royaume de Tombut on le nomme Yça. Marmol, tom. 3, livre 8. The name Zimbale must be derived from Jimballa, by which country the river passes; it occurs in the route from Shégo to Timbuctoo. P. 194.

† Kulla, in the Mallowa, if not in the Kassina language, means *child*; perhaps, allegory being the character of African language, the southern river may be called Quolla or Kulla, from being a *branch* only of the great river which forms it and the Gambaroo.

Camden, writes, "the river of Dar Kulla, mentioned by Mr. Browne, is generally supposed to be the Niger, or at least to have a communication with that river." The name and course of the Quolla suggested this to me before I observed the above remark, which I did not until my return.* Other arguments will presently appear for the identity of the Kulla and the Niger.†

The Gambaroo seems to me to identify the Gir of Ptolemy,‡ carried by him into the centre of Africa, and which would appear as large as the Niger by the expression, "maximi sunt Gir et Nigir." The river of Bornoo, hitherto assumed, is not adequate to the impression Ptolemy conveys, and the names "Gir et Nigir," seem to indicate a connection. The Niger may be considered to terminate when the smaller stream is lost in the Nile.

Concerning the source of the Niger, there was a difference of opinion amongst the Moors, and not the least notion amongst the Negroes. Some said that it rose in Bambooch, meaning, as I presume, Bambouk, and others in Jabowa, where they described another large river to rise also, running westward. Jabowa was said to be 40 journies from Sego, and Bambooch 43.

From Jabowa the Niger was described to run to Fouta Gollabi, and in six days thence to Fouta Towra; the Moors must certainly have meant Fouta Galla, and Footatora, for their pronunciation

* See the account of the large interior river known at Gaboon, under the name of *Wole* or *Wolela*.

† "There is one thing that disagrees with Mr. Park's account, they call the Niger Quolla at Jenné, Sansanding, &c. &c. and describe the Jolliba as falling into the Quolla east of Timbuctoo." W. H.

The Moors invariably reported to me that it ran from it. Mr. H. might perhaps have misunderstood the Jenné Moor, whose single authority cannot be opposed to the concurrence of several.

‡ Illorum verò qui per interiorem Æthiopiã fluent, quique fontes et ostia in continente habent maximi sunt Gir et Nigir. (Lib. 2. E. 1. De maximis fluminibus.)

was more imperfect than their knowledge of the native names westward, whither they rarely travelled. I induced a Moor on each side the question, and of different countries, to draw in my quarters, unknown to each other, what they called a chart of the Quolla, for the sake of preserving the several names in their own writing. They were only inferior to one Moor, from whom I never had an opportunity of inducing a chart. Both parties met, apparently, at Hasoo, as will be seen by submitting the names.*

*Bambooch.**Jabowa.*

Journies.

10 to Gadima, probably Gadoo, little more than 6
journies from the capital of Bambooch,
according to Major Rennell.

20 to Hasoo	-	-	-	-	-	Hasoowa.
4 to Jaoura	-	-	-	-	-	Jaooa.
2 to Jamoo	-	-	-	-	-	Gamsoö.
5 to Mallaïa	-	-	-	-	-	Mallaïu.
2 to Shégo	-	-	-	-	-	Sego.

Sego was correctly described according to Mr. Park, and the death of the monarch he first knew spontaneously mentioned, with his warlike disposition, and great power. Mr. Park observes that he

* The Jennë Moor does not appear to have been so particularly acquainted with the source of the Niger. He has drawn two hills, from one of which springs a large river he could not name, running westward, the other is the source of the Quolla, and Mr. Hutchison has written its name Bieteerilmiloo. Between this source and Mala, the King of which he describes as a great monarch, he mentions no towns or kingdoms. This Mala is the Malay of the Moorish charts I procured, between the source and which five places or countries were written. Mr. Hutchison writes the course thus, without time or distance, Mala, Bambarra, Shego, Sansanding, Jena, Mashina, Dahleä (a small croom on the lake Dibber,) Kabarra: he adds, cannibals are close to the Joliba, and 30 journies from Timbuctoo, they eat their prisoners: the dead of their own people are put in the Joliba, in wooden coffins.

found the language of Bambarra a sort of corrupted Mandingo; this confirms the numerals repeated to me as the Bambarra:

	<i>Bambarra.</i>	<i>Mandingo.</i>
One	Killi	Killin.
Two	Foolla	Foola.
Three	Sabba	Sabba.
Four	Nani	Nani.
Five	Looroo	Looloo.
Six	Wora	Woro.
Seven	Worroola	Oronglo.
Eight	Sagi	Sie.
Nine	Konunto	Konunto.
Ten	Ta	Tang.

From Sego to Sansanding was called one journey, from Sansanding to Jennë three. Jennë was described as on an island of the Niger, the town considerable, and fortified, and with large houses to pray in. I did not understand that it was subject to Timbuctoo; it certainly has a distinct monarch, who was called Maläi Smaera, and the head Moor, Maläi Bacharoo. From Jennë through Dibbir, at the entrance of which is Sanina, to Kabarra or Kabra, the port of Timbuctoo (half a day's walk from it) is a voyage of 20 days. By land, it was only 12 journies, through Mashena (Masina) Farri-mabbie, Jimballa (the Jinbala of Mr. Park, which they persisted was not on an island of the Niger, but on the northern bank of it) Taäkim, Assoofoo, Zeddaï, Douräi (probably the Downie in Major Rennell's map) Matarooch, and Makkasoorfoo, probably the Soorka's, whom Mr. Park mentioned as inhabiting the northern bank of the river between Jinnie and Timbuctoo: he also writes that it is 12 journies by land from Jinnie to Timbuctoo. The horizontal distance from Jennë to Jimballa, on Major Rennell's map is about 100 B. miles, and thence to Timbuctoo 90 more. Now

12 journies at 18 miles, give but a horizontal distance of 144 B. miles, wherefore, I should think the northern bank of the lake Dibbir, is not so high as it has been hitherto drawn, and the path so distant as not to be deflected by any curve of the lake. Timbuctoo was described as a large city, but inferior to Houssa, and not comparable with Bornoo. The Moorish influence was said to be powerful, but not superior. A small river goes nearly round the town, overflowing in the rains, and obliging the people of the suburbs to move to an eminence in the centre of the town, where the King lives. This is, probably, the smaller river described by Sidi Hamet as close to the town. Leo says, when the Niger rises, the waters flow through certain canals to the city. There were very few muskets to be seen; the King, a Moorish Negro called Billabahada, had a few double barrellled guns, which were only fired at customs, and gunpowder was almost as valuable as gold. The two latter circumstances, besides the name of the river, were all that I recognised in their reports confirming the description given by Adams, which I conceive to be as inadequate as those collected by Mr. Jackson are extravagant.* The three last Kings before Billa, were Osamana, Dawoolloo, and Abass. Mr. Jackson says there was a King Woollo reigning in 1800, and a Moor who had come from Timbuctoo to Coomassie ten years ago, did not

* The following sentence in the description of Leo, conveys an idea of the decline or decay of the city. "Cujus domus omnes in tuguriola cretacea stramineis tectis *sunt mutatae*." Yet immediately after we receive the contrary impression on reading "Visitur tamen elegantissimum quoddam templum cujus murus ex lapidibus atque calce vivo est fabricatus: deinde et palacium quoddam regium quodam Granato viro artificissimo conditum. Frequentissimæ hic sunt artificum mercatorum præcipuè autem telæ atque gossypii textorum officinæ; huc mercatores Barbari pannum ex Europa adferunt." In the Description de l'Afrique en Flamand, published about a century and a half afterwards, the author seems to be aware of the advanced decline or decay of Timbuctoo. "Les maisons étoient autrefois fort sumptueuses, mais elles ne sont maintenant que de bois enduites de terre grasse et couvertes de paille."

know King Woollo (Adams's King) was dead, as he was reigning at the time he left Timbuctoo. Abass probably had a short reign like Sai Apokoo the second. This Moor also said that Woollo's favourite wife (called by Adams, Fatima) was named Fatooma Allizato. The editor of Adams shews that the name of Fatima, affords in itself no proof that its possessor was Moorish, or even a Mohammedan woman. I think it is probably derived from a numeral, for it answers to five in the numerals of Garangi (a country described to be northwards of Jennë) which are

One	-	-	Kerriminna.
Two	-	-	Ferriminna.
Three	-	-	Sowaninna.
Four	-	-	Firrima.
Five	-	-	Fahtima.
Six	-	-	Tata.
Seven	-	-	Mannima.
Eight	-	-	Pirima.
Nine	-	-	Missirīma.
Ten	-	-	Guahee.

Numerals are frequently added to names in Ashantee.

Perhaps the old ms. which I purchased with difficulty from a Jennë Moor, will recompense the translator by a fuller account, but I fear religion only is the subject. It contains thirteen pages, with some marginal notes in a different hand. I should have observed, that, generally speaking, I found the Moors very cautious in their accounts, declining to speak unless they were positive, and frequently referring doubtful points to others whom they knew to be better acquainted with them. I did not succeed in procuring the numerals of Timbuctoo, but the language is different from that of Houssa, as the words opposed to those recollected by Adams will shew :

	<i>Timbuctoo.</i>	<i>Houssa.</i>
Man	Jungo	Motoo.
Woman	Jumpsa	Motee.
Camel	So	Rakoomee.
Dog	Killab	Karree.
Cow	Fallee	Saneä.
House	Dah	Garree.
Water	Boca	Looa.
Tree	Carna	Leeseëä.
Gold	Or	Jennarreä.
A Moor	Seckar	Bibay.

From Timbuctoo* to Houssa is 20 journies; the three first through a woody country, and over the branch of the Niger to Azibbie, the frontier town. Houssa was said to be the largest city north or south of the Quolla, except Bornoo; the Moorish influence to have been established there beyond memory, and the King's name Serragkee. Cabi is not the name of the kingdom, but of a large dependent town and district on the Niger. Mallowa, or Marrowa, as the Negroes pronounce it, (for they seemed invariably to substitute *r* for the *l* of the Moors, as Quorra for Quolla)†

* "All the country from where the Joliba discharges itself into the Quolla is subject to the Sultan Malisimiel. What makes the Sultan of Timbuctoo so much talked of, is his being near the water side; but his master, the Sultan of Malisimiel considers him merely as a deputy or governor. The four greatest monarchs known on the banks of the Quolla, are Baharnoo, Santambool, Malisimiel, and Malla." W. H. Malla is Mallowa.

† The Chaymas substitute *r* for *l*, a substitution that arises from a defect of pronunciation, common in every zone. The substitution of *r* for *l* characterizes, for example, the Bashmouric dialect of the Coptic language. It is thus that the Caribbees of the Oronoko have been transformed into Galibi, in French Guiana, by confounding *r* with *l*, and softening the *c*. The Tamanach has made choraro (solalo) of the Spanish word soldado." Humboldt's personal narrative, book iii. chap. 9.

is the next extensive in its limits to Bornoo. It is, no doubt, the kingdom of Mellè, misplaced by Leo, and reported to Cadamosto in 1455, as 30 journies beyond Timbuctoo. Major Rennell observes, "we should naturally look for it on the eastward of Timbuctoo," and it has only been placed south eastward, and south of the Niger, because Edrisi has a city called Malel thereabouts, though he calls the name of the kingdom of which it is the capital Lamlam, which Hartman would reconcile by supposing it to be a transposition of Malel, certainly a forced conjecture.* A large town called Mahalaba is the nearest I have found to Malel, to be noticed on the route from Dagwumba to the Niger.† In speaking of all fortified cities, the negroes of Mallowa invariably prefixed Berinnè or Brinnè to the name, as an indication that they were so; this was always the case in mentioning Houssa, Cabi, Cassina, Katinna, &c. &c. I shall place the numerals of Cassina, as written by Mr. Lucas after the Shereef Imhammed, to the right of those of Houssa or Mallowa, from their close affinity, perhaps identity; for this language is spoken far eastward, and the Shereef, as we shall presently see, was rather inaccurate in his recollection of the numerals of Bornoo.

One	-	-	Daia	-	-	Deiyah.
Two	-	-	Beeyoo	-	-	Beeyou.
Three	-	-	Okoo	-	-	Okoo.
Four	-	-	Odoo	-	-	Foodoo.
Five	-	-	Beä	-	-	Beat.

* The position of Mellè is further confirmed in Dapper "*Le Roi de Tombut prend le nom d'Empereur de Melli.*" This title seems to have been transferred to the King of Houssa from the decline of Timbuctoo, to which the aggrandisement of the former city is to be attributed.

† The King residing in Houssa is the King of Malla; he has seven tributary Kings.
W. H.

Six	-	-	Seddah	-	Sheedah.
Seven		-	Becquay	-	Bookai.
Eight	-	-	Tacquass	-	Takoos.
Nine	-	-	Tarra	-	Tarrah.
Ten	-	-	Gwoma	-	Goumah.

Two large lakes were described close to the northward of Houssa, one called Balahar Soudan, and the other Girrigi Marra-gasee. Calculating the 20 journies from Timbuctoo at 18 miles each, supposing two-thirds to be made good on the horizontal distance (equal to 212 g. miles) and the course N. E., I have placed Houssa, $18^{\circ} 59' N.$ and $3^{\circ} 59' E.$ This agrees pretty well with the account of its being 17 journies from the Niger, or Quolla, which give 306 B. miles, and the horizontal distance 176 g. miles. Houssa has hitherto been laid down about 2 journies N. of the Niger. I have an impression that the city of Houssa will be found to lay about E. N. E. of Timbuctoo, of course nearer the Gambaroo, which runs through its dominions, and thus account for the reports of its being situated upon the Niger. Leo certainly meant Mallowa and the Gambaroo, when he wrote, "Melli regio quæ extendit se ad flumen quoddam quod ex Nilo (i. e. Nigro) effluit trecenta millia passuum," adding, "regnum opulentissimum, maximè artificum et mercatorum copia, frequentia templa, sacerdotes et populus qui Nigritas omnes civilitate antecedunt;" which they certainly appear to do: see a few of their articles for the British Museum. May not the Maurali of Ptolemy be the Melli of Leo, and the modern Mallowa or Marrowa? his large adjunct to the Niger to the south indicates the two rivers. Major Rennell seems to have expected the present discovery, when he writes (commenting on Mr. Park's report that Houssa was 30 journies by land from Tombuctoo, and 45 by water) "Possibly it may be that Houssa is situated on a different river from that which passes by Tombuctoo

(the Joliba,) but which may be an adjunct of it, and may run into it in the quarter of Tombuctoo." In Dapper's translation of the Description De l'Afrique du Flamand, 1686, I find " Cette contrée (Melli) s'étend environ cent lieuës *le long d'un bras du Niger.*"

Tarrabaleese, 50 journies westward of north, was much spoken of from the number of its market places. This must be Tripoli, the Arabic corruption of which is Trabölis. The Moors gave me a route to Tunis or Toonis, but I cannot recognise any name in Major Rennell's map, (which I could not procure until my return,) unless Sabbai be Sebba, and Mookanassa Mourzouk, in Fezzan. There is also another route eastward which I cannot trace. See Appendix.

From Kabarra the Quolla, continuing its course southward of east, passed by Uzzalin, Googara,* Koolmanna, Gauw, Tokogirri, (perhaps the Tokrur of Edrisi and Gatterer) Askeä, Zabirmë, and Cabi to Yaoura, which I imagine to be the Youri of Major Rennell's map.† De Lisle places a kingdom, Yaouree, south of the Niger. It is a very celebrated ferry, occurring in a variety of routes from the north of the Quolla to Ashantee, spoken of always as westward of Cassina, and with little variation as 25 journies from Timbuctoo. Now as the Moors called it one day's journey from Segou to Sansanding, and Mr. Park made it scarcely more, I will assume this as the rule to calculate the distance from Timbuctoo to Yaouree, and afterwards consider its place according to the routes from Dagwumba, through it, to Cassina. Twenty five journies from Timbuctoo would place Yaoura about 70 miles above

* I did not hear of the Gotoijegee, Carmasse, or Gourmon of Amadi Fatouma; it is clear that he was not very correct in names. I never once heard Silla called Sellee, Dibbie, Sibbie, or Kabra, Rakbarra.

† The Jennë Moor notices between Kabarra and Cabi, Gauw (a great kingdom) Quoulla, Askeä, Zabirma. Ptolemy has a city called Geua on the Gir.

the Berrisa in Major Rennell's map, but this makes the horizontal distance from Yaora to Dagwumba about 850 B. miles, and therefore too great for 42 journies, the greatest number allowed in the routes from Dagwumba to Yaora.

I would not presume to investigate after Major Rennell, it would be absurd in me to expect to throw any new interest into the discussion, but by making clear the accounts I collected; to do which I must decline the course of the Niger from Cabi (Mr. Horneman writes it flows southward from Haoussa) even to a junction with the Bahr Kulla. For, placing Yaora in $13^{\circ} 30' N.$ and $8^{\circ} 30' E.$ in conformity with its distance from Timbuctoo and a declining course to the Kulla, the horizontal distance to Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba, will be 600 B. miles: now 42 journies, the greatest number allowed by the travellers, at 20 miles each, (rejecting one third, as heretofore, lost in the windings of the path) give the horizontal distance at 560 B. miles. This is certainly an additional argument to the similarity of the names Quolla and Kulla, for the identity of these rivers; but not so strong a one as that the routes both of Moors and Negroes, allow but 40 journies from Dagwumba to the point of crossing the Niger for Houssa. The course to this point was described by the Moors as a little to the eastward of north: now 40 journies on a N. N. E. course, by the former rule, places this ferry $15^{\circ} 1' N.$ and $3^{\circ} 33' E.$ agreeing very well with our previous position of Houssa, and proving that the course of the Niger must decline considerably, for more than two extra journies would otherwise be required for the north eastward route from Dagwumba to Yaora. Major Rennell only writes that the course of the Niger is *probably* to Wangara. Mr. Ledyard, in his comparatively minute description of that country, (which I shall notice in the route to Bornoo) says nothing of its bordering on the Niger. Major Rennell, in the construction of the

geography of Mr. Horneman's report, writes, " M. D'Anville also had an idea, and so describes it in his map of Africa, 1749 (possibly from actual information,) that the Niger declined to the south beyond Gana, so that the termination of it in the lake Semegonda was $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees of latitude to the south of Gana." There is a kingdom called Kulla as well as a river, and there is also a kingdom Quollaraba: raba being probably no more than an adjunct equal to the prefix dar, and signifying a kingdom. Mr. Dupuis, in his notes on Adams, says of an intelligent Negro, " his account was chiefly curious from his description of a nation which he called Gallo or *Quallo*, which conveyed to me an idea of a people, more advanced in the arts, and wealthier than any that I had previously heard of: within three days journey of the capital was a large lake or river which communicated with the Wed Nile." The commended arguments of the Quarterly Review, (which I have never had the advantage of reading,) must be in a great degree auxiliary, in arguing, to support the Congo hypothesis, a course of the Niger equally declined with that which I have followed for the identity of the Quolla and Kulla. The junction of the Quolla with the Bahr Abiad, or Nil, as the Moors called it, cannot be more descriptively expressed, according to every account I received, than in the words of Mr. Horneman. " Some days past I spoke to a man who had seen Mr. Brown in Darfoor, he gave me some information respecting the countries he travelled through, and told me that the communication of the Niger with the Nile was not to be doubted, but that this communication before the rainy season was very little."*

* The Jenné Moor told Mr. Hutchison, " the Quolla was the largest river in the world, and about 5 miles wide, having a very rocky channel, the banks on both sides very high, and rugged: in many parts canoes often take a day to cross, from the dangerous whirlpools, and sudden squalls; at other places the stream runs with great

^ We will pursue the course of the Quolla from Yaora (where I should judge from description it must be about 3 miles wide) before we apply the routes northward of it.* One journey eastward of Yaora, (sometimes called Yawooree by the Negroes,) it passed Nooffie, doubtless the Nyffe of Mr. Horneman and others, and which De Lisle has written Nouffy: 3 journies thence it passed Boussa, which Amadi Fatouma reported, as it was to me also (see Diary) as the place of Mr. Park's death, but I could hear nothing of the rock and door. Boussa is not in Major Rennell's map, but I observed Bousa in the map of De Lisle before alluded to; it is probably the Berrisa of Edrisi. Twelve journies thence it passed Atagara, but, previously, Hoomee, and Rakkah.† Southward of the latter, they described an inland country called Koofee, possibly Kosie, a country I shall presently introduce, as visited by a mulatto, behind Lagos. Thirty journies from Atagara, it flowed through the kingdom of Quollaraba,‡ which thus falls precisely where

rapidity. The houses in its environs are either terraced or shingled, as thatch cannot resist the frequent high winds."

* The Jennë Moor has placed Gangë as an island in the Quolla just below Bousa. This must be the Gongoo of Imhammed, and Ben Ali, south of Cassina. Mr. Lucas writes "the width of the Niger is such, that even at the island of Gongoo, where the ferrymen reside, the sound of the loudest voice from the northern shore is scarcely heard."

† The Jennë Moor traces the course from Yaora, thus: Boussa, Gangë, Wawa, Noofa, Quollaliffa, Atagara; the only difference being the position of the latter place, possibly an error of mine, as the name Atagara was not noticed in the charts I made the Moors draw, but only in the more particular enumerations of the countries the Quolla passed; the names of which I minuted from their utterance, and afterwards attached their remarks as interpreted to me.

‡ The Jennë Moor calls this Quolla liffa. Mr. Hutchison, who has a servant, a native of it, describes it as a very powerful kingdom, as the Shereef Brahima described it to me, and as was the impression of Mr. Dupuis. Mr. H. adds, on Negro and Moorish authority, "it is to the King of Quallowliffa that the country in which Canna, Dall, and

Major Rennell has laid down the kingdom of Kulla. Six journies thence it passed Mafeegoodoo, and 13 journies beyond, the lake Cadee or Caudee. This I should consider to be the Cauga of Edrisi, which Major Rennell has identified with the Fittri of Mr. Brown, for into this the second large branch of the Niger, or the river Gambaroo, is said to run; but it is considerably too much to the southward for the Cauga in Major Rennell's map, being, according to the accounts of the Moors, only 3 journies northward of the Quolla: yet Edrisi writes "besides a river of the name of Nile or Neel *passes by* Kauga." What inclines me to think the Cauga may be more distant from Bornoo the capital, though not from the frontier of that kingdom, (15 journies being the number reported to me as well as to Mr. Brown) is, that the Negroes of that city were not so well acquainted with this lake as the Moors. My sketch in the map, of course, represents the sketches and descriptions of the natives. They described the Cadee or Caudee as an immense water, like a small sea, frequently overflowing the neighbouring country, and sometimes so convulsed as to throw up large quantities of fish and other contents; meaning, in short, a volcanic lake. The Moors called it also the Bahr el Noä, having a tradition that the waters of the deluge retired to, and were absorbed in it. A very high mountain was spoken of, at an equal distance between the Caudee and the Quolla.* Twelve journies

Yum Yum, where cannibals are, is subject." Mr. Horneman mentions Yem Yems cannibals south of Kano 10 days; and the account is further confirmed in my subsequent geographical sketch of the interior of Gaboon. Mr. Horneman's information that the Niger flowed towards the Egyptian Nile through the land of the Heathens, which Mr. Park quoted as an argument for the Congo hypothesis, doubtless referred to these cannibals.

* "At times the water of this lake is hot, and it boils and bubbles with a great noise, often overflowing the surrounding country. The bones of fish thrown up by the volcano are so numerous, that the Arabs mix them in the swish of their houses. There are a

from Caudee, the Quolla received the river Sharee from northward, which, I imagine, if not the Misselad, may be a river deriving its name from the Abu Shareb of Major Rennell's map. The Quolla was said to pass to the southward of Bagarrimee, (the Baghermee of Mr. Brown.) Kalafarradoo, (I cannot find any name nearer to this than the Courourfa of De Lisle, and Kororfa, said in Mr. Beaufoy's MSS. to be W. of Begarmee). Foör (Darfur, according to Mr. Brown, means the kingdom of Foör) and lastly to skirt Waddai, the Waddey of Mr. Horneman, who wrote that it was east of Begharmee, and west of Darfoor; but, as it was reported to me east of Darfoor, by every person, and as Mr. Brown did not hear of it to adjust its position, I have placed it so.*

The junction with the Nile having taken place, as Mr. Horneman before reported, south of Darfoor, they continued the course to a large country called Soonar,† indisputably the kingdom of Senaar. Hence to Massar,‡ or Egypt, they did not always agree themselves in the various names, nor can I recognise any on the map, unless their Shewa Abenhassa be Bennassa, Minsoor, Misur, Gammeacha, Gammazie; Sooess, Sohaig; Kaheea, Kahoul; Zaragoo, Nayazoogoo; and their Lamabalara, in the country of

great many islets in the lake, which is so extensive, that they cannot see the end. Between it and the Quolla rises a very high hill, from the top of which is an extensive view; it is a day's journey from the water on either side. The Arabs eat black rice, corn, and sweet beans, called Tummer." W. H.

* The Jennë Moor has also placed it E. of Foor. Mr. Hutchison writes the course, after him, from Atagara, thus: "Maffagoodoo, Sharee, Lake Chadee, Phorr (beginning of Arabs) "Wadie." Mr. Horneman writes "A great part of the people of Wadey, together with their King, are Arabs."

† Mr. Hutchison has written it Sooänar.

‡ "Cairo is still called, in the figurative language of the East, Misr, without an equal; Misr, the mistress of the world." Quarterly Review. Mr. Hutchison writes, that the Moors told him it was so called after Misraim, who settled there.

Egypt, the Bahr be la ma of Mr. Horneman ; of the latter there can be no doubt.*

My friend, the Shereef Brahima had, as well as some others, been to Mecca and Medina. I place great reliance on this man's information (invariably confirmed by the Negroes) from his caution and diffidence, and my experience of his character ; for he was ultimately a valuable friend to the Mission : he was the only Moor who dared to refuse to be present at human sacrifices. The MS. No. 2. is his writing, and professedly the route from Dagwumba through Bornoo to Massar,† it consists of six pages well written. This would have been a valuable man to have engaged to travel through the interior, for he was capable of making circumstantial minutes, and I think he might have been engaged to do so by a moderate Fort pay. The Moors talk much of the King of

* The following, in the left hand column, are the places or countries as written by Mr. Hutchison, after the Jennë Moor, agreeing with those the Moors reported to me.

Shuewa	-	-	-	-	Shewa Abenassa.
Swiss	-	-	-	-	Sooess.
Zall	-	-	-	-	Zaloo.
Machazoogee	-	-	-	-	Machawazoo.
Tabarbass, cultivation, volcano from the Quolla two					} Tabarrabass.
days, two days to the top,					
Askanderee	-	-	-	-	Askandaraia or Sakunderree.

The latter place is Alexandria. The Moors called the Mediterranean Sea to me by two names, Baharlë Malee, and Sabbaha Bahoori. Mr. Hutchison writes it Baramela or Bahermale, and adds, "Seven rivers from Africa turn their course to it, but only two reach the shores, of which the Nile is one. The rush of the waters of the Nile when they meet the sea, is so great, that the waves are driven into the air with great force, and retire like waves against a rock. The Red Sea, they say, assumes various colours at different periods from seven streams pouring their course into it, salt water and fresh, red, blue, yellow, &c."

† "Half of the inhabitants of Massar are white, and half black ; they have a Fort and Governor." W. H.

Santamboul,* as a powerful monarch and formidable to the Christians.

It will excite surprise that I heard nothing of Wangara,† as was the case with Mr. Brown, not even after I had, contrary to my general custom, submitted the name: but I heard very much spontaneously of Oongooroo. Mr. Horneman called Wangara, Ungura, and De Lisle, Ouangara, we shall find it in the route from Yaoora to Bornoo or Barranoo. Bornoo was described to me about north-east from Yaoora, which agrees very well with Major Rennell's position, established beyond all contradiction short of an observation, but, the horizontal distance, (lowering the place of Yaoora as I have done) thence to Bornoo would be upwards of 1000 B. miles, whereas they described it to be but 51 journies, which allowing 20 miles to each, as the country was said to be much more favourable to travelling, and the path more direct than that we came, would give but an horizontal distance of 680 B. miles. Mr. Horneman heard that Bornu was but 15 journies from Kassina; I was told 33 if walked, 19 if rode. Major Rennell has made the distance about 30 journies, considering the 15 journies applicable to the western boundaries of the empire, and not to the capital.

We will now return to Yahndi and proceed northwards to Houssa. Nineteen journies from Yahndi is Matchaquawdie, six beyond is Goorooma, 10 thence Dolooë, subject to Goorooma, and only five journies from the Quolla, described as about two miles wide there. When Amadi Fatouma mentioned that he passed

* Stamboul is the Arabic pronunciation of the familiar or vulgar name of Constantinople, the etymology of which is *ισαμει πολιν*.

† Mr. Hutchison writes, "Wangara is the name of a region comprehending Mosee Kong, and other neighbouring countries south of the Niger (if not some to the north of it) but Oongooroo is the name of the country laying between Cassina and Bornoo." Mr. Park has *Wangeera* in the route from Sego to the coast of Guinea.

Gourouma, I should suppose he meant this kingdom of Goorooma, Dolooë, as subject to it, being probably included under that name. I must impress, however, that this northern route from Dagwumba to the Niger, being, with that from Kong to Jenné, the only ones unauthenticated, otherwise than by cross examination, I do not report them with the same confidence, which I do the others. Two journeys from the northern bank of the Quolla is Gamhadi, to which three large towns belong, Dogondaghi, Toodonkassalee, and Toompasseä, and numerous dependent crooms. There were three routes from Gamhadi, the first northward to Houssa 15 journies, passing the large river Gambaroo the ninth, between which and Houssa is a district called Zessa. The second route is to Katinnee, a city and state of the Mallowa kingdom, one month from the Quolla. On this route the Gambaroo is crossed the tenth day, and Sowhoondë, Souoola, (perhaps Sala) Quattaraquassee, Doorooma, Soroo, Zabbakou, Dinka, Doochingamza, and Dammisamia were mentioned as large towns on the route. The third route was through the Fillanee country, (doubtless the Fullan* of Ben Ali) which had been frequently at war with Mallowa, to the kingdom of Kallaghee, 14 journies from the Quolla, the Gambaroo being passed the tenth. The numerals of Kallaghee are

One	-	-	Gadee.
Two	-		Sillil.
Three	-		Quan
Four	-		Foolloo.
Five	-		Vydee.
Six	-	-	Zoodoo.
Seven	-		Etkassa.

* "The dress of the people of Fullan (a country to the west of Kassina) resembles the cloth of which the plaids of the Scotch Highlanders are made." Ben Ali.

Eight	-	Shiddowka.
Nine	-	Woollää.
Ten	- - -	Woma.

A country called Barrabadi was described eastward of Mallowa, between it and Bornoo; its numerals corresponded with those of Bornoo.

We will now return again to Dagwumba, and follow the route thence, over the Quolla, through Yaora to Bornoo. Gamba we have already described as five journies north eastward of Yahndi, thence two journies, over a high mountain called Yerim, and across a river running southwards (which the Moors called Mory, but which it would seem is the continuation of the Karhala) is Gooroosie, four journies thence Zoogoo, probably the Zeggo of Major Rennell's map; 10 farther the kingdom of Barragoo. De Lisle has placed his kingdom of Bourgou thereabouts. Northwestward of Barragoo is Koomba, the Kombah of Major Rennell's map. The position of this kingdom is pretty well ascertained, because those who came from it, described Goorooma as its northern neighbour, and Barragoo to be the first kingdom passed through in their journies to the coast below Whydah. Eight journies from Barragoo is Toombeä, three beyond is Goodoobirree. A river running to the Quolla (as it was said, but more probably from it) called Leeäsa, flows close to the eastward of this path, and is crossed, going from Goodoobirree southwards, to a large kingdom called Yariba by the Moors, but Yarba more generally by the natives. Major Rennell has drawn a river communicating with the Niger close to Youri, so has De Lisle. This river Leeäsa is the only one I heard of, answering in the least degree to that of Sidi Hamet, but Wassana was a name unknown. Aquallie is the frontier town of Yariba, one journey from Goodoobirree, and one from Bootee, second only to the capital, Katanga, four journies

beyond it. Yariba was described to be about 24 journies, through Hio, (its immediate neighbour) from Arataksee or Alataksee, which we shall hereafter recognise in Ardra: this determines its position pretty well.* Dahomey was said to be tributary to Yariba, as well as to Hio, which I have an impression is also tributary to Hio. From Hio to Dahomey is seven journies. The military are despotic in Hio, they always intercept the new King on his way to the palace, and demand his naming some neighbouring country for their invasion and plunder, before they confirm him. The King before the present, had named Dahomey, but after three years neglect of the fulfilment, he ordered the army against a northern neighbour. The army went, wasted and pillaged the country, but when within a day's march of the capital on their return, they sent deputies to enjoin his abdication, as inevitable to a falsehood to them; he was obstinate; they arrived and cut off his head. The numerals of Hio are

One	-	-	Innee.
Two	-		Eygee.
Three	-		Etta.
Four	-		Ernee.
Five	-	-	Aroon.
Six	-	-	Effa.
Seven	-		Eggay.
Eight	-		Eggo.
Nine	-		Essun.
Ten	-	-	Eywaw.

* Mr. Hutchison sends me this route, as given him by the Jennë Moor, thus, (supposing me not to have heard of Yariba) "from Goodaberry, over Lasa small water to Quolla, at Boussa; few hours walk to Yaraba; 28 days from Dahomey:" he adds, "recollect that the King of Dahomey is tributary to the King of Yaraba, who is the same in that quarter, as the King of Ashantee is here."

The Hio man, who gave me the above numerals, spoke of the Apaccas as a more powerful northern neighbour, but I never heard of them from any other person.

Yariba must certainly be the Yarba of Imhammed, though he described it as 18 or 20 journies from Gonjah towards the N.W., for he is likely to have been incorrect in this, because we have proved him to be so, in stating, that Ashantee was the capital of Tonouwah, which appears to be a district or town of Dagwumba, the people of which kingdom are by no means warlike as he represented them, nor have they any notion of taming the elephant: he reported that Calanshee was a dependency of Ashantee, whereas no Ashantee knows the name; that Gonjah was 46 journies from the coast, when it is but 30. Major Rennell reasonably conceived the Yarba of Imhammed to be the Yarra of De Lisle, at the back of Sierra Leone, but as this country is not preserved in his own map, I presume it cannot be of much consequence, politically or commercially, whereas Yariba, indisputably eastward of Kong, is always announced to enquirers, both by Moors and Negroes, as a very powerful, and much frequented kingdom. Another argument is, that all the Moors I saw at Coomassie, were almost ignorant of the countries westward, only speaking of those their enquiries for the source of the Quolla had made known to them: indeed, I did not see one who had travelled westward, or south westward of Bambarra, but our Accra linguist told me that he had recognised a Moor at the Rio Pongos, whom he had seen in Coomassie (when sent there on the eve of the second Ashantee invasion) who told him that he had been two months travelling from Kong, and crossed a very large river. Imhammed's Affow (if not Taffoo, or the Inta country) I conceive to be Afflou, a town and district of the Krepee or Kerrapay country, and a short walk from the sea by Quitta, westward of Yarba, as he says, but more than eight journies.



The Kerrapay country, which is extensive and independent, will be described, in proceeding from Cape Coast Castle, along the coast, eastward.

To return to the route from Yahndi to Yaoora, three journies from Goodoobirree towards the Quolla through Gillimakafoo, Garagaroojee, and Paänghee, is the large city of Kaiama, and four beyond it, through Mahalaba, (the nearest name to the Malel of Edrisi,) Marramoo, and across the small river Wooroo, (running to the Quolla) is the city of Wauwaw,* three journies from the Quolla. Ten journies from the northern bank, through Yaoora, and skirting the eastern limits of Zamfara, is Goobirree, so called by the Moors, and Goobur by the Negroes.† Mr. Beaufoy learned that Gubur was to the south of Wangara, and De Lisle writes it Goubour. Thence to Kassina, having crossed the large river Gambaroo, is eight journies. Eighteen journies, calculated at 18 miles each on a N. E. course, from the altered position of Yaoora, would place Kassina in $15^{\circ} 43' N.$ and $10^{\circ} 43' E.$, instead of $16^{\circ} N.$ and $11^{\circ} 45' E.$ Mr. Lucas learned that Kassina was five journies from the Niger, or about 100 miles from that water, which it is likely to be from the upper branch or the Gambaroo, which river skirting Kanoo, and Oongooroo, (or Wangara.) before it descends to the lake Cadee, (though I could not prove satisfactorily that it did so,) would account for Edrisi's placing Kano, and Wangara, on the Niger.‡ From Kassina to Dawoorra is six

* The Jennè Moor gave this route thus : Wawa to Kiama, a great kingdom, 3 days ; close to the eastward a desert ; 1 day Garagroogee ; 1 day Wala ; 1 day Goodaberry.

† “ Guber est à cent lieuës de Gago vers l'Orient, et en est separé par un desert inhabitable à quatorze ou quinze lieuës du Niger. Cette contrée est entre de hautes montagnes, et toute pleine de villages ; celui où le Prince tient sa Cour a quelque mille maisons.” Dapper.

‡ I shall adjoin an outline of the great river in one of the maps of Dapper's Descrip-

journies : this must be the Daura of Mr. Horneman, though in the drawing of the Marrabut it is placed north of Kano. From Da-woorra to Kanoo is four journies. D'Anville placed it 90 miles to the N. E. of Kassina, and in the drawing just alluded to, it is placed inland northward of the Niger. The only authority for supporting Edrisi's position of it, is what Mr. Matra was told at Marocco. The Moor who informed Mr. Beaufoy that boats went with the stream to Ghineä, (the Gano or Kano of Major Rennell) placed Jinnie between it and Houssa, so gross an inaccuracy as to justify our doubting him on the other point. The Ginea of Leo more probably meant Jennë, and he seems to write of that navigation as a distinct one from that to Melli eastward.* From Kanoo, through the large towns Madagee and Adagia, to Oongooroo is nine journies, but seven on a joma or camel, "Est iter octo dierum versus orientem" (Edrisi.) From Oongooroo to Barranoo is 15 journies on foot according to the Moors, nine on horseback according to the Negroes, by route No. 12. Bornoo or Barranoo was spoken of as the first empire in Africa, † the King's name, according to the Moors, was Baba Alloo, but the Negroes called him Massinama. ‡ Kassina, and the intermediate countries on

tion de l'Afrique, traduit du Flamand, because the book is very scarce, and I do not remember to have seen the Niger, the Gir, or the Congo so laid down in any other.

* The removal of Cano from the banks of the Niger agreeable with every report I received, is supported by Dapper. "A cent soixante et dix lieuës d'Agadez et à deux cent du Niger on trouve ce royaume (Guber), au milieu du quel est la ville de Cano fermée de murailles de bois et de pierre, et qui a des maisons bâties de même."

† "The Mahometans of Senaar number Bornoo amongst the four most powerful monarchies of the world; the other three are Turkey, Persia, and Abyssinia: the sovereign of Bornoo is more powerful than the Emperor of Morocco." Lucas.

‡ Ce royaume, qu'on croit avoir été la demeure des Garamantes, est une vaste Province au levant de Gangara, qui s'étend vers l'Orient l'espace de cent soixante dix lieuës et est éloignée du Niger de cinquante.

the route, were subject to him with many others. One district belonging to Bornoo was named Panaroo, and the vassal King or governor of it, Yandee Kooma. A small river, called Gaboöa* by the Negroes, ran southwards near Bornoo, and six journies eastward from it, close to Aweeac, a large one Zerookoo Kero-boobee. Mr. Horneman writes, the Wad el Gazel is not a river, but a large and fertile valley. The Negroes of Bornoo were well acquainted with Baghermee. Imhammed's recollection of the numerals of Bornoo must have been very imperfect, for I have written them at least half a dozen times, both from Moorish and Negro inhabitants, and my spelling agreed with that of another person present. They are

				<i>Imhammed's.</i>
One	-	Leskar	-	Lakkah.
Two	-	Ahndee	-	Endee.
Three	-	Yaskar	-	Nieskoo.
Four	- -	Deegah	-	Dekoo.
Five	-	Oöogoo	- -	Okoo.
Six	- -	Araskoo	-	Araskoo.
Seven	-	Toolor	-	Naskoo.
Eight	-	Woskoo	-	Tallóre.
Nine	-	Likkar	- -	L'ilkar.
Ten	- -	Meeägoo	-	Meikoo.

Ben Ali said the language of the common people of Bornoo had a strong resemblance to that of the neighbouring Negroes. Mr. Lucas writes that no less than 30 languages are spoken in these dominions. The following are the numerals of Mailha, one month to the north-eastward, subject to Bornoo, and the King's name Smaï Doonama.

* Mr. Hutchison heard of another river near Bornoo called Koomoodoo gaiguina: he could not hear of the Wad el Gazel.

One	-	-	Lagen.
Two	-	-	Indë.
Three	-	-	Eäska.
Four	-	-	Daäger.
Five	-	-	Ohoo.
Six	-	-	Araska.
Seven	-	-	Tooloor.
Eight	-	-	Weska.
Nine	-	-	Likar.
Ten	-	-	Inagoon.

The Negroes called Kanem, Kanded; were well acquainted with Doomboo, and spoke much of the kingdom of Asben.

We will now return to Cape Coast Castle, and seek the best descriptive authorities, in aid of the observations which have been made by the Commissioners and others, for the maritime geography from the river Assinee to Lagos.

The latitude and longitude of Cape Coast (called by the natives Igwa, and in the Affetoo district) according to Messrs. Ludlam and Dawes, the Government Commissioners who surveyed the coast in 1810, is $5^{\circ} 6' N.$ and $1^{\circ} 51' W.$ Elmina, the native name of which is Addina, is about seven miles to windward of Cape Coast. Twelve miles from Elmina is Commenda, an English fort, the town is called by the natives Akatayki, the Dutch fort was destroyed in the American war. Nine miles thence is Chama, or Assëma, at the mouth of the Boosempra. Six hours pull up the river, is an island, where Attobra, one of the Warsaw caboceers, who supplies the Dutch with canoes, is building a large house to retire to; four hours above which is his croom. Colonel Starrenberg was pulled three days up the river in a canoe; his progress was much impeded by rocks, and at length arrested by a large cataract, which, being considered a powerful fetish by the natives,

the canoe-men dared not to approach. Nine miles from Chama, where the Dutch have a fort called Sebastian, is Succondee, the first town in the Ahanta country. The English fort was destroyed by the French in the American war, but there is a settlement house. The Dutch fort is called Orange. Four miles from Succondee is Taccorary, and a Dutch fort. Nine miles beyond is Boutrie where the Dutch have a fort, formerly belonging to the Brandenburgh Company. Three miles from Boutrie is Dix-Cove, or Nfooma, and in the interval Boossoöä, the capital of Ahanta, which is divided into three districts, Amanfoo, Adoom, and Poho. The first is about one journey (through Geämma) behind Boossooa, and one from the river Ancobra, the caboceer is of the next consequence to the King, whose power and means are extremely limited. The two latter districts are not more than half a journey behind Taccorary. The small river running into the sea at Boutrie, rises in the Adoom district, which is said to abound in gold, but the pits have not been worked for many years, from their fear of the Warsaws. Amanfee also abounds in very fine gold, which is generally found in quartz, and is ground upon stones arranged under large sheds for the purpose. In a respectable periodical publication of the last year, I observe, the King of Ashantee called King of Ahanta, Inta, or Ashantee; this is one of the many proofs of the indiscriminate ideas of that monarch before the Mission. Eighteen miles from Dix-Cove passing Achooma and Accoda, (where the Dutch have a fort, and which is close to Cape Three Points) are the ruins of Hollandia, formerly belonging to the Brandenburgh Company, and called Fort Royal Fredericksburg. Sixteen miles farther is Axim, where the Dutch fort Anthony, their Vice Presidency, is situated. The people of Axim speak a dialect of the Ahanta. About two miles westward is the mouth of the Ancobra, so called by the Portuguese from its windings, the

native name is Seëna. Col. Starrenberg, who went up the river as far as the ruins of Elisa Carthago, the extreme navigable point, for any but a very small canoe, says, he cannot form any accurate idea of the distance, but supposes it was about 20 Dutch miles and the course N. E. Meredith says 50 English: he was very careless and incorrect in writing, "the French built a fort on the right bank of this river, and at about 50 miles from its mouth; where they had a great gold trade, that soon excited the jealousy of the Dutch, who expelled them. The Dutch however did not long enjoy this acquisition, for the chief got embroiled with the natives, and betook himself to the desperate remedy of blowing up the fort." Elisa Carthago was built by the Dutch governor Ruighaven, who died, as appears by his tomb stone at Elmina, before 1700. The French never had any but a small factory, almost at the mouth of the river, and the Dutch officer in charge of Elisa Carthago had enjoyed a good trade many years before the cupidity of the natives reduced him to the act of despair, related by Bosman, and still recorded by the natives, who narrated it to Col. Starrenberg. The following is from the Latin translation of Dr. Reynhaut: "The chief of Elisa Carthago being at variance with the natives, who invested the fort, and finding he could not resist them any longer" (for as the story goes, he had been reduced to fire pieces of rock gold from the want of bullets) "feigned to treat with them, and invited them for that purpose into the hall of the fort, under which he had placed several barrels of gunpowder, and a small boy with a match, ordering him to apply it directly he stamped his foot on the floor of the hall above. This he did, after reproaching the natives with their cupidity, and they were all blown up together. One of the servants of the fort had just before contrived to effect his escape with most of the papers." In navigating from the mouth of the Ancobra or Seëna to Elisa

Carthago, the following towns, on the banks, are passed, Boasso, Tarbo, Marmeresse, Ejujan, Tetchbrouw, Gura, Barnesoe, Uromanio, Afamkan, and Aduwa. Gura is a small state, the people of which speak the same language as those of Axim. From Aduwa there are three grand roads, one to the Aowin country, one to the Dankara, and one to Asankarie, a considerable town in Warsaw. From Aduwa to Dankara numerous small crooms are passed through, and the first large one of the latter country is Kenkoomabaraso, only three journies from Coomassie. The people of Dankara come to Axim to trade. From Aduwa to Aowin the first considerable town is Taqua. The Warsaw country is governed by four caboceers, independent of each other, of whose relation and power, the best idea I can give, is by comparing it with that of the tyrants Geron and Theron, who ruled at the same time in Sicily. Intiffa, the richest caboceer, and whose power extends the farthest, resides at Abbradie, one short journey from Elmina. Cudjo Miensa (Miensa is the numeral three) is his principal counsellor, and will succeed him. Nerbehin was formerly the residence of Quashee Jacon, another independent caboceer, but of Intiffa's family; he was driven from thence by Esson Cudjo, who now rules there: he fled to Samcow (situated about one day's journey on the frontier of Warsaw, behind Succondee) of which Musoe, a slave of his, has raised himself to be the caboceer, and now protects his master until Esson Cudjoe's death. Attobra, another independent caboceer, lives at Dabroädie, on the Boosempira. The greatest breadth of the Warsaw country is supposed to be 60 B. miles, and the greatest length 100 or 120. About 28 miles from the Ancobra, begins the kingdom of Amanaheä, in which the English fort Apollonia is situated: it extends about 100 miles along the coast, but not more than 20 in-land. The various numerals of the coast will be submitted in an essay on the Fantee language.

Barely four miles eastward of Cape Coast is Moree, and the Dutch fort Nassau. Six miles from Moree is Annamaboe, the most complete fortification in the country; five miles thence Cormantine, the first fort possessed by the English, and built by them about the middle of the seventeenth century. It was taken afterwards by the Dutch, and being stormed, was almost destroyed by the Ashantee army, before it attacked Annamaboe: the position is very commanding. Tantomquerry, a small English fort, is about 18 miles from Cormantine, (crossing the small river Amissa, an hour's walk in-land from which is Mankasim, the capital of the Braffoe district of Fantee) the natives call the town Tuam. Eight miles from Tantom is the town of Apam, where is a Dutch fort and a small river. Eight miles from Apam is Simpah or Winnebah. The people of Simpah are Fantees, but their language is called Affoottoo. They are in the district of Agoona. About nine miles from Simpah is the Dutch fort Berracoe, the natives call the town Seniah. Attah of Akim laid a contribution on this fort in March 1811. About 27 miles from Berracoe is Accra, or Inkran, once subject to Aquamboo, which people, according to Isert, formerly drove them to Popo. Meredith fully describes Accra and the environs, but he does not mention that according to the natives the Portuguese settled here first, (Isert writes in 1452) and exercising the greatest cruelties and enormities, were extirpated by the Accras (their town was then situated a little behind the present), who executed the governor and his countrymen, on a spot whence they still take the earth to rub a new born child, in commemoration of the event. Accra, according to the observations of the Commissioners, is in $5^{\circ} 20' N.$ and $10' W.$ Mr. Meredith, after quoting this observation, placed it in his outline of the coast in $58' E.$ Between two and three miles from the English fort, is Christiansburg Castle, the Danish head-quarters.

We will follow* Isert in his route from Accra to the Volta, as he travelled it several times. "Two miles from Christiansburg is Labbodee, where there was formerly a fort: this is the residence of the grand fetish, and the Bishop. Two miles to Pessin, two to Temmen, where the Dutch had a small fort, abandoned in 1781, two (leaving Nimboe a little in the bush) to Ponee, a deserted Dutch fort, now a Dutch factory; two miles thence (crossing a brakke streek or low land, up to the shoulders in the rains, and 300 fathoms broad, sometimes called Ponee river) are great and small Pram Pram, where the English have a small fort or fortified factory. Two long miles thence is Friedensbourg fort at Ningo, the people of which speak a different language called Adampee, (the name given to their country,) a mixture of Ashantee, Kerrapee, and Accra; it is a republic." Behind Adampee is the Crobo mountain, the people of which, though but a few hundreds, have hitherto baffled the Ashantees, by leaving their croom at the bottom of the mountain, which is of great height, rugged, accessible but by one narrow path, and with springs of water on the top, whence they roll down upon their enemies, the large stones and fragments of rock which abound. "From Adampee I went in one day to

* I observe, in a modern publication, Dr. Isert's described as a second visit to Africa, under the auspices of the Danish government, encouraged by his reports to attempt colonization in Aquapim, and that he died from anxiety and exertion. This was not the case, it was his first and only visit, the Danes never attempted colonization, and he embarked for the West Indies as I have before stated. Having read the above, however, I wrote to Dr. Reynhaut, who translated some passages from the Dutch into Latin for me, and the following is an extract from his letter in reply. "Quod attinet Iserti in Africam reditum, ibique ejus obitum, ficta hæc est fama Verum est juxta Quitam post victoriam in Augnaeos populos reportatam, Danos arcem condidisse, cui nomen insigniverunt Prinzenstein; sed nullæ culturæ incubuerunt, nec colonias struxerunt, nec minus falsum est umquam Isertum in Africæ littoræ inferiora regis jussu rediisse, colonias extruendi gratia, nam præter opus Botanicum quod Floræ Guinensis titulo occurrit, nullum aliud de illo scriptum existit."

Addah, 12 miles. Two and a half from Ningo is a croom called Lai, the inhabitants of which have removed, some to Addah, some to Ningo: the English had a factory here, long gone to ruin. One mile west of the Volta, there was formerly a croom called Foutchi." Reckoning four English miles to one Danish or Dutch, Addah would be 96 miles from Christiansburg, but Meredith makes it but 67, therefore we will take the medium and call it 87. From the Volta to Cape St. Paul's is five leagues by sea, according to Dalzel, and 15 miles by land, according to Norris's map of Dahomey and its environs. Quitta, about 12 miles from it (according to Norris) by the observation made in H. M. S. Argo in 1802, is in $5^{\circ} 45' N.$ and $1^{\circ} 29' 30'' E.$ by chronometer. Accra lies, according to the Commissioners, in $10' W.$ Taking the medium between Isert and Meredith, Christiansburg Castle, about three miles eastward of the English fort, is 87 from Addah, but as that place is six miles from the mouth of the Volta, we will call it 81: allowing one mile for the breadth of the river and 18 miles for the difference of longitude between it and Quitta, (according to Norris,) the distance from English Accra to Quitta will be 103 B. miles, which being equal to 89 geographical miles, place Quitta in $1^{\circ} 19' E.$ instead of $1^{\circ} 29' 30''$ as by the observation of the Argo, and that supposing the whole distance to be made good horizontally, which is impossible. Wherefore I should think Isert, who had travelled it, was more likely to be correct in making the distance from Christiansburg to Addah 96 miles, than Meredith in calling it 67.

Norris's observation, placing Cape St. Paul's in $5^{\circ} 52' N.$, I conceive to be incorrect, as that of the Argo must be preferred, which places Quitta in $5^{\circ} 42' N.$, instead of $6^{\circ} 2' N.$, as in Norris's map. This should not have escaped Mr. Dalzel's notice in the "New Sailing Directions," where both observations are cited in the same page, without any remark on the inconsistency, for Quitta

and not St. Paul's, is thus made the Cape or western limit of the Bight, the eastern side of which is called the Bight of Benin, I regret, amongst other disadvantages, that of not having the opportunity to consult the chart of Mr. Demayne (the master of H. M. S. *Amelia*) which is said to be more accurate than any other.*

Quitta is included in an independent state of Kerrapay, called Agwoona, which extends thence along the coast to the Volta; the towns from that river to Quitta are Attoko, Terrobee, Footee, Agwoona, Whiëe, and Tegbay. Agwoona lays half a mile from the shore, and about 15 miles from the Volta. The inhabitants of all the other towns are obliged by the law to bury their dead in Agwoona, the capital; the caboceer of which is supreme over the others, but not absolute. Between Quitta and Popo, lay the Kerrapay towns Egbiffeemee, to which several of the Quittas have retired, Edjenowah, Oöogloobooë, and Afflou or Afflahoo, a little way from the beach. These towns are governed by caboceers, independent of each other, as well as of Agwoona; and in the last a mixture of Adampë and Kerrapay is spoken, accounted for by the emigration of a large body of the former people. Another independent state of Kerrapay is Tettaytokoo, 2 journies behind Popo; the King is said to be despotic, and the capital composed of circular houses. There is also another smaller interior state, governed by a

* Since I have been at sea I have drawn the maritime part of my map again, and laid down the Forts and other points according to the observations quoted in Norrie, (4th edition, 1816,) which agree so very nearly with those of the Commissioners in the two instances cited, that I conclude he has been allowed to copy the whole series from their papers, which I believe have never been published. Even in Dr. Mackay's valuable publication, Cape Coast Castle is laid $1^{\circ} 23'$ too much to the eastward. I presume too that the observations made by H. M. S. *Amelia*, are part of those quoted by Norrie, although the *Argo's* observations of the longitude of Quitta and Whydah are not confirmed. I observe a small error which makes $1^{\circ} 28' N.$ and $7^{\circ} 24' E.$ the difference between Kormantine and Annamaboe, the former is only 5 miles eastward of the latter.

caboceer called Quaminagah. Tadoo, however, is allowed to be the largest kingdom of Kerrapay, 6 journies behind Popo, (which the Fantees call Inshan, but the natives Taun or Taum) described as a large town; and the Accra language is spoken there as well as the Kerrapay, in consequence of the temporary emigration of the former people in 1680. The Kerrapay numerals are

One	-	-	Eddee.
Two	-	-	Effee.
Three	-	-	Eltong.
Four	-	-	Fnnay.
Five	-	-	Altong.
Six	-	-	Adday.
Seven	-	-	Adrinnee.
Eight	-	-	Ennee.
Nine	-	-	Indee.
Ten	-	-	Owoo.

The Negroes of this country are of a much more daring and desperate character than their neighbours, and were always the most severely treated in the slave ships. Mr. Meredith, who writes it Crepee, placed it west of the Volta.

Whydah, according to an observation of the Argo, is $6^{\circ} 14' N.$ $2^{\circ} 31' E.$ I do not recollect Dalzel to have mentioned that Anotto is produced in the neighbourhood of Whydah. I am not certain whether it is by the Bixa orellana; but the shrub at Whydah may be classed under Polyandria Monogynia. Lambe made it 200 miles from Whydah beach to Abomey; Norris 112, Dalzel 96. By Mr. Norris's own account of his journey, not more than 20 hours were occupied in travelling, which at 4 miles an hour, the greatest pace which I think the hammock men can average, would make the distance 80 miles. An officer in this service went to Dahomey, without hurrying, in 3 days; and considers a dispatch

would reach it in 2 : he thinks it can scarcely be 70 miles ; but calling it 80 as above, and supposing 54, two thirds, to be the horizontal distance made good, equal to almost 47 G. miles, Abomey would lay in $7^{\circ} 12' N.$ Yet Mr. Dalzel writes it lays in about $7^{\circ} 59' N.$: Whydah being in about $6^{\circ} 25'$ in the map affixed to his history ; this requires 108 B. miles to be made good on the horizontal distance, whereas he calls that of the whole journey but 96, and Mr. Norris, who drew the map, 112. The public were certainly indebted to Mr. Dalzel for the History of Dahomey, but it was his duty, as an intelligent and considerate man, to correct such an error as this ; and if the author of the preface had reflected, he would not have written, "The map, is that of Mr. Norris, with a few additions, which for the places on the coast, and the position of Abomey, is near enough to the truth." Mr. Dalzel should have corrected a greater error in this map, the course of the Lagos river, for altering which I shall presently quote his own authority in addition to others.

An officer in this service, who resided at Lagos three years, and is the only European resident who has survived of those who have made the attempt, enables me to correct the following errors. The Pelican bank is much smaller than it appears on the charts ; the Doo island (which lays N. W. and not N. of Lagos town) where the natives go to make fetish, is not more than one mile in circumference ; and there is no river of that name. The beach over which the Portuguese and French (who never cross the bar, where there are 3 fathoms water) transport their goods to the canoes, is not more than 100 yards wide, instead of one mile. In Norris's map prefixed to Dalzel's History, the Lagos river is made to cross the path to Dahomey near Torè. In the Sailing Directions for the Coast of Africa, to which Mr. Dalzel was the chief contributor, and who revised the work, we find, "River Lagos is the mouth

not only of the river of that name, which runs to the *eastward from Ardrah,*" &c. and the river Mr. Norris crossed near Torë, which he calls pretty deep and rapid, but with a bridge over it, is by the account of other gentlemen, officers in this service, who have been to Dahomey, no more than a marsh. The gentleman before mentioned to have resided three years in Lagos, informs me the grand branch of that river flows from the northward of the island, where the pretended river Doo is placed, he found it so wide on entering it, that being in the middle, where there are 10 fathoms water, he could scarcely see the land on either side. The current is impetuous, and floating islands, and large masses of alluvial matter come down with such force, in the rainy season, as to trip vessels from their anchors in the English road. De Lisle makes the Lagos river flowing from the N., and the French are allowed to be much better acquainted with this part of the coast. That called the West river in Norris's map, is only a creek; and what he calls the Lagos river, and draws running close to Bädaggry, Ardrah, and passing Torë, is the Western river. Bädaggry is not more than 5 or 7 miles from the beach, instead of 15, and the tide only ebbs and flows so far. Ardrah is from 25 to 30 miles from the beach, instead of 18; and the river is crossed at about one-third of the distance from the sea: this is what we call Porto Novo, for there is not more than beachmen's huts on the shore opposite the anchorage. The natives call Ardrah Aratakassee, or Allatakassee, and the country Essaäm, or the great. The river continues its course not more than 100 yards from the sea, at Whydah, and proceeds equally close (indeed frequently the ridge between them is covered with water) until passing Quitta, it falls into the Volta near the mouth.

The above mentioned gentleman proves the informant of Adams's editor incorrect, in stating that the Houssa traders were constantly to be met with at Lagos, previous to the abolition of the slave trade,

for it has always been the policy of Kosie, a kingdom on the eastern bank of the river, and about 60 miles inland from the mouth, to prevent all intercourse between the traders of the interior, and those of Lagos, to secure to themselves the exorbitant profits they made as the brokers or medium. The Europeans who traded at Lagos, once meditated forcing a passage up the river in armed boats, and a vessel of 18 guns was got over the bar, and anchored close to Lagos town ; but the project was abandoned as too perilous. Sometime afterwards the King of Kosie desired a European might visit him, to gratify his curiosity, and that of his people ; but no one being willing, a mulatto, named Peter Brown, was dressed up and sent. This man, being now at Cape Coast, I have questioned. Several armed men were sent to conduct him, and relays of canoe men sufficient to continue brisk pulling ; which they did from the evening till the next day, before he left the river to proceed by land ; it was still very wide, and more than 4 fathoms deep ; considerably, for aught he knew, for the bamboo poles of that length, with which the natives push the canoe forward, when they get close enough to the banks to do so, would not touch the bottom in the middle. Relays of hammock men then carried him at a brisk pace until evening, when he reached Kosie, which he described as a town of great extent, and the buildings to resemble those in the drawings of Coomassie. The King gave orders that the crowd should not intrude themselves into his house, treated him very handsomely, and dismissed him after three days. He only heard the people of Kosie speak of two great nations, the Hios, and the Awissees.

The gentleman before mentioned has an impression, from all the enquiries he recollects to have made, of the slaves of the interior, that the merchants convey them by water the greater part of the way ; and their reports were strengthened by his having an

opportunity of seeing canoes brought from Kosie to Lagos, and purchased from the slave merchants of the interior. They were very superior in size and convenience to those of the coast, were covered in, with a distinct apartment for the trader and his wives, and would hold a hundred slaves. I never heard any slaves speak of being brought any part of the way by water, but I have not seen any who were brought to Kosie or Lagos.

The Karhala is the only large river likely to communicate with, or to form that of Lagos; possibly the Karhala might run to the large lake in Hio, which Snelgrave says (from the information of the Portuguese mulatto he found at Abomey) "is the fountain of several large rivers which empty themselves into the Bay of Guinea." The Lagos river may flow from this lake, but this is mere conjecture. The gentleman to whom I am indebted, places the Mahees north of Dahomey, instead of north-west as in Norris's map, which is allowed to be far from discriminate in the interior parts, in the preface to Dalzel's History, and this is also more probable, because about nine years ago, the King of Hio entirely conquered the Mahees, and upwards of 20,000 of them were brought for sale to Lagos.

The Joös, inconsiderately reported to Adams's editor as being, with the Anagoos and Mahees, the principal nations on the journey to the Niger, and nearer to the coast, avoiding Dahomey, are probably the Jaboos, who are about 40 miles westward of Kosie, and not behind Cradoo, as in Norris's map. They are celebrated for the cloths of their name, of which the Portuguese have shipped such large quantities. The Anagoos, or Nagoos, are the north westward neighbours of Dahomey.

The extent of Fantee is corrected from the conjectural enlargement of it by Mr. Meredith, and, with that of Ashantee, Akim, Assin, Warsaw, Ahanta, &c. &c. is sufficiently distinct in the pre-

sent map. A more enlarged, and particular map of Fantee, &c. would not be interesting to the public, but as it might be desirable to geographers, I shall keep it in view as a duty, and, at some future time, endeavor to add to the observations of latitude and longitude which have been already made on the coast.

I may not conclude without acknowledging the guidance, and assistance, which Major Rennell's previous investigations have afforded me; without impressing, that had not some sketches of the interior been collected by the industry of the emissaries of the African Association, and afterwards connected and formed into a general outline, blended with the feeble lights of the ancients, my enquiries would neither have been excited or directed; and this present small contribution to our slender knowledge would have perished an embryo. When I reflect on the creative researches of the genius of D'Anville, and the acumen and erudition of Major Rennell, it is my greatest anxiety to make my deference in investigation, as manifest as the public duty which exacted the involuntary presumption; and I cannot conclude more appropriately, than by addressing the latter in the expressive lines of Virgil:

“Nec calamis solum æquiparas sed voce magistrum

Fortunate—tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

Nos tamen hæc quocunque modo tibi nostra vicissim

Dicemus.”

CHAPTER II.

History.

To speak of the death of a former king, the Ashantees imagine to affect the life of the present equally with enquiring who would be his successor; and superstition and policy strengthening this impression, it is made capital by the law, to converse either of the one or the other. The inability of the natives to compute time, and the comparatively recent establishment of the Moors, may be pleaded as additional apologies for the imperfect history I have collected.

According to a common tradition, which I never heard contradicted but once, the Ashantees emigrated from a country nearer the water side, and subjecting the western Intas, and two lesser powers, founded the present kingdom. These people being comparatively advanced in several arts, the Ashantees necessarily adopted a portion of their language with the various novelties; which probably created the limited radical difference between their language and that of the Fantees; for I could not find, after taking the greatest pains, more than 200 words unknown to the latter. The weights of the Inta country, in particular, were adopted with their names, by the conquerors, without the least alteration.

The tradition, scanty in itself, is very cautiously adverted to, the government politically undermining every monument which perpetuates their intrusion, or records the distinct origins of their

subjects : but, from the little I could collect, it appeared to have been an emigration of numerous enterprising or discontented families, to whom the parent state afterwards became subject. I am inclined to think, (the account of their coming from a country nearer the sea being too general for conjecture to revolt from,) that they emigrated from the eastward of south, where the territory admitted to be Ashantee proper is remote, compared with its extent southward, or westward of south, and the former consequence of Doompasie, and the towns eastward of it, support this : yet, the very few natives who pretended to any opinion on the subject, had an impression, that their ancestors emigrated from the neighbourhood of a small river, Ainshue, behind Winnebah : a croon called Coomadie is to be found there, but there is nothing else to countenance the report.

The Ashantee, Fantee, Warsaw, Akim, Assin, and Aquapim languages are indisputably dialects of the same root ; their identity is even more striking than that of the dialects of the ancient Greek : now the Fantees and Warsaws both cherish a tradition, which exists also in many Ahanta families, that they were pressed from the interior to the water side by the successful ambition of a remote power ; whence it may be concluded, that the Ashantee emigration we are now considering, was posterior to a more important movement of the whole people, corresponding with that of their neighbours. I will not dilate upon this secondary subject by referring to internal evidence, there is nothing to recompense either the investigation or the perusal.

One curious evidence however may be added of the former identity of the Ashantee, Warsaw, Fantee, Akim, Assin, Aquamboe, and part of the Ahanta nations ; which is a tradition that the whole of these people were originally comprehended in twelve tribes or families ; the Aquonna, Abrootoo, Abbradi, Essonna,

Annõna, Yoko, Intchwa, Abadie, Appiadie, Tchweedam, Agoona, and Doomina; in which they class themselves still, without any regard to national distinction. For instance, Ashantees, Warsaws, Akims, Ahantas, or men of any of the nations before mentioned will severally declare, that they belong to the Annõna family; other individuals of the different countries, that they are of the Tchweedam family; and when this is announced on meeting, they salute each other as brothers. The King of Ashantee is of the Annõna family, so was our Accra and one of the Fantee linguists; Amanquateä is of the Essonna family. The Aquonna, Essonna, Intchwa, and Tchweedam, are the four patriarchal families, and preside over the intermediate ones, which are considered as the younger branches. I have taken some pains to acquire the etymology of these words, but with imperfect success; it requires much labour and patience, both to make a native comprehend, and to be comprehended by him. Quonna is a buffalo, an animal forbade to be eaten by that family. Abrootoo signifies a corn stalk, and Abbradi a plantain. Annõna is a parrot, but it is also said to be a characteristic of forbearance and patience. Esso is a bush cat, forbidden food to that family. Yoko is the red earth used to paint the lower parts of the houses in the interior. Intchwa is a dog, much relished by native epicures, and therefore a serious privation. Appiadie signifies a servant race. Etchwee is a panther, frequently eaten in the interior, and therefore not unnecessarily forbidden. Agoona signifies a place where palm oil is collected. These are all the etymologies in which the natives agree. Regarding these families as primæval institutions, I leave the subject to the conjectures of others, merely submitting, that the four patriarchal families, the Buffalo, the Bush Cat, the Panther, and the Dog, appear to record the first race of men living on hunting; the Dog family, probably, first training that animal to

assist in the chase. The introduction of planting and agriculture, seems marked in the age of their immediate descendents, the Corn stalk and Plantain branches. The origin and improvement of architecture in the Red earth; and of commerce, probably, in the Palm oil: indeed, the natives have included the Portuguese, the first foreign traders they knew, in that family, alleging, that their long and more intimate intercourse with the blacks, has made the present race a mixture of the African and Portuguese. The Servant race reminds us of the curse of Canaan. This resembles a Jewish institution, but the people of Accra alone practise circumcision, and they speak a language, as will be shewn, radically distinct, yet not to be assimilated to the Intā, to which nation they are referred by the Fantees, merely because it is the nearest which practises circumcision. Accra is a European corruption of the word Inkrān, which means an ant, and they say the name was either given or assumed on account of their numbers; this must have been before their wars with the Aquamboes.

When Adokoo, chief of the Braffoes, a Fantee nation, consulted the venerable fetish men of the sanctuary, near Sooprooroo, on the Ashantee war, they answered, that nothing could be more offensive to the fetish, than the Fantees preventing the peaceable intercourse of their inland neighbours with the water side, because they were formerly all one family.

The conduct of the later emigration of the Ashantees is ascribed to Sai Tootoo, who, assisted by other leading men of the party, and encouraged by superstitious omens, founded Coomassie, and was presented with the stool, or made King, from his superior qualifications. This account is supported by the mixed nature of the government, founded on equality and obligation, and the existence of a law, exempting the direct descendants of any of Sai Tootoo's peers and assistants, (in whom the Aristocracy originated) from capital punishment.

The Dwabin monarchy is said to have been founded at the same time by Boitinnë, who was of the same family as Saï Tootoo, being the sons of sisters. Boitinnë and his party, took possession of Dwabin, the largest of the aboriginal towns, (leaving Saï Tootoo to build Coomassie) whence it seems his followers were the more powerful; indeed I have heard it confessed by a few Ashantees, that Dwabin had formerly the pre-eminence, though they have always been firm allies in war, and equal sharers in spoil and conquest. This common interest, preserved uninterrupted more than a century, by two rising powers, close to each other, with the view of a more rapid aggrandisement, and their firm discretion in making many serious disagreements subservient to the policy, is one of the few circumstances worth considering in a history composed of wars and successions. I do not think there is such an instance in our heptarchy, nor do I recollect any other in history, but that of Chalcis and Eretria.

Bakkee, who died, as I have related,* about a year ago, was the son of Saï Apokoo, the second king, and an infant at the breast at the time of his father's death; he was a very old man when he incurred the present King's displeasure, which supports the report of the Moors, that the kingdom has been founded about 110 years. Bosman and Barbot mention the Ashantees, as just heard of by Europeans, about the year 1700, which confirms this account. The anxiety of the Ashantee government for daily records, immediately on the establishment of the Moors, who were only visitors until the present reign, acknowledges the perplexities and deficiencies of their early history too candidly, to leave any encouragement to the researches of strangers. Records beyond half a century are not to be found in the archives either of Cape Coast, or Christiansburg Castles, so that the chronology can only be founded on that of the Moors, and circumstances.

* See Diary.

The Ashantee government concentrated the mass of its original force, and making the chiefs resident in Coomassie and the few large towns they built in its neighbourhood, with titular dignities, conciliated those whom they subdued by continuing them in their governments, and checked them by exacting their frequent attendance at festivals, politically instituted. Military command seems to have been the sole prerogative of Sai Tootoo; his judicial and legislative power being controlled by the chiefs or aristocracy much more than at present, who, as in the Teutonic governments, directed the common business of the state, only consulting a general assembly on extraordinary occasions.

Sai Tootoo defeated the Akims and Assins, subjected the Tufel country, and subdued many small states in the neighbourhood. He also conquered Dankara, the King of which, Intim Dakarey, was so considerable a trader in slaves, that the Dutch Governor General paid him a monthly note from his own purse, and assisted him with two or three small cannons, and a few Europeans, on the eve of the Ashantee invasion: the former are now placed as trophies in Coomassie, at the top of the street in which the Mission was quartered. Booroom was subjugated soon after.

Sai Tootoo did not live to see all the streets of Coomassie completed, for war being declared against Atoä, a district between Akim and Assin, he invaded that country. The chief of the Atoas, unable to face such a power, dexterously insinuated his small force through the forest, until he reached the rear of the Ashantee army, which the King was following leisurely with a guard of a few hundred men, all of whom were destroyed by the Atoäs, who shot the King in his hammock. This happening near a place called Cormantee, (razed to the ground in vengeance,) and on a Saturday, the most solemn oath of the Ashantees, is "by Saturday and Cormantee;" ("Miminda Cormantee;") and no enterprise has since been undertaken on that day of the week.

1720. Saï Apokoo, brother of Saï Tootoo, was next placed on the stool. Had there been no brother, the sister's son would have been the heir; this extraordinary rule of succession, excluding all children but those of a sister, is founded on the argument, that if the wives of the sons are faithless, the blood of the family is entirely lost in the offspring, but should the daughters deceive their husbands, it is still preserved.

Saï Apokoo finished the building of Coomassie, and exchanged compliments with the King of Dahomey, since which there has been no intercourse; the latter, probably, as a despotic monarch, did not wish to give his people any opportunity of contemplating the greater freedom of the Ashantee government.

Saï is the family name of the present race of Kings, some of their relatives bearing it as well. Innäna is also the cognomen of the Kings of Dagwumba.

Apokoo invading the kingdom of Gaman, Abo, the King, fled to Kong, whither the Ashantee army pursued him. The King of Kong politically compelled Abo to meet his enemies on the frontier, lest they might disturb a neutral kingdom. Abo being defeated, purchased a peace by presenting large sums of gold to the various chiefs, and consenting to an annual tribute. Apokoo next subjected Takima, whence the Fantees are said to have emigrated, and forced a second emigration of the people to Gomawa, at the back of Winnebah. He dispossessed the Akims of the English, Dutch, and Danish Accra notes.* The mortifying destruction of European records, confines me to the report of the more intelligent natives on the subject of these notes, who declare, that the people of Accra being deprived of them by the fraud of the Akims, when they were assisted by them against the Aquamboes, the Akims were in their turn obliged to yield them to their conquerors the Ashantees.

* See the explanatory list of words and the early dispatches in the First Part.

Tribute being demanded from the neighbouring kingdom of Dagwumba, a war ensued, and its troops were defeated. The King of Dagwumba, convinced that his former reliance on a superior population was vain, from the military genius of the Ashantees, and the commercial disposition of his own people, dispirited from their want of fire arms,* prudently invited a peace, before a more decisive defeat left him no dignity, and his enemies no moderation for treating. As it was, they still respected his resources, and were content to secure him as a tributary, rather than exhaust their forces in his subjugation, in the infancy of their kingdom. A triumph in policy was in the view of the King of Dagwumba, equivalent to the small diminution of personal dignity; and at the expense of an inconsiderable tribute, he established a commercial intercourse, which, his markets being regularly supplied from the interior, was both an advantage and a security to him, from the great convenience to his warlike neighbours, whose superstition assenting to his great reputation for making saphies, and for augury, would not only augment his revenue, but insure him superior respect as a tributary. Intā had previously become tributary.

I should have mentioned, that every subject state was placed under the immediate care of some Ashantee chief, generally resident in the capital, who seldom visited it but to receive the tribute from the native ruler, for whose conduct he was in a reasonable degree responsible. Thus Quatchi Quofie has now the care of

* Fire arms are unknown to such of the nations on the south of the Niger as the Shereef has visited; and the reason which he assigns for it is, that the Kings in the neighbourhood of the coast, persuaded that if these powerful instruments of war should reach the possession of the populous inland states, their own independence would be lost, have strictly prohibited, and by the wisdom of their measures, have effectually prevented this dangerous merchandise from passing beyond the limits of their dominions. Lucas.

Dankara, Odumata of Soota, Apokoo of Aquamboe, Oöosa Quantabisa of Daboia, &c. &c. Their policy, in short, not only in this particular, but in many others, seems to have been closely similar to that of the Persians, as described by Herodotus.

Boitinnë, the founder of Dwabin, died in this reign.

1741. Saï Apokoo was succeeded by his brother Saï Aquissi. I could not learn any particular exploits of his, excepting that he preserved the subjection of the states previously reduced. The King of Akim, in his time, (the last who had the power of governing without consulting the pynins or elders) desiring to go to war with his neighbours, was obliged to obtain permission from the Ashantee government, which he did by the promise of sending them half the spoil; but, gaining little or nothing, he did not do so. He soon afterwards heard of Aquissi's intention, to demand his head; and knowing that King's word was irrevocable, he summoned his ministers, and desired to sacrifice his life for the quiet of his people: his ministers insisted on sharing his fate; and a barrel of powder being brought for each to sit on, they drank a large quantity of rum, and blew themselves up with the fire from their pipes. Dr. Isert also heard of this in Akim.

1753. Aquissi was succeeded by Saï Cudjo. The Aristocracy was retrenched and conciliated by this monarch, who raised his favourite captains to the vacant stools,* uniting three or four in one, and swearing that their lives should be equally sacred, (see p. 4,) to anticipate any doubts of his fidelity to the constitution.

Saï Cudjo defeating the Warsaws and Assins more decisively than his predecessors, first compelled them to acknowledge their fealty to Ashantee. He also subjected Aquamboe, and Aquapim,

* "To succeed to the stool," does not mean to the seat in the council, but is the common expression for succeeding to a property even in private life. The same stool, or seat descends through many generations.

quelled several revolts of other countries, and was esteemed a very great captain. The grandfather of Amanquateä Atooa, conquered Sawee, killing the king Boomancumma ; and Bakkee, soon afterwards, subjugated Moinseä. In this reign Quama, king of Dwabin, died.

1785. Sai Quamina succeeded his grandfather Sai Cudjo, at a very early age. The Akims revolted soon after his accession, under Ofoosoo, their most active ruler for many years: he engaged several smaller states in alliance, and defeated the Ashantees repeatedly; at length the treachery of his followers procured Quatchi Quofie, the Ashantee general, his head; with which he returned to Coomassie, the country having again submitted. The fame of Ofoosoo made Quatchi Quofie so vain of this achievement, that he had a figure of him made, with which his umbrella is still crowned, and before which he dances with every insulting gesture and vaunt, when he arrives on the ground at the various ceremonies. The present king has frequently been heard to say, that it was a great pity this old man did not know better, for the Akim caboceers generally attended his summons with alacrity and good will; but the sight of the insulted effigy of their favourite leader, disgusted them, and excited their revolt. These brave people have risen from their dependence at least eight times.

The government finding a pretext to invade Banda, the King Odrasee vigorously opposed the Ashantee army; but at length, seeing he must inevitably fall into their hands, to prevent his head being found, which circumstance he knew would sorely disquiet the enemy,* and solace his own people, ordered, just before he

* On the death of the late King of Amanaheä, two competitors for the stool appeared, one called Suikée or Suiquah; the other's name I am ignorant of. Both collected their slaves and adherents, and fought. Suikée was obliged to fly, and hide himself in the bush; but the people being dissatisfied with the conqueror, Suikée re-appeared against

killed himself, a woman to be sacrificed, and the abdomen being ripped, his head to be sewn up within it, and her body afterwards to be buried in the heap of the slain. It was discovered by bribes, and is now on one of the King's great drums. Soota was also subjugated in this reign, occupying the army under Odumata ten years, during which period he was not allowed to see Coomassie. Odumata afterwards subdued Coranza, the larger part of his army being Gaman auxiliaries.

Sai Quamina raised Apokoo to the stool of Assimadoo, to whom he had been a servant, in exclusion of the family.

The Danish Governor-General, meditating the punishment of the Popos, applied to Sai Quamina for 5000 Ashantee auxiliaries; the request was granted, but while the troops were on their march down, the Governor died, and his successor prudently paid 250 ounces of gold, (alleged to have been advanced by the King for their subsistence on their march to Christiansburg Castle) rather than involve himself in the expenses and troubles of such an alliance.

1798. Sai Quamina had remained twelve months on a visit at Dwabin, deaf to the remonstrances of various deputations urging

the town. When his rival was reduced beyond all hope, he threw all his gold, which filled several jars, into the lake; and then collecting his wives and the different branches of his family, went with them into a remote part of the bush, and cut all their throats, with the exception of one son, whom he reserved to assist him in burying the bodies. He then made this son swear on his fetish, to kill and bury him, and never to discover where the bodies were laid: the son fulfilled the oath, and returned to Apollonia, but I am not certain what became of him. After Suikee had seated himself firmly on the stool, he by some means discovered where the bodies were concealed; he caused them to be dug up, and taken to Apollonia town; he then ranged them in a sitting posture, in a row along the beach, with stakes to extend their arms, and support their heads: this horrid spectacle was exhibited until even their bones had perished. One of Suikee's first acts after his accession, was to consecrate his hiding place in the bush, making it death, or a heavy fine, for any one to swear by Suikee's bush, and not to keep the oath.

his return, and infatuated beyond recovery by the arts of his mistress, Gyawa, the daughter of the King; when it was formally announced to him, that if he was not present at the approaching Yam custom, he would be deprived of the stool. It is said, that this woman refused to accompany him to Coomassie, either dreading the resentment of his mother, a woman of violent passions, and great ambition, or, which is more probable, influenced by her father to mingle this repugnance with her blandishments, to accelerate the ruin of Saï Quamina, which he was not without hopes might lead to his own aggrandisement. The form of the dethronement is interesting. Appia Danqua, whose power seems to have been equal to that of mayor of the palace, repaired to the King's mother with the chief captains, and deliberately recounting the offences of her son, commanded her to remonstrate with him, as the daughter of their old king, and the parent to whom he owed his elevation. The mother, who no doubt had assisted in the private council, affecting to bewail her own misfortune and her son's disgrace, confessed, with seeming reluctance, that her remonstrances had already been despised, that the king had even attempted her life, and begged them to raise her second son, Saï Apokoo, to the stool the elder had forfeited. This was complied with, and they sent Saï Quamina a few of his women and slaves, desiring him to retire into the bush and build himself a croom, and on his death, which happened soon after, as it was said, from the poignancy of his feelings, they made the greatest custom for him which had ever been known. The sable Cleopatra died soon after him. It was whispered, that those he had formerly injured incessantly insulting him in his retirement, even to abusing his wives before his face, he had a private interview with the present King, communicated several schemes of conquests, invoked him to distrust, and, if possible, to punish those who had forsaken him, and

implored death; which was inflicted (as the blood of the royal family could not be shed, and as he could not be privately drowned in the sacred river) by fixing his feet on the ground, bending his body backwards with a prop in the small of his back, and suspending several large teeth of ivory from a noose around his neck, which, hanging from the prop, strangled him.

1799. Saï Apokoo did not live more than a few weeks after being elevated to the stool, and was succeeded by his brother Saï Tootoo Quamina, the present King, who must then have been about seventeen years of age. On this occasion, the general assembly of the captains, jealous of the aristocracy, and desirous of making a favourable impression on the young King, insisted that the remaining members of it, should propitiate the reign, by publicly disclaiming their exemption from capital punishment.

The invasion of the Fantee kingdom in 1807 was the first important military act of the present reign, the circumstances and origin of which, being pretty accurately described by Mr. Meredith, in the extract in the Appendix, I need not repeat. Whilst the invasion was meditating, Baba, now the chief of the Moors, presented himself to solicit an asylum in Coomassie, having been driven from Gamba by the rapacity of the King, his near relative; and professing solely to desire the recovery of a large property with held from him, to make the King of Ashantee the heir to it. The King promised he would oblige the King of Gamba to do him justice, on his return from the Fantee war, if Baba and his companions were fortunate in their prayers and charms for his success. The King of Gamba did not think proper to resist the demand afterwards made through the Ashantee government.

1807. Coonadua, the King's mother, was left regent during his absence; this woman was a second Messalina, and many young

captains who refused to intrigue with her, from fear or disgust, have been ultimately the victims of her artifice and vengeance.

Yaboquorra, the King of Dwabin, died in this interval, and was succeeded by his grandson, Boitinnè Quama, now about twenty years of age.

1811. Attah, caboceer or King of Akim, had followed the King to the first Fantee war, and behaved well. Apokoo being sent on an expedition against the Fantees of Winnebah and Berracoo, Attah received orders to join him with his contingency; instead of which, he sent a message to Apokoo, before he passed the Boosempira river, refusing to join him, and advising him not to attempt to pass through his country. Apokoo reported this immediately to the King, who, as is usual, sent to Attah to enquire if he had said so. He confessed that he had, without hesitation, adding, that the King treated him like a slave, in incessantly summoning him to attend his wars, and besides, that he never could forget that Saï Cudjo had cut off his grandfather's head, and that he would fight with Apokoo whenever he came. Soon afterwards, Quamina Guma, (the father of Becqua, captain of Danish Accra,) and one of the King's sons, returning to Coomassie with a large quantity of gold collected to make custom for the King's mother, Attah intercepted, robbed, and murdered them and their party, with the exception of one, whom he desired to tell the King that this act would convince him he was in earnest, and determined to go to war with him. Apokoo was immediately ordered to proceed against Attah, who had engaged Quaw Saffatchee as a party in the revolt, who was weary of the same laborious vassalage. When Apokoo entered the Akim country, Attah was for attacking him immediately, and at sun rise, but Quaw impressing his doubts of their succeeding against the superior warfare of the Ashantees, begged him to stop until three o'clock, when the Ashantees

generally ate and slept, and when they might be better able to retreat if worsted, as the enemy never pursued in the dusk. The attack was a surprise, but the fight continued obstinate and undecided until night, when Apokoo found he had lost so many men, that he immediately dispatched a messenger to summon the Accras to his aid, as vassals to the King. His messenger reached Accra the next day, and that people joined him on the following, on which the enemy retreated precipitately; Attah to windward, and Quaw to Adda. Apokoo followed the latter, who having escaped him after a tedious watchfulness, Apokoo, believing the Danish governor, Mr. Flindt, to have connived, made him his prisoner, and kept him with the army, which soon afterwards encamped in Aquapim, five months, during which time he was treated with kindness and respect, but his ransom amounted to nearly £400. Apokoo was soon after ordered back to Coomassie. He told me he brought the bell of Adda fort as a trophy.

Appia Danqua had been sent, at the same time with Apokoo, with 6000 men against the Fantee states which were disposed to the revolvers. He defeated them at Apam, and took Baffoo the Annamaboe caboceer prisoner, but whilst his army was before Tantum, intelligence of the approach of Attah, who had retreated from Apokoo, but whose name was as redoubtable as his disposition was rapacious, subdued his firmness, and under the plea of prudence, hurried him back to the interior.

The path was afterwards shut for two years, through the vigilance, and from the terror of Cudjo Cooma, who had been elected to the stool of Akim, six months after the death of Attah, whose immediate successor (Quawko Ashantee) tyrannized so cruelly during that period, that he was commanded by the people to kill himself, and could only obtain the indulgence of a week's respite, which he spent in singing and dancing, in fact in making his own custom.

Quaw Saffatchee had also leagued with the Fantees who attacked the Accra town, but were repulsed. The King suddenly determined to open the path to receive the arrears of pay due from the Forts, and sent Amanqua Abiniowa with an army of 20,000 1814. men, charging him to offer no violence nor commit hostility, unless provoked by attack, but to receive the submission of the Akims and Aquapims, and merely to exact a fine to seal it. Appia Danqua was sent at the same time with a smaller army to the back of Winnebah and Tantum, to intercept the revolvers if they fled to windward. Abiniowa proceeded to Aguiasso, one day's march from Aquapim, unmolested, when one of his foraging parties was attacked by Cudjo Cooma and seven men killed. A general engagement took place the next morning, and after six hours fighting the Ashantees were victorious, and sent a jaw-bone and a slave to each of the Accra towns. Amanqua then marched to Accra to receive the King's pay, and remained nearly twelve months in its neighbourhood. He then returned to Aquapim, where, after some time, he received a message from the King, with a large quantity of gold, advising him that he must not see his face again unless he brought the heads of Cudjo and Quaw. Amanqua did not immediately communicate this message to his captains, but ordered them to deposit their equipage and property in Accra, and then, making a large custom for three days, to propitiate the enterprise, he took fetish with all his captains that they would never return to Coomassie without the heads.

1816. Appia Danqua had died in Assin in the interim, and was succeeded by his brother Appia Nanu, under whom Bakkee was the second in command. The King hearing nothing of his progress, and his indolence being reported to him, sent orders to Amanqua to join him, which he did at Essecooma, reproaching him for his cowardice. Soon after this, the skirmish at the salt

pond near Cape Coast took place, the detachment was principally of Assins, and commanded by Quasheemanqua. Yokokroko soon afterwards joined the combined army, (which had marched to Abra,) with a few hundred men destined to attack Commenda.

Not long after the palaver was settled at Cape Coast, and the army again divided, Cudjo Cooma was killed by a party of Appia Nanu's at Insoom or Incoom near Essecooma; upon which, Appia, instead of marching to join Amanqua as had been concerted, returned to Coomassie, where he was coldly received, but not accused until the 12th of July last (see Diary). Adoo Danqua, the brother of Quaw Saffatchee, came to the Accras and concerted the delivering of him up, as he had tired him out with his wanderings. The Ashantees agreed to prevail on the King to give him the stool if he did. A few Accras and a few Ashantees accompanied him, and when he came near where his brother was hid, one day's journey from Accra, he placed an ambush, and sitting down, expostulated with him, and recommended him to kill himself; but Quaw would not, alleging that he should eventually wear out the King's patience in pursuing him; on this Adoo rose, and a shot was immediately fired at Quaw, who was brought down and rose again four times, exclaiming that his brother was his murderer, who reflected the reproach on his own obstinacy. The body was brought to Accra, and his head sent to Coomassie, and it is now a trophy at Bantama or the back town. Amanqua then returned to Coomassie, and arrived about six months before the Mission.

The Aowins, to anticipate the ambitious views of the Ashantee government, lately sent an embassy with offers of service and tribute, but the amount of the latter has not yet been decided.

The King had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntooko or Gaman which was thickly plated and embossed with gold; it was

given up by Adinkara, the King, from fear; his sister, a woman of masculine spirit and talent, and the soul of the government, being absent. On her return, she reproached her brother severely, and ordered a solid gold stool to be made to replace it. That being also demanded, as the right of the superior, with a large gold ornament in the shape of an elephant, dug out from some ruins, the sister, receiving the ambassadors, replied, that the King should not have either, and added, impressing it with more force than delicacy, that her brother and she must change sexes, for she was most proper for a King, and would fight to the last rather than be so constantly despoiled. The King of Ashantee sent word that she was fit to be a king's sister, and a strong woman, and he would give her twelve months to prepare for war. Several embassies have been sent however to negotiate; two during our stay, the latter, it was said, with an offer of 400 Bendas, (£3200.) but the aristocracy were obstinate, and urged to the King, that his other tributaries would laugh at him, if he did not get the King of Gaman's head. The small pox was raging in Buntooko.

It is clear, that the King of Ashantee contemplates the reduction of the King of Dwabin from an independent ally to a tributary. We witnessed one circumstance to the point. A messenger being sent to require gold of Dwabin, the King of which is a very weak young man, a captain of the royal family replied, that there was no war on foot to require gold, and as it could only be for the individual benefit of Ashantee, the government must be reminded that Dwabin had formerly exacted gold, and was not now to be subjected to imposition, because the right had been yielded from respect to the sister kingdom. This being reported to the King, he suppressed his anger, and sent a gold headed sword, with other marks of dignity and favour to this man, who, to his surprise, refused them, alleging, that the honours he already possessed at

home became him better. The King still temporised. Some months after, at the full assembly convened for the proclamation of the treaty with the British Government, the mother of the King of Dwabin, who acts as regent, and over whom Sai is known to have much influence, suddenly, and no doubt at his instance, accused this captain of plotting to deprive her son of the stool. The accusation was supported by others, who prayed the King to judge the palaver. The King of Dwabin sat with the greatest indifference. The accused made an animated appeal to the assembly, and Sai affected to support him vehemently, and ordered the linguists to give him chalk, or acquit him. The man thanking him very earnestly, Adoosee was desired to tell him, that his ill-will to the King of Ashantee had been reported in a very aggravated manner; but as it was no longer believed, he was only required to take fetish, that he liked the King, and would do him all the good he could; this done, the man received several marks of favour and bounty.

Sai Tootoo is considered to take better care of the treasury than any of his predecessors: he cautiously extends his prerogative, and takes every opportunity of increasing the number of secondary captains, by dignifying the young men brought up about his person, and still retaining them in his immediate service.

Sai Acotoo, the King's brother, and the heir to the stool, appeared to me very inferior in ability; but the Ashantees say otherwise.

The King's private character is amiable; the children of his brothers share the fondness and indulgence which endear him to his own, and his few moments of recreation are the liveliest of theirs. The circumstances connected with the various instances which we witnessed of his generosity to others, justify me in ascribing it to the benevolence of his disposition. His admiration

of ingenious rather than splendid novelty, has frequently imposed the appearance of a covetousness, scarcely culpable from his reverence for invention, and the amazement its extent excited. To present him with the trifles which attracted his notice when he visited us, offended him, he told us we must only answer his questions, and let him examine them; to make dashes on the occasion of a private visit, was to vitiate the motive of the condescension, which could not be repeated unless we paid more respect to his dignity and friendship. The King is certainly capricious, and his liberality of mind is stained by prejudices against individuals which he confesses to be unaccountable; and to several of the principal actors in his brother's deposition, (which, desirous to extend his prerogative, he would tacitly censure,) he has been unjustly severe. His humanity is frequently superior to his superstition and policy, he offended Quatchi Quofie, one of the four, by limiting the human sacrifices at his mother's funeral, and resisted all the importunities, founded on precedent, for the allowance of a greater number. He dismissed us twice with apologies for not proceeding to business, confessing, the first time, that he had been unusually irritated just after he sent for us, and had not recovered his calmness; the latter, that some agreeable news had induced him to drink more than fitted him to hear great palavers like ours. In his judicial administration, a lie always aggravated the punishment, and truth generally extenuated, and sometimes atoned of itself for the offence: he invariably anticipated the temerity of perjury, where convicting evidence was to be opposed to the accused. The King's manners are a happy mixture of dignity and affability, they engage rather than encourage, and his general deportment is conciliating though repressive. He speaks well, and more logically than most of his council, who are diffuse, but his superior talent is marked in the shrewd questions by which he fathoms a design or

a narrative. He excels in courtesy, is wisely inquisitive, and candid in his comparisons : war, legislature, and mechanism, were his favourite topics in our private conversations. The great, but natural fault of the King is his ambition ; I do not think it has ever proved superior to the pledge of his honour, but it certainly has, and that frequently, to his sense of justice, which is repressed rather than impaired by it. This sketch of his character being narrowed to my own knowledge, will be assisted by the following history of Agay, the second linguist.

Agay, when a boy, carried salt from Aquoomo to Coomassie for sale ; he was afterwards taken into the service of Aquootoo, caboceer of that place, against whom the government had instituted a palaver, but wrongfully. Agay accompanied the caboceer when he was sent for to Coomassie for judgment. After the King's messengers had spoken, misrepresenting the case in preference to confessing the King to be in the wrong, and the caboceer was confused, this boy suddenly rose, and said, to use the words of the narrators, " King, you have people to wash you, to feed you, to serve you, but you have no people to speak the truth to you, and tell you when God does not like your palaver." The assembly cried out unanimously, that the boy might be hurried away and his head taken off ; but the King said, " No ! let him finish ;" and Agay is said to have spoken three hours, and to have disclosed and argued the palaver to the King's conviction, and his master's acquittal. He was retained to attend the King, but treated with no particular distinction. A serious palaver occurring between two principal men, it was debated before the council, who were at a loss to decide, but inclined to the man whom the King doubted ; judgment was suspended. In the interim the King sent Agay, privately, to the house of each, to hear their palavers in turn, tête-à-tête ; he did so, and when the King asked him who he thought

was right, he confirmed his impression. "Now," said the King, "I know you have a good head." Agay was then made a Linguist, and presented with a house, wives, slaves, and gold. Sometime afterwards, the King confessing a prejudice against a wealthy captain, his linguists, always inclined to support him, said, "If you wish to take his stool from him, we will make the palaver;" but Agay sprung up, exclaiming, "No, King! that is not good; that man never did you any wrong, you know all the gold of your subjects is your's at their death, but if you get all now, strangers will go away and say, only the King has gold, and that will not be good, but let them say the King has gold, all his captains have gold, and all his people have gold, then your country will look handsome, and the bush people fear you." For this the King made him second linguist, and much increased his property. When Amanqua had the command of the army against Cudjo Cooma, the King asked him which linguist he would take, he replied, Adoosee or Otee; the King said, no! I will give you this boy, he has the best head for hard palavers. Amanqua urged that he was too young, the King told him he was a fool to say so. He then made Amanqua take fetich with him to report the merits of Agay faithfully, who distinguished himself so much, that he is always employed in difficult foreign palavers.

The manners of the higher orders of captains, always dignified, are courteous and hospitable in private, though haughty and abrupt in public. I believe them to be jealous rather than tenacious of their honour, and their sophistry is as ingenious as their maxims are prepossessing. They consider that war alone affords an exertion or display of ability, and they esteem the ambition of their King as his greatest virtue. They have no idea of the aggrandisement of a state by civil policy alone. They are candid in acknowledging their defeats, and just to the prowess of their

enemies, but they possess little humanity, and are very avaricious and oppressive. They listen to superstition with the most childish credulity, but they only cultivate it for the preservation of life and the indulgence of passion; beyond this, the Moors could never advance their enquiries; they are neither curious nor anxious about a future state, pretending to it from rank and achievement rather than domestic virtue; and believing, if the latter were outraged, the solemnities and sacrifices of their funeral customs would purchase their repose. Indeed, licensed as they are by the zealous conflicts of rival superstitions, (Moorish and Pagan,) their lives are moderate and benevolent to what might be expected, and merit more than our excuses.

The lower order of people are ungrateful, insolent, and licentious. The King repeatedly said, he believed them to be the worst people existing, except the Fantees, and not comparable with many of their inland neighbours. Perhaps we should agree with Voltaire, “ Je crois qu’il faut plutôt juger d’une puissante nation par ceux qui sont à la tête, que par la populace.”*

* The principal districts of Fantee, are, the Affetoo, the Braffoo, and the Esse-coomah; Cape Coast is in the former. The Dey of Affetoo (a title probably introduced by the Portuguese) was formerly supreme in Fantee, so far as summoning the other kings and caboceers at pleasure, prescribing their political conduct, and being appealed to and sentencing in all cases of life and death, wherever or by whomsoever the crime may have been committed; witchcraft excepted. Upwards of a century ago the small pox almost depopulated Affetoo, then the largest town and capital of all Fantee, (it is about 10 miles inland from Cape Coast,) and all the immediate heirs to the stool being cut off, the supremacy was transferred to Mankasim. The present Dey, however, preserves a spiritual authority over the other kings and caboceers, and is esteemed as the superior fetish man; when they desire rain, for instance, they apply to him to procure it, and they look to him solely for their chronology, which he preserves by knotting strings. Mankasim then became the capital and largest town of Fantee, but it was almost destroyed by the Ashantees in their first invasion of 1807. Any Fantee caboceer who did not attend the summons of the King of Mankasim, was suspended by him, and after-

wards displaced by the diet. Adoo, the last King of the Braffoos, despoiling all his subjects of their most valuable property, and countenancing the individuals of his family in the same assumption and violation, without any regard to persons; they were all seized, on his death, by a simultaneous rising of the people, and sold off the coast as slaves, to get rid of the race. Adookoo, one of the leading men, was then called to the care of the stool, with the title of caboceer only, it being still considered as an interregnum, but he exercised the same supremacy and privileges which the King had done, and was acknowledged by the whole country. During his retreat and wanderings in the bush, after several defeats by the Ashantees, the Fantee towns have assumed many political and judicial rights before centered in Mankasim; but Adookoo is now expected to summon them all, and re-establish the ancient order of things, which they deem too sacred to think of resisting. It was not the Braffoos, or the whole people of that district, who had the privilege of living abroad at the public expense, and who took whatever they pleased of the property of others, as Mr. Meredith has stated; but the state officers of that district called Brofoos, who acquired that name from the hide in which the tobacco is rolled, being formed into a seat peculiar to them, never using a wooden stool. They were the executors, and not the organs of the law, and always sat to the right and left of Adookoo, but had no voice. The number was twelve, and the dignity immemorially hereditary in as many families. These men were allowed to take whatever they pleased at home and abroad, but since Adookoo's misfortunes, and inability to support them, they have been content to beg for their tithes in the large towns, and only exercise their rapacity in the small crooms of their own district.

CHAPTER III.

Constitution and Laws.

THE King, the Aristocracy, now reduced to four, and the Assembly of Captains,* are the three estates of the Ashantee government.

The constitution requires or admits an interference of the Aristocracy in all *foreign* politics, extending even to a veto on the King's decision; but they watch rather than share the *domestic* administration, generally influencing it by their opinion, but never appearing to control it from authority; and their opinions on civil questions, are submitted with a deference, directly in contrast to their bold declarations on subjects of war or tribute, which amount to injunction.

The Ashantees advocated this constitution by the argument, that the interference of the Aristocracy in all foreign politics, makes the nation more formidable to its enemies, who feel they cannot provoke with impunity, where there are so many guardians of the military glory; who, by insisting on a war, become responsible in a great degree for the issue, and pledge an energy and exertion, in

* It has been shewn in the history, that the Aristocracy was originally formed of the peers and associates of Sai Tootoo the founder of the monarchy, who owed his elevation not to his superior rank, but to his superior endowments and address. The Aristocracy has been gradually retrenched since Sai Cudjo pointed out the way.

comparison with which, such as could be excited by a despotic monarch, must be deemed disinterested. They added, that an almost independent administration of the King, was better calculated for the domestic government, because the decrees of a monarch have naturally more force with the people, (over whom his power is unlimited) and, further, that a civil power in the Aristocracy could not be reconciled to the Assembly of Captains, to whom the former estate was already sufficiently invidious for the health of the constitution.

In exercising his judicial authority, the King always retired in private with the Aristocracy to hear their opinions, to encourage their candor without diminishing his majesty in the eye of the people; and in using his legislative prerogative, he was said always to give them a private opportunity of defending the old law, rather than of objecting to the new; though, from the same state policy, the latter was announced to the Aristocracy as well as to the Assembly of Captains, before the people, as the sudden and arbitrary pleasure of the King.

The general Assembly of the Caboceers and Captains, is summoned merely to give publicity to the will of the King and Aristocracy, and to provide for its observance; unless on state emergencies, or unprecedented occasions, such as the Treaty with the British Government. The following anecdote, related to me by many Ashantees, will illustrate the freedom of their constitution.

A son of the King's quarrelling with a son of Amanquateä's, (one of the four) told him, that in comparison with himself, he was the son of a slave; this being reported to Amanquateä, he sent a party of his soldiers, who pulled down the house of the King's son and seized his person. The King hearing of it sent to Amanquateä, and learning the particulars, interceded for his son, and redeemed his head for 20 periguins of gold.

The most original feature of their law, that of succession, has been mentioned in the History, with the argument on which it is founded: it is universally binding; the course is, the brother, the sister's son, the son, the chief vassal or slave to the stool. In the Fantee country, the principal slave succeeds to the exclusion of the son, who only inherits his mother's property, frequently considerable, and inherited from her family independently of her husband: the daughters share a small part of the fetish or ornamental gold, which is much alloyed with silver.

The sisters of the King may marry or intrigue with whom they please, provided he be an eminently strong or personable man; that the heirs of the stool may be, at least, personably superior to the generality of their countrymen.

The King is heir to the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest; the fetish gold and the cloths are generally presented by him to the successor to the stool, from which the slaves and other property of the deceased are inseparable. The King contributes to the funeral custom to validate his claim, and usually bestows ten periguins of the dust gold on the successor, (if of a rich man,) who is in all cases liable for the debts of the deceased, though the amount is generally made good to him sooner or later, if he has influence with those about the King, or recommends himself to his notice personally. This law is sometimes anticipated, by a father presenting his children with large sums of gold just before his death. Boiteëm, the father of Otee, one of the King's linguists, is known to have done so, but the son discovers his wealth very deliberately.

The gold buried with members of the royal family, and afterwards deposited with their bones in the fetish house at Bantama, is sacred; and cannot be used, but to redeem the capital from the hands of an enemy, or in extreme national distress; and even then,

the King must avoid the sight of it, if he would avoid the fatal vengeance of the fetish or deity.

If a slave seeks refuge from an ally or tributary, he is restored; if from an unconnected power, he is received as a free subject.

The tributary state which distinguishes itself in suppressing the revolt of another, is rewarded by privileges at the expense of the offending power: thus if a subject of the former kills a subject of the latter, the price of a slave only can be recovered, instead of the fine otherwise attached to the death of a freeman; and the damages for other injuries are reduced in proportion.

If the subjects of any tributary do not like the decision of their ruler, according to the laws of their own country, they may appeal to the King, and claim decision by the law of Ashantee. The commission allowed to the collectors of tribute or fine, is two periguins out of ten.

The direct descendants of the noble families who assisted the enterprise of Saï Tootoo, the founder of the kingdom, are not subject to capital punishment, but can only be despoiled. There are now but four remaining, Ananqui, Assafee, (see Diary,) and two others, all beggars.

We were present at the promulgation of the following law: "All persons sent on the King's business shall no longer seize provisions in any country, whether tributary or otherwise, in his name; but requiring food, shall offer a fair price for the first they meet with, if this is refused, they shall then demand one meal, and one meal only, in the King's name, and proceed. This extends to all messengers sent by the head captains, whose servants, as well as the King's, have been long in the habit of extorting goods from traders, and tobacco and provisions in the market place, in the names of their masters, which they shall do no longer without incurring the same penalty which is attached to the former part of

this law, 110 periguins." The form of making this law, was, the linguists with their insignia advanced and announced it to each of the four members of the Aristocracy, then to the whole assembly; afterwards Cudjo Appāni, the chief crier, proclaimed it to the people, who shouted their thanks; his fee from the King was ten ackies, from the people twenty. This attachment of the penalty to the law (the chief merit of Zaleucus) manifests some advancement in polity, in securing the accused against arbitrary judgment.*

The caboceers of Soota, Marmpon, Becqua, and Kokofoo, the four large towns built by the Ashantees at the same time with Coomassie, have several palatine privileges; they have an independent treasury, though subject to the demands of the government and a judicial power, with the reserve of an appeal to the King. They celebrate their own yam custom after they have attended that at Coomassie, at which all dependents and tributaries must be present, and which seems to have been instituted like the Panathenæa of Theseus, to unite such various nations by a common festival. These four caboceers, only, are allowed, with the King, to stud their sandals with gold.

The blood of the son of a King, or of any of the royal family cannot be shed; but when guilty of a crime of magnitude, they are drowned in the river Dah, by a particular captain, named Cudjo Samfani.

If a man swears on the King's head, that another must kill him, which is understood to be invoking the King's death if he does not, the other man must do so, or forfeit the whole of his property, and generally his life. This very frequently occurs, for the blacks

* By the laws of Ahanta, which are peculiar, if any subject or sojourner is in urgent want of provisions, he may seize the first he meets with, paying the owner the prices which have been fixed by the caboceers: this is similar to the law of Lyeurgus. At the Contoom or annual Harvest Custom, the Ahantas revise their laws, as Solon enjoined the Athenians to do, annulling some and adding others.

in their ardor for revenge, do not regard sacrificing their own lives to bring a palaver on their murderer, which their families are sure to do.

To be convicted of cowardice is death.

A subject may clear any part of the bush for building a croom, or making a plantation, without paying any thing to the King as lord of the soil; but he must pay a small sum to the possessor of the nearest croom or plantation, through which his path runs.

The government has no power to direct the traders to any particular market, though it interdicts the commerce with any power which may have offended it.

All the King's linguists take fetish to be true to each other, and to report faithfully.

If any subject picks up gold dropped in the market place, it is death, being collected only by order of the government on emergencies; see Revenue.

Theft of the King's property, or intrigue with the female attendants of the royal family, or habitual incontinence, is punished by emasculation; but crim. con. with the wife of a man who has been so punished, is death: being considered an aggravated contempt of law.

Interest of money is $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. for every forty days, which is accompanied after the first period by a dash of liquor. When the patience of the creditor is exhausted, he seizes the debtor, or even any of his family, as slaves, and they can only be redeemed by the payment. This barbarous law was nearly the same in Athens.*

In almost all charges of treason, the life of the accuser is at risk as well as that of the accused, and is forfeited on the acquittal of

* In Ahanta, all old debts must be paid within six weeks from the commencement of the Contoom or Harvest Custom. The creditor can panyar or seize not only the family, but the townsmen of the debtor.

the latter. I understood this, from the best authorities, to be indispensable as a check on the palavers; envy, spleen, or covetousness would otherwise accumulate.

The accuser is never discovered or confronted to the accused, nor the evidence revealed, until the latter has fully replied to the charge, as outlined by the King's linguists.

Palavers are frequently allowed to sleep even for years, as in the Fantee country, to make the damages sued for, the heavier: for instance, if a man stole a hen twelve months before, the value of the broods and eggs it would have produced, on a fair average, in the interval, would be shrewdly calculated, and sued for.* State palavers are also allowed to sleep for years, but that is to impose the confidence on the accused that the principal witnesses are dead, and the impression is artfully assisted by the policy of the council. The witnesses against Appia Nanu, who had reported his haughty message to the King, had not been seen for nearly twelve months before they burst before him on the day of his trial, having been sent into the bush on the most distant frontier.

No man is punished for killing his own slave, but he is for the murder of his wife or child.† If he kills the slave of another, he must pay the value. If a great man kills his equal in rank, he is generally allowed to die by his own hands: the death of an inferior is generally compensated by a fine to the family, equal to seven slaves.‡

* The Ahanta laws do not allow of these protracted palavers, and only award the intrinsic value of the articles stolen or destroyed. If a man robs a plantation of a yam, he must pay the owner a tokoo of gold, and take two more. In Fantee the pettiest theft frequently entails slavery.

† In the kingdom of Amanaheä or Apollonia, the tenth child is always buried alive.

‡ A person accidentally killing another in Ahanta, pays 5 oz. of gold to the family, and defrays the burial customs. In the case of murder, it is 20 oz. of gold and a slave; or, he and his family become the slaves of the family of the deceased. If a man dashes

If a person brings a frivolous palaver against another, he must give an entertainment to the family and friends of the acquitted.

If an aggr'y bead is broken in a scuffle, seven slaves are to be paid to the owner.

Trifling thefts are generally punished by the exposure of the party in various parts of the town, whilst the act is published; but more serious thefts cannot be visited on the guilty by any but his family, who are bound to compensate the accuser, and punish their relative or not as they think fit; they may even put him or her to death, if the injury is serious, or the crime repeated or habitual.

If a man cohabits with a woman without the house, or in the bush, they are both the slaves of the first person who discovers them; but redeemable by their families.

It is forbidden, as it was by Lycurgus, to praise the beauty of another man's wife, being intrigue by implication.

A captain generally gives a periguin to the family on taking a wife, a poor man two ackies: the damages for intrigue in the former case are ten periguins; in the latter, one ackie and a half, and a pot of palm wine.

himself to the fetish on the head of another, the other must redeem him. If a man kills himself on the head of another, the other must kill himself also, or pay 20 oz. to the family: in Fantee the sum is indefinitely great: this is frequently resorted to, when there is no other prospect of revenge.

Adumissa, an extraordinarily beautiful red skinned woman of Cape Coast, possessed numerous admirers, but rejected them all. One of them, in despair, shot himself on her head close to her house. The family demanding satisfaction; to save her relations from a ruinous palaver, she resolved to shoot herself in expiation. She accordingly assembled her friends and relatives from various parts of the country, and sitting, richly dressed, killed herself in their presence with golden bullets. After the body had been exposed in state, it was buried with a profusion of cloths and gold. The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogised, and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name amongst the natives.

If a woman involves herself in a palaver, she involves her family, but not her husband.

None but a captain can sell his wife, and he, only, if her family are unable to redeem her by the repayment of the marriage fee.

The property of the wife is distinct, and independent of the husband, though the King is the heir to it.

None but a captain can put his wife to death for infidelity, and even then he is expected to accept a liberal offer of gold from the family, for her redemption. To intrigue with a wife of the King's is death.

If the family of a woman are able and willing, on her report of her dislike to her husband, or his ill-treatment of her, to tender him the marriage fee, he must accept it, and the woman returns to her family, but may not marry again.

If a husband is not heard of by his wife for three years, she may marry again, and if the first husband returns, the claim of the second is the better; but all the children of the after marriage are considered the property of the first husband, and may be pawned by him.

Those accused of witchcraft, or having a devil, are tortured to death.

The good treatment of slaves is in some degree provided for, by the liberty they have of dashing or transferring themselves to any freeman; whom they enjoin to make them his property by invoking his death if he does not; an imperative appeal.

CHAPTER IV.

Superstitions.

THE Negro tradition of the book and the calabash, cited by St. Pierre, is familiar to every native of these parts, and seems the source of their religious opinions. Impressed that the blind avarice of their forefathers inclined all the favour of the supreme God to white men, they believe themselves to have been committed to the mediating care of subordinate deities, necessarily as inferior to the primary, as they are to Europeans.

As the Ashantee manner of relating this tradition differs a little from that of the Fantee, I will repeat it, on the authority of Odumata and other principal men. In the beginning of the world, God created three white and three black men, with the same number of women; he resolved, that they might not afterwards complain, to give them their choice of good and evil. A large box or calabash was set on the ground, with a piece of paper, sealed up, on one side of it. God gave the black men the first choice, who took the box, expecting it contained every thing, but, on opening it, there appeared only a piece of gold, a piece of iron, and several other metals, of which they did not know the use. The white men opening the paper, it told them every thing. God left the blacks in the bush, but conducted the whites to the water side, (for this happened in Africa) communicated with them every night, and taught them to build a small ship which carried them to

another country, whence they returned after a long period, with various merchandise to barter with the blacks, who might have been the superior people.

With this imaginary alienation from the God of the universe, not a shade of despondency is associated; they consider that it diminishes their comforts and their endowments on earth, but that futurity is a dull and torpid state to the majority of mankind.

Their fetishes or subordinate deities, are supposed to inhabit particular rivers, woods, and mountains, as the imaginary deities of the Celts. They are venerated in proportion as their predictions (always equivocal) chance to be realized. The present favourite fetish of Ashantee is that of the river Tando. Cobee, a river in Dankara, and Odentee on the Adirree, are two of the others.

The kings, caboceers, and the higher class, are believed to dwell with the superior Deity after death, enjoying an eternal renewal of the state and luxury they possessed on earth. It is with this impression, that they kill a certain number of both sexes at the funeral customs, to accompany the deceased, to announce his distinction, and to administer to his pleasures.

The spirits of the inferior classes are believed to inhabit the houses of the fetish, in a state of torpid indolence, which recompenses them for the drudgery of their lives, and which is truly congenial to the feelings of the Negro. Those of superior wisdom and experience, are said to be endued with foresight after death, and to be appointed to observe the lives, and advise the good of those mortals who acknowledge the fetish; their state corresponding, in short, with that of the first race of men after death, as described by Hesiod. Those whose enormities nullify the mediation of the funeral custom, or, whom neglect or circumstances might have deprived of it, are doomed, in the imagination of others,

to haunt the gloom of the forest, stealing occasionally to their former abodes in rare but lingering visits. Those who have neglected the custom, or funeral rites of their family, are thought to be accursed and troubled by their spirits.

There are two orders of fetishmen. The first class dwell with the fetish,* who has a small round house, built generally at a distance from the town. They question the oracle respecting the future fortune of a state or an individual, convey its advice, and enjoin the attention of the *audible* spirits of those, any member of their family would question respecting property or domestic circumstances :

“ Auditur tumulo et vox reddita fertur ad aures.” Æn. vi.

The inferior class pursue their various occupations in society, assist in customs and superstitious ceremonies, and are applied to as fortune tellers or conjurors are in Europe ; especially in cases of theft ; when, from a secret system of espionage, and a reluctance, frequently amounting to a refusal to discover the culprit, or to do

* At Nanampong (Nanau means a grand-father) near Mankasim, in the Braffoo country, there is a deep dell, inhabited by a number of aged fetish men, whom the Fantees believe to be immortal, and to have lived there beyond all memory, in close converse with the fetish, and ignorant of the world but by intuition. The spirits of the aged and wise are believed to dwell amongst them, and their prophecies and advice are revered as emanations from the fetish. Adookoo, the chief of the Braffoos, used sometimes to consult them in person, but generally through his head fetishman, and the Fantees now attribute the successes of the Ashantees, and their own defeats and misfortunes, to the disregard of what the oracle enjoined ; for, whilst it was obeyed, they say the country always prospered ; and, indeed, from the instances which have been reported to me, the responses appear to have directed a just and prudent policy, highly conducive to the welfare of Fantee. This dell is so impervious, and yet so capacious, that many hundred Fantees were secreted there, during the Ashantee invasions, which these priests had predicted. The house or temple of the principal fetish of the Ahanta country, called Checquoo, is at Apremmadoo, about four miles up the Takaradee river : upwards of fifty superior priests are resident there.

more than replace the property whence it was taken, they are generally successful. The magical ceremony consists in knotting, confusing, and dividing behind the back, several strings and shreds of leather. They are also frequently applied to by slippery wives, to work charms to keep their husbands in ignorance of a projected intrigue, which they affect to do.

The primary dignity is hereditary in families, as the priesthood was in Egypt, celibacy not being enjoined; their property is also hereditary, and they possess other immunities. The latter order is frequently augmented by those, who declare that the fetish has suddenly seized, or come upon them, and who, after inflicting great severities on themselves, in the manner of the convulsionists, are ultimately acknowledged. The fetish women, generally preferred for medical aid, as they possess a thorough knowledge of barks and herbs, deleterious and sanative, closely resemble the second class of Druidesses as described, I think by Mela: they seem licensed prostitutes, before and after marriage.

The present state of these people referring them to a comparison with the nations of ancient Europe,* the close resemblance of many points of their superstition to relative particulars recorded of Greece and Gaul, recalls the following reflection of an eminent writer. "The truth is, there is hardly any thing more surprising in the history of mankind, than the similitude, or rather identity, of the opinions, institutions, and manners of all these orders of ancient priests, though they lived under such different climates, and at so great a distance from one another, without intercourse or communication. This amounts to a demonstration, that

* "And here I cannot but remark, that those accounts, when compared, shew how little manners and minds improve in Africa, and how long, and how much society has been there at a stand:—Jobson saw, in 1620, exactly what Park saw in 1798." Sir W. Young.

all these opinions and institutions flowed originally from one fountain."

Half the offerings to the fetish, are pretended to be thrown into the river, the other half belongs to the priests. The King's offering is generally ten ounces, and three or four slaves : that of a poor subject about four ackies. Children are frequently vowed to the service of the fetish before their birth. A slave flying to the temple, may dash or devote himself to the fetish ; but, by paying a fee of two ounces of gold and four sheep, any person shuts the door of the fetish house against all his run away slaves.*

Every family has a variety of domestic fetishes, furnished by the priests, and answering to the Penates of the Romans ; some are wooden figures, others of arbitrary shapes and materials ; they receive offerings and libations at the yam custom, but are not brought out of the house.†

* A slave dashing or devoting himself to Checquoo, the great fetish of Ahanta, is never redeemed ; the impression of the superior power of that fetish being so awful, that the proprietor of the slave, would believe the death of all his family inevitable, were he to redeem him from the sanctuary.

† The different states of the water side revere different animals as fetish : the hyæna is esteemed so at Accra, the alligator at Dix Cove and Annamaboe, and vultures universally ; and with more apparent reason, as they consume all the offal of the neighbourhood, and thus contribute to its health and cleanliness. A black man killing a hyæna at Accra, would incur a serious penalty. A European is obliged to pay a case of neat rum and one piece of white baft, in which the head of the animal is wrapped, and afterwards buried by the natives. Almost every resident on the coast, can speak to the imitative powers of the hyæna, which Pliny has been ridiculed for reporting. In a fresh water pond at Dix Cove, there is an alligator, about twelve feet long, which always appears on the bank, at the call of the fetish men, who then throw it a white fowl. In a modern natural history, I read, " in this part of the world (Africa) also, as well as at Siam, the crocodile makes an object of savage pomp, near the palaces of their monarchs. Philips informs us, that at Sabi, on the slave coast, there are two pools of water near the royal palace, where crocodiles are bred as we breed carp in our ponds in Europe." I never heard of any royal

In Ashantee there is not a common fetish day, as on the coast.* Different families solemnize different days of the week, by wearing white cloths, abstaining from palm wine and labour, as they do the day of the week on which they were born, which is in fact their second fetish day. The King's family keep Tuesday as their fetish day. Odumata's, Friday. Saturday was the King's birth day, when, as well as on his fetish day, he always sat on a stool placed before his chair as a foot stool would be. Some families never eat beef, others abstain from pork. Fowls and beef are the fetish of the King's family, and consequently never eaten by it.

The Ashantees have their Fasti and Nefasti, or lucky and unlucky days, as the Romans had.† The former consecrated by some good fortune, the latter condemned from some national calamity, as Saturday, for instance, from the defeat and death of Sai Tootoo. They are also otherwise marked than by the week; for I was told, that our month of September contained fewer bad days than any other, and was besides deemed auspicious to travelling :

Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna
 Felices operum - - - -
 - - - - nona fugæ melior. Geor. i.

I have known Ashantees thirty days coming with dispatches from Cape Coast Castle to Coomassie, in August; and in September, to have arrived in twelve.

If the successor to a stool, or any rich inheritance is a child, they grind aggrry beads into a powder, and rub him with it daily,

palaces, or of Sabi (probably Assaboo) on the Slave Coast; the alligator of Dix Cove may possibly be alluded to.

* Tuesday is the common fetish day on the coast, when they neither fish or work in their plantations.

† Ille et nefasto te posuit die. Hor. 12, 13.

Romani pariter quosdam atros et nefastos habuere, eo quod in iis clades acceperant; ---

after washing, believing that it hastens his growth and maturity. When any one denies a theft, an aggry bead is placed in a small vessel, with some water, the person holding it puts his right foot against the right foot of the accused, who invokes the power of the bead to kill him if he is guilty, and then takes it into his mouth with a little of the water, the rest being thrown on the ground, and crossed as he repeats the invocation : their superstition is generally superior to their resolution. I shall be expected to notice these aggry beads.

The natives invariably declare that the aggry beads are found in the Dankara, Akim, Warsaw, Ahanta, and Fantee countries, the greater number in the former, being the richer in gold ; they say they are directed to dig for them by a spiral vapour issuing from the ground, and that they rarely lay near the surface ; the finder is said to be sure of a series of good fortune. The plain aggry beads are blue, yellow, green, or a dull red, the variegated consist of every colour and shade. The Fantees prefer the plain yellow bead, the Amanahéans the blue and yellow, for which they will give double the weight in gold ; those of inferior beauty frequently fetch a large price, from having been worn by some royal or eminent character. Dr. Leyden, who writes, “ the aigris is a stone of a greenish blue colour, supposed to be a species of jasper, small perforated pieces of which, valued at their weight in gold, are used for money,” (which I never heard of,) rather describes the popo bead ; though that is semi-transparent, (of a bright blue,) resembling carnelian, (which is frequently found in these countries) and said to be obtained in the same manner as the aggry bead. Isert writes, “ they are a sort of coral, with inlaid work : the art of making beads is entirely lost, or was never known in these parts : it is not improbable, that in the golden age of Egypt, she had communication with the Gold Coast ; indeed, it has been thought, and

perhaps not without some reason, that the Gold Coast is the Ophir of Solomon."

The variegated strata of the aggrary beads are so firmly united, and so imperceptibly blended, that the perfection seems superior to art: some resemble mosaic work, the surfaces of others are covered with flowers and regular patterns, so very minute, and the shades so delicately softened one into the other, and into the ground of the bead, that nothing but the finest touch of the pencil could equal them. The agatized parts disclose flowers and patterns, deep in the body of the bead, and thin shafts, of opaque colours, running from the centre to the surface. The natives pretend that imitations are made in the country, which they call boiled beads, alleging that they are broken aggrary beads ground into powder, and boiled together, and that they know them because they are heavier; but this I find to be mere conjecture among themselves, unsupported by any thing like observation or discovery. The natives believe that by burying the aggrary beads in sand they not only grow but breed.*

* The coloring matter of the blue beads has been proved, by experiment, to be iron; that of the yellow, without doubt, is lead and antimony, with a trifling quantity of copper, though not essential to the production of the color. The generality of these beads appear to be produced from clays colored in thin layers, afterwards twisted together into a spiral form, and then cut across: also from different colored clays raked together without blending. How the flowers and delicate patterns, in the body and on the surface of the rarer beads, have been produced, cannot be so well explained. Besides the suite deposited in the British Museum, I had the pleasure of presenting one of the most interesting kind to Baron Humboldt; and I have also sent one to Sir Richard Hoare, as it seemed to correspond so closely with the bead which he found in one of the barrows, and describes, as follows, in his History of Wiltshire. The notion of the rare virtues of the Glain Neidyr, as well as of the continued good fortune of the finder, accords exactly with the African superstitions. "A large glass bead, of the same imperfect petrefaction as the pully beads, and resembling also, in matter, the little figures that are found with the mummies in Egypt, and are to be seen in the British Museum. 'This

To return to the superstitions of the Ashantees: when they drink, they spill a little of the liquor on the ground as an offering

very curious bead has two circular lines of opaque sky blue and white, which seem to represent a serpent entwined round a centre, which is perforated. This was certainly one of the *Glain Neidyr* of the Britons, derived from *glain*, which is pure and holy, and *neidyr* a snake. Under the word *glain*, Mr. Owen, in his *Welsh Dictionary*, has given the following article: "The *Glain neidyr*, transparent stones, or adder stones, were worn by the different orders of the bards, each having its appropriate color. There is no certainty that they were worn from superstition originally; perhaps that was the circumstance which gave rise to it. Whatever might have been the cause, the *notion of their rare virtues was universal* in all places where the Bardic religion was taught. It may still be questioned whether they are the production of nature or art." The beads which are the present object of my attention, are thus noticed by Bishop Gibson in his improved edition of Camden's *Britannia*. "In most parts of Wales, and throughout all Scotland, and in Cornwall, we find it a common opinion of the vulgar, that about Midsummer eve (although in the time they do not all agree,) it is usual for snakes to meet in companies; and that by joining heads together, and hissing, a kind of bubble is formed like a ring, about the head of one of them, which the rest, by continual hissing blow on till it comes off at the tail; and then it immediately hardens, and resembles a glass ring, *which whoever finds (as some old women and children are persuaded) shall prosper in all their undertakings*. The rings which they suppose to be thus generated are called *Gleinu Nadroedh*, i. e. *Gemmæ Anguinum*, whereof I have seen at several places about twenty or thirty. They are small glass annulets, commonly about half as wide as our finger rings, but much thicker; of a green color, usually, though some of them are blue, and others curiously waved with blue, red, and white. I have also seen two or three earthen rings of this kind, but glazed with blue, and adorned with transverse streaks in furrows on the outside. There seems to be some connection between the *Glein Neidyr* of the Britons, and the *Ovum Anguinum* mentioned by Pliny,* as being held in veneration by the Druids of Gaul, and to the formation of which he gives nearly the same origin. They were probably worn as an insigne, or mark of distinction, and

* Præterea est ovorum genus in magna Galliarum fama, omissum Græcis. Angues innumeri æstate convoluti, salivis faucium, corporumque spumis artificii complexu glomerantur, anguinum appellantur. Druidæ sibilis id dicunt in sublime jactari, sagoque oportere intercipi ne tellurem attingat. Profugere raptorem equo. Serpentes enim insequi donec arecant annis alicujus interventu. Experimentum ejus esse si contra aquas fluitet vel auro cinetum Insigne Druidis. Ad victorias litium ac regum aditus maxime laudat. Plinii Hist. Natural. L. 29. c. 3.

to the fetish ; and on rising from their chairs or stools, their attendants instantly lay them on their sides, to prevent the devil (whom they represent to be white) from slipping into their master's places.

suspended around the neck, as the perforation is not sufficiently large to admit the finger."

The bead engraved in Tumulus No. 9, resembles closely a coarse sort of bead, still manufactured in Syria, brought over by Dr. Meryon. The glass globes dug up in Lincolnshire, and presented by Sir Joseph Banks to the British Museum, are very like a distinct sort of aggrry bead, dug by the natives even more rarely than the others, but not larger than a moderate sized apple : they are more opaque than the other beads, and the ground or body is generally black, speckled confusedly with red, white, and yellow.

Aggrry is the generic, not the abstract name ; '*awynnec*' is *bead*, but *aggrry* is an exotic word no native can explain. When first I heard of similar beads having been lately dug in India, I associated for an instant the expectation that it might have been in the neighbourhood of Agra, and thus have thrown some light on the name ; but it appears they were found in Malabar. I am indebted for the following account of this interesting discovery to a gentleman lately returned from India. "The bead you sent me is more like those I saw in India, than any I have seen before ; but it is thicker and shorter ; neither does the material of which it is formed exactly agree with those in India, which appear to be of a red glass, very like red carnelian (such, however, are frequent among the *Aggrry* beads) with white lines of enamel, inlaid, at it were, in the body of the bead. I gave these to a friend in India, who promised to send them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. The circles of stone in which these beads have been found, abound most in Malabar, in the neighbourhood of Calicut ; but I have seen them in other parts of India, and I am of opinion that they might be traced throughout the whole of the southern peninsula. They are formed of large masses of rough stones, placed round in irregular circles, some of very large extent, some of smaller : they appear so much like natural rocks, that most persons would pass them unobserved. Several of these circles about three years since were excavated, in the vicinity of Calicut, and in the centre of each of them we found, at the depth of about five feet, a large earthen jar of the same shape as those found in Wiltshire, as near as we could judge, for it was broken to pieces : it was about four or five feet deep, its mouth in general closed with a square piece of granite : the beads were found at the bottom of these jars with some pieces of iron, apparently parts of swords and spears. There was an iron javelin found in one of these places, tolerably perfect : it was about five feet long, with a large iron knob at one end of it. In the centre of one of the circles we came to a flight of seven steps, which led

But the most surprising superstition of the Ashantees, is their confidence in the fetishes or saphies they purchase so extravagantly from the Moors, believing firmly that they make them invulnerable and invincible in war, paralyse the hand of the enemy, shiver their weapons, divert the course of balls, render both sexes prolific, and avert all evils but sickness, (which they can only assuage,) and natural death. The King gave to the King of Dagwumba, for the fetish or war coat of Apokoo, the value of thirty slaves; for Odu-mata's, twenty; for Adoo Quamina's, thirteen; for Akimpon's, twelve; for Akimpontea's, nine; and for those of greater captains in proportion. The generals being always in the rear of the army

to a cave excavated in the rock; it measured 11 feet in diameter, and 7 feet in its highest part; the entrance to it was a square opening of about 18 inches, which was closed up by an immense block of granite. We found in this place a great number of earthen pots of very curious shape; in one of these there were the remains of bones, which appeared to have been but imperfectly calcined; in several of the larger jars there were the husks of rice, which dropped into dust immediately they were opened. We found here also an iron tripod, and a very curious stone, somewhat similar to what the Indians now use for grinding their curry powder on. The large stones forming the circles were set upright and capped with still larger ones. They are not of granite, but of the stone of the country in which they are situated; they are of different sizes; I have seen some of them 10 or 12 feet high, and the large stone on the top from 10 to 12 feet in diameter, or perhaps more. Coimbatore is a district situated between the Coromandel and Malabar coasts; it is bounded on the east by the river Cavery, on the banks of which the tumuli are in general situated. In some, a few silver coins have been found, of a square figure, with characters on them, which none of the most learned Bramins have been as yet able to make out; it is in these also that remains of very large swords, &c. have been found. The Roman coins to the number of upwards of 90 were all of gold, and Nero's; each of them had a cut or slit in it. They were not found in one of these barrows, but were discovered in a garden by one of the natives when digging: they were in a small copper pot. Pandu Kuri literally means Pandu's caves or holes. Pandu is a very celebrated personage in the Hindoo Mythology, and a great warrior; it is common in India to ascribe to him all great works of antiquity; this term therefore only shews that those places are very ancient, and that the present inhabitants are quite ignorant of their origin.

are pretty sure to escape, a circumstance much in favour of the Moors. The drawing of Adoo Quamina will convey the best idea of this dress, which has been described before, in our *entrée*; it is so weighty that old Odumata could scarcely move in his. Jannequin, who visited Mandingo in 1637, describes exactly the same sort of dress as worn by the chiefs of that country, and adds, "their bodies are so encumbered with these defences, that they are often unable to mount on horseback without assistance." For a small fetish of about six lines, sewn in a case of red cloth, which the King presented to our Accra linguist, Baba charged and received six ackies. The man valued the gift highly; he had expended two pieces of cloth and a quantity of rum in fetish, at Accra, before he joined the Mission; but for which, he told me, he was convinced the Ashantees would have managed to poison him: yet, he was one of the most sensible natives I ever conversed with. A sheet of paper would support an inferior Moor in Coomassie for a month. Several of the Ashantee captains offered seriously to let us fire at them; in short, their confidence in these fetishes is almost as incredible, as the despondency and panic imposed on their southern and western enemies by the recollection of them: they impel the Ashantees, fearless and headlong, to the most daring enterprises, they dispirit their adversaries, almost to the neglect of an interposition of fortune in their favour. The Ashantees believe that the constant prayers of the Moors, who have persuaded them that they converse with the Deity, invigorate themselves, and gradually waste the spirit and strength of their enemies. This faith is not less impulsive than that which achieved the Arabian conquests.

Neither the Ashantees or their neighbours have any tradition of a deluge, nor does Catcott, the only writer I recollect to have read on its universality, report any Negro tradition, though he submits

that of the American tribes, with those of the other nations of the world. The Moors told me, that the waters of the deluge retired to, and were absorbed in the lake Caudi or Caughi, which they also called Bahar Noohoo, or the sea of Noah.

Amongst other observations, I recollect the Moors to have said, that Moses spoke like God, that Abraham was the friend of God, that Jesus was a spirit of God, but that Mahomet was the best beloved of God. They added, that there were four books written by the inspiration of God, at different times. Moses wrote Tau-ratoo; David, Zaboura; Jesus, Lingheel; and Mahomet, Al Koran. Lightning, they said, was occasioned by God waving his hand to direct the courses of his angels. One Moor was a great etymologist; he told me, that Mahomet rushing between two armies, who were fighting, exclaimed to one party, "Toorek! Toorek!" (leave off! leave off!) and that those people were thenceforward called Turks. I questioned them concerning the origin of nations; they told me, that Japhet was the most active in covering the nakedness of his father, which Ham discovered, and thence the subjection of black men the descendants of Ham, to Europeans the descendants of Japhet. Shem, from whom they were themselves descended, they said, was neither so good or so bad as his brothers, and therefore his children enjoyed a medium of endowment and favour. They augured from the sacrifice of sheep, with which the King supplied them abundantly, and, excepting those who had made a pilgrimage to Mecca, (of which they told us wonderful tales) did not hesitate mingling the superstitions of the natives with their own, either for their profit or safety. They were tolerably expert in slight of hand tricks.

CHAPTER V.

Customs.

THE Yam Custom is annual, just at the maturity of that vegetable, which is planted in December, and not eaten until the conclusion of the custom, the early part of September. All the caboceers and captains, and the majority of the tributaries, are enjoined to attend, none being excused, but such as the Kings of Inta, and Dagwumba, (who send deputations of their principal caboceers,) and those who have been dispatched elsewhere on public business. If a chief or caboceer has offended, or if his fidelity be suspected, he is seldom accused or punished until the Yam Custom, which they attend frequently unconscious, and always uncertain of what may be laid to their charge. The Yam Custom is like the Saturnalia; neither theft, intrigue, or assault are punishable during the continuance, but the grossest liberty prevails, and each sex abandons itself to its passions.

On Friday the 5th of September, the number, splendor, and variety of arrivals, thronging from the different paths, was as astonishing as entertaining; but there was an alloy in the gratification, for the principal caboceers sacrificed a slave at each quarter of the town, on their entré.

In the afternoon of Saturday, the King received all the caboceers and captains in the large area, where the Dankara canons are



THE FIRST DAY OF THE YAM CUSTOM.

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

placed. The scene was marked with all the splendor of our own entré, and many additional novelties. The crush in the distance was awful and distressing. All the heads of the kings and caboceers whose kingdoms had been conquered, from Sai Tootoo to the present reign, with those of the chiefs who had been executed for subsequent revolts, were displayed by two parties of executioners, each upwards of a hundred, who passed in an impassioned dance, some with the most irresistible grimace, some with the most frightful gesture: they clashed their knives on the skulls, in which sprigs of thyme were inserted, to keep the spirits from troubling the King. I never felt so grateful for being born in a civilized country. Firing and drinking palm wine were the only divertissemens to the ceremony of the caboceers presenting themselves to the King; they were announced, and passed all round the circle saluting every umbrella: their bands preceded; we reckoned above forty drums in that of the King of Dwabin. The effect of the splendor, the tumult, and the musquetry, was afterwards heightened by torch light. We left the ground at 10 o'clock; the umbrellas were crowded even in the distant streets, the town was covered like a large fair, the broken sounds of distant horns and drums filled up the momentary pauses of the firing which encircled us: the uproar continued until four in the morning, just before which the King retired. I have attempted a drawing, (No. 2.) it is by no means adequate, yet more so than description could be.

On the left side of the drawing is a group of captains dancing and firing, as described in our entré. Immediately above the encircling soldiery, is a young caboceer under his umbrella, borne on the shoulders of his chief slave; he salutes as he passes along, and is preceded and surrounded by boys (with elephants tails, feathers, &c.) and his captains, who, lifting their swords in the air, halloo out the deeds of his fore-fathers; his stool is borne close to

him, ornamented with a large brass bell. Above is the fanciful standard of a chief, who is preceded and followed by numerous attendants; he is supported round the waist by a confidential slave, and one wrist is so heavily laden with gold, that it is supported on the head of a small boy; with the other hand he is saluting a seated caboceer, sawing the air by a motion from the wrist. His umbrella is sprung up and down to increase the breeze, and large grass fans are also playing; his handsomest slave girl follows, bearing on her head a small red leather trunk, full of gold ornaments, and rich cloths; behind are soldiers and drummers, who throw their white-washed drums in the air, and catch them again, with much agility and grimace, as they walk along. Boys are in the front, bearing elephants tails, fly flappers, &c. and his captains with uplifted swords, are hastening forward the musicians and soldiers. Amongst the latter is the stool, so stained with blood that it is thought decent to cover it with red silk. Behind the musicians is Odumata, coming round to join the procession in his state hammock lined with red taffeta, and smoking under his umbrella, at the top of which is a stuffed leopard. In the area below is an unfortunate victim, tortured in the manner described in the *entré*, and two of the King's messengers clearing the way for him. The King's four linguists are seen next; two, Otee and Quancum, are seated in conversation under an umbrella; the chief, Adoosey, is swearing a royal messenger, (to fetch an absent caboceer,) by putting a gold handled sword between his teeth, whilst Agay delivers the charge, and exhorts him to be resolute. The criers, all deformed and with monkey skin caps, are seated in the front. Under the next umbrella is the royal stool, thickly cased in gold. Gold pipes, fans of ostrich wing feathers, captains seated with gold swords, wolves heads and snakes as large as life of the same metal, depending from the handles, girls bearing silver bowls, body

guards, &c. &c. are mingled together till we come to the King, seated in a chair of ebony and gold, and dressed much in the same way as described at the first interview. He is holding up his two fingers to receive the oath of the captain to the right, who, pointing to a distant country, vows to conquer it. On the right and left of the state umbrella are the flags of Great Britain, Holland, and Denmark. A group of painted figures are dancing up to the King, in the most extravagant attitudes, beating time with their long knives on the skulls stuck full of thyme. On the right of the King is the eunuch, who superintends the group of small boys, the children of the nobility, waving elephants tails, (spangled with gold,) feathers, &c.: behind him is the above mentioned captain and other chiefs dressed as in the left end of the drawing. Musicians, seated and standing, are playing on instruments cased or plated with gold. The officers of the Mission are next seen, their linguists in front, their soldiers, servants, and flag behind, at the back of whom is placed the King's state hammock, under its own umbrella. Adjoining the officers is old Quatchie Quofie and his followers; at the top of his umbrella is stuck a small black wooden image, with a bunch of rusty hair on the head, intending to represent the famous Akim caboceer who was killed by him; vain of the action, he is seen according to his usual custom, dancing before and deriding his fallen enemy, whilst his captains bawl out the deed, and halloo their acclamations. The manner of drinking palm wine is exhibited in the next group, a boy kneels beneath with a second bowl to catch the droppings, (it being a great luxury to suffer the liquor to run over the beard,) whilst the horns flourish, and the captains halloo the strong names. The Moors are easily distinguished by their caps, and preposterous turbans. One is blessing a Dagwumba caboceer, who is passing on horseback, (the animal covered with fetishes and bells,) escorted by his men

in tunics, bearing lances, and his musicians with rude violins, distinct from the sanko. The back of the whole assembly is lined with royal soldiers, and the commoner ones are ranged in front, with here and there a captain and a group of musicians, who, some with an old cocked hat, some with a soldier's jacket, &c. &c. afford a ludicrous appearance. This description will be rendered more illustrative of the drawing, by referring to that of our entré.

The next morning the King ordered a large quantity of rum to be poured into brass pans, in various parts of the town; the crowd pressing around, and drinking like hogs; freemen and slaves, women and children, striking, kicking, and trampling each other under foot, pushed head foremost into the pans, and spilling much more than they drank. In less than an hour, excepting the principal men, not a sober person was to be seen, parties of four reeling and rolling under the weight of another, whom they affected to be carrying home; strings of women covered with red paint, hand in hand, falling down like rows of cards; the commonest mechanics and slaves furiously declaiming on state palavers; the most discordant music, the most obscene songs, children of both sexes prostrate in insensibility. All wore their handsomest cloths, which they trailed after them to a great length, in a drunken emulation of extravagance and dirtiness.*

Towards evening the populace grew sober again, the strange caboceers displayed their equipages in every direction, and at five

* The description of the siege of Pondicherry in Voltaire occurred to me; it will assist the imagination of the reader: "De grands magasins de liqueurs fortes y entretenaient l'ivrognerie et tous les maux dont elle est le germe. C'est une situation qu'il faut avoir vue. Les travaux, les gardes de la tranchée étaient faits par des hommes ivres - - - - - De-là les scènes les plus honteuses et les plus destructives de la subordination et de la discipline. On a vu des officiers se colleter avec des soldats et mille autres actions infâmes, dont le détail, renfermé dans les bornes de la vérité la plus exacte, paraîtrait une exagération monstreuse."

o'clock there was a procession from the palace to the south end of the town and back; the King and the dignitaries were carried in their hammocks, and passed through a continued blaze of musketry: the crush was dreadful. The next day (Monday) was occupied in state palavers, and on Tuesday the diet broke up, and most of the caboceers took leave.

About a hundred persons, mostly culprits reserved, are generally sacrificed, in different quarters of the town, at this custom. Several slaves were also sacrificed at Bantama, over the large brass pan, their blood mingling with the various vegetable and animal matter within, (fresh and putrefied,) to complete the charm, and produce invincible fetish. All the chiefs kill several slaves, that their blood may flow into the hole from whence the new yam is taken. Those who cannot afford to kill slaves, take the head of one already sacrificed and place it on the hole.*

The royal gold ornaments are melted down every Yam Custom, and fashioned into new patterns, as novel as possible. This is a piece of state policy very imposing on the populace, and the tributary chiefs who pay but an annual visit.

About ten days after the custom, the whole of the royal household eat new yam for the first time, in the market place, the King attending. The next day he and the captains set off for Sarrasoo before sun rise, to perform their annual ablutions in the river Dah. Almost all the inhabitants follow him, and the capital appears

* In Ahanta, at the Contoom or Harvest custom, each family erects its rude altar, composed of four sticks driven in the ground, and twigs laid across the top; the whole is then covered with fresh pulled leaves. A hog, a sheep, a goat, or a fowl is killed, according to the means of the family, and the most delicate parts laid on the altar, a mixture is made of eggs, palm oil, palm wine, the blood of the animal slain, and other ingredients, and also dedicated to the fetish, in small pots placed on the altar. In a few days these altars become so offensive as to render it disagreeable to pass them, but they are never removed.

deserted ; the succeeding day the King washes in the marsh at the south-east end of the town, the captains lining the streets leading to it on both sides. He is attended by his suite, but he laves the water with his own hands over himself, his chairs, stools, gold and silver plate, and the various articles of furniture used especially by him. Several brass pans are covered with white cloth, with various fetish under them. About twenty sheep are dipped, (one sheep and one goat only are sacrificed at the time,) to be killed in the palace in the afternoon, that their blood may be poured on the stools and door posts. All the doors, windows, and arcades of the palace, are plentifully besmeared with a mixture of eggs, and palm oil ; as also the stools of the different tribes and families. After the ceremony of washing is over, the principal captains precede the King to the palace, where, contrary to usual custom, none but those of the first rank are allowed to enter, to see the procession pass. The King's fetish men walk first, with attendants holding basins of sacred water, which they sprinkle plentifully over the chiefs with branches,* the more superstitious running to have a little poured on their heads, and even on their tongues. The King and his attendants all wear white cloths on this occasion. Three white lambs are led before him, intended for sacrifice at his bed chamber. All his wives follow, with a guard of archers.

Another national custom is the Adai, by the number of which the Ashantees appear to reckon their year, which began, I could not understand why, on the first of October. The common people pretend, or believe, that the time for repeating the Adai, is marked by the falling of a fruit like a gourd, from a tree called Brebretim, and which generally takes place in about twenty days from its first appearance, all the birds and beasts in the neighbourhood crying

* " Idem ter socios purâ circumtulit undâ,
Spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivæ." *Æn.* vi

out simultaneously. They further pretend, that from the fruit of this tree spring various kinds of vegetables. This account of the tree, known in Warsaw as well, is peculiar to Ashantee. The customs are alternately called the great and little Adai, the former taking place always on a Sunday, the latter on a Wednesday; and it appeared to me, from calculation, that there were six weeks between each great Adai, and six between each little one, so that the custom was generally held every twenty-one days.

The large drum which stands at the entrance of the palace, adorned with skulls and thigh bones, is struck with great force at sun set the preceding day, as a signal; the whole of the establishment of the palace shout, and their shout is echoed by the people throughout the town. Music and firing generally beguile the night. The next morning the King goes to the fetish house, (Himma,) opposite the palace, and offers several sheep; the blood of this sacrifice is poured on the gold stool, to which extraordinary virtues are ascribed, being considered the palladium of the kingdom: the deposition of Sai Quamina was protracted from his having it in his possession at Dwabin. The caboceers and captains, many coming from towns two or three days distant, begin to march to the large yard of the palace about sun rise, to secure their places. We generally attended between nine and ten, when the King had just seated himself. The first ceremony was penetrating to the King, through the various state officers and attendants, to wish him good morning, at which he slightly inclined his head. The chiefs as they advanced to do so, were supported and followed by a few favourite attendants, who flourished their swords in the air, the gold handles upwards, and the band of each began to play as he left his seat. Young caboceers of five and six years of age, stalked by with interesting vanity. After this the King left his chair, which was turned upside down, and retired a few minutes into the palace.

All the horns flourished as he made his exit and entrée; swords, feathers, elephants tails, were waved rapidly, and the drums beaten with deafening effect. After he was seated, the linguists, preceded by their gold canes and insignia, presented a sheep, a flask of rum, (drank on the ground,) and ten ackies of gold to each superior captain, and somewhat less to the others. Another flourish proclaimed the dispensation of the King's bounty. Five or six men then rose; and chaunted his deeds and titles for about ten minutes. I regret exceedingly that this chaunt was not noted, it was so harmonious. I observed them put something between their teeth before they began. The same tedious form of saluting the King was now repeated to return thanks. Any new law was afterwards promulgated, which occurred but twice during our stay, and the levee broke up on the King's leaving his chair. Not unfrequently the whole took place during heavy rain. It was computed that the King dashed or presented forty pereguins of gold (£400.) every Adai custom.*

The decease of a person is announced by a discharge of muketry, proportionate to his rank, or the wealth of his family. In an instant you see a crowd of slaves burst from the house, and run towards the bush, flattering themselves that the hindmost, or those surprised in the house, will furnish the human victims for sacrifice, if they can but secrete themselves until the custom is over. The body is then handsomely drest in silk and gold, and laid out on

* The Ahanta's divide time into periods of three weeks. The first week is called Adai, and is termed the good week, in which much work is done; and traders visit the markets more frequently in this week than at any other time, supposing all they do in it must prosper. The second week is Ajamfoe, or the bad week, in which no work or trade is done, the natives believing every thing undertaken in it must fail. The third week is Adim, or the little good week, in which they both work and trade, but not as much as in the Adai.

the bed, the richest cloths beside it.* One or two slaves are then sacrificed at the door of the house. I shall describe the custom for Quatchie Quofie's mother, which we witnessed August the 2d.; it was by no means a great one, but it will give the most correct idea of these splendid, but barbarous ceremonies. The King, Quatchie Quofie, and Odumata each sacrificed a young girl directly the deceased had breathed her last, that she might not want for attendants until the greater sacrifice was made. The retainers, adherents, and friends of the family then sent contributions of gold, powder, rum, and cloth, to be expended at the custom; the King, as heir, exceeding every quota but that of the nearest relative, who succeeded to the stool and slaves. The King also sent a sum of gold, and some rich cloths to be buried with the deceased, in the basket or coffin. I could not learn the various sums of gold dust with sufficient accuracy to note them, but the following were the quantities of powder presented on the occasion:

Quatchie Quofie	-	-	-	20	oz. (of gold) kegs.
King	-	-	-	4	
King's brother	-	-	-	2	
Amanquateä	-	-	-	2	
Odumata	-	-	-	2	
Apokoo	-	-	-	1	
Otee	-	-	-	1	
Yapensoo	-	-	-	1	
Amanqua Abiniowa (the nephew)				2	
(Name illegible)	-	-	-	1	
Adoosey	-	-	-	1	
Jessinting	-	-	-	1	
Saphoo	-	-	-	1	
Ooshoo	-	-	-	1	
Inferior retainers	-	-	-	4	

44 nearly 12 barrels.

* --- Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt;

Æn. vi.

In Fantee they dress the body richly, and usually prop it erect in a chair, exposing it

The inferior retainers of Quatchie Quofie gave four ackies of gold, and eight fathoms of cloth each. I was told these contributions were unusually small, from the command of the King that the greatest economy should be observed in every expenditure of powder, on account of the approaching war.

We walked to Assafoo about twelve o'clock; the vultures were hovering around two headless trunks, scarcely cold. Several troops of women, from fifty to a hundred in each, were dancing by in movements resembling skating, lauding and bewailing the deceased in the most dismal, yet not discordant strains; audible, from the vast number, at a considerable distance. Other troops carried the rich cloths and silks of the deceased on their heads, in shining brass pans, twisted and stuffed into crosses, cones, globes, and a fanciful variety of shapes only to be imagined, and imposing at a small distance the appearance of rude deities. The faces, arms, and breasts of these women were profusely daubed with red earth, in horrid emulation of those who had succeeded in besmearing themselves with the blood of the victims. The crowd was overbearing; horns, drums, and muskets, yells, groans, and screeches invaded our hearing with as many horrors as were crowded on our sight. Now and then a victim was hurried by, generally dragged or run along at full speed; the uncouth dress, and the exulting countenances of those who surrounded him, likening them to as many fiends. I observed apathy, more frequently than despair or emotion, in the looks of the victims. The chiefs and captains were arriving in all directions, announced by the firing of muskets, and the peculiar flourishes of their horns, many of which were by this time familiar to us; they were then habited plainly as warriors,

until it is dangerous to do so any longer: they bury it in their house, with as many gold ornaments as they can afford to dedicate. The men called the town drummers are only allowed to die standing, and when expiring are snatched up, and supported in that posture. In Ahanta they frequently exhibit the body chalked all over.

and were soon lost to our sight in the crowd. As old Odumata passed in his hammock, he bade us observe him well when he passed again: this prepared us in a small degree. Presently the King's arrival in the market place was announced, the crowd rolled towards it impetuously, but the soldiery hacked on all sides indiscriminately, and formed a passage for the procession. Quatchie Quofie hurried by, plunging from side to side like a Bacchanal, drunk with the adulation of his bellowing supporters; his attitudes were responsive to the horror and barbarism of the exultations which inspired them. The victims, with large knives driven through their cheeks, eyed him with indifference; he them with a savage joy, bordering on phrenzy: insults were aggravated on the one, flattery lavished on the other. Our disgust was beguiled for an instant by surprise. The chiefs who had just before passed us in their swarthy cloths, and the dark gloomy habits of war, now followed Quatchie Quofie, glistening in all the splendor of their fetish dresses; (see drawing, No. I.) the sprightly variety of their movements ill accorded with the ceremony. Old Odumata's vest was covered with fetish, cased invariably in gold or silver. A variety of extraordinary ornament and novel insignia, courted and reflected the sun in every direction. It was like a splendid pantomime after a Gothic tragedy.

We followed to the market place. The King, and the chiefs not immediately connected with Quatchie Quofie, were seated under their canopies, with the usual insignia and retinue, and lined about the half of a circle, apparently half a mile in circumference; the soldiery completed it, their respective chiefs situated amongst them. Thirteen victims, surrounded by their executioners, whose black shaggy caps and vests gave them the appearance of bears rather than men, were pressed together by the crowd to the left of the King. The troops of women, before described, paraded without

the circle, vociferating the dirge. Rum and palm wine were flowing copiously, horns and drums were exerted even to frenzy. In an instant there was a burst of musketry near the King, and it spread and continued incessantly, around the circle, for upwards of an hour. The soldiers kept their stations, but the chiefs, after firing, bounded once round the area with the gesture and extravagance of madmen; their panting followers enveloping them in flags, occasionally firing in all the attitudes of a scaramouch, and incessantly bellowing the strong names of their exulting chief, whose musket they snatched from his hands directly he had fired. An old hag, described as the head fetish woman of the family, screamed and plunged about in the midst of the fire as if in the greatest agonies. The greater the chief the heavier the charge of powder he is allowed to fire; the heaviest charge recollected, was that fired by the King on the death of his sister, 18 ackies, or an ounce avoirdupoise. Their blunderbusses and long guns were almost all braced closely with the cordage of the country; they were generally supported by their attendants whilst they fired, several did not appear to recover it for nearly a minute; Odumata's old frame seemed shaken almost to dissolution. Many made a point of collecting near us, just within the circle, and firing as close as possible to startle us; the frequent bursting of their muskets made this rather alarming as well as disagreeable. The firing abated, they drank freely from the bowls of palm wine, religiously pouring a small quantity on the ground before they raised them to their lips.*

*

“ Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho

“ Fundit humi.

Æn. v.

“ Οἶνον δ' ἔκ δεπᾶων χαμάδις χέον, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη

“ Πρὶν πίεειν, πρὶν λείψαι ὑπερμενέει Κρονίωνι.” Ομηρ. η.

The Ashantees do so not only on solemn occasions, but invariably; and it would seem that the Greeks did, from the following words of Hecuba to Hector,

The principal females of the family, many of them very handsome, and of elegant figures, came forward to dance; dressed, generally, in yellow silk, with a silver knife hung by a chain round their necks; one with a gold, another with a silver horn; a few were dressed as fetish women; an umbrella was held over the grand daughter as she danced. The Ashantees dance incomparably better than the people of the water side, indeed elegantly; the sexes do not dance separately, as in Fantee, but the man encircles the woman with a piece of silk which he generally flirts in his right hand, supports her round the waist, receives her elbows in the palms of his hands, and a variety of figures approximating, with the time and movement, very closely to the waltz.

A dash of sheep and rum was exchanged between the King and Quatchie Quofie, and the drums announced the sacrifice of the victims. All the chiefs first visited them in turn; I was not near enough to distinguish wherefore. The executioners wrangled and struggled for the office, and the indifference with which the first poor creature looked on, in the torture he was from the knife passed through his cheeks, was remarkable: the nearest executioner snatched the sword from the others, the right hand of the victim was then lopped off, he was thrown down, and his head was sawed rather than cut off; it was cruelly prolonged, I will not say wilfully. Twelve more were dragged forward, but we forced our way through the crowd, and retired to our quarters. Other sacrifices, principally female, were made in the bush where the body was buried. It is usual to "wet the grave" with the blood of a freeman of respectability. All the retainers of the family being present, and the heads of all the victims deposited in the bottom of the grave,

"' Ἀλλὰ μὲν, ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω,
 Ὡς σπείσης Διὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι
 Πρῶτον ἔπειτα δὲ ᾠαυτὸς ὀήσῃσαι, αἶ κε πύσθῃα" Ὀμηρ. ζ.

several are unsuspectingly called on in a hurry to assist in placing the coffin or basket, and just as it rests on the heads or skulls, a slave from behind stuns one of these freemen by a violent blow, followed by a deep gash in the back part of the neck, and he is rolled in on the top of the body, and the grave instantly filled up. A sort of carnival, varied by firing, drinking, singing, and dancing, was kept up in Assafoo for several days; the chiefs generally visiting it every evening, or sending their linguists with a dash of palm wine or rum to Quatchie Quofie; and I was given to understand, that, but for the approaching war and the necessary economy of powder, there would have been eight great customs instead of one, for this woman, one weekly, the King himself firing at the last. The last day, all the females in any way connected with the family (who are not allowed to eat for three days after the death, though they may drink as much palm wine as they please,) paraded round the town, singing a compliment and thanks to all those who had assisted in making the custom.

On the death of a King, all the Customs which have been made for the subjects who have died during his reign, must be simultaneously repeated by the families, (the human sacrifices as well as the carousals and pageantry) to amplify that for the monarch, which is also solemnised, independently, but at the same time, in every excess of extravagance and barbarity. The brothers, sons, and nephews of the King, affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets, and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd; even a man of rank, if they meet him, is their victim, nor is their murder of him or any other, on such an occasion, visited or prevented; the scene can scarcely be imagined. Few persons of rank dare to stir from their houses for the first two or three days, but religiously drive forth all their vassals and slaves, as the most acceptable composition of their own absence. The King's Ocras, who will be

mentioned presently, are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance. I was assured by several, that the custom for Sai Quamina, was repeated weekly for three months, and that two hundred slaves were sacrificed, and 25 barrels of powder fired, each time. But the custom for the King's mother, the regent of the kingdom during the invasion of Fantee, is most celebrated. The King of himself devoted 3000 victims, (upwards of 2000 of whom were Fantee prisoners) and 25 barrels of powder.* Dwabin, Kokoofoo, Becqua, Soota, and Marmpong, furnished 100 victims, and 20 barrels of powder, each, and most of the smaller towns 10 victims, and two barrels of powder, each. The Kings, and Kings only, are buried in the cemetery at Bantama, and the sacred gold buried with them; (see Laws;) their bones are afterwards deposited in a building there, opposite to which is the largest brass pan I ever saw, (for sacrifices,) being about five feet in diameter, with four small lions on the edge. Here human sacrifices are frequent and ordinary, to water the graves of the Kings. The bodies of chiefs are frequently carried about with the army, to keep them for interment at home, and eminent revolters or enemies also, to be exposed in the capital. Boiteäm, (the father of Otee the fourth linguist,) who accompanied the army of Abiniowa in his political capacity, dying at Akrofrom in Aquapim, during the campaign, his body was kept with the army two months before it arrived at Coomassié. I could not get any information on their treatment of the corpse, beyond their invariable reply that they smoked it well over a slow fire.

The laws of Ashantee allow the King 3333 wives, which number is carefully kept up, to enable him to present women to those who

* Suetonius tells us that Augustus sacrificed 300 of the principal citizens of Perusia, to the manes of his uncle Julius. We read in Prevost, that 64080 persons were sacrificed, with aggravated barbarity, in the dedication of a temple in Mexico.

distinguish themselves, but never exceeded, being in their eyes a mystical one. Many of these reside in a secluded part of the King's croom, or country residence, at Barramang; a greater number in a croom, at the back of the palace, immediately in the marsh; and the remainder in two streets of the capital. Many, probably, the King has never seen. The streets as well as the croom, are inhabited by them exclusively, and never approached but by the King's messengers, or their female relatives, who only communicate with them at the entrances, which are closed at each end with bamboo doors, where there is always a guard. If the King *consaws* or marries an infant at the breast, which is not unfrequent, she is thenceforth confined to the house, and rigorously secluded from the sight of any but the female part of her family. The King has seldom more than six wives resident with him in the palace. On the occasion of signing the treaty, as explained in the public letter, about 300 were assembled, and none but the King's Chamberlain, and the deputies of the parts of the government, were allowed to be present: they were addressed through their own linguist, a very decrepid old man; many of them were very handsome, and their figures exquisite. When they go out, which is seldom, they are encircled and preceded by troops of small boys with thongs or whips of elephants hide, who lash every one severely who does not quit their path for another, or jump into the bush with his hands before his eyes; and sometimes the offenders are heavily fined besides. The scrambling their approach occasioned, in the more public parts of the city, was very diverting; captains, caboceers, slaves, and children tumbling one over another. I was told what it cost the King daily to support them, but it has escaped me; they are said to live as daintily as himself. None but the chief eunuch, an immense creature, is allowed to bear a message to the King when in the seraglio of the palace.

It has been mentioned before, that the King's sisters are not only countenanced in intrigue, with any handsome subject, but they are allowed to choose any eminently so, (however inferior otherwise,) as a husband; who is presently advised by the King of his good fortune; thus they consider they provide for a personal superiority in their monarchs. But if the royal bride dies before the husband, unless his rank be originally elevated, he is expected to kill himself on the occasion, and also if the only male child dies: if he hesitates, he is peremptorily reminded that as either are his superiors, to whom he is to be considered as a slave, so he must attend them wherever they go; and when a male child is born, the father does it homage and acknowledges his vassalage in the most abject manner.

The Ocro's are distinguished by a large circle of gold suspended from the neck; many of them are favourite slaves, many, commoners who have distinguished themselves, and who are glad to stake their lives on the King's, to be kept free from palavers and supported by his bounty, which they are entirely; some few are relatives and men of rank. All of the two former classes, excepting only the two or three individuals known to have been entrusted with the King's state secrets, are sacrificed on his tomb. The royal messengers, and others of the suite have been described in the processions; they are sometimes fed in the palace, but they have a free seat at the table of every subject.

➤ The King has a troop of small boys, who carry the fetish bows and arrows, and are licensed plunderers; they are so sly and nimble, that it is very diverting to watch them in the market place, which they infest every morning. Whatever they can carry off is fair game, and cannot be required or recovered; but the loser, if he can catch them before they arrive at the palace, may beat them as severely as he pleases, short of mortal injury; however, they

bear it as obdurately as young Spartans. Sometimes one party trips up a person with a load of provisions, whilst another scrambles them up: the anxious alarm of the market people, sitting with sticks in their hands, and the comic archness of these boys threading the crowd in all directions, is indescribable. Some of the earliest European travellers in Abyssinia met with a similar troop of royal plunderers, and I believe suffered from them; our property was always respected by them, but they used to entertain themselves with mimicking our common expressions and our actions, which they did inimitably: whilst sketching, they buzzed about me like musquitoes. The Ashantees are without exception the most surprising mimics I have ever heard. I have known a captain, called Adoo Quamina, repeat a sentence after I had finished it, of at least a dozen words, which he knew nothing about, and had not heard before. The King has a sort of buffoon, whose movements were as irresistibly comic as those of Grimaldi.

The King appeared to have nearly a hundred negroes of different colors, through the shades of red and pink to white; they were collected for state, but were generally disgusting objects, diseased and emaciated; they always seemed as if going to shed their skins, and their eyes blinked in the light, as if it was not their element.

About twenty pots of white soup, and twenty pots of black (made with palm nuts) are cooked daily at the palace, (besides those for the consumption of the household,) for visitors of consequence, and a periguin of gold is given daily to Yokokroko, the chamberlain, for palm wine. This would have appeared too large a sum, had I not witnessed the vast consumption and waste of it; for the vigour of an Ashantee being estimated by the measure of the draught he can drink off; nearly half is generally spilt over his beard, which it is his greatest pride and luxury to draw through his fingers when wet. The King was very proud of the superior

length of his beard. A large quantity of palm wine is dashed to the retainers of all the captains attending in the course of the day; much is expended in the almost daily ceremony of drinking it in state in the market place; and our party was always well provided for in the course of the evening. The palm wine at the palace was seldom good, but a zest was excited by the exquisite polish of the plate in which it was served: Apokoo, Odumata, and others, sent us some daily that was excellent.

It is to be observed that the King's weights are one third heavier than the current weights of the country; and all the gold expended in provision being weighed out in the former, and laid out in the latter, the difference enriches the chamberlain, cook, and chief domestic officers of the palace, as it is thought derogatory to a King avowedly to pay his subjects for their services. In the same manner the linguists derive the greater part of their incomes, (their influence being occasionally purchased,) for all the dashes or presents of gold the King makes in the year, are weighed out by the royal weights, and re-weighed by them in the current ones. The law allows a debtor to recover of a reluctant or tardy creditor, in the King's weights, besides the interest, (noticed in the laws,) if he is esteemed enough by Apokoo the treasurer, to be trusted with them; or rather, if he can afford to bribe him, or engages to share the profit with him.

After a subject is executed for crime, the body and head are carried out of town by some of the King's slaves, appointed for that purpose, and thrown where the wild beasts may devour them; but if the deceased be of any consequence, some of his friends conceal themselves near where they know the body will be carried, and purchase it, and the right of burial, of these domestics, generally for eight ackies. There are a number of fine large sheep, decorated with bells and other ornaments, about the palace. If

any person gets into an ordinary palaver, and wishes the King's interference in his favor, he goes to the captain who has the charge of these sheep, pays him 20 ackies for one, and sends or takes it to the King, as a dash, who commits it again to the care of the captain.

When the King sends an ambassador, he enriches the splendor of his suite and attire as much as possible ; sometimes provides it entirely ; but it is all surrendered on the return, (except the additional wives) and forms a sort of public state wardrobe. The King's system of espionage is much spoken of (for its address and infallibility) by Apokoo and others, who abet it. A shrewd but mean boy is attached to, or follows the embassy, (sometimes with a trader,) in the commonest capacity and meanest attire ; and he is instructed to collect every report as he passes, and to watch the motions of the embassy as closely as possible. As the extortions of these deputies are always loudly and publicly complained of by the injured inhabitants of the dependent or tributary crooms they pass through, (perhaps being aware they will reach the King's ears,) the particulars are easily acquired. The messengers who were sent with our first dispatches to Cape Coast, excusing the length of the time, (forty days) by alleging that it was found necessary to collect a session of the Fantee caboceers at Paintree ; the King replied, " You tell me a lie ; you fined a captain there four ounces for breaking an Ashantee law, and you waited to procure and expend the gold, not intending it should be known." The men instantly confessed, and were put in irons ; one was the brother of Yokokroko, who paid six ounces for his release, after several days.

When the King spits, the boys with the elephants tails sedulously wipe it up, or cover it with sand ; when he sneezes, every person present touches, or lays the two first fingers across the forehead

and breast, as the Moors did when they pronounced a blessing, and the Ashantees, invariably, to propitiate one. These troops of boys who carry the elephants tails, are the sons of men of rank and confidence; for whenever the King dignifies a deserving subject, with what may be termed nobility, he exchanges some of his own sons or nephews, (from eight to fourteen years of age,) for those of the individual, who maintains them, and for whom they perform the same offices, as his own and others do for the King. Thus the present King (the short reign of his brother Saï Apokoo being unanticipated) carried an elephants tail before Apokoo, whose kindness and indulgence to the child secured the preference of the monarch.

It is a frequent practice of the King's, to consign sums of gold to the care of rising captains, without requiring them from them for two or three years, at the end of which time he expects the captain not only to restore the principal, but to prove that he has acquired sufficient of his own, from the use of it, to support the greater dignity the King would confer on him. If he has not, his talent is thought too mean for further elevation. Should he have no good traders amongst his dependents, (for if he has there is no difficulty) usury and worse resources are countenanced, and thought more creditable than a failure, ascribed to want of talent rather than to a regard of principle.

The fees to the King's household on a captain being raised to a stool, are generally eight ounces. I saw two instances of the King paying them himself; the individuals, very suddenly elevated for extraordinary courage, being too poor to do so. They were immediately dispatched to collect tributes, the per centage on which, (see Laws,) and the douceurs, which may be judged of by the amount provided for them in the settlement of the Commenda palaver, would possess them of a good sum to begin with.

The interference of Amanquateä, Quatchie Quofie, Odumata, and Apokoo, is purchased at a most extravagant rate by offenders, whether foreigners or subjects; it is irresistible with the King; Apokoo is generally preferred; minor influence is purchased in proportion. No subject can sit in public with a cushion on his stool, unless it has been presented to him by the King, or one of the four, who, as well as all the other superior captains, receive a periguin of gold for every oath the King exacts of them.

During the minority, or the earlier part of the reign of a monarch, the linguists and oldest counsellors visit him betimes every morning, and repeat, in turn, all the great deeds of his ancestors. The greatest deference seemed to be paid to aged experience or wisdom.

Apokoo is the keeper of the royal treasury, and has the care of all the tributes, which are deposited, separately, in a large apartment of the palace, of which he only has the key. Numerous and various as the sums are, he disposes of them by a local association which is said to be infallible with him, for the Moorish secretary, (who resided some time at Hio,) only records the greater political events. Apokoo holds a sort of exchequer court at his own house daily, (when he is attended by two of the King's linguists, and various state insignia,) to decide all cases affecting tribute or revenue, and the appeal to the King is seldom resorted to. He generally reclined on his lofty bed, (of accumulated cushions, and covered with a large rich cloth or piece of silk,) with two or three of his handsomest wives near him, whilst the pleadings were going forward. He was always much gratified when I attended, and rose to seat me beside him. I observed that all calculations were made, explained, and recorded, by cowries. In one instance, after being convinced by a variety of evidence that a public debtor was unable to pay gold, he commuted sixteen ounces of gold, for twenty men slaves. Several captains, who were his followers, attended

this court daily with large suites, and it was not only a crowded, but frequently a splendid scene. Before the footoorh^h or treasury bag is unlocked by the weigher, though it be by the King's order, Apokoo must strike it with his hand in sanction.

In all public trials, the charges are preferred, in outline, against the criminal by the King's linguists, and he is always heard fully, and obliged to commit or exculpate himself on every point, and to take the various primary oaths, before the witnesses are confronted with him; of whom he is kept as ignorant as possible until the moment of their appearance. The oaths, sometimes four or five, are progressive, generally beginning by the King's foot, or some arbitrary form, and are, apparently, not considered a-wful or decisive; such perjuries being commutable by fine. But when the oath, "by the King's father," is administered, every one looks serious, and if, "by Cormantee and Saturday" (see History) is resorted to, there is a gloomy silence; but this is seldom ventured, if the witnesses, (hurried in with a sort of stage effect between that and the former oaths,) confound or perplex the accused.

There are various ways of taking fetish; the two I observed, were, licking a white fowl twice or thrice, and drinking a nauseous vegetable juice without coughing: it was administered by the linguists out of a brass pan in a folded leaf of the plant. If the accused is cleared, he comes forward, and is marked with white chalk by the linguists, after which he bows to, and thanks all the great men in the council. Taking doom is the infallible test, when they consider the case to be too doubtful for human decision. The bark of that tree is put into a large calabash with water, so as to make a strong infusion; it is stirred up whilst the suspected parties sip in turn. It operates, instantaneously and convulsively, as a most violent emetic and purge; those who sip first may

recover, and the dregs are frequently left designedly for the obnoxious.*

The criers, upwards of a hundred, who always attend the linguists, are all deformed or maimed, to make them more conspicuous; they wear a monkey skin cap, with a gold plate in front, and the tail hanging down behind. Their common exclamations are, Tehoo! Tehing! Odiddee! Be silent! Be quiet! Pray hear! and these are so incessantly uttered, that they are themselves the only interruption. Several less interesting peculiarities are represented in the drawings of the Yam Custom, and associated with other subjects.

A general is appointed to the command of an army by receiving a gold handled sword of the King's from his hand, (who strikes him gently with it three times on the head,) swearing to return it encrusted with the blood of his conquered enemies. One of the King's linguists always accompanies an army of any consequence, to whom all the politics of the war are entrusted, and whose talent and intelligence in negotiating, are expected to mature the fruits of the military genius of the general, and to reimburse the expense of the war by heavy fines and contributions. The Ashantees are as superior in discipline as in courage to the people of the water side, though their discipline is limited to the following precautions. They never pursue when it is near sun set; the general is always in the rear; the secondary captains lead the soldiers on, whilst those in command, with a few chosen individuals, urge them forward from the rear with their heavy swords, and cut any man down who retreats until the case is desperate. The first object of

* In the Warsaw country there is said to be a more dreadful poison called Sabè: if it is thrown upon the skin, it is absorbed by the pores, and has nearly the same instantaneous mortal effect as when given internally.

the Ashantee in close fight, is, to fire and spring upon the throat of his enemy ; to advance every time he fires he feels to be imperative, if his commander thinks it possible, who would, otherwise, if he escaped death in the action, inflict it on him directly it was over. It is one of the sentences of the most popular song in Coomassie, " if I fight I die, if I run away I die, better I go on and die." They are as the antient Spaniards have been described, " prodiga gens animæ et properare facillima mortem." The general has his umbrella spread in the rear, and, besides his guard, has several extra muskets ready loaded for those soldiers who may be driven to him in case of reverse. His band plays all the time, and in his assumed contempt for the enemy, it is the etiquette for him to divert himself at some game, whilst the heads of the slain of any rank in the hostile army are sent to him to put his foot on. When the result of an important action is expected, even with an anxiety by no means sanguine, and the messengers are known to be near the capital, the King is always seated in public, with his golden worra board before him, playing with some dignitary ; and thus receives the news, to impress the people with confidence by his affected indifference to victory or defeat, when superstition had revealed and fated inevitable success ultimately

All the superior captains have peculiar flourishes or strains for their horns, adapted to short sentences, which are always recognised, and will be repeated on enquiry by any Ashantee you may meet walking in the streets, though the horns are not only out of sight, but at a distance to be scarcely audible. These flourishes are of a strong and distinct character. The King's horns uttered, " I pass all Kings in the world." Apokoo's, " Ashantees, do you do right now ?" Gimma's, " Whilst I live no harm can come." Bundahenna's, " I am a great King's son." Amanqua's, " No one dares trouble me." This will be further noticed in the chapter on

Music. These peculiar flourishes are more particularly for their government in action, for all the soldiery, indeed I might say all the women and children, being familiar with every flourish, the positions of the various chiefs are judged of when they cannot be seen; whether they are advancing, falling back, or attempting to flank the enemy by penetrating the woods, is known, and the movements of all the others become co-operative, as much as possible. The King's horns go to the market place every night, as near to midnight as they can judge, and flourish a very peculiar strain, which was rendered to me, "King Sai thanks all his captains and all his people for to-day."

Several of the hearts of the enemy are cut out by the fetish men who follow the army, and the blood and small pieces being mixed, (with much ceremony and incantation,) with various consecrated herbs, all those who have never killed an enemy before eat a portion, for it is believed that if they did not, their vigor and courage would be secretly wasted by the haunting spirit of the deceased. It was said that the King and all the dignitaries partook of the heart of any celebrated enemy; this was only whispered; that they wore the smaller joints, bones, and the teeth of the slain monarchs was evident as well as boasted. One man was pointed out to me, as always eating the heart of the enemy he killed with his own hand. The number of an army is ascertained or preserved in cowries or coin by Apokoo. When a successful general returns, he waits about two days at a short distance from the capital, to receive the King's compliments, and to collect all the splendor possible for his entrée, to encourage the army and infatuate the people. The most famous generals are distinguished by the addition of warlike names, more terrific than glorious, as they designate their manner of destroying their prisoners. Apokoo was called Aboawassa, because he was in the habit of cutting off their arms.

Appia, Sheäboo, as he beats their heads in pieces with a stone.
Amanqua, Abiniowa, as he cuts off their legs.

The army is prohibited during the active parts of a campaign, from all food but meal, which each man carries in a small bag at his side, and mixes in his hands with the first water he comes to; this, they allege, is to prevent cooking fires from betraying their position, or anticipating a surprise. In the intervals, (for this meal is seldom eaten more than once a day,) they chew the boossee or gooroo nut. This meal is very nourishing and soon satisfies; we tried it on our march down. Ashantee spies have been stationed three and four days in the high trees overlooking Cape Coast Castle, with no other supply than this meal and a little water, before the army has shewn itself. There is always a distinct body of recruits with the army, to dispatch those with their knives whom the musket has only wounded, and they are all expected to return well armed from despoiling the enemy, or they are not esteemed of promise, and dismissed to some servile occupation. I could not find that they had any idea of fortifications, though undoubtedly common to the large cities on the Niger.

It is the invariable policy of Ashantee to make the contingency of the power last subdued, the revolters recently quelled, or the allies last accepted, the vån of their army throughout the campaign, and very frequently there are no Ashantees but captains with the army; but it is composed entirely of tributaries and allies. Thus Odumata subdued Banda with an army of Gamans. In the Ashantee body of the army, which is always that of reserve, the youngest or last made captain marches and engages first, and the others follow seriatim, until Odumata precedes Quatchie Quofie, Amanqua follows him, and Apokoo precedes the King. Were the country generally open, I have no doubt, necessity and their military genius would have suggested greater arrangement and com-

pactness in their movement, which is nevertheless very orderly. Two divisions of an army are rarely allowed to go the same path, lest, being in want of supplies, the neighbourhood should prove inadequate. Aboidwee, our house master, (see correspondence on the Ashantee suicide) who has 1700 retainers, always precedes the King's or Apokoo's division, (which will exclusively occupy the Banda path in the invasion of Gaman) to raise a bamboo house for the King's reception when he comes up.

Infants are frequently married to infants, for the connection of families; and infants are as frequently wedded by adults and elderly men. The ceremony is to send the smaller piece of cloth, worn around the middle, to the infant, and a handsome dash of gold to the mother, as her care then ceases to be a duty, but becomes a service performed to the husband, who also sends frequent presents for the support of the child. Apokoo told me it was a good plan for a man to adopt who wished to get gold, for as the circumstance was seldom generally known, the most innocent freedom when the girl became ten or eleven years old, grounded a palaver against the individual, though he might consider he was but fondling a child, and be wholly ignorant of her marriage. I afterwards understood from several others, that this view was the leading motive.*

It frequently happens, when the family of the wife is too powerful for the husband to venture to put her to death for intrigue, that he takes off her nose as a stigma and punishment, and makes her the wife of one of his slaves. A wife who betrays a secret is sure to lose her upper lip, and, if discovered listening to a private conversation of her husband's, an ear. Women so maimed are to be met

* On the Coast, the bride's character is very notoriously published, for part of the husband's present to her family being a flask of rum, and that not sent until the next day; whether it is brimful, or somewhat wanting, indicates her virginity, or early frailty.

with in all parts of the town. Prostitutes are numerous and countenanced. No Ashantee forces his daughter to become the wife of the man he wishes, but he instantly disclaims her support and protection on her refusal, and would persecute the mother if she afforded it; thus abandoned, they have no resource but prostitution. During the menses, the women of the capital retire to the plantations or crooms in the bush.*

In visiting, the chief always gives his principal slaves a few sips of the liquor offered to him, not for security, for it is more frequently after than before he has drank, but as a mark of his favour. He will frequently give his daughter in marriage to a confidential slave, but where there are a few thus distinguished and indulged, (apparently as a political check upon a heterogeneous populace,) there are thousands barely existing.

Their principal games are Worra † (see drawing, No. 10.) which I could not understand, and Drafts, which both Moors and Negroes play well and constantly. Their method resembles the Polish, they take and move backwards and forwards, and a king has the bishop's move in chess. They have another game, for which a board is perforated like a cribbage board, but in numerous oblique lines, traversing each other in all directions, and each composed of three holes for pegs; the players begin at the same instant, with an equal number of pegs, and he who inserts or completes a line first, in spite of the baulks of his adversary, takes a peg from him, until the stock of either is exhausted.

* The women of Ahanta, on the same occasion, are prohibited from entering any inhabited place; and if they attempt to go into a house, are heavily fined or punished. If the family is respectable, they generally erect a temporary shed to shelter her; the poorer class are forced to endure the inclemencies of the weather without any retreat.

† This game is said to be played in Syria also.

CHAPTER VI.

Architecture, Arts, and Manufactures.

THE construction of the ornamental architecture of Coomassie reminded me forcibly of the ingenious essay of Sir James Hall, (in the Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions,) tracing the Gothic order to an architectural imitation of wicker work. The drawings will serve to shew the various and uncommon character of their architectural ornaments, adopted from those of interior countries, and, confessedly, in no degree originating with themselves.

In building a house, a mould was made for receiving the swish or clay, by two rows of stakes and wattle work, placed at a distance equal to the intended thickness of the wall; as two mud walls were raised at convenient distances, to receive the plum pudding stone which formed the walls of the vitrified fortresses in Scotland. The interval was then filled up with a gravelly clay, mixed with water, with which the outward surface of the frame or stake work was also thickly plastered, so as to impose the appearance of an entire thick mud wall. The houses had all gable ends, and three thick poles were joined to each; one from the highest point, forming the ridge of the roof, and one on each side, from the base of the triangular part of the gable; these supported a frame work of bamboo, over which an interwoven thatch of palm leaves was laid, and tied with the runners of trees, first to the large poles running

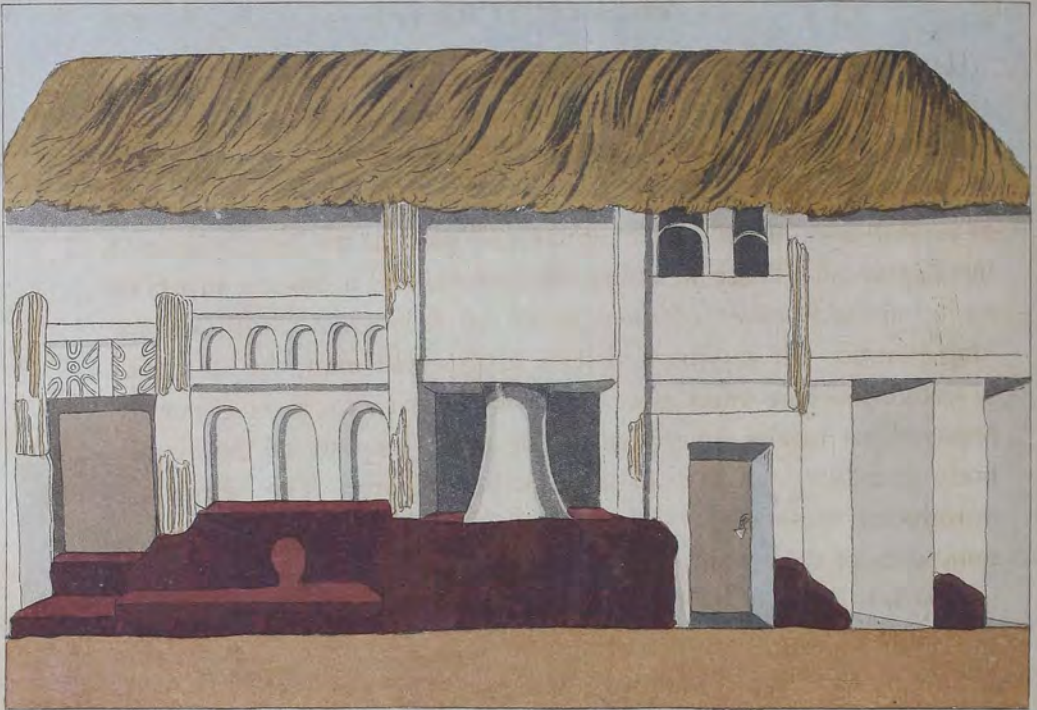
from gable to gable, and afterwards, (within,) to the interlacing of the bamboo frame work, which was painted black and polished, so as to look much better than any rude cieling would, of which they have no idea; a small part appears in the houses in the drawing of Adoom-street (No. 9.) The pillars, which assist to support the roof, and form the proscenium or open front, (which none but captains are allowed to have to their houses) were thick poles, afterwards squared with a plastering of swish. The steps and raised floor of these rooms were clay and stone, with a thick layer of red earth, which abounds in the neighbourhood, and these were washed and painted daily, with an infusion of the same earth in water; it has all the appearance of red ochre, and from the abundance of iron ore in the neighbourhood, I do not doubt it is.

The walls still soft, they formed moulds or frame works of the patterns in delicate slips of cane, connected by grass. The two first slips (one end of each being inserted in the soft wall) projected the relief, commonly mezzo: the interstices were then filled up with the plaster, and assumed the appearance depicted. The poles or pillars were sometimes encircled by twists of cane, intersecting each other, which, being filled up with thin plaster, resembled the lozenge and cable ornaments of the Anglo-Norman order; the quatre-foil was very common, and by no means rude, from the symmetrical bend of the cane which formed it. I saw a few pillars, (after they had been squared with the plaster) with numerous slips of cane pressed perpendicularly on to the wet surface, which being covered again with a very thin coat of plaster, closely resembled fluting. When they formed a large arch, they inserted one end of a thick piece of cane in the wet clay of the floor or base, and bending the other over, inserted it in the same manner; the entablature was filled up with wattle work plastered over. Arcades and piazzas were common. A white wash, very frequently renewed,

was made from a clay in the neighbourhood. Of course the plastering is very frail, and in the relief frequently discloses the edges of the cane, giving however a piquant effect, auxiliary to the ornament. The doors were an entire piece of cotton wood, cut with great labour out of the stems or buttresses of that tree; battens variously cut and painted were afterwards nailed across. (See drawing, No. 5.) So disproportionate was the price of labour to that of provision, that I gave but two tokoos for a slab of cotton wood, five feet by three. The locks they use are from Houssa, and quite original; one will be sent to the British Museum. Where they raised a first floor, the under room was divided into two by an intersecting wall, to support the rafters for the upper room, which were generally covered with a frame work thickly plastered over with red ochre. I saw but one attempt at flooring with plank, it was cotton wood shaped entirely with an adze, and looked like a ship's deck. The windows were open wood work, carved in fanciful figures and intricate patterns, and painted red; the frames were frequently cased in gold, about as thick as cartridge paper.

What surprised me most, and is not the least of the many circumstances deciding their great superiority over the generality of Negroes, was the discovery that every house had its cloacæ, besides the common ones for the lower orders without the town. They were generally situated under a small arch way in the most retired angle of the building, but not unfrequently up stairs, within a separate room like a small closet, (see drawing No. 3.) where the large hollow pillar also assists to support the upper story: the holes are of a small circumference, but dug to a surprising depth, and boiling water is daily poured down, which effectually prevents the least offence. The rubbish and offal of each house was burnt every morning at the back of the street, and they were as nice and cleanly in their dwellings as in their persons.





Drawn by T.E. Bowditch Esq.

Drawing No. 3, is one of the oldest houses in Coomassie, inherited by the unfortunate Bakkee, and part of the quarters of the Mission. Its comparative rudeness is evident.

No. 4, is a more modern part of the same house, being one side of a small area about 15 feet square, allotted to the chief officer of the Embassy. These areas are all distinct, and a house consists of an indefinite number of them, some 36 feet square, with several long courts. In paying a visit to a principal man, the state was to detain us some minutes at the door of each area, as he generally received us in the innermost. The figure is one of the King's body guards, which have been described before. The figures are introduced to shew the proportion of the buildings, and to give some idea of the costume.

No. 5, is the exterior of a bed room of Odumata's, which is one side of an oblong area in a very retired angle of his house, about 25 feet by 8. The cloth suspended to the left of the door on the top of the steps, hides the bloody stools which are in the recess. The small gallery in front of the upper room is only wide enough for one person to walk in. The recess and small room below accommodate confidential slaves. The bed room was very small, about 8 feet square, but being hung round with a variety of gold and silver ornaments, had a very rich appearance. The bed is generally about 5 feet high, and composed entirely of large silk-cotton pillows piled one above another. The King of Gaman, we were assured, had steps of solid gold to ascend to his bed. A man wearing a crier's cap, is playing the sanko.

No. 6, is a perspective view of the entrance area to Apokoo's house; the fourth side is an open fronted building like those on the right and left for attendants to wait in, and for the hearing of palavers. The opposite closed side is a bed room. The figure is playing the bentwa (see Music.)

No. 7, is a part of a piazza, which lines the interior of the wall secluding the palace from the street. The piazza is 200 yards long, and inhabited by captains and other attendants on the King; above is a small gallery. Piles of skulls, and drums ornamented with them, are frequent in this piazza. The figure is a common soldier of Ashantee, his belt ornamented with red shells, and stuck full of knives.

No. 8, is the upper end of the piazza, which is more ornamented, and appropriated to the superior captains, who have each a suite of rooms, marked by the small doors under the piazza. A woman is dancing whilst a man plays the flute and rattle.

No. 9, is a view of part of Adoom-street: each open front denotes the residence of a captain, being used for talking palavers, receiving strangers, observing or superintending customs, and evening recreation. The dwelling is entered by the small door at the side, which generally leads through a narrow passage or court to a large area like No. 6, and thence by various intricate ways to smaller and more retired areas like No. 4 and No. 5. A fetish woman has just quitted the centre house; she has on a white cloth, and various pieces of rich silk are hanging round her girdle, her breasts are confined with a scarf, a fillet encircles her head, in each hand she waves a horse's tail, and she continues yelling and swinging round and round until she is quite stupified. A weaver and loom are on her right, and a market woman under her shed on the left.

No. 10, is the exterior of the King's bed room, being one side of an inner area, about 30 feet square. The stunted silk-cotton and the manchineal tree are fetish or sacred, as are the white and red rags at the top of the pole, and the small brass cups supported by the forked sticks. The colored bags hanging over the round doors (the chequering of which is in relief,) contain Moorish charms. The



Drawn by J.E. Sondich Esq.



Drawn by T. E. Bowdich Esq.

PART of

Published L



THE KINGS SLEEPING ROOM.

Published Dec. 2, 1900, by John Murray, Albemarle Street.

Drawn by G.E. Dawkins, Esq.

carving of the left hand window is cased in silver, of the right hand, in gold. The two men are playing at Worra. The King made frequent enquiries about the architecture of England, of which we gave him some idea by drawings. He was very fond of referring to a project ascribed to Saï Cudjo, and which he declared he would carry into effect directly the Gaman war was over. This was to build a house for his own immediate residence, roofed with brass pans, beaten into flat surfaces, and laid over an ivory frame work appearing within. The windows and the doors to be cased in gold, and the door posts and pillars of ivory. Whether the Moors originated or encouraged this extravagance by the descriptions in their tales, for some of the stories of the Arabian Nights were commonly in their mouths, or whether it was the scheme of his own disposition, prone to magnificence and novelty, the King dwelt ardently on the intention, and by their frequent conversations on the subject, his chiefs appeared scarcely less anxious for the execution than himself. He meditated great improvements and embellishments in his capital, on his return from the war, when it was intended that every captain should be presented with an extraordinary sum out of the public treasury, for adorning or enlarging his house. The ruined streets between Asafoo and Bantama were to be rebuilt, and the six or seven small crooms between Coomassie and Baramang, (the King's country residence,) were to be pulled down, and the inhabitants to occupy a wide street to extend from the city to that croom. This was the darling design of the King; he had already made a sound, broad, and almost direct road, and numerous labourers were continuing to bring it as near as possible to a straight line.

The Ashantee loom is precisely on the same principle as the English; it is worked by strings held between the toes; the web is never more than four inches broad. A weaver is represented in

the drawing, No. 3, and a small loom complete is amongst the articles for the British Museum. They use a spindle, and not a distaff, for spinning, holding it in one hand, and twisting the thread, (which has a weight at the end,) with the finger and thumb of the other. The fineness, variety, brilliance, and size of their cloths would astonish, could a more costly one be exhibited; in the absence of which, that for the Museum will doubtless be admired for the two first qualities, and for having precisely the same appearance on both sides. I shall notice in the Chapter on Trade, that the richest silks are unravelled to weave into them. The white cloths, which are principally manufactured in Inta and Dagwumba, they paint for mourning with a mixture of blood and a red dye wood. The patterns are various, and not inelegant, and painted with so much regularity, with a fowl's feather, that they have all the appearance of a coarse print at a distance. I have seen a man paint as fast as I could write. There will be a very fair specimen in the British Museum, the price of painting which was one ackie.

They have two dye woods, a red and a yellow, specimens of which I brought down; they make a green by mixing the latter with their blue dye, in which they excel; it is made from a plant called acassie, certainly not the indigo, which grows plentifully on the Coast. The acassie rises to the height of about two feet, and according to the natives, bears a red flower, but the leaf is not small, fleshy, or soft, nor is it pale or silvery coloured underneath; it is a thin acuminate leaf about five inches long, and three broad, of a dark green.* I regret to add, our best specimens of this plant perished in the disasters of our march, and no drawing was made

* It is a shrub with opposite leaves, no stipules, and having a certain degree of resemblance to *Marsdenia suave-olens* (the indigo of Sumatra) but as the leaves are toothed in the acassie, it probably does not belong even to the same natural order.

of it, as it bore no flower in that season; it grows abundantly in the woods, and produces a fast and beautiful colour without requiring a mordant. They gather a quantity of the leaves, bruise them in a wooden mortar, and spread them out on a mat to dry, this mass is kept for use, a proportion of it is put into a pot of water and remains six days previous to immersing the thread, which is left in six days, drying it once every day in the sun, it is then a deep lasting blue colour. When a light blue is wished for, the thread is only allowed to remain in the dye pot three days.

They excel in pottery, as the pipes for the Museum will shew; they are rested on the ground when smoked; the clay is very fine, polished (after baking) by friction, and the grooves of the patterns filled up with chalk. They have also a black pottery which admits of a high polish.

The people of Dagwumba surpass the Ashantees in goldsmith's work, though the latter may be esteemed proficient in the art. The small articles for the Museum, a gold stool, sanko, bell, jaw bone, and drum, are not such neat specimens as I could wish; the man who made them having too much costly work on hand for the King, to pay our trifles his wonted attention; unfortunately too, he was committed to prison before they were quite finished; however, they will give an idea. I weighed out nineteen ackies and a half of gold dust for making these articles, one third of an ackie was lost in melting, and five was the charge of the goldsmith. We lost a beautiful silver pipe in the bustle. Bees wax for making the model of the article wanted, is spun out on a smooth block of wood, by the side of a fire, on which stands a pot of water; a flat stick is dipped into this, with which the wax is made of a proper softness; it takes about a quarter of an hour to make enough for a ring. When the model is finished, it is enclosed in a composition of wet clay and charcoal, (which being closely pressed around it

forms a mould,) dried in the sun, and having a small cup of the same materials attached to it, (to contain the gold for fusion,) communicating with the model by a small perforation. When the whole model is finished, and the gold carefully enclosed in the cup, it is put in a charcoal fire with the cup undermost. When the gold is supposed to be fused, the cup is turned uppermost, that it may run into the place of the melted wax; when cool the clay is broken, and if the article is not perfect it goes through the whole process again. To give the gold its proper colour, they put a layer of finely ground red ochre, (which they call Inchuma,) all over it, and immerge it in boiling water mixed with the same substance and a little salt; after it has boiled half an hour, it is taken out and thoroughly cleansed from any clay that may adhere to it. Their bellows are imitations of ours, but the sheep skin they use being tied to the wood with leather thongs, the wind escapes through the crevices, therefore when much gold is on the fire they are obliged to use two or three pair at the same time. Their anvils are generally a large stone, or a piece of iron placed on the ground. Their stoves are built of swish (about three or four feet high) in a circular form, and are open about one fifth of the circumference; a hole is made through the closed part level with the ground, for the nozzle of the bellows. Their weights are very neat brass casts of almost every animal, fruit, or vegetable known in the country. The King's scales, blow pan, boxes, and weights, and even the tongs which hold the cinder to light his pipe, were neatly made of the purest gold that could be manufactured.

Their blacksmith's work is performed with the same sort of forge as the above, but they have no idea of making iron from ore, as their interior neighbours do. Their swords are generally perforated in patterns like fish trowels; frequently they make two blades springing parallel from one handle, which evince very fine work-

manship. The needles and castanets will only give some idea of their progress. The iron stone is of a dark red colour, spotted with gray, and intermixed with what had all the appearance of lava, they cut bullets out of it for the army, when lead is scarce. I have brought some arrows of native iron. They have no idea of making a lock like the people of Houssa and Marrowa.

They tan or dress leather in Ashantee, but they do this, and dye it, in a very superior manner in Houssa and Dagwumba; see the sandals and cushion in the British Museum, the former varied and apparently stitched; doubting that there could be such stitching, I undid a part, and discovered that they perforated the surface, and then stuck in the fine shreds of leather. The curious will observe, that the patterns of the stool cushion are all produced by paring the surface. They make their soldiers belts and pouches out of elephant or pig skin, ornamented with red shells. (See drawing, No. 7.)

Of their carpenter's work the stool is a fair specimen, being carved out of a solid piece of a wood called zesso, white, soft, and bearing a high polish; it is first soaked in water. They sell such a stool for about three shillings, in Accra or Fantee it would fetch twenty. The umbrella is even more curious, the bird is cut almost equal to turning, and the whole is so supple that it may be turned inside out. This, only a child's umbrella, is a model of the large canopies I have described in the procession; I gave a piece of cloth value twenty shillings for it. The sanko or guitar is also neatly made, and the chasteness and Etruscan character of the carving is very surprising. The surface of the wood is first charred in the fire, and then carved deep enough to disclose the original white in the stripes or lines of the patterns.

Numbers of workmen are employed in breaking, rounding, and boring the snail shells, as big as a turkey's egg generally, and

sometimes as large as a conch. They are first broken into numerous pieces, then chipped round, the size of a sleeve button, and afterwards bored with a bow and iron style fixed in a piece of wood. Lastly they are strung, and extended in rows on a log of wood, and rubbed with a soft and bluish gray stone and water, until they become perfectly round.

Their pine apple thread is very strong, and is made from the fineness of a hair to the thickness of whip cord, it bleaches to a beautiful whiteness, and would answer for sewing any strong material, but, when muslin is stitched with it, it is liable to be cut from the harshness. The women frequently join their cloths, and ornament their handkerchiefs with a zigzag pattern, worked with unravelled silks of different colours. The fetish case is a specimen of their needle work, in the manner of chain stitch.

CHAPTER VII.

Climate, Population, Revenue, City, Market, &c.

THE climate will be best judged of by the account of the thermometer (from May to February) in the Appendix. During the first two months, May and June, it rained about one third of the time, throughout July and August it rained nearly half, and abrupt tornadoes were frequent in the evening, just after sun set, ushered in by a strong wind from the south-west. The heaviest rains were from the latter end of September to the beginning of November, they fell even in more impetuous torrents than are witnessed on the coast.* The influence of the harmattan was described as very powerful. Generally speaking, from the elevation of Ashantee, (unfortunately we had no barometer,) it was much cooler in Coomassie than at Cape Coast; indeed, from four to six in the morning, there was a severity of cold unknown on the coast.

I can only calculate the population of the kingdom of Ashantee, small in itself, from its military force, of which the following is the most moderate of the estimates I received.

* At Cape Coast in 1815 there was scarcely any rain fell in its season, from May to August. In 1816, the rains were heavy, but no fogs succeeded. In 1817, there was but little rain, but a protracted succession of slight fogs. The climate has been observed, by old residents, to alter as unaccountably within these few years as that of Europe.

Coomassie district (extending to the northern frontier)	60,000
Dwabin ditto	35,000
Marmpon ditto	15,000
Soota ditto	15,000
Kokofoo ditto	15,000
Becqua ditto	12,000
Adiabin ditto (between Coomassie and the lake)	12,000
Aphwagwiasee ditto	10,000
Daniasee ditto (southwards of Coomassie)	8,000
Koontarasie ditto (on the lake)	8,000
Gamasie ditto	8,000
Amafoo ditto	6,000
	204,000

This appears an extravagant force, until we recollect that it is probably one fifth of the whole population.* The Romans when they were a nation of warriors, which these people are, raised a military force equally great in proportion to their population. Barbot heard of the Ashantees losing 50,000 men in two actions, an exaggeration which, nevertheless, serves to argue great military resources. Since the Ashantee invasions, their disposable force has been estimated by old residents in public reports, as upwards of 150,000. From the above particular statement, the population may be estimated at one million, which I believe is little more than half the population of Scotland, the area of which must be more than double that of Ashantee, which certainly does not contain more than 14,000 square miles. Amanquateä, Quatchie Quofie,

* " My friend Mr. Morton Pitt, M. P. has proved, by the enumeration of the inhabitants of a country parish in Dorsetshire, that the men of an age capable of bearing arms are one fourth of the whole community. Mr. Horneman, if I understand him rightly, states the number of actual warriors to be 1500; so that we ought, perhaps, to multiply that number by 5, to get nearer to the total amount of the population." *Major Rennell.*

Odumata, and Apokoo's forces alone amounted to 25,000. The contingencies at command from tributaries, (21 in number) are too indefinite to attempt to detail. Neither Inta or Dagwumba furnish any, the Ashantees pretending to despise their troops too much to use them. The following, which are known to be pretty correct, have generally been the first called into action :

Coranza	10,000
Assin -	8,000
Takima -	6,000
Dankara -	5,000
Warsaw -	7,000
Booroom -	12,000
Sawee - -	4,000
Akim -	4,000, before their later destructive revolts 16,000
Aquapim, &c.	1,000

Though polygamy is tolerated to such an excess amongst the higher orders, I do not think, from observation, that the proportion of women to men is two to one. Most of the lower order of free-men have but one wife, and very few of the slaves (the greater proportion of the military force) any. The following calculation is the only one I can think of, and it supports my impression after five months residence.

204,000 Men able to bear arms, about one-fifth of the
 whole population - - - 1,000,000
 101,000 Or one-fourth, children under ten years of age
 as found in Great Britain.
 50,000 Boys above that age not capable of bearing arms.
 7,000 Or one in about 28 incapacitated by old age or
 accidents, as found in Great Britain.

<u>362,000</u>	Males <u>362,000</u>
	Females <u>638,000</u>

The men are very well made, but not so muscular as the Fantees; their countenances are frequently aquiline. The women also are generally handsomer than those of Fantee, but it is only amongst the higher orders that beauty is to be found, and amongst them, free from all labour or hardship, I have not only seen the finest figures, (which the ease of their costume and habits may account for,) but, in many instances, regular Grecian features, with brilliant eyes set rather obliquely in the head. Beauty in a Negress must be genuine, since complexion prejudices instead of imposes, and the European adjudges it to the features only, which appeared in this class to be Indian rather than African; nor is it surprising, when we recollect that they are selected from, or are the daughters of the handsomest slaves or captives; or are expressly chosen by their interior neighbours, to compose part of their tribute to the King of Ashantee, who retains but a small proportion.

Both men and women are particularly cleanly in their persons, the latter washing themselves, and the former being washed by them daily on rising, from head to foot, with warm water and Portuguese soap, using afterwards the vegetable grease or butter, which is a fine cosmetic. Their cloths, which are beetled, are always scrupulously clean. The lowest orders are generally dirty. Occasionally, small delicate patterns in green or white paint are traced on their cheeks and temples. The Moorish negresses darken the edges of their eye lids with lead reduced to a fine powder. The ore was brought from Mallowa and is very rich. The powder is moistened a little, and kept in small boxes, like bodkin cases with a bulb at the end, and prettily covered with cow's hair, within which is a metal stylus to apply the powder, as the women of India do antimony for this purpose. Top-cloths are generally worn, and not by the higher order only as in Fantee. They are commonly of a coarse silk bought at Dagwumba. They wear little or no antiffoo,

a sort of cushion projecting from just below the small of the back in the Fantee women, by the size of which, frequently preposterous, and at all times unsightly, their rank, or the number of their children is known. The bosoms of girls of thirteen and fourteen are frequently models, but the young women sedulously destroy this beauty for what is considered a greater, wearing a broad band tight across their breasts, until ceasing to be globular they project conically. Their heads are shaved in fanciful elaborate patterns, having as intricate an appearance as a rich carpet.

The food of the higher orders is principally soup of dried fish, fowls, beef, or mutton, (according to the fetish,) and ground nuts stewed in blood. The poorer class make their soups of dried deer, monkeys flesh, and frequently of the pelts of skins. Yams, plantains, and fofoos, (see the kouskous of Mr. Park) are commonly eaten, and they do not make cankey of their corn, (a coarser sort of kouskous not cleared from the husk) as the Fantees do, but they roast it on the stalk, and when young the flavour closely resembles that of green peas. Besides palm wine they drink Pittō, made from dried corn, which I think must have been the beer Lieutenant Martyn relished so much, for it is quite as pleasant as a brisk small ale. They are forbidden eggs by the fetish, and cannot be persuaded to taste milk, which is only drank by the Moors. Their stews and white soups are excellent, and my companions reported their black soups (made with palm oil) to be equally so.

I cannot pretend to calculate the variable revenue of Ashantee, nor indeed to report its optional sources; I noted a few particulars.

1. The dust gold of all deceased and disgraced subjects. Boiteäm, the father of Otee, left five jars (said to hold about four gallons each) and two flasks. On Appia Nanu's disgrace three jars were seized.

2. A tax in gold upon all slaves purchased for the coast.*
Customs paid in gold by all traders returning from the coast, levied near Ansa in Assin.
3. A tax on the elephant hunters.
4. The small pits in Soko, which with the washings were reported to yield, sometimes 2,000 ounces per month, at others not more than 700.
5. The daily washings throughout Dankara, and the hills dividing Akim and Assin ; very rich in gold.
6. A tax on every chief increasing the number of his gold ornaments. Apokoo paid 20 periguins to the King on melting 100.
7. The soil of the market place (see Laws) has been washed but twice during the present reign. I was told it produced about 800 ounces of gold each time. During our stay a heavy rain washed down a large quantity, which was replaced and carefully covered with the soil, by the Captain in charge of the market place. It was very easily seen after rain.

The tributes of the various nations they had subdued, were in some instances fixed, but more frequently indefinite, being proportioned to the exigencies of the year ; indeed from various conversations with Apokoo and others, and my own observations during state palavers, it appeared that the necessities and the designs of the Ashantee government were the superior considerations, and the rule in levying tribute every where. I made the following memoranda.

Inta and Dagwumba never pay in gold, which though plentiful from commerce, is not found there, cowries being the circulating medium. Their capitals and all their large towns send the following tribute annually, and the smaller in proportion.

* I insert mentions this being levied in Akim and other tributary states.

500 Slaves.
 200 Cows.
 400 Sheep.
 400 Cotton cloths.
 200 Ditto and silk.

Takima a smaller proportion of the same kind.

Coranza is generally excused, from fidelity, and a long series of military services.

Sawee - - - 200 periguins annually.

Moinseän - - - 50 bendas ditto.

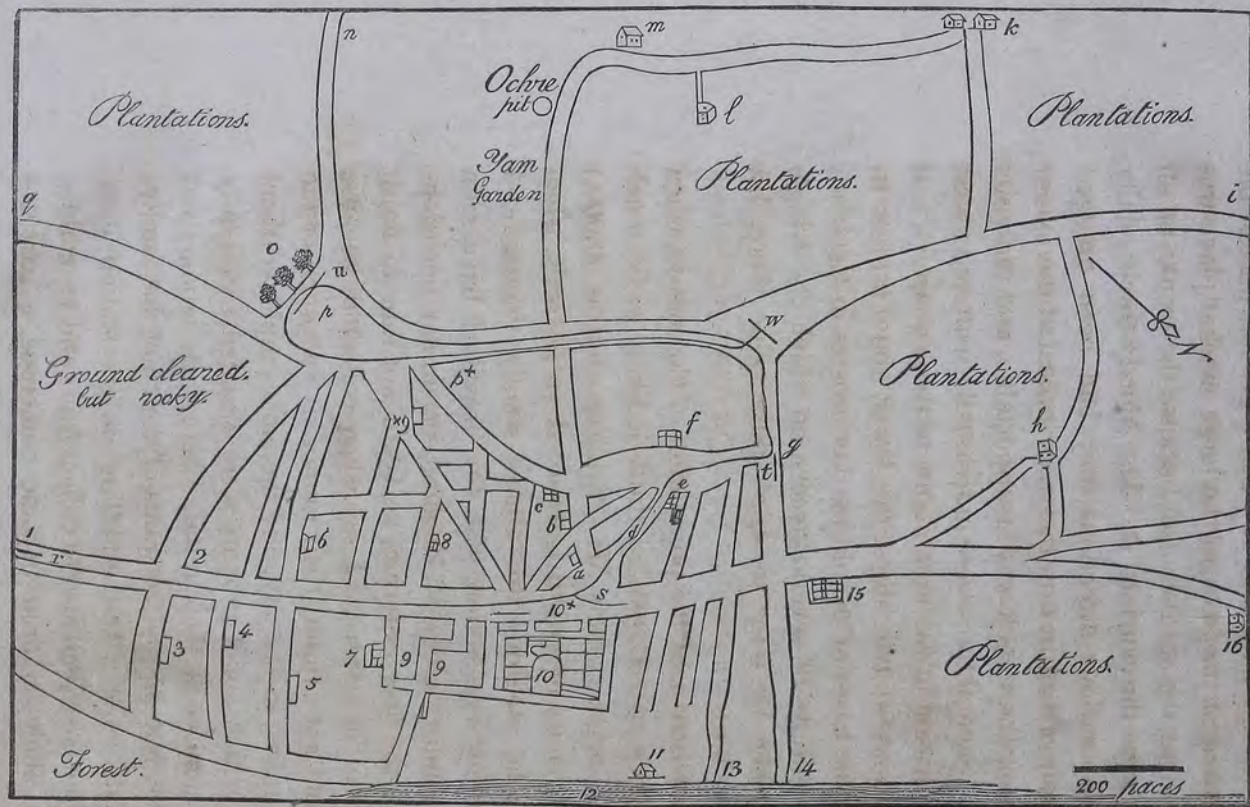
Gaman had paid, (besides all large pieces of rock gold,) 100 periguins ditto.

Akim, Assin, Warsaw, Aowin, &c. &c. were taxed indefinitely by crooms.

Coomassie is built upon the side of a large rocky hill of iron stone. It is insulated by a marsh close to the town northwards, and but a narrow stream; half a mile distant from it N.W., and 60 yards broad; close to it N.E., E., S.E., and S., and about 100, 20, 70, and 50 yards broad at these points. In many parts depth after heavy rains was five feet, and commonly two. The marsh contains many springs, and supplies the town with water, but the exhalation covers the city with a thick fog morning and evening, and engenders dysentery, with which the natives of the coast who accompanied us were almost immediately attacked, as well as the officers. It is a little extraordinary that we never saw a musquito in Ashantee. I could find none but birds eye views of the city, which were uninteresting, presenting nothing but the thatch of the houses; it was encircled by a beautiful forest, which required more time than I could spare, and a more expressive pencil to pourtray. Coomassie is an oblong of nearly four miles in circumference, not including the suburbs of Assafoo nor

Bantama, (the back town,) half a mile distant, and formerly connected by streets with the city, as is evident from the numerous ruins of houses on the path. The slaughter of constant warfare, and the extinction or removal of several ill affected chiefs with their adherents, account for this even in a rising state. The ruins in the interval to Bantama were indeed accounted for by Amanquateä (who holds his court there, as Quatchie Quofie does at Assafoo) informing us, that almost all the Ashantees killed before Annamaboe (about 2000 by the most moderate computation) belonged to him, as it was his division which marched along the beach from Cormantine, exposed to the cannon of the fort. Four of the principal streets are half a mile long, and from 50 to 100 yards wide. I observed them building one, and a line was stretched on each side to make it regular. The streets were all named, and a superior captain in charge of each; ours for instance, was Aperremsoo, big gun or cannon street, because those taken when Dankara was conquered, were placed on a mound at the top of it, near Adoo Quamina's house. The area in which we had our first audience was called Daëbrim, the great market, in distinction to a lower street called Gwaba, or the small market. The street above where we lived was called Osamarandiduüm, meaning literally, "with 1000 mukets you could not fight those who live there." One street was named after Odumata, and there was another near it, whose title I forget, but it was equal to prison street. The palace was situated in a long and wide street running through the middle of the town, from which it was shut out by a high wall, terminating at each end at the marsh, where it was discontinued, that being a sufficient boundary. It included Odumata's and the King's brothers residences, and two or three small streets, (besides the several areas and piazzas,) for the King's relief and recreation when the superstitions of the country confine him to the palace. I reckoned twenty

*Ichnographical Sketch of COOMASSIE, with the principal Streets and the Situations of
remarkable Houses.*



1. Entrance from Fantee and Assin.
2. Agwabu or the small market.
3. King's eldest Sister's house.
4. ——— Goldsmith's ditto.
5. Appia Nani's ditto.
6. Otee's (3d Linguist) ditto.
7. Odumata's (1 of the 4) ditto.
8. King's youngest Sister's ditto.
9. Adoom Street.
- 9.* Baba's house and the Crambos (Moors) Street.
- 10.* Aboogaywa or place of execution,

10. Palace.
11. King's wives Croom.
12. Marsh.
13. Entrance from Dwabin.
14. ——— Barramang.
15. King of Dwabin's temporary Court.
16. King's Blacksmith's Croom.
- a. Himma or the King's fetish temple.
- b. Apokoo's (1 of the 4) house.
- c. Adoocee's (chief linguist.)
- d. Apiremsoo Street.

- e. Aboidwee's house, the quarters of the Embassy.
- f. Adoo Quamina's (chief Captain) house.
- g. Osarramanduum Street.
- h. King's Umbrella maker's Croom.
- i. Entrance to the high street of Bantama.
- k. Croom.
- l. Ditto.
- m. Ditto.
- n. Long irregular suburb, and road to Dankara.
- o. Sammonpome or the Spirit Grove.

- p. Adooebrim, the large market place.
- p*. Small Market.
- q. High Street of Assafoo.
Course of the procession of the Embassy on its entré.
- r. Halted to witness the war dance.
- s. Halted to pass the baggage and presents.
- t. Halted to witness the human sacrifice.
- u. Presented to the King and Chiefs.
- u. Seated to see them march home.

T. E. Bowdich, 1817.

seven streets in all, which I have laid down in a ground plan of the town. The small grove at the back of the large market place was called Sammonpomö or the spirit-house, because the trunks of all the human victims were thrown into it. The bloody tracks, daily renewed, shewed the various directions they had been dragged from, and the number of vultures on the trees indicated the extent of the recent sacrifice; the stench was insupportable, and the visits of panthers nightly. Several trees were individually scattered about the town for the recreation of the inhabitants of those quarters, and small circular elevations of two steps, the lower about 20 feet in circumference, like the bases of the old market crosses in England, were raised in the middle of several streets, on which the King's chair was placed when he went to drink palm wine there; his attendants encircling him.

The Ashantees persisted that the population of Coomassie, when collected, was upwards of 100,000. I think it likely to be much greater than that of Segoo, (which Mr. Park reported as 30,000,) from the extended masses of crowd I observed on festivals, when the plantations of the environs are almost wholly deserted. I compared them in my recollection with the crowds I have seen collected in the secondary cities of England, on similar occasions of public curiosity; the only criterion, as I had not time to finish reckoning the number of houses. I say when collected, because the higher class could not support their numerous followers, or the lower their large families, in the city, and therefore employed them in plantations, (in which small crooms were situated,) generally within two or three miles of the capital, where their labours not only feed themselves, but supply the wants of the chief, his family, and more immediate suite. The middling orders station their slaves for the same purpose, and also to collect fruits and vegetables for sale, and when their children become numerous, a part are

generally sent to be supported by these slaves in the bush. Perhaps the average resident population of Coomassie is not more than from 12 to 15,000.

The markets were held daily from about eight o'clock in the morning until sun set. The larger contains about sixty stalls or sheds, (a small square frame covered with cotton cloth with a pole from the centre, stuck into the ground, see drawing, No. 9.) besides throngs of inferior venders, seated in all directions. Amongst the articles for sale, were beef, (to us about 8*d.* per lb.) and mutton, cut in small pieces for soup, wild hog, deer, and monkey's flesh, fowls, pelts of skins; yams, plantains, corn, sugar-cane, rice, encruma, (a mucilaginous vegetable, richer than asparagus, which it resembles,) peppers, vegetable butter; oranges, papaws, pine apples, (not equal to those on the coast,) bananas; salt and dried fish from the coast; large snails smoke dried, and stuck in rows on small sticks in the form of herring bone; eggs for fetish; pittō, palm wine, rum; pipes, beads, looking-glasses, sandals, silk, cotton cloth, powder, small pillows, white and blue cotton thread, calabashes, &c. &c. See Chapter on Trade.

The following are the comparative prices of the markets of Coomassie and Yahndi, the capital of Dagwumba:

	<i>Coomassie.</i>	<i>Yahndi.</i>
A fat bullock	£.6 0 0	£.1 0 0
A sheep	0 15 0	0 4 0
A fowl	0 1 8	0 0 5
A horse	24 0 0	8 0 0
Yams	0 0 8 for two	0 0 8 for ten.

The surprising exorbitance of the former is to be accounted for by the abundance of gold, yet labour and manufacture was moderately purchased. In Mallowa, provision is dearer than in Dagwumba, but the articles of trade much cheaper; they manufacture

very little cloth, the Moorish traders supplying it so abundantly. The cattle we saw in Ashantee were as large as the English, unlike those on the coast, which resemble the Jersey. The sheep are hairy in Ashantee, but woolly in Dagwumba, an open country, where they manufacture a coarse blanket. The horses in Dagwumba are generally small, some were described to be 15 hands high, but these were never parted with, and the Ashantees did not desire them, for I never saw but one who rode fearlessly. The horses I saw were like half bred galloways, their legs lathy, with a wiry hair about the fetlock, only requiring to be pulled. Their heads were large; dun and mouse colours were said to be common; they were never shod, and their hoofs consequently in the eye of the European, though not in nature, disproportionate; they were fed on guinea grass, occasionally mixed with salt, and sal-ammoniac was frequently dissolved in the water. The saddles were Moorish, of red leather, and cumbersome; the bridles of twisted black leather thongs, and brass links, with a whip at the end; the bit severe, with a large ring hanging from the middle, and slipped over the under jaw instead of a curb chain; the stirrups were like large blow pans, and hung very short. Some of the Moors rode on bullocks, with a ring through the nose.

The extent and order of the Ashantee plantations surprised us, yet I do not think they were adequate to the population; in a military government they were not likely to be so. Their neatness and method have been already noticed in our route up. They use no implement but the hoe. They have two crops of corn a year, plant their yams at Christmas, and dig them early in September. The latter plantations had much the appearance of a hop garden well fenced in, and regularly planted in lines, with a broad walk around, and a hut at each wicker gate, where a slave and his family resided to protect the plantation.

All the fruits mentioned as sold in the market grew in spontaneous abundance, as did the sugar cane: the oranges were of a large size and exquisite flavour. I believe this fruit has hitherto been considered indigenous to India only. We saw no cocoa nut trees, nor was that fruit in the market. Mr. Park's route was through a very different country.* In the marshy ground, a large species of fern is very abundant, there are four varieties of it; in shady places that have been cultivated, various tribes of urtica; and the leontodon grows abundantly to the north of Coomassie. The miraculous berry, which gives acids the flavour of sweets, making limes taste like honey, is common.† The castor oil, (*ricinus communis*) rises to a large tree, I have only seen it as a bush about three feet high on the coast; and the wild fig is abundant, though neither of them are used by the natives. The cotton plant is very plentiful, but little cultivated. The only use to which they apply the silk cotton, is to the stuffing of cushions and pillows.‡ Mr.

* "It is observable, however, that although many species of the edible roots which grow in the West India islands, are found in Africa, yet I never saw, in any part of my journey, either the sugar cane, the coffee, or the cocoa tree; nor could I learn, on inquiry, that they were known to the natives. The pine apple, and the thousand other delicious fruits, which the industry of civilized man (improving the bounties of nature,) has brought to such great perfection in the tropical climates of America, are here equally unknown. I observed, indeed, a few orange and banana trees, near the mouth of the Gambia; but whether they were indigenous, or were formerly planted there by some of the white traders, I could not positively learn. I suspect that they were originally introduced by the Portuguese." Park's First Mission.

† The curious fruit mentioned in the introduction, and to which I have given the name of oxyglycus, I find was known to Des Marchais, who describes it as a little red fruit, which, being chewed, gives a sweet taste to the most sour or bitter things. Dalzel's Dahomey.

‡ Cotton of the cotton tree (or silk cotton) *Bombax Pentandrium* Lin. This cotton is not made into thread, but is used for making pillows and beds. It is also, from its catching fire so easily, commonly put into tinder boxes, and employed in the preparation of fire works. Ainslie's Materia Medica of Hindostan.

Park observed the tobacco-plant, which grows luxuriantly in Inta and Dagwumba, and is called toah. The visitors from those countries recognised it in a botanical work. They first dry the leaves in the sun, then, having rubbed them well between their hands, mix them with water into oval masses, as will be seen ; it is further noticed in the Trade Report.

Lions are numerous on the northern frontiers of Inta, elephants (assoon, F. A. soorer, B.*) are remarkably numerous in Kong, but they are also found in Ashantee, with wild hogs (yambo, F. A.) hyænas (patacoo, F. A. booforee, B.), cows (anantwee, F. A. B.), sheep (ygwan, F. A. tsan, B.) goats (apunkie, F. A. terrie, B.) deer (wonsan, F. A. B.) antelopes (ettwan, F. A. B.) dogs (bod-dum, etcha, F. tweä, A. opooree, B.) approximating to the Danish, cats (agramwaw, F. A. B.) extremely sharp visaged and long necked, Gennet cats (essoor, F. A. B.) pangolins (appra, F. A. aypra, B.) alligators (dankim, F. A. B.) &c. &c. &c. The rhinoceros (näree) is found in Boroom, and the hippopotamus (shonsa, A. tchoosooree, B.) in the Odirree river.

The Ashantees say, that an animal called sissah or sissirree, will attack every other however superior in size. The Fantees who had never seen it, had imbibed a tremendous idea of it, from the stories in their own country. I doubt its being so formidable to all other animals, for the skin I saw was not more than three feet long, and the legs short, it resembled that of a boar, but the natives said it was between a pig and a goat. I enquired of the people of Inta and Dagwumba if they had ever heard of a unicorn ; one replied, yes! in the white man's country. It is extraordinary that the gnoo, (antelope gnu,) which is found behind the Cape of Good

* F. A. affixed to assoon, denote that to be the native name in the Fantee and Ashantee languages, as B. represents Boroom.

Hope, is known in Inta by the same name.* Where the beds were not an accumulation of cushions, the skin of the gnoo was nailed to a large wooden frame, raised on legs about a foot from the ground, and stretched as we would sacking. It was a revered custom that no virgin of either sex should sleep on this kind of bed. Another animal, called otrum, was described by the inhabitants of the eastern frontier as having one very long horn on one side of the head and a short one on the other; it is much larger than the gnoo. We met with a spotted animal of the cat kind (gahin, F. A. B.,) very common, and allied to the leopard or panther, but whether referable to either of those species, or to be considered as distinct, we could not determine, owing to the very vague and unsatisfactory character by which naturalists have attempted to distinguish them, the kind and number of the rows of spots; which we have observed in individuals of the same decided species, to present almost an infinity of variation.

The vulture (pittay, F. A. epraykee, B.,) which I have before mentioned to be venerated by the natives, for the same reason which the Egyptians venerated the *Vulturus Percnopterus*, is the *Vulturus Monachus*, figured by Le Vaillant. Green pigeons (assam) are found, and crows with a white ring round their necks, probably the *corvus scapularis* figured by Le Vaillant. There were several small birds of beautiful plumage, which sung melodiously; two in particular, the one like a blackbird, and the other of the same colour as the English thrush, but larger. Also a variety of parrots beautifully spangled with different colours. M. Cuvier was misinformed when he wrote (*Regne animal*, tom. i. p. 108) “Macaque est le nom générique des singes à la côte de Guinée.” The name is unknown there as well as in the interior.

* C'est probablement lui qui a donné lieu à leur *catoblepas*. Voyez Pline, lib. 8, c. 32, et *Ælien*, lib. 7, c. 5, Cuvier. The gnoo is almost always *looking down*.

Dokoo is the generic name. The Simia Diana (effoor, F. A. B.,) which has the most beautiful skin of any monkey, is found in Ashantee as well as in Warsaw. All the natives agree that they do not know of any monkies which dare to attack men, but the akonèson, which they describe as small, and always seen in troops.

Snakes (aboïtinee, F. A. ewaw, B.,) green, and of all colours ; scorpions, lizards, &c. &c. were found as on the coast, with a curious variety of beetles, and the most beautiful butterflies. A few specimens preserved in spirits will be sent to the British Museum,* as the best apology for my ignorance rather than neglect of natural history.

* See Dr. Leach's notice in the Appendix.

CHAPTER VIII.

Trade.

THE currency of Ashantee is gold dust, that of Inta, Dagwumba, Gaman, and Kong, cowries. Mr. Lucas writes, “to the merchants of Fezzan who travel to the southern states of the Negroes, the purchase of gold, which the dominions of several, and especially those of Degombah, abundantly afford, is always the first object of commercial acquisition.” I could not learn that any gold was dug or collected in Dagwumba, though considerable quantities are imported, from its extensive commerce. Sixteen ackies make an ounce or newemeën, 36 a benda, 40 a periguin: eight tokoos (a small berry) are reckoned to the ackie, but it will not weigh more than seven: there are eight distinct names for quantities of gold dust from one to eight ackies. Five strings or 200 cowries are equal to a tokoo, as at Accra. The clearest manner of shewing the articles, prices, and profits of the Ashantee, Inta, and Dagwumba markets, will be by a table with remarks; substituting, for the greater convenience, English monies calculated at the currency of gold here, which is £4. the oz.

Articles.	Cape Coast.			Coomassie.			Sallagha and Yahndi.							
	£.	s.	d.	Quantity.	£.	s.	d.	Quantity.	Profit. per Cent.	£.	s.	d.	Quantity.	Profit.
(a) Silk, India	4	..	..	per Piece.	..	5	..	1 span.	175	..	..	..	..	..
— Fezzan .....	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	1 fathom.	100	1	..	..	1 fathom.	..
(b) Sarstracunda	1	10	..	..	..	2	6	1 span.	400	..	..	..	..	..
(c) Glasgow Dane	1	10	..	..	..	5	..	1 hdkchf.	75	..	..	..	..	..
(d) Romal	1	..	..	..	1	5	..	piece.	20	..	..	..	..	..
(e) Guinea Stuff .....	..	10	..	..	..	15	..	..	33	..	..	..	..	..
(f) Silesia .....	..	10	..	..	..	15	..	..	33	..	..	..	..	..
Dagwumba white Cotton	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	sq. yard.	100	..	2	6	sq. yard.	..
Rum .....	..	10	..	Gallon.	..	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	..	dram.	400	..	..	..	..	..
(g) Tobacco, Portuguese ..	6	..	..	Roll.	10	..	..	roll.	75	..	..	..	..	..
— Inta .....	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	span.	..	..	..	..	..	..
— lb.	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	lb.	150	..	..	..	lb.	..
(h) Gunpowder	4	..	$\frac{1}{4}$	Barrel.	..	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	charge.	400	..	..	..	..	..
Iron	1	..	..	Bar.	1	15	..	bar.	75	3	..	..	bar.	200
Lead .....	..	10	..	..	..	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	inch.	75	..	..	..	..	..
Flints .....	..	5	..	100	..	$\frac{1}{4}$	..	each.	600	..	..	..	..	..
(i) Spanish Dollar .....	..	5	..	ea.	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
(k) Sandals .....	..	..	..	..	..	10	..	pair.	100	..	5	..	pair.	..
Cushions .....	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	ea.	100	..	10	..	ea.	..
Marrowa Locks .....	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	100	..	2	6	..	..

(a) The red taffetas (11 yards in each piece) are unravelled by the Ashantees, and wove into the cloths of their own manufacture: they unravel a few of the fancy silks, but these are generally bought for wear, though they prefer those from Fezzan for that purpose, because the colours are more shewy. Coarse thick scarves are also brought from the interior, equal in substance to a double wove ribbon. One ackie a span was the price in the public market, where it was retailed in these small quantities, for the convenience of the weavers, who did not require, or could not afford to purchase more: the price of a piece was uncertain, as the person who could purchase so much, generally sent a trusty servant to the foreign market, and seldom bought of the traders but when they were necessitated to sell at little more than prime cost. The richest silks, I saw, were worn by the Moors, who had bought them at Yahndi and Houssa.* Reckoning nine inches to a span, there are eight spans in a fathom, which is the Ashantee measure; but the fathom of Inta and Dagwumba, contains only six spans. Even if the Ashantee traders give twenty shillings a fathom, in barter of boossee, salt, rum, iron, &c.; it is considerably

* Since my return to England I have seen some silk brought from Aleppo, and manufactured there, precisely resembling these, which were frequently enriched by gold threads interwoven.

Most of the slaves in Coomassie, were sent as part of the annual tribute of Inta, Dagwumba, and their neighbours, to Ashantee;

cheaper to them than ours, considering that they get 100 per cent. on it at Coomassie. Mr. Lucas mentions "silk wrought and unwrought amongst the articles exported from Fezzan to Kassina. Apokoo and several others related to me, that Saï Cudjo bought a piece of silk at Yahndi, so very fine, that although it could be compressed between two hands, it was nevertheless larger than any cloth I had seen the present King wear, and his appeared monstrous. Apokoo added, that six slaves were paid for it, which would have produced £160. at the water side.

(b) This is a highly glazed British cotton of bright red stripes with a bar of white: it is bought solely for the red stripe, (as there is no red dye nearer than Marrowa) which they weave into their own cloths, throwing away the white. There are 280 inches in a piece. A cloth of Ashantee manufacture will be sent to the British Museum, and, I expect, the size, fineness, and variety will surprise.

(c) This is also a highly glazed British cotton of more colours, and in handkerchiefs; ten of which are in a 30s. piece.

(d) This is an unglazed India cotton, not much in demand, and yielding the least profit. The Manchester cotton called Tom Coffee is preferred.

(e) This is India cotton unglazed, for all of which there is, in proportion, but a small demand. The Ashantees invariably prefer cloths of the Dagwumba, or their own manufacture, and we rarely saw any others worn in Coomassie.

(f) These are white cottons, six yards in a piece, but narrow, they are bought for fetich cloths; but the next article, the white cotton cloth of Dagwumba, is preferred, a piece of which, painted, will be sent to the British Museum.

(g) These are the wholesale and retail prices at Coomassie, the average length of a roll is 42 fathoms.

(h) Powder is retailed for customs or-festivals: those who purchase it for war, or can afford a $\frac{1}{4}$ barrel, send to the water side for it. A $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel contains 25 lbs. and the Ashantee charge weighs 16 ackies, equal to $\frac{2}{3}$ of an ounce avoirdupoise.

(i) This was owing to their brisk intercourse with the Spanish and Portuguese slave ships, a dollar generally fetches two ackies or 10s. Mr. Park writes, from £1. 5s. to £2. 10s. at Sansanding.

(k) Sandals and a cushion will be sent to the British Museum. In Marrowa they decoct a good red dye from a tree called mossarātee.

The reason green ells are purchased by the Warsaws only, is, that they must be the wedding garment of the females of that country: if they are fast colours, and will not shange to a blue with lime-juice, they will not look at them

very many were kidnapped, and for the few who were bought, I was assured by several respectable Ashantees, 2000 cowries, or 1 basket of Boossee was the greatest price given; so full were the markets of the interior. I have brought some pods of the Boossee; it is astringent, and the natives chew it to excite a flow of saliva, and allay the sensation of hunger. The* Boossee must be the Gooroo nut, which Mr. Lucas describes as one of the articles of trade between Fezzan, Kassina, Bornoo, and the states south of the Niger. He writes, "Gooroo nuts, which are brought from the Negro states on the south of the Niger, and which are principally valued for the pleasant bitter that they communicate to any liquor in which they are infused," and again "a species of nut—which is much valued in the kingdoms to the north of the Niger, and which is called Gooroo. It grows on a large and broad leaved tree, that bears a pod of about 18 inches in length, in which are inclosed a number of nuts that varies from 7 to 9. Their colour is a yellowish green; their size is that of a chesnut, which they also resemble, in being covered by a husk of a similar thickness, and their taste, which is described as a pleasant bitter, is so grateful to those who are accustomed to its use, and so important as a corrective to the unpalatable or unwholesome waters of Fezzan, and of the other kingdoms that border on the vast Zahara, as to be deemed of importance to the happiness of life. They are purchased at the rate of 12s. for 100 pods."

Sal ammonia is found abundantly in Dagwumba: in the Ashantee market, a lump the size of a duck's egg, was sold for 2s.: they grind it to mix with their snuff, (of which they take large quantities,) as it gives it a pungency agreeable to them. They also dissolve it in the water they give to their cattle, and sometimes drink it themselves for pains in the bowels. The Tamool prac-

* *Sterculia acuminata* *Palis de Beauvais Flore d'Oware*, 1. p. 41. tab. 24.

tioners in the East Indies suppose it to be a useful remedy in certain female obstructions, and morbid uterine enlargements. Mr. Lucas writes. "No commercial value appears to be annexed to the fleeces which the numerous flocks of the Negro kingdoms afford; for the cotton manufacture, which, the Shereef says, is established among the tribes to the south of the Niger, seems to be the only species of weaving that is known among them." In Dagwumba, however, they manufacture a coarse kind of blanket from sheep's wool. There is a white grease, which has long been called Ashantee grease by the natives on the coast, who supposed it to be produced in that country. They use it daily to anoint their skins, which otherwise become coarse and unhealthy. The Ashantees purchase it from the interior, and make a great profit by it: it is a vegetable butter, decocted from a tree, called Timkeëä: it is doubtless the Shea butter of Mr. Park.* Mr. Lucas mentions, "small Turkey and plain Mesurata carpets," among the articles exported from Fezzan to Kassina: a small carpet fetches 2 oz. of gold at Coomassie. The Ashantees procure most of their ivory from Kong, where they give 8 ackies, or 40s. in barter, for a very large tooth.

"The preference of the Ashantees for the Dagwumba and Inta markets, for silk and cloth, results not merely from their having been so long accustomed to them, but because they admit of a barter trade. The Boossee or Gooroo nut, salt, (which is easily procured, and affords an extravagant profit,) and small quantities of the European commodities, rum, and iron,† yield them those articles of comfort and luxury, which they can only purchase with gold and ivory from the settlements on the coast. Gold they are

* See Sketch of Gaboon.

† Though iron is manufactured in Dagwumba, that from Europe is preferred for finer purposes. The former is an imperfect steel containing a mechanical mixture of unreduced ore.

all desirous of hoarding; even those less covetous than is generally their nature, that they may be prepared for the purchase of guns and powder to a large extent, on any sudden war, and thus ingratiate themselves with the king and the government. Were the Ashantees a commercial people, they might be the brokers between the interior and Europeans, or, purchasing supplies more adequate to the demands of their neighbours for European commodities, which would be bought with avidity, realize large properties. But they have no idea of buying more of the various articles than will supply themselves; and leave a small residue to barter for the cloth, silk, and tobacco in the Inta and Dagwumba markets. They are as little commercial as the Romans were in their infancy, and their government would repress rather than countenance the inclination, (believing no state can be aggrandized but by conquest,) lest their genius for war might be enervated by it, and lest, either from the merchants increasing to a body too formidable for their wishes to be resisted, or too artful from their experience to be detected, they might sacrifice the national honour and ambition to their avarice, and furnishing Inta, Dagwumba, or any of their more powerful neighbours (who have yielded to circumstances rather than force) with guns and powder (which are never allowed to be exported from Ashantee,*) break the spell of their conquests, and undermine their power. The chiefs are fed bountifully by the labours of their slaves, and sharing large sums of the revenue, (the fines their oppression has imposed on other

* "Fire arms are unknown to such of the nations on the south of the Niger as the Shereef has visited; and the reason which he assigns for it is, that the kings in the neighbourhood of the coast, persuaded that if these powerful instruments of war should reach the possession of the populous inland states, their own independence would be lost, have strictly prohibited, and by the wisdom of their measures have effectually prevented this dangerous merchandize from passing beyond the limits of their dominions." Lucas

governments,) with incalculable fees for corruption or interference, refine upon the splendor of equipage even to satiety, and still possess a large surplus of income daily accumulating. Were they to encourage commerce, pomp, the idol of which they are most jealous, would soon cease to be their prerogative, because it would be attainable by others; the traders growing wealthy, would vie with them; and for their own security, stimulated by reflections they have now too little at risk to originate, they would unite to repress the arbitrary power of the Aristocracy; and even if they did not, inevitably (as the chiefs conceive) divert the people's genius for war.

It will occur that even to furnish the necessities or luxuries of the Ashantees alone, in cloth, silk, &c. would, considering the extent of the kingdom, considerably augment the returns of our commerce in this part of the world; and therefore it would be well to wean them, gradually, from the markets of the interior, by inducing their cultivation of cotton, which grows abundantly, is of a superior quality, and which, offered in quantities, in addition to the ivory, would lessen the balance of trade now in our favor, and by enabling them, in some degree to purchase with produce instead of gold dust, remove the present comparative disadvantage in trading with Europeans entirely. This occurred to me, and I explained the view not only to the king, but to the more enterprising and reflecting natives: but they had no idea of a quantity, and immediately concluded cotton to be so desirable to us, that 40 or 50 lbs. would be received in barter for twenty times its value; and they required one tokoo and a half per lb. for it, (say one shilling,) even in gold, and on the spot. When I urged that they must clear the ground, form plantations, and superintend the labours of their slaves; they replied, that the Boossee or Gooroo nut grew spontaneously, and required no labour, that salt was brought to their frontier by poorer nations, and sold for little with-

out the trouble of fetching it; and these articles, with the value, their prevention of all intercourse but their own with the water side nations, attached to a little rum and iron in the interior, furnished them with silks and cotton cloths at a much easier rate, pattern and quality.

A serious disadvantage opposed to the English trade, is that the Ashantees will purchase no tobacco but the Portuguese, and that eagerly even at 2 oz. of gold the roll. Of this, (the Portuguese and Spanish slave ships regularly calling at Elmina,) the Dutch Governor-General is enabled to obtain frequent supplies, in exchange for canoes, two of which, though they cost him comparatively nothing, fetch 32 rolls of tobacco; and the General has sometimes received 80 oz. of gold a day from the Ashantees for tobacco only. If they cannot have this tobacco, they will content themselves with that grown in the interior, of which I have brought a sample. A preference for the Dutch has long been natural to the Ashantees, from an earlier though limited intercourse with them, and from the natural impression, that the English settling amongst their enemies, the Fantees, have encouraged and assisted their provocations and resistance. With this bias in his favor, though the Dutch market, destitute of supplies, had not been visited for many years, the talent of General Daendels, "*callidum quicquid placuit,*" would no doubt have again raised it to a level with the English, *cæteris paribus*; and his unlimited importation of powder and guns in the first place, with the still more valuable supplies of Portuguese tobacco he receives at present, as superior advantages, have, of course, possessed the Dutch market of superior inducements.

It is to be lamented, the indifference of the Dutch and Danes to their settlements here, being evident from their neglect and reduction of them, that the British government did not take advantage of the disregard, and add them to their own. Elmina is a

much finer position for head quarters than Cape Coast; the Dutch fort at Succondee, the best point for the Warsaw trade, and where we have but a house, is strong, admirably situated, and might be put in good condition for £1000. in addition to which, Axim, near the mouth of the Ancobra, would be the only fort to windward worth keeping; and the Danish head quarters, Christiansburg Castle at Accra, with their fort at Adda, (to secure the navigation of the Volta,) would have answered every purpose and view to leeward. One system could then have been acted upon towards the natives, the commerce, confined to the English, would have grown from wholesome regulations, which no other settlers could counteract by selfishness, jealousy, or by facilitating the illegitimate trade we would crush; and the benevolent views of the British government for the improvement and civilization of the natives, would not be defeated by those, who, holding their private interest superior to views in which their own government has evinced no interest, militate against them by fostering suspicions to bar our progress in the interior, and by indulging those habits and customs of the natives, which it must be our first step to correct and divert.

In addition to the obstacles which the inconsistent and selfish conduct of the different European powers towards the natives presents to intercourse and civilization, the continuance of the slave trade under the Spanish flag, is one more serious: no one can imagine the stubborn impediment it was to our negotiations at Ashantee, where the native emissaries from these slave ships arrived not long after us. It not only injures the British commerce here, almost to annihilation, but, slaving being the natural trade of the natives, because it is the most indolent and the most lucrative, the opposition, which is insinuated and believed to proceed from the English alone, conveys a disagreeable impression of us to the

interior, as inauspicious to our intercourse and progress, as the even partial continuance of such a trade is to legitimate commerce and civilization. One thousand slaves left Ashantee for two Spanish schooners or Americans under that flag, to our knowledge, during our residence there, doubtless the whole number was much greater; since our return it must have been very considerable, for the slave trade was never more brisk than it is at this moment under the cloak of the Spanish flag, and great risk has been incurred, in consequence, of offending our new friend and formidable neighbour the King of Ashantee, from the firm resistance of his strong intreaties to the Governor in Chief, to allow the return of a powerful mulatto slave trader to Cape Coast town, whence he had been expelled under the present government, as the most daring promoter of that commerce. It is a great pity, in the infancy of our intercourse with this great interior power, that there should have been occasion either for the request or refusal; which there would not have been had the slave trade been abolished, instead of crippled, at the expense, probably, of our own interests and views in the interior, and, which is worse, of the happiness and improvement of the natives. For it is certainly our duty, because it is the most acceptable and the only efficient acknowledgment we can make of the superior blessings and endowments by which we are so indulgently distinguished from these nations, to extend the influence and the participation, both by enterprise and policy, even if our commerce may not be benefitted; and if we gain no other recompense than the satisfaction of our own minds in the ameliorated condition of others, and the opportunity we have made to ourselves of exemplifying our own gratitude.* Whilst one slave

* The dissuasion from barbarities of which millions are now the victims, as the descriptions of the customs of Ashantee and the interior have shewn, and the interests of science, render this duty more imperious. It has been well observed, "apologies for our