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WILLIAM H. BOYLE.

HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST AND ASANTE.

BASED ON TRADITIONS AND HISTORICAL FACTS,
COMPRISING A PERIOD OF MORE THAN THREE CENTURIES
FROM ABOUT 1500 TO 1860.

BY

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Preface.

To the Educated Community in the Gold Coast Colony.

Dear Friends,—

The sole object of this publication is, to call the attention of all you my friends and countrymen, to the study and collection of our history, and to create a basis for a future more complete history of the Gold Coast.

A history is the methodical narration of events in the order in which they successively occurred, exhibiting the origin and progress, the causes and effects, and the auxiliaries and tendencies of that which has occurred in connection with a nation. It is, as it were, the speculum and measure-tape of that nation, showing its true shape and stature. Hence a nation not possessing a history has no true representation of all the stages of its development, whether it is in a state of progress or in a state of retrogression. In the place of a written history, tradition, which from antiquity was a natural source of history, was kept and transmitted regularly by our ancestors to their children in their days. It was not, of course, in uniform theory, but existed and exercised its influence in the physical and mental powers of our people. This important custom of a nation — which our forefathers felt obliged to preserve and transmit from one generation to another, so as to enable us to compare our times with theirs — has, since the dawn of education, been gradually neglected and forgotten. Since then it has been the good fortune of the Gold Coast to possess educated men of powerful mind, who I am sure were well qualified to collect the traditions of their forefathers as a basis for a future history of the Gold Coast. But unfortunately such collections have not been preserved by their successors, but have been left to the memories of the uneducated community. Such a work as writing a history of the Gold Coast would not have been difficult for such of our brethren as the late lamented Rev. William Hansen, and Charles Bannerman, and some others in Fante; they possessed the mental powers which would have enabled them to do it successfully. Unfortunately, however, these lights on the Gold Coast were carried away by death in the prime of life.

A history of the Gold Coast written by a foreigner would most probably not be correct in its statements, he not having the means of

acquiring the different traditions in the country and of comparing them with those which he may have gathered from a single individual. Unless a foreigner writes what he witnesses personally, his statements will be comparatively worthless, as it is the case with several accounts of the Gold Coast already published. Hence it is most desirable that a history of the Gold Coast and its people should be written by one who has not only studied, but has had the privilege of initiation into the history of its former inhabitants and writes with true native patriotism.

It is no egotism when I say I have had the privilege of being initiated into, and also of possessing a love for, the history of my country. My ancestors on the father's and mother's side belonged to the families of national officiating high priests in Akra and Christiansborg. And I should have become a priest either of Nai at Akra or Klöte at Christiansborg, if I had not been born a mulatto and become a Christian. My worthy grandmother Okāko Asase, as in duty bound to her children and grandchildren, used to relate the traditions of the country to her people when they sat around her in the evenings. My education and calling separated me from home, and prevented me from completing the series of these lessons in native tradition.

However in 1860 I felt a craving to spend some days with her, so as to complete it; but she died whilst I was absent from home in Kröbo as a catechist. Four years later Rev. Fr. Aldinger asked me to collect traditions for him; but the old lady was dead, and the old people, though possessing a vast store of tradition, refrained from imparting it; so I obtained very little for him.

This treatment of the then old people stirred up a greater desire in me to use all available means in my power to collect traditions. From more than two hundred persons of both sexes I obtained what knowledge of the subject I now possess. These traditions I have carefully compared in order to arrive at the truth. The result I now humbly present to the public, to whom I have to suggest a few remarks.

If a nation's history is the nation's speculum and measure-tape, then it brings the past of that nation to its own view, so that the past may be compared with the present to see whether progress or retrogression is in operation; and also as a means of judging our nation by others, so that we may gather instruction for our future guidance. When such is not the case with a nation, no hope can be entertained for better prospects. Keeping this in mind, we shall more clearly understand the necessity of collecting materials for a complete history of the Gold Coast from every source within our reach.

The title chosen for this publication, "History of the Gold Coast and Asante" may be deemed to promise more than I was actually able to give. For, from want of reliable information, the principal and important portion of the Gold Coast, Fante, the land of history, the land of poetry and enlightenment and semi-civilization, could not be treated from its origin. Still I venture to have the book so named in the hope that our brethren and friends on the Gold Coast, both Native and European, may possess better sources of information for a history of the Gold Coast, and may, laying aside all prejudice, be induced to unite to bring the history of the Gold Coast to perfection. I deem it impossible for one man unaided to carry out such an important work to perfection.

Having described the principal object I have in view in writing this work as a desire to produce a complete history of the Gold Coast, I trust, my friends in Fante, or elsewhere, will co-operate with me in revising, if need be, what I have written, and in assisting me by furnishing additional information, in order that a subsequent edition may be more complete.

Another important subject, besides that of Fante etc., which ought to be more fully investigated before the work would be complete, is the different conditions and concerns of various European nations on the Gold Coast and their connections with the people there since their establishment in this country.

I may also state briefly my object in connecting the history of Asante with that of the Gold Coast. There must be a starting-point in writing a history of a nation. If the kingdom of Akra, which appears to have been the first established on the Gold Coast, could have continued and absorbed that of Fante, or been absorbed by the latter, I might have easily obtained the starting-point. But both kingdoms having failed and the kingdom of Asante having become the leading and ruling power, a Gold Coast history would not be complete without the history of Asante, as the histories of both countries are so interwoven. Thus my present work carries us from the origin of the different tribes to the year 1856 i.e. the rebuilding of the town of Osú or Christiansborg, a period of at least three centuries.

If, in conjunction with the united efforts of all the educated community of the country and those foreigners who take a special interest in us, we could collect materials of those dark days to complete this pioneer work, that from 1857 up to the present time, some thirty years only, could be easily obtained, as there is sufficient matter already in store for us.

Regarding dates and historical facts, I have made references to such works as I could lay hand upon. The records of the Colonial Government would have furnished me with correct dates and substantial informations, but I was unable to obtain access to them. I am, however, highly thankful to the Rev. P. Steiner for the translation of some pages from the following works in German, viz. W. J. Müller, Danish chaplain in Frederiksborg (now Fort Victoria) near Cape Coast Castle from 1662—1670, published in Hamburg 1673 and in Nürnberg 1675; Fr. Römer, a Danish merchant in Christiansborg from 1735—43, published at Copenhagen in 1769; Dr. P. E. Isert, Copenhagen 1788; H. C. Monrad, a Danish Chaplain in Christiansborg from 1805—9, Weimar 1824; Dr. O. Dapper's *Africa*. The short history of the Bremen Mission was kindly given me by the Rev. G. Binetsch, of the North German or Bremen Mission on the Slave Coast.

Besides those, I have got the following works in English: William Bosman, *A new and accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, divided into the Gold, the Slave, and the Ivory Coasts, 1705; Bowdich, *Mission to Ashantee: Cruickshank, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*; Sir Dal. Hay, *Ashanti and the Gold Coast*; *The British Battles*; *A brief history of the Wesleyan Missions on the Western Coast of Africa* by William Fox, 1851; the *Report of the Basel Mission for 1879, or a Retrospect on fifty years Mission Work*; and the *Gold Coast Almanack for 1842 and 1843*, with some few manuscripts of the late Old James Bannerman and Charles Bannerman, which were kindly communicated to me by Mr. Edmund Bannerman and from which I obtained some information about Sir Charles McCarthy's war with Asante. And lastly, I am thankful to the Rev. A. W. Parker and the Rev. John H. Davies M. A., the Colonial Chaplain, for their informations.

I have, at the same time, to crave indulgence from all the English readers of my work for my poor English and for using Dr. Lepsius' Standard Alphabet in writing the African names. For I have found out that the English Alphabet could never fully express the names, and as I have the full conviction that the endeavours of the Basel German missionaries to cultivate our language and to give us a literature of our own have been successful, and this work is intended as a contribution towards that, my native friends will, in the long run, find that I have adopted the best mode in doing so.

The vowels a, e, i, o, u, [having the same pronunciation whether they be long or short] are as in English *far, best, sit, post, full*; e = e in English *there*; o = o in *not, nor*; â, ê, ë, î, ô, õ, û are nasals; ā, ē, ē,

i, ō, ō, ū are long; ñ = ng as in *sing*; š = sh; tš = tsh in *chin*; dš = dsh, like j in *just*. For the Tshi (Twi) names I have used gy instead of dsh.

And in conclusion I must beg you, my native friends, not to despise this work coming from one of your own brethren, but let it rather encourage you to assist me by your kind informations and co-operation, so as to get our own history complete. To interest you chiefly I collected so many names of our forefathers, who defended our country from the yoke of Asante, trusting that every one of you will be pleased to find his grandfather's name in the lists.

May our dear Lord bless this poor means I now offer to the public for the improvement of ourselves as well as our country!

I am yours very truly

C. C. Reindorf.

Christiansborg, April 26th, 1889.

Prefatory Remarks

of the author's friend who carried the work through the press.

The author had some difficulty in getting his work printed, as this could not be done on the Gold Coast. His endeavours to have it printed in England failed, and after some correspondence with his friends in Basel, a German printer was entrusted with it, who had printed numerous books and papers in the Tshi or Asante and in the Gã or Akra languages for the Basel Mission and the British and Foreign Bible Society. The undersigned, being a fellow-labourer in the Basel Mission of the author and his personal friend, having also been the chief instrument for preparing works in the Tshi language and carrying them through the press, as well as the publications in Gã since 1869, undertook to render similar service for the present work. Some of the author's friends, taking a lively interest in the publication, found that the English manuscript wanted some revision before it went to the press. The delicate task would have been too difficult for the undersigned, being himself neither born nor educated among English-speaking people; but he had the good luck to secure the services of a gentleman, who has been teaching English in Basel and in India about 33 years and possesses the advantage of speaking that language as his mother-tongue. Unfortunately the duties of his vocation left him but very little time for this work, which he carried on, however, with great self-devotion and managed at last to complete. If the book were to see another edition arranged in strict chronological order and with additional touches added to the revision of the style, our friend will not object to have his name given in the preface. After him the undersigned finally prepared the manuscript for the press, comparing it at the same time with the Gã translation of the first half of the work, which had been communicated to him by the author in order to be printed successively in a periodical "Christian Reporter for the Natives of the Gold Coast speaking the Gã or Akra language." By this comparison the true sense of the English as well as the Gã version was mutually elucidated and confirmed. Yet even after or partly on account of these threefold endeavours to do justice to the English language, a genuine English reader may still find slight inaccuracies or inconsistencies e. g. in the punctuation and other points of orthography, in which even books of English authors do not always agree, so that e. g. the name M'Carthy is also found

written McCarthy, Macarthy, MacCarthy. The number of capital letters used by the author was partly reduced by the revisors. Titles before English names are treated as in English, not so before African names, e. g. Captain Laing, king Taki.

The way of writing the native names in English books has hitherto been very fluctuating and unsatisfactory, although it is very simple and plain in the vernaculars. In 1877 a circular from the Secretary of State called attention to the correct spelling of proper names, and from the Assistant Colonial Secretary's Office at Lagos a book was given out for the use of the Courts, prescribing "the correct spelling" of about 470 places in or adjacent to the Gold Coast Protectorate. But of these names (often 2 and 3 for the same place, e. g. Crackee and Karaki = Krakye, Quahoo and Okwoo = Okwawn, Shawi, Sewhee, or Sefui = Sa-fwi) only few were tolerably correct, some scarcely recognisable, the spelling was arbitrary and capricious. Certain principles were laid down in 1885, when a "System of Orthography for native names of places" to be used in official publications was issued from the Intelligence Branch, according to which vowels are pronounced as in Italian, and consonants as in English, the letters c, q, and x being excluded. In 1887, 1888 and 1890 authorities under the Governments of France, Germany and the United States accepted in many points the principles of that English system and enlarged it, so that an international alphabet for geographical names was in view, but a thorough union has not yet taken place. The first rule of that English system says: "No change will be made in the orthography of foreign names in countries which use Roman letters: thus Spanish, Dutch etc., names will be spelt as by the respective nations." Accordingly, as for the Tshi and Gã languages Roman letters are used on the base of Prof. Lepsius' Standard Alphabet (London 1863), Mr. Reindorf was right in using the vernacular orthography, although with some adaptation to that international alphabet which uses *sh* for *š* (in Gã) and *tsh* for *tš* (Eng. *ch* in *church*); likewise *dsh* is used in this book for *dš* (= *dzh*, Engl. *j*, international *dj*). [For *dš* and *tš* in Gã, the Tshi has *gy* and *ky*, und besides *dw* and *tw* (= *dgyw* and *tshw*), also *fw*, and *w* = *wy*.] The simple sound of *ng* (as in *singer*, not as in *finger*) is expressed by *ñ* in Gã and Tshi, but in this book either *ng* is used at the beginning of words (in Gã) and sometimes at the end, or *n* before *k* and at the end, because the final *ñ* in Tshi, especially in Fante, often interchanges with *n*.

We write *Asante*, and not "Ashanti", because the simple sound of English *sh* does not exist in the language and no true Asante or Fante-

man uses it. The third rule of the above mentioned official "System of Orthography" says, "The true sound of the word as locally pronounced will be taken as the basis of the spelling." The wrong spelling "Ashantee" is owing to Mr. Bowdich and his interpreter, an Akra-man who went with him to Kumase in 1817. The Akras, having a predilection for "sh" especially before "e and i", pronounce the original form "Asiante" indeed "Ashanti", whereas the Asantes themselves have suppressed the short "i" but retained the "s". The stress is laid on the middle syllable, although it has the low tone; the final short vowel is not a real "i", but a "narrow e" which is often mistaken for "i", and has the high tone: Asànté. The four last letters are pronounced as in the Italian name "Dante".

We also write *Akra* (as many English writers did and do), and not *Accra*, because the "c" is excluded from the spelling of African names, the doubling of consonants is against a fundamental law of most Negro languages, and the stress lies on the last syllable. The name "Akra" has been framed by Europeans from the Tshi name "Ńkrañ": the native name is "Gà". Since all the other native names are treated uniformly, it would be awkward to retain Ashantee, Coomassie, Accra, Yariba etc. because they were written so in 1817. The spelling and explanation of African names and other words are the very weakest points in Bowdich's excellent book.

As to the merits of the present work, it will speak for itself to anyone who will take the time and trouble of perusing it, overlooking minor defects in form and style. A few remarks, however, may be allowed here.

Whatever imperfections the critical eye of an English reader may find in the book with regard to outward things or the arrangement of the contents or the author's knowledge and opinion concerning the remote antiquity etc., — the publication deserves to be welcomed by the natives of the Gold Coast to whom it is dedicated, and by Englishmen and other Europeans who take an interest in Africa. It is the first comprehensive history of an important part of Africa written by a native and from the standpoint of a native. For the author's countrymen everything in the book, also the many names, will be of some value. But for Europeans too, especially for English statesmen, authorities and officials that have to do with the Gold Coast, also for missionaries, historians, ethnologists, psychologists, philologists, and even geographers (on account of the geographical names) it will afford valuable matter.

Several books treating of the Gold Coast have been written by Eu-

ropeans, among them one or two under the title "A history of the Gold Coast." But all these were written from the standpoint of a European and with no, or only a very scanty, knowledge of the native languages, whereas here we have a history written by a native who has a warm heart for his country and people and is at home in their language and way of thinking, whereby he could attain to a truer aspect of things and facts than a European who has to gather his information by interpreters.

Many parts of the book will excite the interest and sympathy or sometimes antipathy of the common reader. One thing among others is remarkable: the extent to which an illiterate people can preserve so many facts and names of persons of its past history, by no other means but the retentive memory and oral tradition, partly supported by certain popular songs referring to the facts. This feature in the life of illiterate people may also contribute to remove or abate the doubts concerning the reliability of other records of ancient and modern nations similarly circumstanced as the African peoples.

But the superstitious, cruelties, horrors and atrocities in the private and public life of heathenish nations are also brought to view in too many instances of this History of the Gold Coast, and this ought to impress natives and Europeans with thankfulness for the changes already effected and with the conviction of the necessity of continuing and increasing every effort to bring the various tribes more and more under the influence of true Christian religion and civilization.

The history of the Christian Missions on the Gold Coast in chapter XIX dwells perhaps too much on the beginnings and does not give much on the progress of the work, but mentions some of their results and statistics down to the year 1893. (In 1894 the increase of church members of the Basel Mission was larger than ever before, nearly one thousand.)

The author certainly deserves warm acknowledgment for all his painstaking in gathering the materials for his book. May the work he has accomplished stir up many dormant faculties in his African countrymen, to give him every support towards the continuation of his historical researches and the "completion" of the History of the Gold Coast so much desired by him, and may it promote the mutual understanding of Europeans and Natives especially concerning that which is needful for the elevation and true civilization of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast.

J. G. Christaller.

Schorndorf, June 1895.

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HISTORY OF THE GOLD COAST AND ASANTE.

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Our continent obtained its name "Africa" from the ancients, a name derived, according to Bochart, from a Punic word, signifying "Ears of corn." It was represented by them as one of the three great continents of which they believed at that time the world to consist.

"It is," to quote the late Rev. J. Zimmermann, "the cradle of the Hamitic portion of mankind, having Egypt with the adjacent countries and deserts as her head and prototype, as the flood-gate through which the Hamitic branch of the human family flowed into her southward as far as to the Niger Delta. Western Africa must have been peopled by the rivulets overflowing from the main current and turning westward, pushing each other forward in the different directions to the barrier of the Atlantic. Africa, in the beginning second only to Asia in the development of early civilization — the cradle of Israel, the people of God, and also the nursery and place of refuge of our Saviour in his, and of Christianity in her infancy — must begin to open her eyes now after a deathlike sleep of more than a thousand years, and to call again for her place in the history of the world."

Our object is the Gold Coast, situated on that western part of this great continent, which is called Guinea, divided into Upper and Lower Guinea. The Gold Coast (so called by Europeans from the immense quantity of gold obtained hence) is that portion of Upper Guinea, which is bounded on the east by the River Volta. The western border is traced from a point 20 miles to the eastward of the mouth of the River Asini on a meridian of W. long. $3^{\circ} 10'$ (G.) and farther inland $2^{\circ} 50'$, or in the Tannō valley, to a parallel of N. lat. $6^{\circ} 20'$. From thence the line of demarcation between Asante and the

Gold Coast Protectorate bends east and south-east to the River Ofè near the town of Terebuoni, follows that river down to its confluence with the Pra, and again ascends this river to the parallel of N. lat. $6^{\circ} 30'$, from whence it [formerly] nearly followed that parallel to the River Volta.*) The boundary on the south is the sea with a shoreline of about 250 miles. The Protectorate has an approximate area of 20,000 sqr. m., and a population of about one million.

Several authors of former times have represented Guinea as a mighty kingdom, whose prince had subdued numerous countries and united the whole territory into one powerful kingdom, called Guinea. This representation has, however, been refuted by several other authors, who may not have seen any vestige of that mighty kingdom. They are in so far right, as that mighty kingdom had been split into several independent states shortly before the Portuguese formed their settlements here. But we on our part, after several researches, incline to give credence to the accounts given by the first authors, which we do by the authority of the accounts and traditions to be mentioned hereafter.

The Phœnicians are supposed to have been the first people who visited this coast; for "Pharaoh Necho, one of the kings of Egypt, after having taken Sidon and subdued Phœnicia and Palestine (he must therefore have possessed considerable maritime power, nor was he less powerful by land, II Kings 23, 29), employed Phœnician mariners to circumnavigate Africa, an undertaking which they accomplished with success." This was done about the year 600 before Christ.

Thirty or forty years after this, the Carthaginians, who were rivals of the Egyptians in commerce, must undoubtedly have ex-

*) Concerning the western border of the British Protectorate on the Gold Coast cf. Burton and Cameron, to the Gold Coast for Gold II. 78. At present (1894) the Protectorate includes also the Safwi country beyond the Tannu in the north-west. The northern frontier has been considerably extended on the east of Asante, including now Asante-Akem, Agogo, Okwawu and Bron (Brono), in fact the whole corner between Asante proper and Nkoransa on the west and the River Volta on the north and east.—On the east the Protectorate comprises also some countries east of the lower Volta with the towns of Akwam, Anum, Peki, and Keta on the Slave Coast. The number of inhabitants of the Colony and Protectorate, excluding Okwawu and its above named neighbours, has officially, after a census taken in 1891, been computed at 973,822, that of Okwawu and British Krepe has been estimated at about 500,000.—Chr.

explored a great part of the Western Coast of Africa, they may even have settled there. But according to the usual caution and monopolizing spirit of commercial states, it is probable that they concealed their discoveries from other nations. Only one important document seems to have reached our times, which demonstrates the enterprising spirit of that people. It is an apparently abridged journal of a voyage to the Western Coast of Africa, undertaken by Hanno the Carthaginian. Hanno is said to have sailed according to the decree of his people with 60 ships of 50 oars each and a body of men and women to the number of 30,000, with stores and provisions. Their plan was to colonize or establish permanent garrisons upon the Western Coast of Africa. Hanno seems to have reached the Gold Coast, as may be seen from his own account given of the places they visited. They talked of having caught two women covered with hair, whose skins they brought to Carthage. These must have been some species of monkeys which abound in Africa. At one place during the night, they saw a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars; but at day-break they discovered this elevated fire to be a large hill, which they called "the Chariot of the Gods." These fires undoubtedly were the annual burnings of the dried grasses on the Coast during the Harmattan season.

Of much later times there is an account of Mr. F. Römer, a Danish resident merchant of Christiansborg during the middle of the last century (1735—43), confirming the above statements about the kingdom of Guinea. He says, that the Gold Coast was a part of the western division of the great empire of the Emperor of Benin, which extended from Benin up to the river Gambia, and that it was governed by kings appointed by the Emperor. The eastern division of his empire is said by Römer to have extended twice as far as that of the western. Such an extensive and large empire could not be established but by a powerful king like the Pharaohs. In those ancient times there must have been a way for trade between Egypt and this coast. The mosaic beads known as aggrry beads (Bosman calls them—Conte de Terra), found chiefly on the Gold Coast and Slave Coast, must have been brought hither from Egypt. The insignia of the kings of Akra were as those in use in Benin, and most of their religious ceremonies, e.g. killing the sacrificial animals with sharp stones instead of knives, in order to avoid the animal being defiled, were also in use at Akra.

We now come to the *traditional accounts* of the natives of the Gold Coast which seem to confirm and prove Römer's statement concerning the empire of Benin.

The first instance is, that the kings of Lagos were formerly appointed from Benin.

The second instance is the following tradition which is generally and universally believed among our people.

The ancestors of the tribes of Akra, Latę, Obutu and Mowure are said to have immigrated from the sea; they arrived on the coast one tribe after another.

The Akra King Ayi Kushi (perhaps Ayi the Cushite?) and his son Ayite with their subjects, the tribe of Tungmawe, now Abora, had in their company a prince with a few body-guards, who had the commission to rule over the Tshis in the interior. The two princes, i.e. the Akra and Akém sovereigns, proposed to send out one man each to spy out the land. They had to run a race, and he who first discovered land should claim preeminence for his sovereign. The racers started, but the Akra, perceiving his antagonist outstripping him, pretended to have got a thorn run into his foot. He thereupon asked the Tshi to spare him a knife to remove the thorn; but he replied, "Where came a thorn on this rock?" Upon stooping, however, to get him the knife, the other forthwith took hold of his shoulders and jumped over him with these words "It is I who first saw God!" And there and then both became the twin rocks known as Akwete and Akuete on the rock Tung on the beach behind the Basel Mission Factory at Ussher Town, or Dutch Akra.

The tribe of Gbèse*) arrived first with two powerful priests, Amugi and Anyai. These with their people took possession of the site now occupied by the Ussher and James Towns' people. After their arrival King Ayi Kushi and his own tribe of Tungmawe with the Obutus and the Ningowas also came out. Wyete, the king of Obutu, arrived, although late, yet very grand, having plenty of gold ornaments on his person; hence it was proposed by the Akras, that he should be the king of all the immigrants. Upon refusal to accept that offer, the Akras took hold of one of his arms, his people holding the other arm, which very unfortunately was plucked off; he

*) Gbèse is the name of a species of red ants which live on fruit trees and attack any one coming near.

therefore retired into the sea. The numerous body known as the Asere tribe thereupon requested to have the ruling power; and that so offended the king (Ayí Kushi) that he also retired into the sea, after he had handed his sword to prince Ayite, who at his father's request marched with all the Akras, Obutus, and the Tshi prince, to Ayawaso, and there established his capital on the hill known as Okaikoi or Kplagon. The Aseres settled at Amonmole, the Obutus on the west of that hill, and the Akém prince went to the interior to assume government over the people there.—The ancestors of Mowure also are said to have come out of the sea very numerously, so that a man seeing them and being astonished to behold such a host of people coming out of the sea, gave a cry, which deterred the rest still in the sea, and those became rocks.

In reference to the above, we give the following account from the "Western Echo".

"The founder of Asābu, it is traditionally reported, was Amamfi, a giant, who with his sister, accompanied by Kwagya, another giant, are said to have come from the sea with a great number of followers. On their way from the sea, which took them five days, they were observed by a certain huntsman, who on seeing such a large body of men, is said to have clapped his hands and exclaimed, "how numerous!" At this the line of people emerging from the sea was suddenly cut off, and became petrified and transformed into several shapes and postures, which till now may be seen in clear sea extending to some distance. These two giants with their retinue travelled on together till they arrived at the Iron Hill and descended to the road which leads to the base of a hill called Aberewanfo, the literal signification of which has reference to the difficulty of the ascent for old women. Here they parted, and Amamfi and his sister, taking the road that leads to Akotekua, made for the interior, finally making their abode in Asābu. Kwagya on the other hand took the road leading to the beach side, until he arrived at the brow of the promontory now known as Mowure, and finding the place to be well situated for fishing, he and his men halted. They immediately set to clearing the bush, which was completed on the sixth day after their arrival, probably on Monday."

The above traditions appear to be mere folklore, yet there may be some truth in them. In the first instance, our people, being illiterate, could not keep the accounts of their emigration in writing. For what they say of coming from the sea could be easily explained

by the common expression daily in use of coopers, carpenters, &c., employed to the Bights, "Ete ñšòñ" = he is gone to the sea; "Edše ñšòñ" = he comes from the sea. Hence the immigrants may have come by big canoes or ships to this coast.

The tradition of immigration from the sea is also among the Tshis: the Adanses and the Tafos in Akém; and the Asantes say to this very day, that there are certain people among them whose ancestors came from the sea.

The third instance to prove the statements of Mr. Römer is that of a prince for Akém coming from the sea in company with the Akras. That throws a great light on Römer's account of kings appointed by the emperor of Benin to rule his subjects on this part of his empire.

The last instance is the peculiar dress worn by the chief priest of Akra. A close inspection of the priest in his officiating garb leads to the conviction that his worship must be of foreign origin. As there is no African nation or tribe ever known to have so advanced in their religious views as the Akras, one is inclined to suppose that the Jewish system of worship in the Old Testament style has been either introduced by or imitated from the people who came out first to this coast. If that be not the case, it may be found probable that those peculiarities are to be derived from the Portuguese Catholics, who established several churches on the Coast, and whose religion, after their expulsion, may have been mixed up with fetishism.

As to the question whether the Carthaginians [or other people that came from the eastern coast of Africa round the Cape] settled on the Gold Coast, and what became of them, it may be observed that the descendants of the colonists, being left here for nearly 2000 years before the Europeans came, and having no communication with the parent state for such a length of time, must certainly have lost their nationality, knowledge, civilization, and even their language, and have been assimilated, in every respect, to the aborigines.

Having traced this so far, we come to another tradition, which says that the Akras and the Adangmes emigrated together from Tetetutu, or, as some say, from Sámé, in the east, between two large rivers. After crossing the Volta, they dispersed over the country; the Kròbòs stayed on the Kròbò mountain, the Shais on theirs, and so forth; but the Akras reached the Coast and formed their settlements. The Akras and Ningowas were marching in a body; during one night the former hastily started and left their

dough behind them, hence their surname "Māshī" = those that have left their dough. The Ningowas, being left behind, were called by the former "Wō" i.e. sleepers.

The aboriginal race all along the sea-coast and inland, at some points 15, 20, 30 and 40 miles northward, were nearly all of the Guan, Kyerepong, Lē and Ahanta tribes, speaking different dialects of the Ahanta, Obutu, Kyerepong, Late (Lē) and Kpeshi languages.— They seem to have extended from Asini down to Tēma; thence to the Volta were the districts of the Lēs, speaking Adangme, the mother dialect of Gā. In the interior were the Tshi or Fante tribes, who, as we suppose, when the Moslem invasion of Western Europe was stemmed, and the Christians reasserted their superiority in Spain, were driven by the Moors from central Africa into the low lying countries between the Kong (Kpong) mountains and the river Pra. Hence the tradition of the Fantes about their emigration to the coast, that they separated from the other emigrants and were called Qfātewfo i.e. the portion that has separated from the main body. We suppose this to be more the real meaning than "Efantewfo" pickers of "ēfai" i.e. vegetable or pot-herb. The emigrants from the interior, after crossing the river Pra, travelled along it to the coast, and either subduing the aborigines or driving them along the coast, they settled in the country between Sima (Chama) and Dwomma (Gammah, Mumfort) along the sea-coast as well as in the interior. The Dankeras and Tshuforos crossed the Pra, leaving the Ahanta and Guan aborigines on the south from Sima (Chama) to Asini, and on the east from Dwomma (Dshūeima, Mumford, Montfort) to Lāngma or the Cook's loaf.*)

*) The only way, we suppose, of finding out the different tribes which compose the whole Gold Coast population, is by knowing those people who perform the following different customs for their marriageable girls. In the whole, there are three principal tribes, viz: the Guan-Broñ tribe, the Gā-Adangme tribe and the Fante-Twi tribe. The Customs hitherto known to us are:

1. Tuñ-yō = camwood-girl, indicates the pure Gā tribe.
2. Amā-yō = pitch-girl, the mixed Lē-Gā tribe (the aborigines).
3. Ašim-yō = elephant's tail wearing girl, the mixed Guan-Gā tribe (Kpeši and Obutu).
4. Otufō-yō = priestly hat and loin-cloth wearing girl, the Adangme tribe.
5. Nšōwumō-yō = sea-washing girl, the Fante tribe.
6. Bradšu-yō = menses-washing girl, the mixed Guan-Twi tribe.
7. Akō-yō = (red) parrot-feathers wearing girl, the Twi tribe.

The following account proves it. Amamfi, Asābu, and Kwagya with their numerous retinue had already settled in the country and had founded several towns, such as Asābu, the capital, Putubew, Amosima, Abora, Po-Ekrofo (Boropo-Ekrofo, which signifies sea-people, that is, people emerged from the sea), Akumamba, Mainsu, Berebu, Moware, &c.

“The Fantes, on arriving from Takiman, to settle among the former inhabitants of the land, encountered great opposition from Asābu. It is reported that the Asābus, previous to the settlement of that portion of Fante called Abora, lived where the latter now dwell. The Asābus looked upon them as intruders, and consequently did all they could to make their stay in the places they occupied as far from peaceful as possible. To show how far the Asābus tyrannized over the Aboras, it may be remarked, that it was not an uncommon thing for their chief Amamfi, to try his bill hook on any one of them he came across after he had sharpened it. But the Aboras soon gave evident signs of their unwillingness to endure such insults. A number of battles ensued, in which the Asābus, though numerically inferior, were invariably the victors by reason of Amamfi’s extraordinary strength. The Aboras having so often failed in their attempt to dispossess the Asābus, and the latter having continued to be more and more troublesome, the former combined to make one strenuous effort to put them down. They asked their highest fetish Nananom, what sacrifice they should offer to ensure success, and by his advice buried a certain creeping plant called by the Akras “akpatrokpo” in a pot near the enemy’s town. The consequence was, that all the warriors of Amamfi and Asābu, as well as their chiefs themselves, were soon laid down by an attack of guinea-worm, effected by the influence of that sacrifice. The Aboras then gave battle to the Asābus. Ofisādu, nephew of Asābu, and captain over the Asābus’ forces, was ordered to fall in to meet the enemy. Amamfi and Asābu, as a matter of course, were unable to join their people. They very soon discovered the great probability of the Aboras winning the day; finding themselves in great peril, they, with great effort, got up and approached the scene of action. On finding that the people were no longer able to make a stand and were actually retreating, it is said, they retired into the sea. Thus the Aboras got possession of the country.” Such emigrations back into the sea should be understood as rather emigrating somewhere else.

As already remarked, when the whole Gold Coast was under the emperor of Benin and governed by kings appointed by him, there was peace throughout the whole extent of the country. But after the arrival of the Portuguese and the immigration of the Tshi tribes the unity was dissolved; hence we hear toward the end of the seventeenth century of eleven powerful states or kingdoms on the Coast, besides those in the interior. They are, according to Bosman, Axim, Ante or Ahanta, Adom, Gabi, Kommani, Afutu, Sabu (Asābu), Fante, Akron or Gomoa, Agona, and Akwamu. The kingdom of Akra had already been destroyed by the Akwamus, hence the eleven states mentioned; else they would be twelve. Those immigrants by their conquest introduced their language among the aboriginal race, hence we see that Tshi is spoken in all the kingdoms or states forming the Western Province of the colony, although several states retain their mother tongues besides.

We also enumerate those countries on the Coast as well as Inland according to the Rev. J. G. Christaller's dictionary of the Asante and Fante language (1881). The south-western group of states and districts of the Gold Coast are: Amanahia, from the lagoons and lower courses of the river Tanno to the mouth of the Ankobra river (which the Portuguese called "Serpentine" on account of its intricate windings), Anwōnwi (Awowi) north of Amanahia, Safwi, Ahanta, Wasa, Twiforo and Dankira. The Fante group, on the middle part of the Gold Coast, extending from 80 to 100 miles between the rivers Pra and Sakumo: Komane (Commenda) with Aguafō and Aberemu, Qdēna or Elmina, Afutu, Asabu, Abora, Fante proper (Quomabo and Fante Asene, Korentsel, Anyaŋ &c.), Adwumakō, Akumfi, Gomoa, Agona, Asikuma. The south-eastern Akān group: Asēn or Asenefufu, Akem Abuakwa, Akem Kotoku, Akem Dwabēn, Akuapem, and Akwam with Kamāna.*)

Although we have stated above that the Guan and Ahanta tribes extended from Asimi to Tema, yet according to the political division,

*) As a north-western Akān Group he mentions inland countries which were then (1881) outside the British Protectorate; but Okwawu, Asante-Akem and Agogo have since been received into it, the tribes of Adanse, Nkwanta, Danyase and Kokofu have immigrated into the British Territory, Dadease is disinclined to serve Asante, and so this once powerful kingdom is reduced to Kumase, Bekwae in the S.W., Agona, Mampon, Kumawn, Nsuta and Nkoransa in the N., and some minor dependencies. In the N.E. the Broñ tribes placed themselves under British protection, and Nkoransa is likely to follow. The south eastern corner of the Gold Coast contains the Akra or Gā and Adangme country, see the beginning of Chapter II.

the Lē tribes, among whom were Kyerepongs, Kpeshis and Adangmes, extended from Mount Lāngma to the Volta. The Akras seem to have driven some of those tribes to the Akuapem mountains and beyond the river Volta. What the Latēs say of having had 30 towns, and the Kyerepongs, also 50 towns, may be true of that time.

Thus we see that the tribes of Latē, Anum, Nkonyā, and even the Bowure people in Krepe, emigrated from this coast to the other side of the Volta.*) The Bowures are reported to have emigrated from Mowure in Fante. There are, however, some remnants of the aboriginal race of the Lēs, Kpeshis and Obutus mixed up with the Akras.— To prove that the Kpeshis may have occupied the land from Tēma to the Volta, we give the following reasons.

All the lagoons from Laloi near Kpoi (Poni) on the east to the river Sakumō and the lagoon Sakumō in Apā (Apam) on the west were owned by the Kpeshis and Obutus or Afutu-Berekus; the first lagoon they named Sakumō nukpa (the elder) and the river they called Sakumō fio (the younger). The lagoons which the natives worship as their fetishes have all their religious songs in the Obutu or Kpeshi dialect. This shows that the Obutus and Kpeshis were the first settlers on this tract of land.

There is, however, a tradition which says, that the lagoon Sakumō nukpa (Tēma Sakumō) was the property of the Ningowas, who in their wars with the Labades pawned it to Adshete Ashabara, king of Tēma. The Ningowas are said to have shared the tract of land between the river Sakumō and Laloi with the Akras; the boundary was the lagoon Kōlete at Christiansborg. This shows that they may have shared the land between themselves after the conquest of the Kpeshis, knowing, according to tradition, that these two tribes, Akra and Ningowa, emigrated together to this coast.

The other settlers were the Lēs, as we find mentioned the family of Lākote Aduawushi = Kote of Lē, who is known to have been on the coast with his people before the Akras removed thither. The brother of Lakote with the name Leteboi was acknowledged by the Dutch Government, by an instrument drawn, which was afterwards carved on the silver-handed cane of the priest of Nai, as the king of Akra in 1734. Likewise we see that one Tētē Kpeshi was the

*) Very likely these tribes were driven over the Volta by the Akwamus, when that tribe subjugated the Kyerepongs on the Akuapem-hills.
P. St.

chief of James Town, whose brother Kpakpo Anêgê*) was acknowledged by an other instrument drawn by one Mr. J. Hosey Besouth, agent of the Royal African Company of England, as the chief and successor of Tete Kpeshi on the 16th January 1737; and was paid a stipend of £ 4 per month.

The coast and the inland of the Eastern Province, i.e. from Mount Cook's Loaf (Lāngma) to the Volta, have been the seats of powerful kingdoms and states, as there have been such in the Western Province. They were the kingdoms of Akra, Obutu, Lē or Ningo or Adangme, whose king had the title Ladingcour or Lānimo (see Bosman page 327), of Shūoyi near Sasabi, and several other states.

CHAPTER II.

Definition of Gā; its boundary; the first powerful kingdom formed by the Akras on the Coast.—The first three kings. Akwama, the first Tshi refugee, and the formation of his state and power.—The Portuguese and other Europeans forming settlements on the Gold Coast for the purpose of slave-trade.—The expedition to Ahāramatā by King Mankpong Okai.—The tyrannical reigns of Queen Dode Akabi and her son Okai Koi, whose reigns caused the destruction of the kingdom of Akra by the Akwamas. 1500—1660.

“Gā” is the name particularly applied to the people and country bounded on the east by the lagoon Tshemu near Tēma, west by the river Sakumfo, south by the sea, and north by the Akuapem mountains. It is, however, generally applied to the people and land from the Cook's Loaf or Lāngma to the Volta. The seven towns forming the Akra proper are: 1. Gā, English or James Town (British Akra); 2. Kiūkā (Kankā) or Ussher Town (Dutch Akra); 3. Osu or Christiansborg (Danish Akra); 4. Lā or Labade; 5. Teshi; 6. Ningoowa or Little Ningo; 7. Tēma. The Gā-Adangme coast towns are: Kpong or Poni; Gbugbrā or Prampram; Nungo or Ningo and Adā. The inland Adangme towns are: Shai, Krōbō, Osudoku and Asutshuare.

The reduplication of Gā is gāgā, which is a kind of the big black ants which bite severely and are formidable to the white ants. The

*) Onigi is an Obutu name for Guinea fowl, and Kpakpo being very handsome was called by that name.

natives designate themselves "Loeiabii (Loiabii)". Loei is the Gã name for another species of the black ants, which wander about in great swarms and thus invade houses, killing and devouring every living thing that comes in their way. These ants are called "ñkrãñ" by the Tshis and Fantes. The Portuguese coming to this part of the coast may have brought down Fante servants, who must have told them, the place is Ñkrãñ. As foreigners, they could not pronounce it so properly, but called it "Akra" (which the English spell Accra). As their name designates, they must have been a very numerous and powerful wandering tribe who very easily subdued the aborigines. Fourteen big towns are said to have existed inland of Ussher Town, one as large as our present James Town and Ussher Town put together four times, of at least 40—50,000 inhabitants. It is said that all the inland elevations or hills, such as Akpadegong, Pletekwogong, Mukō, Amoñmōle, Fāñofā, Dōkutsho, Kushibiete (Légoñ) &c. had big towns on them formerly. James Town, Christiansborg, and Teshi were then not founded. The tribe of Ningowa or Wō had several towns: Wōdoku, Kpatshakōle, Lashibi, Kōkō nyāgā, Wōkplē, Wōdōde, Wōshagba, Wō-Akwamu, Wō-bōbō &c., with Wōdoku as the capital. The Labades were then on the Aboasā hill and near the river Nsaki, whilst Ashiyaote, the priest of Lākpā, resided on the Adshangōte hill. The tribe of Tēma or Kpeshi likewise had several towns: Tēbianō (Yege, Kplā), Podoku, Atshebidoku, Alagbā, Lakañmābi, Takiñmābi*) &c. There was a large town with several other towns near Sasabi known as Shuoyi. All these tribes and people, as well as the Adangmes and Lēs or Agotims down to the Volta, the Obutus, Akwamus, and Akuapenis were tributary states to the king of Akra. In short, the whole extent of the kingdom is said to have reached as far down as Abaramatā, north of Little Popo on the east, and to Akan near Obutu on the west.

We have obtained only a few names of the first kings of Akra with a few scanty notes about them. The first king was Ayi Kusli, who retired into the sea. The next was Ayite, who established his capital at Okaikoi near Ayawaso. The third was Nī Koi Nalāi or Nīkoilāi, and the fourth Mankpong Okai, surnamed Owura Mañkpong; all we know about him is, that he used to ride in a carriage, which

*) Lakañmābi is now called Ashamañ, and Takiñmābi = Awudum; they are now quarters and no more towns.

shows that in his days the Portuguese had settled here, perhaps about 1483, because the Portuguese took possession of Elmina and built the Castle St. George de Elmina in 1481.

During his reign the following incident may have occurred. Mr. Römer says: "Two princes in the interior fell in love with a noble woman. They agreed to ask her to make choice of one of them, upon which one was chosen. The one not chosen one night called upon and made off with her. By travelling six weeks they arrived at Okaikoi and took refuge with the king of Akra, then at Ayawaso. The name of that prince was Akwamu, which afterwards became the name of that tribe and kingdom. He staying with the king as a servant, got two children, a son and a daughter, with his wife, and in the course of time he obtained a piece of land as a grant from the king, and built his own village 4 miles off. When he was removing to his new place, he left his son at the king's court to be educated. Akwamu, being a Tshi prince with their known inherent wits for ruling, easily managed to collect a good number of other fugitives about him, so that, after the lapse of 50 years, he could form a small state at the foot of Akem Peak (Nyanawase), yet was under the king."

King Maikpong Okaï appears to have married the Obutu princess Dode Akābi (Akāi), who seems to have been a grand-daughter of king Wyete. She was the mother of Okaikoi, who was named after her royal family's name—Koi, but being the son of king Okaï, he got the full name Okaï Koi, as the ancient Akras used to name their children—the father's name preceding the son's name, similar to the Jewish fashion in naming their children.

Our connection with Europe seems to have commenced a little earlier, prior to the reign of King Okaï. After the lapse of exactly 2000 years from the supposed Carthaginian settlement on the Western Coast of Afrika, no nation explored the Coast; though some French authors have tried to prove that a French company of Dieppe and Rouen built the first fort in 1383, which afterwards was rebuilt and got the name St. George della Mina by the Portuguese in 1481. We leave that dispute to the two nations and proceed on the generally accepted supposition that the Portuguese were the first nation on the Coast.

Prince Henry of Portugal, the navigator, was the first to direct attention to the West Coast of Africa, and it was explored as far as Sierra Leone, under his auspices. He always urged his naviga-

tors to bring home some of the natives, that he might have them baptized, educated, and sent back, so that the Portuguese might afterwards be able to open a commerce with them in their own country. Gonzales Baldeza in 1442, returning after a voyage of two years, brought 10 slaves and some gold-dust. Prince Henry presented the Negroes to the Pope Martin V., who thereupon conferred upon Portugal the right of possession and sovereignty over all the countries that might be discovered between Cape Bojador (S. of the Canary Islands) and the East Indies. But at Prince Henry's death in 1463 discovery had not yet advanced beyond Sierra Leone.

King John II. of Portugal, in 1481, despatched Don Diego d'Asambuja, with a force of 700 men, to the Gold Coast. He landed at Elmina and built the Castle of St. George, in spite of the opposition from Karamansa, the native king of Fetu (Afutu), then the powerful state in Fante. (Karamansa may be Okoromansā, a name often joined to the name Amoā, or Okāra Mansā.) The discovery of America by Columbus, and the commencement of the West African slave-trade attracted other nations to visit Guinea.

After the Portuguese, the Dutch followed. They built Fort Nassau at Mowure and settled in other places, as will be shown hereafter. The English so long ago as the reign of Edward IV. had proposed to establish themselves in these regions, but were restrained by fear of infringing the rights of Portugal under the Pope's grant. In the latter part of Edward the Fourth's reign, private English adventurers traded to the Coast, and the first commercial voyage from England to Guinea was performed in 1536. But the Government's support extended by Portugal, and then by Holland, to their subjects, placed the English adventurers at great disadvantage. James I. extended some support to these traders, and a Fort was established at Koromante (Cormantine) in the year 1624.

Cape Coast Castle (the Castle at Cabo Corso) was built in the year 1652 by the Swedes. The foundation was laid by its commandant Isaac Miville, a Swiss from Basel. The first name of the Castle was "Carolus-burg" (Charles'fort). In 1658 it was taken by the enterprising Heinrich Karloff, a native of Sweden, then in the service of the Danish Company, and thus it fell into the hands of the Danes.

The Danes built the forts Fredericksborg near Cape Coast and Christiansborg near Osu in 1659, as well as those at Anamabo and Takorari. In the same year the Danish African Company obtained

the privilege of trading on the West Coast from king Frederick III. of Denmark and Norway. But unfortunately Immanuel Schmid, the successor of Karloff, surrendered the Castle of Cabo Corso and those in Anamabo and Osu to the Dutch in 1659. After this the natives of Fetu (Afutu) besieged Cape Coast Castle and took it in 1660; but the Swedes retook it from their hands and kept it from that year to 1663, when the Fetu retook it from the Swedes by surprise and treachery. Now the English, Danes, and Dutch respectively endeavoured to get possession of it by negotiation, but all failed. On the second of May 1663, however, the Fetu voluntarily surrendered it to the Dutch. It had not been one year in their possession, when it was attacked by Admiral Sir Robert Holmes by land and by sea and captured on the third of May 1664. (The author of the "British Battles" places the event in the year 1661.) The English have ever since kept possession of Cape Coast Castle, though the illustrious Dutch Admiral De Ruyter tried with thirteen men-of-war to capture it in 1665.

In 1685 the Danes sold to the English Fort Fredericksborg, named by them Fort Royal, but now Fort Victoria.

James Fort at Akra was built by the English in 1662, in which year a chartered company was formed, "the Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa". In 1672 "the Royal African Company of England" succeeded them, and in 1752 "the African Company of Merchants" took their place.

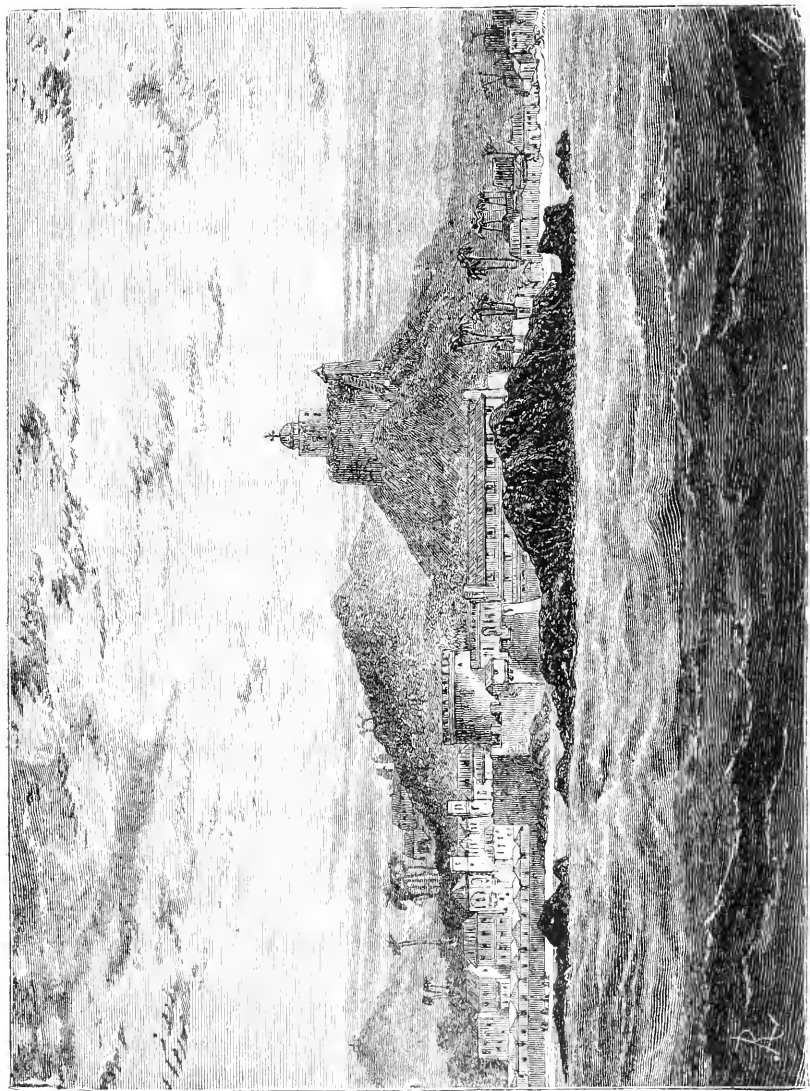
Not only Portugal, Holland, and England formed companies for the purpose of trading to the Gold Coast, but also Denmark, Brandenburg, Sweden, France, with the sole object of obtaining from our kings and chiefs the superfluous population or their captives in war as slaves for the cultivation of the American plantations. From Apollonia down to Keta (Quittah) we find about 35 Forts built by them, most of which are now in ruins. For the interest of our young readers we give the names of these forts, beginning from the east:

Quittah (Keta)	Fort Prindsenstein	1784	Danish
Addah (Adā)	» Kongenstein	1784	»
Ningo (Nuño)	» Fredensborg	1735-41	»
Prampram (Gbugbrā)	» Vernon		English
Teshi	» Augustenborg		Danish
Osu	» Christiansborg	1659	»
Dutch Akra (Kinkā)	» Crevecœur		Dutch

English Akra, or James

Town (Gà, Èñlèšì)	Fort James	1662	English
Seniah (Sanyà)	» Bereku		Dutch
Winnebah (Simpà)	» Winnebah	1694	English
Apam (Apā)	» Lijdzaamheid(Patience)	1697	Dutch
Gamma (Dwomma)	» Mumfort		English
Tantum (Tuam)	» Tantamquerry		»
Cormantine	{ » Cormantine	1624	»
(Koromante)	{ » Amsterdam	1665	Dutch
Anamabo (Onomabo)	» Anamabo	1753	English
Moree (Mowure)	» Nassau		Dutch
Cape Coast (Ogua)	{ » Carolusburg	1652	Swedish
	{ » Cabo Corso	1658-63	Danish & Dutch
	{ » Cape Coast Castle	1664	English
	{ » Frederiksborg	1659	Danish
» » »	{ » Royal, now Victoria	1685	English
» » »	» William		»
» » »	» Macarthy		»
Elmina (Odénà)	» St. George d'Elmina	1481	Portuguese
		1637	Dutch
»	» St. Jago (Koenraadsburg)		»
Commenda (Komane)	» Vredenburg	1688	»
» (Akatakya)	» Commenda	1681	English
Chama (Sima)	» St. Sebastian (Portg.)		Dutch
Secondi (Sakunne)	» Orange	1680	»
» »	» Secondee	1685	English
Tacorady (Takorade)	» Witsen		Dutch
Bootry (Butiri)	» Batensteen		»
Dixcove (Mfuma)	» Dixcove	1691	English
Akoda (Akwida)	» Dorothea	1682	Brandenburg
Takrama	» Takrama		
Montfort (Manforo)	» Friedrichsburg		
Axim (Asém, Sem-brofo)	» St. Antonio (Portg.)		»
Apollonia (Benyin)	» Apollonia		English.

These forts were not only built for defence against hostile indigenous tribes, but also against European neighbours and powers. In 1637 the Dutch took the famous Castle of St. George d'Elmina from the Portuguese; they planted their cannons on the hill on which St. Jago was afterwards built, and obliged the Castle to surrender. The Portuguese were finally expelled by the Dutch from



CAPE COAST TOWN AND CASTLE.

the Gold Coast in 1642. Bosman says: "The Portuguese served for setting dogs to spring the game which as soon as they had done was seized by others."

The Portuguese being thus expelled, the Dutch, English, and Danes became possessors of their forts or built new ones. The Dutch had 16, the English 14, and the Danes 5. But the Danes ceded their possessions to the English in 1850, and the Dutch in 1868 and 1872, so that now, over the whole coast-line of 250 miles, the Union-Jack alone waves supremely.

Rule, supremely rule, Britannia, rule,
Thy acquired colony on the Gold Coast!
Protected from the Tyrant and the Slaver
By blood of thy noble sons shed on fields,
Besides thousands and thousands of pounds!
Destined by Heaven to have the rule,
Godly, justly, fatherly therefore rule! —

The old kingdom of Akra, as already remarked, extended on the Coast to Ahārāmātā, north of Little Popo. The chiefs there, being tributary subjects to King Mankpong Okaī, sent him regular annual tributes and presents. They often asked the Akras to defend them against their enemies; hence in after times, when the power of Akra was broken, the Akras also sought an asylum there. Being their allies, the Akras traded with them by bartering European goods from the Portuguese for ivory, aggrry-beads, blue-beads &c.

The king sent his people with large amounts of goods, and other traders, under one Lamte, had to go with the kings people. While they were trading there, a war broke out between the allies and some tribes whose king was so cruel as to kill people. The Akra traders joined in war against that king, but he was too strong for them; so messengers were sent with the traders to report it to the king. A large army was ordered to march against the enemy of the allies, in which Labades, who were then not yet separated, had to join. For the safety of the fetish Lākṗā it was arranged to harbour it in a dense forest, now known as Lākṗākō, which afterwards became the site of the town Teshi.—The army suffered great hardship at Ahārāmātā from want of provision, bad ways &c., and had to subsist solely on palmkernels and the clay of the white-ant-hillocks. Consequently a good number of the warriors died. That wicked and cruel king was, however, captured, brought to Akra, and beheaded. The aged chief of Labade died on their return home; hence the second chief, whose successors afterwards separated to

Teshi, instructed the votaries of Lākpā in the ceremonies connected with its worship.

After the death of King Okāi, Dode Akābi (Akāi), an intelligent and masculine woman and Princess of Obutu, having obtained possession of the king's property, usurped the government, knowing that after her death the young Prince Okāi Koi might aspire to the throne. Dode Akāi, whether to avenge the ill-treatment given to her ancestor Wyete, or whether it was her nature, ruled both the Obutus and Akras with a rod of iron. It was she who invented the Akra face-cut-marks, although some are of opinion that the first Akra emigrants had those marks in their faces. She also forbid men the use of the abusive expression "bulu" or brute to a wife, upon pain of death. Her injunctions were very foolish and cruel, such as to catch a lion or tiger alive for her! In the execution of such orders many a life was lost. Before giving the order to build her palace, not thatching it with grass, but with clay, she is said to have commanded all the young men in her dominion to do away with all the old and elderly men. The young folks complied with that wicked injunction; but one family alone harboured their father instead of killing him. When she was hardly pressing the people to build the palace and to use swish-strings in thatching it, they were at a loss how to manage it. The old man harboured advised his sons to demand a sample of the old swish twine with which the palace of her predecessors was thatched, so as to imitate it. This being asked, she perceived at once that one of the elders must be alive, and forthwith ordered the people to tell her the truth. Which being told, the old man was ordered to be fetched, who had such a demonstration with her, that she gave up at once that idea of roofing a grass house without the natural materials. This was the origin of constituting seven elders as counsellors to advise kings and chiefs in every town.

Her death is said to have been brought about by an order to sink a well in the hill known as Akābikenke, now corrupted, Akæke (Akabi's hill). The people, having no proper instruments, were compelled to sink a well some hundred feet deep! Their rigid taskmasters were hard upon them, as the Egyptians on the Israelites. At last the poor, oppressed and afflicted people conspired against the life of the Queen. To carry out that design, it was announced that water was being discovered, but there was a man found in the bottom of the well, who forbade their digging any farther. Upon

which the wicked Queen with her numerous women retinue repaired to the spot, arrogantly demanding, who the man was that forbade the digging? "He is in the bottom of the well below" was the reply. In a passion, she ordered herself to be lowered down to see the man who durst oppose her injunction. She was accordingly lowered down, when the people exclaimed, "This is your abode!" In the twinkling of an eye a multitude of stones and sticks were thrown into the well to fill it up. All the workmen engaged at the well, as well as those in town, carried stones and threw them in. Those coming late had to throw their stones in heaps all around, which are seen to this day. Thus ended the wicked and cruel reign of Dode Akabi, which is still remembered by two proverbs: "Blemakpā nō atśāā" = Twine is twisted according to the sample of the ancient; "Kē oyī tamōō Tēte yi lē, otoo Tēte sāmā" = Never cut your hair like that of Tēte, when your head has not the same shape as his,—referring to the Queen, who was not of the royal blood of Akra and should not have assumed the supreme power. The mode employed to kill her has been since connected with religious ceremonies:—whenever an epidemic, war, death or any other misfortune is impending, a small hole is dug in the ground, into which a cat or any other cruel beast is placed. The parties on whose behalf the sacrifice is made, have to pick up three small stones each, wheeling simultaneously each stone around the head, and then cast it into the hole. After which the animal is buried, while the parties standing or sitting around the hole say, "The wicked one is now being buried." Owing to this murder, the Tshis called the Akras "Nkrāñ pōñ wose yē du". (The great Akra, whose saying is the tenth i.e. who fulfil what they say.)

Prince Okai Koi was very young when his mother was buried alive; on coming to age, he desired to know who his mother was, as well as her name, but none durst tell it. Hence the Akras have this expression, "Moko lee moni fō Okai Koi", i.e. No one knows the one who beget Okai Koi. At last an old woman told him all the circumstances connected with his mother's death. He, therefore, ascending the stool, ruled the subjects with a rod of iron. In his days the Akwamus, Akuapems, Obutus &c. were under him as before. As he was a tyrant, his sons Tete Antie, Ayi Fufoo, Tete Ablō, Ayāi, Ashangmō, Okai &c. imitated their father. They often murdered the sons of the chiefs and deprived the people of their newly married wives; ordering people to climb up trees, they then shot an arrow at them, or when stabbing any one with a dagger,

they wiped off the blood on the person and said, "You have defiled my knife!" The worse among the sons were Tete Ablɔ and Ayāi; and the only mild one was Tete. The king used to tell him, "My son, do what you please and show your dignity while I am alive; when I am dead, your time to reign is past". The mother of that Tete was from Shai; his younger brother paid a visit there, and behaved very haughtily, having illegal intercourse with a married wife; but her husband dashed out the offender's brains with an axe. The report of the murder of the King's son reached Akra, and forthwith Okaï Koi put himself at the head of an army to punish the Shais. The king of Shūyɔ, however, objected to Okaï Koi's marching to Shai in person; but, after persuading him to return home, went down with his army, and chastized the murderers.

On account of the cruelties of the king and his sons, Nikoilai, the great chief of Asere, and his wife Kuɔkɔ Adshemang, kept their son Nikoite (Amoñ) at home till he reached the state of manhood. Nikoi had several times expressed his desire to be allowed to come out, or at least to accompany his father once to visit the capital, but was not allowed. At last, at his repeated and urgent request, the father consented to go in his company to the said place, where he was kept close to the father when at court. By chance the youth, escorted by his father's retinue, went out of court to discharge water. When he had done so, Prince Tete Ablɔ shot an arrow and killed him on the spot. The attendants were struck with horror. The chief showed the dead body of his son to the king and reported the wicked deed of the prince. The only reply was, "Never mind, your wife will get you another son, before she has passed her age." To get Okaï Koi into trouble for all his wicked deeds, the chiefs conspired to advise him to have the Akwamu Prince (then staying at his court, cf. above page 13) circumcised, as he himself well knew that uncircumcised persons were strictly forbidden by the great fetish to attend his courts. On the other hand they knew that circumcised people were never allowed to ascend the stool (or throne) of Akwamu. Prince Odeï underwent the operation, to his great delight, as several Akra princes, who were his comrades, had been circumcised that year. No sooner had the Akwamu Prince been circumcised, than the great chief Nikoilai with several others told the Akwamus what had happened.

During those days a son of the king of Labade came to the capital and stayed with the young princes of the King. While the boys

amused themselves with shooting arrows about, an arrow of the Prince of Labade went straight into the king's harem. He wanted to go there and get back the arrow, but his comrades dissuaded him. He persisted, was caught by the eunuchs, brought before the king, and, by his order, at once beheaded. This shocking report was brought to the king of Labade, who quietly submitted to this ill-treatment and attended the yearly festival of Okaï Koi as usual. But when the time for celebrating the festival of Labade came on, Okaï Koi ordered the great chief of Gbese, whose duty it was to join the Labades in their religious festivals and ceremonies, not to attend, as he was determining to fight them. The chief obeyed, and assisted with his army in attacking the Labades, who were defeated and driven to Shai; some say to the Coast, when one half of the people stayed at Ladoku, the rest at Nyedueshi, where they dug the well there.

The Akras, being now tired with the wicked king, advised the Akwamus to refuse paying the annual tribute. They asked, "How are we to do so?" The reply was, "Since the king has circumcised Prince Odeï, who should become your king, you may take up that as a cause of revolt. We shall support you!" The Akwamus accordingly invited the Prince to the capital. Here, while washing himself with soap, he was perceived to be indeed circumcised, whereupon they refused to pay the tribute. About this time the king of Akwamu died, and Odeï was denied the right of succeeding to the vacant stool. Embarrassed as he was at that time, he sent repeatedly to Okaï Koi to restore the foreskin, a demand contrary to reason! He threatened to attack the Akras, if the foreskin were not forthcoming; but they being twenty times more powerful than the Akwamus, no notice was taken of it. Ansâ Sasraku (who seems to have succeeded to the stool instead of Odeï) persisted in this demand, so Okaï Koi assembled his generals and great chiefs and consulted them what to do. They replied, "Send only one great chief to plunder them!" European arms and ammunition were very rare in those days, so that every general had but one gun and ten rounds each; the warriors used bows and spears. The Akwamus had nothing of that kind, but bows and spears; they had, however, hired the Agonas and Akrons (Gomoas) in the Fante country, promising them a box of gold dust each, which four men could scarcely carry (but which the Akwamus never paid). The war was declared and the field was taken. But the great chief

Nikoilai with the majority of Okaï Koi's warriors had arranged with the enemy to fire without bullets. Thus they did in several engagements, till, on being found out, they actually deserted the king, placed at their head Prince Ashangmō, the son of the king's brother Okaï Yāi, and marched to Mlafi. On account of this desertion of Okaï Koi, the annual dance of the king and the people known as Berebé got the name "Oshi": "oši ofše, oši onyě" i.e. you deserted your father and mother. After several engagements with the rest of the warriors and his body-guard, most of whom had been slain, the poor king was driven from the capital to Nyantrabi. Here his son Tēte said deeply moved to his wicked father: "This is what I always told you, father, if all your people were present, I should not have so much to fight alone!" They advised the king to put an end to his life rather than submit to such a disgrace. He therefore painted his face and front with white clay and his back with charcoal, mounted his royal stool and again enquired: "My people, do you wish me to commit suicide?" The warriors replied: "Yes, we won't have any king to govern us." The poor king then prayed that no glory should ever accompany any exertion of his subjects who had deserted him, and then shot himself dead. He fell upon his face, which bore the sign of justification, and so the glory departed from the Asērès, but we say rather from the whole Akra,—as ever since this event, which took place at Nyantrabi on the 20th of June 1660, hardly any exertion or military exploit of the Akras for Europeans or otherwise has been fully successful or duly appreciated. The king's sister with two Princes, the royal stool and few of their people, fled for protection to Tōng (Little Popo). It appears that the defeated Akras, when pressed by the Akwanus, took with them the head of Okai Koi, expecting thus to be left in peace; but this rather encouraged the enemy to ask their submission. The Akras attributed their conquest by the Akwanus to the Portuguese converting the lagoon Kōle into a salt-pit, a profanation which, they said, provoked the vengeance of their fetishes upon them.

In concluding this chapter, we must briefly speak of the appellation given by the Tshi people to this small Gā tribe. It is "Nkrān pōn wose yē du, ketekere, qdqm nni amamfō", which means, the great Akra, whose saying is the tenth (true) and is durable, carrying on warfare without desolation. If we ask, at which time was such a high name given to this tribe, and what induced the Tshi people to do so, although there is an old desolation of theirs at Ayawaso?

A reply to this question is, the appellation was given to the Gã-tribe during their glorious days; yet it is applicable for all times, for the present as well as for the future.

1. The Tshi nation may have found that the Akras are a divinely favoured tribe, when they consider how from time immemorial they had been trying to extirpate and root them out from the place divinely allotted to them, by different inroads, expeditions, invasions and wars, without obtaining their object.

2. They apply the title to them, because they had succeeded in establishing their power fully over the aboriginal races of Fante and other places, whilst with them they had failed.

3. By nature the Akras are mild and inoffensive, yet unconquerable, independent and not easily governed. Wherever an Akra man goes, he is not only respected on account of his national prestige, but by his personal abilities and qualification, able to endure any hardship and privation thrice better than any one of another tribe. In wars, in travellings, in voyages, in times of epidemic, they are divinely more preserved than any other nation. When two or three Akras would die in any of the above emergencies, the loss of any other tribes in their company is counted by dozens.

4. From the beginning, when not corrupted by the Tshi people, they were strict observers of their religious rites—a religion which appears a Jewish one, but now corrupted by fetishism; they were entirely forbidden to have anything to do with human blood. Even when a drop of blood is being shed in an assault, or by boys throwing stones, the king and elders are bound to make a sacrifice by way of purification, and the parties are fined. We say a Jewish one, which we prove by a few leading facts in their system of observances.

a) A kind of baptism of children a week after their birth, when the father chooses the best characters among his relations or friends to fetch the child from the room into the yard; there he throws a few drops of water on the roof of the principal room in the family compound, which he receives again in small drops and throws thrice on the child and then names it.

b) Children are named after their grandfathers, grandmothers or fathers. The father's precedes the son's name, as for instance Ayite Okai, Okai Koi, Okang Ngmashi, Tɛko Dedei. When the child's name precedes the father's, it is by way of respect to superiors e.g. Akoitshe Adotei, Okaitshe Ayite, Ngmashitshe Okang. In all the pure Akra names of male and female children, the father's name

is called first: Ayi Dede, Ayi Kòkò, Ayi Kāi, Ayi Tshotshō, Ayi Fofò, now Ayile (Ayele), Ayikò (Ayokò), Ayikāi, Ayitsho, Ayifo. Besides that, children are the heirs to the estate of the parents, and not nephews.

c) The circumcision which every male child of six to ten years of age is to undergo;— slaves of that age are also circumcised. This practice admits them to the courts of the principal fetishes; an uncircumcised person— may he be a king of any nation— is never allowed to step into the yard of the fetish, but is kept outside, when any ceremony is to be performed by him. Neither are persons having superfluity of members and menstruous women permitted to go inside.

d) At the yearly harvest-feast called Hòmòwó the door posts or walls are painted with red clay, similar to what the Israelites did at their Passover,— at which time all differences existing in a family must be settled in peace, with several other things which we can adduce, but shall treat of in the customs of the Akras.

e) Their government is patriarchal, and the ruler is styled Lomo or Priest,— Lomo is now slightly corrupted for Lumò i.e. a king or governor.

When it shall please the Divine Protector, who has placed such a small tribe amidst the numerous populations on the Gold Coast, to remove the present superstitious blindness from their minds, and bring them to Christianity in masses, they will be seen among the tribes as really a favoured people!

CHAPTER III.

King Ashangmò's defence of the country against the Akwamus.— His being repulsed with the Akras to Little Popo and Tetetutu, and his wars with the Dahomians and Angulās.— New settlements and towns formed on the coast by the Akras, and emigrants from Dankera, Osudoku, Angulā and Fra. 1660—1680.

The majority of the warriors of Akra with king Ashangmò at their head, hearing at Mlafi the death of Okai Koi, returned home, engaged the Akwamus, and drove them to Fante. The poem composed by them at that time was:

Owu a okun Okai Koi Adu nui ani.

Owu a okun Ansā Aku wọ ani.

Yerebaō, yerebaō, yerebesi!

The death which killed Okai Koi Adu has no eyes (i.e. is inglorious).

The death which killed Ansā Aku has eyes (is glorious).

We are pressing on forward to gore!

Ashangmō with his army kept up fighting with the Akwamus for 20 years, but could not establish his power over them again. The treachery of the generals, who were aspiring to the kingship, was a source of constant discord and exposed the country to the attacks of the Akwamus. This obliged Ashangmō in the year 1680 to retire to Little Popo with all the Akras from Labade down to Ningo. The people of Lakplē in Angulā were at that time in Prampram; they also fled to that place. It was at that general movement, we suppose, when king Anno of Tema or Kpeshi composed this poem, after his brother Annokoi had removed to Obutu.

Kpeshi Anno mitere wọ ē, Kpeshi Anno mitere wọ.

Labiokō Atsemfo ē, Kpeshi Anno mitere wọ.

Yā nyeyaā lo, bā nyebaā lo, Kpeshi Anno mitere wọ.

Kpeshi Anno is starting off to-morrow.

Labiokō Akemfo, Kpeshi Anno is starting off to-morrow.

Are you for starting or staying, Kpeshi Anno is starting to-morrow.

The main body separated from Ashangmō's men and emigrated back to Tetetutu, while he and his people marched towards Little Popo. When the Angulās joined his army, he fought with the people of Bei, then subjects of the king of Dahome, drove them beyond Popo, took possession of the place and made his capital at Gredshi. The king of Dahome, who had been informed by his people of what Ashangmō had done, despatched an overwhelming army to attack him in his capital. Hearing of such an army coming against him, Ashangmō concealed his small force in the bush behind the river Momo and allowed the Dahomian army to pass up towards the Volta in search of him. Then he contrived means of cutting a deep trench between the two rivers Ngmaka and Momo and the sea, and shut the Dahomian army in. He then attacked them openly on their returning from the Volta and gained a complete victory over them. He sent one of the prisoners back with one of his eyes and ears plucked out, to report the disaster the army had met with to the king. Akpo was astounded at such a signal defeat by a fugitive, and was obliged to make up with Ashangmō. He invited him to the capital Aboime, and made him the first general of his

forces. Ashangmō, being thus elevated, cunningly gave his sister Ayifo in marriage to the king, through whose means he escaped all the plots formed, either by the king himself or his generals, against the life of the victorious Akra king, and at last retired safe to his capital. That signal defeat of the Dahomian army became a byword of the Akras: "Ašānmō egbe Akpo", Ashangmō has defeated Akpo, when success crowns an undertaking anticipated to be difficult. The successors of king Ashangmō kept up continual war with the Angulās, who were known to Bosman as the Kotos, a name still applied to them as "Anglō Kotoe". At that time the kingdom of Angulā was very inconsiderable, the Akras in Popo were not very numerous either, but, as Bosman says, very warlike. They finally compelled the Angulās to sue for peace, only to gain time to form alliances with other tribes, or to ask the aid of the Akwamus, old enemies of the Akras.

During the period when two kings were ruling the kingdom of Akwamu, the Akras in Popo asked assistance from the old king, and the Angulās, that of the young king. The Akwamus were, however, very cunning to assist the weaker one in order that neither the one nor the other be destroyed. Sometimes both parties were supported by Akwamu warriors. In the year 1700, the king of Popo surprised the Angulās and drove them from their country. But as Akōnmō, who was the king of Akwamu in 1702, took a greater interest in the Angulās, he re-instated them again in the country. This proves that the alliance between the two countries had existed for a very long time; hence their grudge against Akra is understood. Those who think that the alliance between Akwamu and Angulā was made after the expulsion of the former from the Akem-Peak, must by the above statement be convinced of their mistake.

One of the kings of Popo was Ofori, who appears to have been the father of king Obli. (He must not be confounded with Ofori Dosu, of whom we shall hear in the Danish expedition in 1784.) He is described by Bosman as very brave, feared and respected by all the neighbouring kings. The king of Ofrá once rebelled against the king of Dahome, whose tributary chief he was, and not only threw off his allegiance to him, but killed a Dutch factor Mr. Holwert. King Ofori, hired to punish the rebel, invaded his country with an army, and conquered it without difficulty. The offenders were apprehended and delivered up to the king of Dahome. After this victory he was asked not to return until he had conquered the

Whydas. He marched against them and encamped in their country, waiting for a supply of ammunition from the king of Dahome under a good convoy. The Whydas attacked this convoy with a strong force and captured the whole supply of powder. Ofori, having spent his shot and powder, was obliged to retreat home, which saved him from the Whydas, who had proposed attacking his camp, as they knew he was short of ammunition. The Whydas, being informed of Ofori's retreat, did not trouble themselves to pursue him, being glad to have got rid of such a dangerous enemy.

The Angulās had prepared to attack Ofori as soon as he should give battle to the Whydas. On his way home, hearing of their intentions, he attacked them, although by this time the Angulās had formed alliances with other tribes and were stronger than himself. They gave him a warm reception and slew a great number of his men. Enraged at this loss, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, and was, after a desperate struggle, slain with many of his followers.

Bosman says, "the present king, though more peaceable and mild, yet prudently revenged his brother's death on the Angulās — always attacking them in their weakest condition, which measure he pursued so long as to drive them out of their country."

In 1672 (not 1662) the English came to Akra,*) got a piece of land and built James' Fort.

The owners of the land selected for the building were Adote Nɔ Ashare and his brother Tɛtɛ Kpeshi, who before were staying in Kinkā (Dutch Town) with their brethren, when unexpectedly an incident took place which obliged them to remove to the elevation of ground west of the lagoon Kōle, where they settled. Adede Molai Kroko, the Priest of Oyēni, was returning from Osu (Christiansborg) one night with a number of his people. Upon seeing a certain black figure supposed to be a hyena moving in the bush, he fired at the figure, which, to their great astonishment, turned out to be an old woman. This led to an uproar and quarrel, in consequence of which they removed to that spot after paying the customary fines.

The English asked the piece of land from Adote and his brother Tɛtɛ Kpeshi, though the site selected was the sacred grove of their fetish Oyēni; but the brothers gave up the land on condition that they should be allowed access to the spot to offer their annual sacrifices; and thus the Fort was erected.

*) cf. above p. 16. J. Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p. 36. B. Cruickshank, *18 years on the Gold Coast*, I. 21. — Chr.

The forts of the Dutch, English, and Danes at Akra, during those days of dissension between the Akwamus and Akras, invited the latter, to flee to the coast for protection from the oppression of the Akwamus. Of the Asērēs and Aboras, who came down to the coast to join the people living there before, the following names are still in the memory of the people: Sāku Olenge, Akotia Owōsika, Oshamra, Ayikai, Siahene, Osū Kwāteī, Anyama Senī, Amantieie Akēle &c. Ayikai Siahene with his people settled near James Fort and founded Akangmadshe and Mereku i.e. Bereku quarter. Adote Nī Ashare and Tete Kpeshi with their people removed from their site beyond the lagoon Kōle and settled by the fort, whose descendants also composed the Sempe and Brohung quarter.

Dankera having been conquered in the year 1700 by the Asantes, a quarrel about the succession to the royal stool broke out among the royal princes of that state. A Dutch officer was consequently sent there to restore peace. He brought the following headmen and noble women to Dēna (Elmina) to be protected: Afrifa, Korankyi, Amō Panyin, Amō Kuma, Kwaw Nsia, Korama, and Nsiawa, with several others. Some of them returned back to Dankera, when peace was restored. Korama seems to have been a nearest relation of the royal family; she had a son named Otu, who in consequence of the recent conquest was surnamed "Ahiakwa", one who met with or got nothing i.e. born when their glory had departed. He, being an intelligent youth, was employed as a servant by the above mentioned officer who was shortly after appointed commandant of the Dutch Fort Creveœur and brought down both Otu and his people already named to Akra. The Priest of Nāi being then the chief on the coast, to whom a monthly stipend was paid by the Dutch Government, the Dankera headmen and women were consigned to his care. After some years' residence, a piece of land was obtained from the priest through the influence of the commandant, on which Otu and his people built houses. Being free and intelligent trading people, they acquired riches in a short time, and enlarged their quarter very rapidly with the refugees from Dankera, Akwamu, Akem and Akuapem. Bobikō, a relative of Korama, then at Akém, heard of the prosperity of the Dankeras, and sent her son Amō Nakawa to Akra to ascertain the truth of it. Satisfied with the condition of his relatives, Bobikō and her people were by their advice induced to join them at Akra. But an incident took place while Amō Nakawa was on the coast. His wife Ahwānyabea of Akwamu

went on a visit to her parents at the place, where the king tried in vain to seduce her, and Akonno, being defeated in his object, in revenge applied a burning tobacco pipe to the back of her innocent child Dakō. The child was brought down to Akra with the whole family of Amō Nakawa, when the sad case was told him by his wife. He thereupon made a solemn vow of revenging himself one day on the king of Akwamu for that cruelty to his wife and child. Hence afterwards Amō Nakawa became the zealous chief among the ambassadors of Akra when negotiating with the kings of Akem, whose relation he was. He prevailed on the Obutus and Agonas to throw off their allegiance to the king of Akwamu while the latter was threatened with war.

All the Europeans established on the coast had their own labourers; some were free people, and the rest their own slaves as the property of each company, who were designated Alatas, a Fante name for people of Lagos, Yoruba &c. Thus we have Kinkā or Dutch Alata, English Alata, and Osu or Danish Alata. These Alatas in each town formed their own quarter in connection with the towns' people, and were acknowledged as citizens of the place by joining the established band in the towns. The elders among them had the right as citizens to become grandees or counsellors of the king or chief in a town. Thus the headman of the English Alatas was one Oshó or Odshòè (not Kodsho), surnamed Wetshe, i.e. housefather, who being a very intelligent and powerful man by his connection with the English, grew very rich, had numerous slaves himself, besides the Alatas, and having been in the country since the English established themselves here in 1672, became the king of James' Town. He had been instructed in the Tshi style of managing a state, and had a stool also made and consecrated to him by Chief Oto Brafo of Kinkā (Dutch Akra). There appears no one to have been appointed then as the successor of chief Anègè; even if there was one, he was more the priest of Oyēni, than a king. Odshó's successor Kofi Akrashi, a native of Dutch Akra, easily raised the power and fame of that family very gloriously. It was the same with a Fante chief, named Kwabena Bonne, who was brought to Osu (Christiansborg) with a large family by the Danes. He, although a free government agent, had to build his house close to the Castle in the Alata quarter. Chief Aheue of Dēna (Elmina) also emigrated with a large family to Akra, and made his permanent stay with the Dutch Alatas in the Dutch Town.

The people of Osudua or Christiansborg also emigrated in company with the different Adangme tribes from Sãme in the East, and having crossed the Volta, they settled with the main body on the Osudoku hill. Before their emigration to this place there was a single family of one Tete Manyõi and his brother Tete Bõ and his sister Dede Mosá from Dutch Akra settled here, before the Portuguese arrived. The family fetishes of Tete Manyõi are Leniogbe, i.e. a fetish of the Lēs, and Nyankũmle, which claims pre-eminence of Osu. The former is a piece of a round white stone, now lying neglected at the west corner of the Basel Mission Chapel.

An incident is said to have taken place at Osudoku, after the time when the Danes had come to this coast, which caused a certain family to emigrate to Osnyokpo near Shai, thence to Osukõ near Kwabenyang, who were seeking the protection either of the Akras or the Danes.

Tradition differs as to the real cause of that family's emigration. Some people say, that the Lēs or Agõtims, who were driven from Poni and Lahe, did not cross the Volta at once, but settled near the bank of the river. Being a warlike tribe, they kept up fighting with the Osudukus, that one chief, named Noete, came with the view of asking the aid of king Okai Koi to fight his enemy. The king sent an ambassador, Tete Boakõ Aforo by name, who escorted the chief to the Danes. Noete, having obtained protection, sent for his brother Naku Tete and their people, and founded the seven huts known as Butuiateng in Christiansborg.

Another tradition is: An Otufõ custom being performed (by a woman named Nãmole for her daughter) at Osudoku, some precious beads were borrowed, as people usually do on such occasions. A fowl picked up one of the beads and swallowed it, but none saw it. In returning the beads, one was found missing; so the owners refused to accept the rest. They offered to replace it with another bead, or even to pay seven persons for the single bead, as was the law at that time; yet the owners declined, consequently a quarrel ensued. Nãmole and her brother Nõete Dõku with their people travelled to Osukõ, and found there a hunter of king Odoi Akém of Labade, named Kadi, who conducted them to the king. They asked the king's arbitration in the matter, but being then engaged in settling a dispute between the Akwamus and the people of Berekusõ, he had no time at once to decide their case. But one Nõete Shai, the interpreter of the Danes, happened to find some of the

women who came to sell pots at the Adshiriwa market, who told N̄oete what was the cause of their emigration to Osuko. Through his agency N̄amole and N̄oete D̄oku were brought before the Danish Governor, who undertook to protect them and to settle their case. The name of the Governor, as the natives called him, is Erisen, which, we suppose, was Erik Oehlsen, who died in 1698. Odoi Akem at last came to Christiansborg and told the Governor what he was asked by the people to do for them. Their enemies, hearing at Osudoku of what the white men would do for them, gave the case up and fled from the country. The bead lost was at last found in the gizzard of the fowl when killed by the remaining family of N̄oete and N̄amole on the day they were to quit Osudoku for Christiansborg. The gizzard was cut into very small pieces, dried and brought down with them, when every member of the family took a piece and ate; hence the custom that the gizzard of a fowl is never eaten by a single person, but by a whole company sitting around a dish prepared of a fowl.

The town Osu increased rapidly by people removing from Dutch Akra, Labade, and several other places to reside there as labourers to the Danish Government, as well as by affinity with the two towns above named. It consists of three quarters, Kinkawe, Ashante, and Alata.

The byname of Osu is Abosha and a nickname is Kadigb̄o, of which the latter alone can be explained by guess—they being escorted to the place by the hunter Kadi, hence they are called Kadigb̄o, which means, the guests of Kadi. The word can, however, be defined by Kadi and gbañ; in old Ḡā, “kadi” means a balance, and “gbañ”, big i.e. the big balance. They, although emigrated later than the other Akras, had the fortune of becoming the illustrious among the Akra towns by their connection with the Danes. Yet the most probable signification of that name is “Carrier or Carli gb̄o”, after the name of a Portuguese or Frenchman, being an old coaster, who may have brought those emigrants to the Governor.

Lā or Labade (Labadai).—The people of La were originally a portion of the numerous tribe who seem to have been the first settlers on this coast, known as the Lēs, as the name indicates. The people of Gbese in Dutch-Akra, the Lates in Akuapém, the Lakples who removed from Prampram to Angulā, the inhabitants of Poni, known as the Agotims, as well as the former inhabitants of Osu, were all of the same tribe. Names of persons and fetishes with La or

Lē as the first syllable, are of this tribe, showing where they may have settled before, such as Lānma (Langma), Lashiokō, Lashiēle, Lafa, Laniogbe, Lākpā, which are names of fetishes belonging to this tribe; Lāte, Lāte, Lākote, Lātebōi &c., names of persons.

The byname of Lā is Bonne, which shows their emigration from Bonny; they are said to have come to that part of the world with the Akras. They emigrated from the interior to that place in consequence of war, and at Benin and Bonny the same warfare was carried on, till they were obliged to quit the place for this coast. They also apply the emigration from the sea to themselves and say that they landed at Lagu or Dago, the Akras landing in the morning, and they in the afternoon. Staying together for some time, the Akras left for Lānma. (It may be that the Lās first left for that place, as their name was given to that hill as Lāngma or Lāmañ i.e. the abode of the La people.) Thence they emigrated to Aboasā, Adshangote, Nsaki, and Abese by the river near Mayera, and the Akras also to Ayawaso &c. A good road was made between the two tribes to facilitate intercourse. Yet the Lā people entered into alliance with the Akwamus, which in king Okai Koi's time was avenged by beheading the young prince of Lā. Once, detaching the people of Gbese, the brother tribe of Lā, from participating in their yearly feast, Okai Koi attacked the Labades with great slaughter. The Gbeses, however, went between the hostile parties and brought peace again; the Akwamus, who were allies of the defeated, and who might have helped them, came too late, when peace had already been made. The Akras, not favouring the alliance between the Labades and Akwamu, commissioned a party of men to waylay the Akwamu Queen, who had attended the celebration of their feast, and was killed on her way to attend the feast of the Labades. As the act was cunningly perpetrated close to their town, they were charged with the murder, attacked by the Akwamus, and sustained heavy losses. To keep up their friendship in spite of the recent war, the Labades wisely had recourse to a prophecy that Lākpā had predicted the utter destruction of the Akwamus by an unknown power, unless they obtained an absolving ablution from him. By that means they were again united. The Tshis, who are not very obliging to fetishes, easily declared war after this against the Labades, in which, according to Lā history, the Akwamus were defeated and driven beyond the Volta; the Labades pursuing them had to stay for several years at Krobo, intermarried between them-

selves and then removed to Adshimanti on the Aknapém hills. They heard of the Akwamus having returned to their country and preparing to fight them; but the fetish Lākpā objected to their doing so and peace was restored. From Adshimanti the Labades proposed joining their brother-tribe of Gbese, but Lākpā objected to this too, wherefore they removed to Shai and settled at Lādoku.

We suppose the contrary of what the Lā history says. The Akwamus were never driven from Nyanawase but once, and that in 1733. The Labades may have been driven rather to Kròbò by the Akwamus. At Lādoku they formed alliances with several neighbouring tribes, among whom were the Shais and Agotims. They entered into an agreement with them that whoever should be found guilty of an intrigue with another man's wife, should be delivered up to the injured party, and in the presence of both parties the culprit should have his brains dashed out with an axe. A Labade man was the first who was found guilty, and was brought to justice. The next man was a Shai, the son of the king, whom his people refused to deliver up to the Labades to be executed. The consequence was a war, which raged for some time, till the Labades were fain to seek assistance from the Akwamus. The latter willingly complied, and rested not till they had driven the Shais to Shaigodshei.

After this a war broke out between them and the Abonses, who were defeated and made to serve Lākpā. The people of Gble (Berekuso) were also defeated and treated like the Abonses. Not long after this, king Odoi Atshem I. of Labade died and was succeeded by Adshei Onang, in whose reign they removed from Lādoku to Podoku near Tēma.

The Tēmas or Kpeshis had been weakened by the combined army of Akra and Shuoyi, and knowing their weak state, they asked the Labades to make a covenant with them to avoid future hostilities.

The strategy employed by the Labades was, to select seven chiefs from each tribe, who were to meet at an appointed place to take fetish-oath together to cement the peace between them. The representing chiefs had to bring their own fetish to administer to each party simultaneously. The Kpeshi chiefs brought their chief fetish Afutuokò to the spot, not knowing that the Labades had laid an ambush thereabout; so both the seven chiefs and Afutuokò fell into their hands. This great war-fetish being captured, the majority

of the Kpeshis fled from the country. Two songs of that time refer to the war with Shai and the capture of Afutuokɔ.

Ogbe kēkē wūlo ke-yatšūa Šai lumɔ,
Šai lumɔ ní yeo dšidšī le, le ekē efēo “Kpā” lo ?

Ogbe (fetish; Lakpā) assumed a pheasant and shot the Shai king. Shai king, who lives on “dshidshī” (country food), does he excel “kpā” ?

Kpeši Afutuokɔ, otšole Kpeši, okē ootšole Lā lo ?
Tɛmanyɔ Afutuokɔ, otšole Kpeši, okē ootšole Lā lo ?

Kpeshi Afutuokɔ, thou reposest on Kpeshi, couldst thou repose on Lā ?
Tɛma-man Afutuokɔ, thou reposest on Kpeshi, couldst thou repose on Lā ?

By their connection with Akwamu the Labādes acquired much of the Tshi character, hence they got this appellation “Dāde ye T̄wi”, Labades are Tshis.

At Podoku the Labades felt a great need of good water and salt, therefore commissioned their powerful hunter Sowa to survey the country where such requisites could be easily obtained. Sowa met the Ningowas on the lagoon Kpēshi, who were busily engaged in making salt. He asked them for water to quench his thirst, and being shown where their water in calabash pots was placed, he not only drank as much as he desired, but broke all the pots and greatly disappointed the poor working men and women. This was said to have brought on a war between Labade and Ningowa.

We, however, prefer the following statement. The Ningowas, who were long before established near the coast at Wodoku, were the owners of the land thence to Teiashi near Christiansborg, and the Labades were obliged to ask king Afote Okre to grant them a piece of land to build upon. Adshei Onano was then their king, and Numo Ngmashi his great chief; the estimate of the king's army was 8000, whilst the chief's was 7000 men. The priest of Ningowa, Bokete Lawe, raised objections to the king's allowing the Labades to reside near them; yet his opinion was overruled. The Ningowas being then very powerful, the warlike Labades did never dream of making war with them, so they lived in peace a long time. The former had a custom of offering a human being alive annually to their Angmu, the Black Rock. Such victims were kidnapped during the night from any town by the Ningowas. On the day when the custom was performed, they had to repair to the shore where Angmu is situated, and after singing and dancing, the priest Bokete Lawe was said to pray till the sea was divided and access obtained on foot to the rock, where they had to spend

the whole day in making their sacrifices. In returning ashore, the poor victim was left behind, when the priest had to pray again that the sea might come together and drown the victim. It may be the contrary, the victim may have been killed and offered.

Odöle, a daughter of the king of Labade, was missing one day; in tracing out, they were informed that she had been offered to Angmu. The Ningowas were charged with the murder of the girl, but they denied it; hence war was declared against them. Bokete Lawę was the powerful archer among his people, as Sowa, the priest of Lăkpā, the famous hunter or sharp-shooter among the Labades. The war continued for months, so that the Ningowas could not have access to remove their salt from Kpēshi. Hence the Labades carried off all the salt and threw it into every reservoir (waterhole) and pool belonging to their enemy. This brought on a frightful scarcity of fresh water in all the towns of Ningowa, and beside that ambushades were laid by the Labades at any place where fresh water might be obtained by them. Thus they were reduced to awful distress from want of water. Having studied Akwamu policy, the Labades cunningly proposed now to the Ningowas, that the hands of both priests, Lawę and Sowa, should be cut off, so as to have peace again, because they were the parties who encouraged the continuance of the hostilities between them. They got hold on their sharp-shooter, tied him up and brought him to Ningowa. The deluded people of Ningowa readily consented to that proposal, when Sowa was found having his hands pinioned behind him. Lawę was called upon and required to consent to have only one hand cut off to save the whole people from dying with thirst. The priest asked in presence of the whole assembly, "Children, do you mean to cut off my hand, the hand which draws the bow to favour you? Do you mean to ruin yourselves by cutting off my hand which defends you, children?" Not waiting for the Labades who had made the proposal and ought to have cut off their huntsman's hand first, they overpowered the old venerable priest, and his hand was cut off in presence of the whole assembly. After which, he assembled the whole of his family and relatives of Bobowe, gave out a song, and marched at their head on the Kröwe path to the shore, where, as tradition says, he prayed, and the sea divided and he went into it with them all. They may have emigrated back to the East.

The Labades refrained from cutting off the hand of Sowa, but

attacked and defeated the Ningowas at once, causing them great loss. Their king Afote Okre was obliged to ask Adshete Ashabara of Tema to assist them. General Ashite was sent to Tema and arranged it with them, and the lagoon Sakumo was pawned. Nöete Yeboa Afriyie, the chief of Osu (Christiansborg), being related to the Ningowas, prepared to assist his people. The second engagement took place, when king Nöete was prohibited by the Governor of Christiansborg to proceed on behalf of the Ningowas. He was enraged and blew himself and his people up with powder. The Temas could not do much, so they were completely defeated and driven from the country to Tong (Little Popo).

After peace had been made, the Labades removed from Podoku and permanently settled and built the town Lā. Their friendship was cemented by an affinity. Afote married Odöle, daughter of Odoi Akém, he also gave his daughter Apole (Afole) in marriage to the latter, and the lagoon Kpēshi was given as a wedding gift to Apole, whose descendants in Labade have the right to the lagoon; but Odöle got no issue in Ningowa.

Böte, the son of Bökete Lawe, was trading in Krepe when the war broke out, and his father and people emigrated to the East. Lala Akotia, another son of Bökete Lawe, who, after his father's retiring from Wödoku had removed to the river Sakumo with numerous refugees from Ningowa, called Böte back, and the present Ningowa town was founded by them. It was very large at that time, but the majority had to leave it for the East on account of the unsettled state of the whole country. The village Böte Anuö was founded by that Böte.

After the conquest and expulsion of the Ningowas a civil war broke out among the Labades. Odoi Akém was the king, and Numo Okang Ngmashi his great chief. A sister of Ngmashi was married to one of the king's family; Ablö Adshei and Akpö Adshei were her sons. These princes, proud of their double connection, being half-brothers to the king and nephews of the great chief Ngmashi, often insulted and quarrelled with their half-brothers, and kept the whole town in constant disturbance. When any one interfered with the amusement of the princes, he was sure to be stabbed by them with daggers they usually carried about them. Captain Kwaw over the body-guard of their uncle always took up their quarrels and fought in their support. At last they removed from the king's quarters to their uncle's and settled there permanently.

A daughter of the chief was to undergo the parental public wedding ceremony, a custom which a marriageable girl was formerly bound to perform before the usual wedding took place. The girl was to perform some fetish ceremonies, during which time her hair was platted and besmeared with either powdered camwood or other ingredients according to the tribe she belonged to. Being simply dressed, she was carried on shoulders of her sex and accompanied by her uncle, friends and relatives, paraded the town with singing, dancing and feasting. After this she was adorned with plenty of gold, precious beads and fine garments. Then she was to alight at the gate of the king; some rum was offered to the princes as a libation, after which she was put on the shoulders and resumed the parade. But the proud nephews of the chief ordered their cousin to be carried by men instead of women, and on reaching the king's gate, the bearer did not let her down.—This led to a quarrel and assault, and at last civil war. The chief being powerful, the king was obliged to ask assistance from the king at Akra, and sent the royal necklace of precious beads to him. Who being a relative to Old Ngmashi, privately advised him to quit the town before he marched there. Ngmashi accordingly did so and encamped at Ledshokuku, and so the war ended. Old Ngmashi was then full of years, and his son Tshie conducted the whole affair, and ordered a removal to a small fishing cottage belonging to Sāsā Kokoi and Koromante Okai, Fante fishermen, who annually resorted there for fishing. Thus the town of Teshi was built. Ashite and Kāmoa of Lashibi used to reside with the Fante fishermen to help them in curing fishes, and Old Ngmashi refusing the title of king, Kāmoa was chosen as the first king of Teshi, but he, as the “manklalo” or chief, had the state expenditure on his shoulders, as Kāmoa was poor.

The people of Angho or Little Popo are by some supposed to be descendants of the Fante canoemen employed at different and remote periods on the Slave Coast by several European slave-dealers. Supposing that “anae” in the Fante language means “the west”, and “ho” means “place”, Angho would be “the abode of the people from the west”. Others believe that they were emigrants from the interior, and settled on the coast. The cause of their emigration was this: The king or chief of Hedshirawe in the country of Ofra had died, and having numerous sons, they quarrelled about the succession. Obodai Nyoimq, the eldest among

them, had already succeeded his father as king. His brothers combined against him, and asked the king of Dahome to assist them.

About the year 1730, Obodai Nyoimō with seven captains, his family, his family fetish "Egumaga" (which was carried by his sister Anḡle Kōko), his royal stool and a large amount of property, consisting chiefly of precious beads, started on horseback to obtain assistance against his opponents from the king of Akra. The ancient prestige of the Akra emigrants in Popo seemed, at this period, not lost, but their power had become weakened. Hence Obodai did not trouble himself by asking assistance from them, but proceeded directly to Akra. He lavished presents of slaves and precious beads on every chief in alliance with Akra, during his march, so as to obtain their unanimous consent to assist him. But very unfortunately for Obodai, he arrived at a time when the Akras were engaged in a fierce contest with the Akwamus. At Labade he was advised by the king to stay there and be accompanied over to Akra. He was cordially received by the king of Akra and was promised the desired assistance as soon as the Akwamu war should be over. He joined the Akras in expelling the Akwamus, but the king deferring the fulfilment of his promise, he at last made up his mind to stay permanently. He removed from Akra to Christiansborg, where the site which Old Lutterodt's house now occupies was given to him and his people, upon which a nice quarter was built. Obodai became a favourite of the Danish Governor then in the castle of Christiansborg; his people, left behind at Little Popo, heard of his staying permanently, and sailed in a trading vessel to Akra. These were detained by the king of James Town; Obodai tried to bring them over to Christiansborg, but failed; hence the two families of Anḡhō people in Akra and Christiansborg. As Labade was Obodai's first residence, he married one Suḡkō of the place, whose children became his successors.

After the death of Obodai Nyoimō, his son Sodsha Duamōrō, an intelligent and valiant younger brother of Togbō and Sai Nyanta, was nominated his successor. In his days a civil war broke out between him and chief Nḡete Adowi of Christiansborg on account of a broken ship-mast driven to shore by the current of the sea. It seems that the latter, having the prerogative over that part of the sea-shore, claimed the mast, although it was seen afloat first by the Anḡhōs, they being close to the beach, and on that account they would not give in. Sodsha removed to his mother's native

town Labade, where he was invested with the dignity of chief or *manklalo*, which had become vacant by Ngmashi's removal to Teshi. By this policy the Labades constitutionally bound over the Anehos to their side for ever.

The Anehos would have remained in Christiansborg, if that disturbance had not taken place, and, as if their destiny had been there, they came back, at least in part. For a sister or cousin of chief Sodsha Duamoro, Nywënywërewa was kept by the then Governor of Christiansborg as his wife. To avoid her frequent visits to the chief at Labade, for whom she had a tender love, the governor offered the Anehos a piece of land in front of the Castle, where they removed and permanently settled. The stool was left in Labade, which obliged the chief to spend the yearly festivals there. Thus these poor emigrants have three abodes, a part is at James Town, the greater portion at Christiansborg, and the rest, with the stool, at Labade. If they could have been united into a single town, say Christiansborg, it would have been far better for both themselves and those into whose community they had been received. It was chiefly through these separate abodes that the Anehos tribe lost their former power, influence and glory acquired principally by Sodsha Duamoro and several wealthy persons. Although respected now-a-days by the people of both towns, Osu and Lā, yet their influence is not fully felt and acknowledged by them as formerly. When their people become more enlightened, civilized and christianized, a change will take place.

We have hitherto traced the origin of the Gā tribe, taking it for granted that both Gā and Adangme tribes emigrated together from the East. We, however, at the conclusion of this chapter, insert exclusively the origin of the *Adangme tribe*, as traditionally narrated.

Sāme, a country which is said to lie between two rivers, Efa and Kpōla, near River Niger, is supposed to have been the former seat of the Adangme tribes, although they seem to have come from the interior to that place. Impelled by continual hostilities with the neighbouring tribes, they quitted the place: leaving Oyō (in Gā: Ayō) on the north and Dahome on the south, they travelled between the two powerful kingdoms, and, being joined by other tribes, carried all before them and settled at Hwātshi. After a short stay here, they resumed their march to Tuwō, and attacked several tribes on their way, till they reached the plain of Tagologo

near Loloŋo. Here they began to separate from the main body. Akroyō, sister of Manyā, the king of the Krōbō people, resided on the Lashibi island now known as Akrade. Her husband, the king of Lā, left for the coast, but Manyā, desiring to settle on the Krōbō mountain, left the Tagologo plain, and being followed by the rest of the emigrants, they came to the foot of the mountain. Akromuase, being sent by Manyā to survey the mountain, was satisfied, and the king and his people went up and settled there; hence the name of the place as "Kro" and the inhabitants "Kroli", that is, the country and people belonging to Akromuase. The first town built by Manyā was Mánya, after which Dōdshe (Manyayo), Dōme (Sūsui) and Bese (Yilo) were built.

As these emigrants had no king, but every tribe had its own priest or headman, they found it very easy to separate from the main body, and so dispersed over the country. A portion stayed at Hwatshī and Tuwō, another portion travelled towards the south and settled at Hūmē and different places, such as Nōweyo (Anayosi), those are the Osudoku people; others went to Angulā, Adā and Akra. The portion which separated to Loloŋo, a place between Shai and Osudoku, who were afterwards called Adā people, seems to have had four principal men at their head, viz., Adi, Longmo, (Loñmo), Tekpe and Dangme (Dañme), and one Tshāyi was the priest over them. The names of those headmen have ever since been attached to the quarters they founded, viz: Adibiiawē, Loñmobiiawē, Tekpebiiawē and Dañmebiiawē. Biiawē means "children's home", hence: Adi's children's home, Loñmo's children's home, &c.

Manyā (Madsha) is said to have expostulated with Tshāyi "why should he separate from him?" but he did not listen to it. Tradition says, at their crossing the Volta, which was but a small stream at that time, a large crocodile was found lying across the stream, forming a kind of bridge for them, which facilitated their crossing. On account of this, crocodiles became sacred animals for worship, and the name Ablao was given to the crocodile-fetish. One Apagbē is said to have been the first priest, with whom the crocodile dived to the bottom of the river and was no more seen; so his son Tshāyi succeeded him in the priesthood. The injunctions left by Apagbē in reference to the crocodile-fetish, which the emigrants were absolutely bound to observe, are: Crocodile, leopard, and hyena are sacred animals which must never be killed; gold

and ivory must not be touched, neither should they have anything to do with human and animal blood.

Hitherto this portion of the emigrants had no distinctive name, till the hunter Kōle, priest of the fetish Libi (salt) of Tēkpebiawē, happily discovered a large forest and the lagoon Shōngo (Sōiŋo) in one of his hunting excursions. Bōi, the then ruling priest of the fetish Lalo of Adibiawē, was informed by Kōle of his discovery. The emigrants thereupon removed from Lōlōvō and made a permanent settlement in the forest, which gave the name "Kōlehue", i.e. Kōle's forest, to the place, and "Kōleli" to the emigrants, in memory of the discoverer's name. Kōlehue has been corrupted into Okōhue, and Kōleli, into Okōli. Another name by which they were called at first, as it seems a nickname, hence not much in use at that time, is, Adragbīmili or Adragbīmitshemē. This is said to have been given them when Manyā was expostulating with Tshāyi on the event of separation. Manyā said, "you can separate from us, but never from our common dialect", hence they were called, separators of dialect or Adragbīmili. The derivation, however, of the word Adā is variously explained. Some say, after repeated removals of this tribe from place to place in consequence of incessant invasions, from Okōhue to Okōnmlōku, thence to Togbloku and Fō &c., when having settled permanently on the bank of the Volta, they said one to another "Wadāhe", that is, we have been scattered miserably about.

We suppose rather that Odā or Adā is the name given to this place by king Firempōng after the name of his capital Dā or Odā. When the Akwamus were expelled from this side of the Volta, Firempōng is said to have appointed one of his own captains, and another captain of the Kamana refugees then at the place, with a body of armed men, and stationed them there, with strict injunctions to protect the boundary from Akwamu invasions. The descendants of those captains composed the Kabiiawē (Kabubiiawē) quarter, viz., Kabiiaweyum of the Kamana refugees, who had settled there long before, as shall be seen hereafter, and Kabiiawētshu, of the other captain.

The Adās were still at Okōhue when the Kamana refugees arrived, and before they were admitted to join them, a fence was made at the outskirts of the town, where they were kept until every male among them was circumcised. It was not very long after this Kamana tribe had been naturalised an Adāime tribe by the rite

of circumcision, when the Akwamus came with force to claim them back. This led to a long obstinate war, until the known Akwamu stratagem was practised, the right thumb of their brave general Tshāyī of Tēkpebiawē being cut off through Akwamu treachery. The old venerable general defended himself and his ungrateful people for a long time, and then quitted the country. His son Amanā was appointed general instead of his father, and it was he who proposed surveying the country to find a suitable place for an asylum against future invasions of the Akwamus. Accompanied by his nephew Okumo of Daimebiawē, he discovered the land between Okohue and the Volta. The uncle claimed all that part of land from Okohue to the seven date-palms near Fō as his portion, and the land from that spot to the mouth of the Volta was given to the nephew. Thus the two quarters of Tēkpebiawē and Daimebiawē got the prerogative over the whole land.

There are other small families, besides those already mentioned, who emigrated afterwards from different places and settled in Adā. At Okoimloku, one Loimowē, a hunter of Loimobiiawē, discovered lake Ngshō or Nyitō, abounding in fish and frequented by game. Here he was met by a hunter from Agrave, by name Ahaviatshē. A dispute arose between the two hunters as to the ownership of the lake. The Adā-man, being cunning, proposed to decide the case by either of them getting fire from his town first to the spot. The town nearer to the lake would claim the ownership. Both started to fetch fire. Loimowē prudently obtained fire by concussion of his fire-arm, and before Ahaviatshē could return with fire, he had cooked a dish, ate, and left some for him. The ownership being thus proved, Ahaviatshē became a friend to Loimowē, and through them general friendship grew up between the Adās and the people of Agrave. A piece of land was consequently granted to the Adās, on which the present town Adā was built, on the bank of the Volta. Ahaviatshē then proposed removing to reside with his friends, who were known generally to be unfortunate people, being often invaded, which caused them to wander about. Ahaviatshē was told by his friends, who opposed his removal, "You go to trade only in death", hence the Kudshragbe quarter got its name. — Ohwewem is another quarter, emigrants from Whenyī; Kogbo, from Kpêlê in Krepe land; Kponkpo is a portion of Kogbo; the Sega family are the Lē refugees from Poni; the Gbésé family from Osudoku; and the Kpong family were refugees from Ningowa. The Adās are com-

posed of 11 (12?) families, viz., Adibiiawę, Loñmobiiawę, Tękpębiiawę, (Dainmebiiawę?) Kabubiiawę or Kabiiawę, Kudshraghe, Ohwëwem, Kogbo, Kponkpo, Sega, Gbësé and Kpono. The ruling family was in Adibiiawę quarter, and the first king was Bõi. Owing to more attention paid to agriculture and fishery by the royal family, the two Tshi families of Kabiiawę, who are traders and have the wit for ruling and settling cases, got the ruling power through the following incident. A do somewhat neglected the old King Bõi, his father, in old age, and the old man being properly attended by his nephew Dakę of Kabiiawę, the stool was bequeathed to him.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration and settlements of the Tshi tribes in the interior.—Awirade Basa and his first kingdom in Adanse.—Dankera, the first powerful state among the Tshi tribes, and the wars of Owusu Bore.—The formation of the kingdom of Amause known as the kingdom of Asante.—Its invasion by Ntim and the destruction of the kingdom of Dankera by Osei Tutu. About 1500—1700.

All the different Tshi tribes, as already mentioned in the preceding chapter, seem to have been driven by the Moors from Central Africa, and settled first between the Kong (Kpõng) mountains and the River Pra.

Enumerating those tribes or districts, we shall in the first place take Amanse. Amañ-ase means the origin or foundation of the people, where they seem to have emigrated to, and then dispersed over the country. It was a district between Kumase and Adanse. A large portion of them separated and settled at Adañ-ase (Bosman calls this district "Ananse"); which also means the foundation of the buildings i.e. the building of the Tshi nation. The next district was Asén, i.e. wansëñ, which means, numerically surpassing the site they then occupied on the right bank of the Pra. North of Amanse was the Qfëso*) district and that of Takiman. Kwã-

*) Tradition says, Qfëso and Adwëso and Mponoa districts were founded by Osei Tutu's contrivance. There was a noble woman of the Asõna family at Abegue in Adanse, who removed to Apimkrawa with her two daughters, Dwũn and Aso. Aforo Bentwĩa and Berifi Kwatia were

bire and Osekyere districts lie N.E. of Amanse, and Mponoa and Nsunoa districts on their S., Odōmara and Atshuma districts on the N.W. of Amanse, Damong (i.e. the big building) or Asante Akém on the East, having Okwawu on its N. The district of Dankera (i.e. dañ kyekyerewa = small, wretched building) and Tshuforo tribes crossed the River Ofē and settled in the S.W. The districts of Safwi on the W., and Parama (Wasa), Dwābo, Maraso, and Tannōfo, all not proper Tshi tribes, N. of Dankera. The Akém tribe crossed the Pra and settled in Akém.

Adanse was the first seat of the Akan nation, as they say by tradition: there God first commenced with the creation of the world.*) They were the enlightened tribe among the Tshi nation, from whom the rest acquired wisdom and knowledge; there the first Tshi ruler or king by the name Awirade Basa** began to establish his power over the other emigrants. His powerful linguist was Okwawe Nfrāfo, through whose means he exercised his power; hence the proverb, "Yekasa Nfrāfo, nso yenè Awirade" i.e. We complain against Nfrāfo, we mean, however, the king himself. It appears, when Awirade was establishing his power over the people to form the kingdom, his subjects complained against his treatment. Fearing to mention his name, all was said against the linguist. We do not know his successors, but there was one Abu, who seems to have been one of the kings of Adanse, who

sons of the former, likewise were Aboagye Agyei, Burum Ankama and his sister Ampobeng, children of the latter. Before Osei Tutu declared war against the king of Adanse, he had taken Ampobeng as a concubine. To weaken the power of the Adanse king as well as to save himself from future combined efforts of those powerful princes, he cunningly advised his friend Ampobeng to induce her cousin and brother to quit Adanse ere the intended war was declared. By his orders Aforo Bentwia with his forces went to Ofēso and established his state there, likewise went Aboagye Agyei and Burum Ankama to Adveso and Mponoa. After Osei Tutu had conquered the Adanses, he added those chiefs and their forces to his army.

*) The expression "bō ade, to create (consolidate) the things" may refer to the beginnings not only of the world, but also of a state. Chr.

**) Awirade (or awirade) means "lord". Another tradition says that one Oponkōbere of Akrokyere was the first king of Adanse, and that his successors were, Obeng Adebogē, Dwāpanyin Afadi (who made several gold horns), Obirifo Kumāmua and Antwi Sampā, that all of them were captured respectively in wars with Asante, and that Awirade Basa was an influential prince and no king.

instituted the order of family among the Tshis; hence lineage is designated "abusña" i.e. imitating Abu. As the power of the Adanse kings was acquired by enlightenment and also by the fame of their fetish Boná at Akrokyere, but not by war, it did not last long, neither was it very glorious, till they were conquered by the Dankeras. All the principal districts or tribes mentioned above were independent and had their respective chiefs over them.

Dankera*) was the district of which Bosman says, "This country, formerly restrained to a small compass of land and containing but an inconsiderable number of inhabitants, is, by their valour, so improved in power, that they are respected and honoured by all the neighbouring nations, all of which they have taught to fear them, except Asiante and Akim." Their tributary countries then were Wasa, Enkase, and Tshuforo. By trade and plunder they grew very rich and powerful. They became so arrogant that they looked upon all other nations with contempt, esteeming them no more than slaves, and on that account they were disliked.

Nothing particular is known about the first king of Dankera, Bomoreti, and his successor, Okarawāni Apaw. The third sovereign was Owusu Bore, who grew very rich and powerful, and made shields of gold and gold-hilted swords. Obenpong Akrofi, the king of Tshuforo Atoam, died during his days, and after the funeral custom was over, Owusu claimed from the estate two twin brothers with their 300 retainers as his share. Asiedu Apenteng, the successor of Akrofi, refused to comply, and consequently war broke out. Floats were made by the Dankera army to cross the Pra. During the heat of action, the Tshuforos removed these floats, and being disappointed when falling back, the Dankeras were defeated, and the original ivory stool (throne) was drowned and lost. Owusu became so uneasy for the loss, that he slept on palm-branches, hence their oath "Dankera berewso", Dankera palm-leaves.

Asiedu Apenteng, having been slain in the war, was succeeded by Ofosuhene Apenteng. He was obliged to remove from Tshuforo Atoam to Ahuren, a place near Kokofu and Dadease. This tribe

*) Dankera was a tributary state of Adanse, and became independent after a sharp conflict in the reign of Akafo Obiaka. A loan of money was advanced to the Adanses, and Awirade Basa became security for the amount. Prince Oti, the son of Akafo, was sent to demand the amount, and was disgracefully treated by Awirade Basa by cutting off his long beard; hence the war.

continued wandering to different places, owing to the incessant invasions of the Asantes, till they finally settled in the Akém country, with the name Akem Kotoku, as we shall find hereafter.

The warlike Owusu Bore again declared war against Ansā Ssraku of Tshuforo proper, who seemed unwilling to submit to him. Ansā was defeated and compelled to flee for shelter to Asāmaikese, which afterwards became the capital of the Akwamu kings. As a sign of his unwillingness to serve him, Ansā gave orders to beat a certain drum "perempe" i.e. "I wouldn't serve one like you". As Owusu was bent upon war, he found fault with Oburum Ankāma I., king of Safwi, for not having assisted him against Ansā. He thereupon invaded his country, defeated him, and carried off large amounts of gold in barrels and palm-leaf baskets to Dankera. Abrimoro, the king of Paramā, also fell a prey to Owusu, which caused him to flee through Safwi forest and settle in Wasa.

The fourth king of Dankera was Akafo, whose surname is Obiaka, which means "there is one more yet". The royal family did not expect there would be a powerful king after the demise of the 3 last sovereigns. He instituted the kwadwom, a song expressive of sorrow or heroism of the ancients, delivered in a dramatic manner by a number of virgins trained for the purpose.— Dankera Kyei was the fifth king. He instituted the harem for kings, brought in all his wives there, and set eunuchs and guards about them. He also increased the number of the fan- and horsetail-bearers, who used to fan him and drive away flies from him when sitting in public. Amoakō Ata I. succeeded him. He also made several symbols of gold, all amounted to 1000: some on state umbrellas, on swords &c. He made 2 gold stools and 12 gold-headed state-caues for linguists; even on his drums and tympanum was gold.

After the death of Amoakō Ata I., Asare or Boa Pòmsem ascended the stool of Dankera. His mother's name was Aberewa Kukulsi, so called for wearing too many jewels. Akōabena Bensusa was her daughter. It was this Asare Pòmsem who invented playing on the tambourine, i.e. a skin stretched over the upper opening of a large calabash, which sounds in beating, pòmsem, pòmsem, hence his name.

Having come so far with the kingdom of Dankera, we turn now to another district which also had in the meanwhile acquired power. It was that district of Amanse, of which Bosman says, "all the neighbouring nations had been taught to fear Dankera, except

Asiante and Akim." The district of Amanse comprised these principal towns, viz., Asumenya Santemanso, D̄wabenma, Booman, Adw̄ampong, B̄kwae, Amofo Pompong, Adunai, Asaneso, Danyaase, Adankranya, Amoagyā and Ahuren. The first king of this district, Kwabia Ahwamfi, resided at Asumenya Santemanso. All we know of him is, that in his days gold was not known, the currency was pieces of iron. After his death Oti Akētēng ascended the stool. He made war with the king of Kwadane at the place where Kumase was afterwards built, and captured Dareboo. At that time the Amanse people had the opportunity of seeing that place, and desired to remove there; but they were told that it belonged to Kwaku Dompō, the king of Tafo. Oti Akētēng was intending to remove there, when he was overtaken by death, and was succeeded by Obiri Yeboa Manwu. He removed first to Kokofu, and, after staying there awhile, negotiated with king Kwaku Dompō, and obtaining his consent, he and his chiefs emigrated there. As king Obiri Yeboa had emigrated back towards the north into the district of Kwābire and settled between Makom, Tafo and Odomara, he was obliged to enter into friendly communications with the kings there. He sent compliments to Akōsa of Makom and Kusi of Odomara; after this the boundaries between these three kings were shown to him, and then he prepared a site for his town. Under a tree known as Okūm near Odeñkyemmanaso or Crocodile-pool, close to the town of Akōsa, he founded the capital, and named it Okūm-ase i.e. under the okūm-tree. The capital having been founded, the headmen of the Oyokos, chiefly, the Akoonas, a family to which the king belonged, viz., Duabodee of Kanyarase, Kagya Panyin of Mampontēn, Kwaw Panyin of Faobaware, Antwi of Sawua, and Nyamā of Sāman, built their towns around the capital. Ankra was the chief of this Oyoko family; but Gyāmin and Afriyie were left in charge of Kokofu.

Now the confederate kings or chiefs of Amanse were obliged to emigrate to where the capital had been founded. Adākwa Yiadom of D̄wabenma removed and settled near Boama Kōkōhōate, the king of Pianyirase, and founded D̄waben. The other king of that district was Ntiamoa Mankuo of Abooso. Tweneboa Kotia of Komawu, an ally of the Amanse king, staid where he was. Agyin of Bōman founded Nsuta (by the chief of Beposo?). Maniampon I. of Pompon founded Mampon, but Egu Ayebofo of B̄kwai stayed where he was. It appears that he was left there on purpose to

protect the frontier against any invasion of the Dankeras. Thus the confederate Amanse chiefs fortified their kingdom, which afterwards became the universally famed and dreaded Asante kingdom.*)

When Obiri Yeboa was at Kokofu, his sister Mānu was married to chief Owusu Panyin of Abereñkese, having no issue. After a long time, the fame of the fetish Otutu in Berekuso reached them. Messengers were despatched to Ansā Sasraku, the king of Akwamu, to assist that some medicine might be obtained from that fetish to administer to the only sister of Yeboa. Their request was granted, Mānu conceived and a boy was born, to whom the name of the fetish "Tutu or Otutu" was given. Others have the opinion that Mānu came there in person and was married to Kwadwo Wusu, nephew of Ansā Sasraku. If she came to Berekuso at all, her husband Owusu Panyin may have accompanied her, and when she had conceived, they returned home. This prince became the illustrious Osei Tutu of Asante. When his uncle Obiri Yeboa removed from Kokofu, his son Afriyie was left there.

The connection between Dankera and Asante is traceable from this fact, that Osei Tutu, the nephew of king Obiri Yeboa, was employed as a shield-bearer of Boa Pomsem. This shows that the connection was somewhat tributary, as the custom with the Tshis is, that all tributary kings have their nephews in the king's service, as horsetail-, fan- and shield-bearers. At all events, this is certain that the Dankera king was superior to the Asante king, superior in power as well as in glory, and Osei Tutu may have been sent there to study the politics of the Dankeras.

Tradition says that Akōabena Bensusa, the only sister of Boa Pomsem, had no issue, and Okomfo Anokye, the far-famed fetish priest of Awukugua in Akuapén, who was full of magic powers, was invited to Dankera by the king, to try his best that his sister might be fruitful. Anokye predicted that he could manage that a single son could be born, but that this prince would be the ruin of the Dankera kingdom. The reply to this was, that the Dankera

*) On account of this amalgamation or confederation, the kingdom of Asante was nicknamed "Nhwēadañ (Ahwēadañ)" i.e. Sand-house, Sandy Palace. And it proved to be true; because since the British army entered Kumase in 1874, the king's palace, mystically representing the sandy kingdom, alone was touched by Lord Wolseley, yet the whole kingdom has gradually given way. Dwāben, Adanse, Kokofu, Nsuta and Mampong have split from the sandy building.

army amounted to 300,000 men; if the prince squandered the whole property of the kingdom, and if one third of this army were lost, with the two thirds he could hold on; he must do his best to get a male child born." This case strengthens what the Asantes say about Ntim, as being the son of prince Osei Tutu. For Tshi princesses are known generally as loose characters, especially as Akōabena Bensua and her brother were very anxious of obtaining a nephew as his successor.

Prince Osei Tutu privately administered the fetish Eknmasua to Akōabena, that she must never be known any longer to her husband but himself. This being so, she was found to be in the family way, and there and then she advised Tutu to effect his escape from Dankera as speedily as possible, because the husband was urging confession from her. He escaped with two servants and was pursued by armed men. The river Ofē being so overflowed that they could not cross it, one of his men hanged himself on seeing the pursuers; but Tutu and the other concealed themselves in a hole of an armadillo. The pursuers, finding the river too swollen for any one to cross, and not discovering the fugitives, returned home. The Ofē subsiding the following day, both Tutu and his servant crossed and safely reached Kumase. In memory of this escape in the hole of an armadillo, Osei Tutu named one of his sons: Pāra (armadillo). His uncle Obiri Yeboa advised him to seek refuge in Akwamu; this fact proves the superiority of the Dankeras over the Asantes at that time. Ansā hearing of the arrival of a good looking Asante prince in one of his towns, invited him to his house. His bold and majestic appearance as well as his personal beauty attracted Ansā's love, that he there and then took him to be his male-consort. It is fashionable with the Tshi kings that any woman, to whom they take a fancy, becomes a wife of the king. With a male person in a similar case a connection is formed of tender love, estimation and protection. On account of this love shown to the Asante prince, all the monarchs of Akwamu considered the kings of Asante as their male-consorts. Prince Osei Tutu had the opportunity of acquiring the politics of the two principal powers then existing, Dankera and Akwamu. Meanwhile Akōabena Bensua was delivered of a male child who was named Ntim. While Tutu was staying at Akwamu, his uncle Obiri Yeboa was busily engaged in acquiring power over the numerous tribes among whom he had established his capital. Disputes with Kusi,

king of Odōmara, about the boundary of the land, brought on a war in which Obiri Yeboa was slain, although the Asantes pretend that he got sick in camp and died.

This sudden death of the king obliged the Asante nobles to recall their fugitive prince. Ansā, to protect his male-consort, appointed Anum Asamoā, the chief of the Anum people, then residing at Nsawam, with 700 armed men to escort him home. These Anum people became the Adumis in Kumase; because they did not return back to Akwamu. A piece of the skin from the elbow of an elephant presented to him by a hunter, as well as the head of a kingfisher similarly obtained, Osei Tutu worked into a crown on his way to Kumase. Tradition says that he obtained a large amount of ammunition from the Danish Government on credit, which he secured by giving some of his people, whom he redeemed afterwards*), on account of which he was surnamed Yeboa Afriyie. At the head of the 700 armed Anums and with that curious crown, he appeared in Kumase, and was proclaimed king of Asante. With his advent a new era began in the history of the Asantes. For the royal stool of the kingdom was constructed at this time by Okomfo Anokye, who seems to have removed from Dankera to Kumase, having become acquainted with prince Osei Tutu during his stay in Dankera. That the monarchs of Asante trace their lineage from Etwum and Antwi, whom they consider as their ancestors, comes from the tender care those two chiefs of Kokofu bestowed on their grandson Tutu when a child, but not that they were kings of Asante.

Osei Tutu, having prepared to revenge his late uncle's death, declared war against Odōmara Kusi, whom he completely conquered. The refugees escaped to Awosn, where the king of the place asked them the cause of their flight and the circumstances connected with it. They told him, but as they were not willing to return to Odōmara, the king gave the name "Gyaoman", "you have deserted your country", to those refugees. Those not willing to leave their country staid and built Abesem, Berekum, Odōmase &c. and became tributary to Asante. Kyereme Sikafoō was appointed by Osei Tutu as the king over them, and became his Busumru. The kingdom of Gyāman was established by the contrivance of those

*) Ashante-blohūn, the quarter in Christiansborg, probably got its name from those Asante sureties residing with Noete, the chief of that quarter.

Odomara refugees on the territory of the Mohammedans from Kong. They built Bontuku as its capital.

The next king against whom Osei Tutu declared war was Makom Akōsa. He was defeated and slain, and his nephew Aduamensā was appointed his successor by Osei Tutu. He formed an intimate friendship with Aduamensā, to whom he gave his sister Nyākō Kusiamoa in marriage, and Opoku Ware was born. But Bāfō, the brother of the late Akōsa, left the country quietly and emigrated to Takiman, and sought an asylum with the great king Amo Yaw. Bafō was ordered by the king to stay in a village where only three old men were residing, which became afterwards the town and district of Ńkoransā i.e. Ńkwakora mmiensā, three old men.

Upon witnessing all these troubles brought on the aboriginal race of that district by mere foreigners, Osafo Akōtong, the king of Tafo, gave orders to blow a horn "Osei Tutu, sore hō-ō twa!" which means: "Get away from the place, you Osei Tutu!" Because they were taking undue advantage of the land as well as the fish in the Nsuben, which are strictly forbidden to be eaten. Irritated by this horn, Osei Tutu declared war against Osafo, whom he utterly defeated and captured his big drums, tympanum, gold guitar &c. as well as a whole district of 100 towns. After this conquest the king fell sick and was dying, when he was advised by Okomfo Anokye to propitiate Osafo for the injury done to him. The latter agreed on condition that the king should promise upon an oath that he would never kill any of his family. The oath was administered to his sister Nyākō Kusiamoa, by virtue of which no one of the town of Akyena-kūrom has ever since been subjected to the executioner's knife of Asante. This being done, the king got well again, and henceforth the fish in Nsuben were strictly forbidden to be eaten, but were rather fed with the bodies of executed criminals.

The fourth war was declared against King Wiafe Akenteng of Ofeso. He was beaten and conquered. Thus the whole district formerly belonging to the Odomaras, Atshumas and Kwabiris &c. became the property of Osei Tutu.

The policy then adopted by the king, which became the national law, strictly observed by all his successors on pain of death, was -- the naturalization of the conquered provinces with all due rights as citizens. Whoever dares tell his son: these people were from such and such a place, conquered and translocated to this or that town, was sure to pay for it with his life. Neither were such people

themselves allowed to say where they had been transported from. Considering these captives as real citizens, any rank or honor was conferred freely on them according to merit, but not otherwise. This made the people of the kingdom so united and therefore very powerful, that, what Bosman says, "except Asiante and Akim, who are yet stronger than Dankera at the time of Ntim", can be understood.

Ntim Gyakari, the youthful son of Osei Tutu, ascended the stool of Dankera after the demise of his uncle Asare Pomsɛm. One of Ntim's wives was Berebere, who having been married over three years without issue, enquired the cause of it from her fetish Boná at Akrokyɛrɛ in Adanse. The oracle obtained was "she must come in person and would conceive". This being the oracle, Ntim granted permission and appointed Obeng Antwi, the chamberlain, nephew of Bonsra, to escort her with 300 armed men to the place. For her personal expense she got 3 peredwans and 30 sheep. Forty days were spent at Akrokyɛrɛ to undergo all the ceremonies required; but Berebere expressed a desire to visit Bonsra. As she stayed there another 40 days, the king became uneasy and ordered his nephew and Berebere to return home. But to his great surprise, she was in the family way from his nephew. Her words were a thunder-clap to the old king. "Alas, my nephew, he said, thou hast ruined us!" He forthwith called for two of his chiefs, Kwaku Dwamara of Fomána and Apeanin Kwafaramoa Woyiawonyin of Abuakwa Atshumamanso, and told them the sad story. Three messengers were then and there despatched to Dankera to inform Ntim through the linguist Sáfɛ and the Queen mother Bɛnsua, what folly Antwi had wrought in Adanse. Sáfɛ was immediately ordered to proceed to Adanse with the messengers, with the injunction to bring back the unfortunate Berebere alive, but the criminal Antwi and his relations must be done away with. Thirty-two persons were slaughtered that day at Ayɛwase, among whom was Obeng Antwi and his parents. Queen Abuwa, on hearing what the bystanders said against Antwi for having brought calamity into the country, replied "Berebere anma a, amane nna" i.e. Had Berebere not come, no trouble would have come. The bystanders then echoed "Enyɛ obi na okum Antwi", Nobody is to blame, but Antwi who killed himself. King Bonsra and his chiefs are said to have emigrated to Akɛm on account of this case. Of 32 towns only few were left in Adanse. Berebere was brought to Dankera and was

put on a block, and Ntim being satisfied with the conduct of the Adanses who stayed, ordered Sâfe to thank them, saying: "Sê wo-reso susurape na qhâhîni to nu a, wuyi no kyene, na woÿe wo susurape" = When you catch flying ants and the large black ant (emitting a bad smell) falls among them, you put the latter aside and eat the flying ants.

Ntim may have been either told of the past event, or was so jealous of the rapid growth of the power of Osei Tutu or the influence he had gained over the Adanses, that he despatched three ambassadors, a shield-bearer, sword-bearer, and a court-crier, with a large brass-pan to Kumase, saying, "The king of Asante and his chiefs must fill up the brass-pan with pure gold, and must send each the favourite among his wives and their mothers to Dankera to become his wives; besides, their wives must supply his wives with "mposae" = dry fibres of the plantain-tree to use during their monthly courses." Osei Tutu summoned all his great chiefs to appear in the capital, and a grand meeting was held at Apebooso. There were present Adâkwa Yiadom, Nsufa Agyin, Tweneboa Kotia, Maniampong, Amankwatia Pauyin, general of the Korouti force, Asafo Awere, general of the Akwamu force, with the captains of his body-guard. The Dankera ambassadors repeated their message in the audience of the assembly, and the reply to it was blows given first by Yiadom and then the other chiefs. Instead of gold, they filled up the brass-pan with stones, and sent the ambassadors bleeding home without the brass-pan. It is kept as a trophy in Kumase. This foolish demand of Ntim could hardly be believed; but when Bosman says, "Diinkira, elevated by its great riches and power, became so arrogant, that it looked on all other negroes with contempt, esteeming them no more than its slaves," no one will doubt the veracity of this statement. It took Ntim three months to prepare against the Asantes. He formed an alliance with the Dutch Government, by whom he was supplied with arms and ammunition, two cannon and some grenades and iron mails. He also succeeded in persuading Ofori Korobong, the king of Dampong, another powerful sovereign, who had hitherto been jealous of the prosperity of Dankera, to join him against Osei Tutu. The Dampong royal family were of the same stock of the Agona family group with the Dankeras. Dampong, the capital of this tribe, is said to have been so large, that no large bird could fly through it without falling to the ground.

The generals commanding his overwhelming army were Kwame Tēbi, over the van; Kwadwo Wiafe, the right wing; Kwaku Butuakwa, the left wing; Kwasi Pipira, the rear, and Asiama Tia, the body-guard. But Boa Kropa, the most powerful chief of Ntim, is said to have refrained from joining them, on account of a quarrel which took place between them. The chief was demanding satisfaction from the king for an illegal connection with one of his wives. Ntim replied, "I discharge my stool into your gun!" His allies were of Wasa, Safwi Bekwai, Safwi Ahwēaso, Tshuforo, &c. A large bundle of a certain plant was placed on the path the warriors had to march, which being cut asunder by the tread of their feet, Ntim was satisfied with the number of warriors, and then commanded the rest to return home.

Since the three ambassadors had been beaten and shamefully sent back to Dankera, Osei Tutu with his chiefs were busily engaged in preparing against Ntim's invasion, as they knew very well what would be the consequence. The king sent to the coast to buy arms and ammunition in great quantities. Bosman says, "The Dinkiras being foolish enough to assist him themselves, suffered his subjects to pass with it uninterrupted through their country, notwithstanding they knew very well, it was only designed for their destruction". Okomfo Anokye also was actively engaged in offering sacrifices and preparing war medicines against his old enemies, who ill-treated him when residing there. Tradition says, that one of the princes, Anim Kokobo, and the king himself, then not on the stool, deprived him of some of his wives. He gave orders to search for a special medicine plant growing only in Dwa-ben, where the Asantes were fortunate enough to find it. From this plant sacred water was prepared for the chiefs to wash with, and some to drink. The one who drank the last medicine was to be a victim in the impending war to ensue success. After his fall, Ntim would be slain and his kingdom destroyed. None of the great chiefs dared to accept the medicine, till Tweneboa Kotia willingly took and drank it, offering his life for the good of his country, on condition, however, that none of his offspring should ever be subjected to the executioner's knife, whatever his crime might be, when once the Asante empire was established.

The commanders of the Asante army were: Aduenin Pim of Aduaben, over the van; Maniampon of Mampon, Egu Ayebofo of Bekwai, Wiafe Akenteng, Esundwuma Tani, over the right wing; Twe-

neboa Kotia, Okwawu Diawuo, Osafo Akōtong, over the left wing; Amankwatia Panyin, general of the Koronti, Asafo Awere, general of the Akwamu; Sāman Nantwi and Okrakose, captains over the body-guard; Osāben Odiawuo (the son of Obiri Yeboa), Okra Dōmse, Okra Pōmse, Ansere Tanī and Sāfe, over the rear; Nsufa Agyin, general of the left flank of the van, and Adākwa Yiadom, general of the right flank of the van. Agyemsan, the king of Kohyia in Asēn, was at that time in Kumase on account of their annihilation by the Dankeras in 1697. He also joined, hence the Asantes never undertake any war, unless an Asēn chief be among them. King Ansā Sasraku of Akwamu sent general Gyarrantwi with a force to assist the Asantes. At that time the army of Asante was reckoned at 60,000 men, and Osei Tutu encamped with his forces at Adunku. Ntim, hearing of that, was very eager of hastening his march to attack them. He played and sang the whole night, when that news reached him, "Dabi a medu Adunku, mēda", I shall sleep soundly on the day I come to Adunku. Krakose was sent by Osei Tutu to ask Ntim, whether he meant war; if so, one of his fingers must be cut off; and Ntim did so. This special messenger had all his thumbs and fingers cut off in that way, and at last one finger only left on both hands.

The overwhelming army of Ntim reached Adunku and gave battle to the Asantes, who kept him at bay for three days before they were forced to fall back. Some believe that the war lasted two years; but the bloody battles were fought at Abooten, Putuagya, and Feyiase. Ntim's van of 1000 picked men in iron mails, with the drummer of the Kwantempōng (a small drum placed in the armpit in beating) at its head, did much harm to the Asantes in every engagement. The chiefs asked Angkye, how is it? But he requested them to hold on till he could have him by magic. He had prophesied that Ntim was to fall at Feyiase, where, after three days engagement, Twēneboa Kotia fell, which was the predicted signal of victory, when Asiama Tia and Sāfe surrendered to the Asantes. Asiama Tia was fighting most gallantly, when one asked him, "why do you trouble yourself so much for one like Ntim, who has just this moment beheaded your nephew, his aid-de-camp, and your wife, who once absconded, is among his wives in the harem?" The cause of the nephew's beheading was, that once, when the Dankeras were victorious, the king painted his right arm with white clay. The aid-de-camp, sharing his joy, painted

his arm, as the king did, hence his death! Asiama hastened to the camp and found the report to be true. On account of the desertion of these principal men, the Dankeras were defeated and completely conquered.

Ntim being found sitting leisurely with one of his wives at a certain game, amusing themselves, having shackled their feet in golden fetters, Adākwa Yiadom came upon him suddenly and gave him a stroke with his sword, which he received on the valuable gold bracelet he had on his wrist, which was taken by Akōsa of Edwampon and given to Adakwa. The stroke was repeated; the king was killed and his head cut off. It is chiefly through this bracelet captured by Yiadom that the Dwabens obtained the prerogative of placing a king on the stool of Kumase, on which occasion the king of Dwabon is required to place that sign of power three times on the wrist of the new sovereign. The estimate of the killed was said to be about 100,000 besides the loss of 30,000 Akéms who came to their assistance. Their king Ofori Korobon was lost with all his body-guard. The Asantes were 15 days in plundering Dankera, and took thousands of prisoners and a large amount of gold. The one who placed the king on the stool was the chief of Wóno, now called Gyamaase.

Among the slain on the Asante side was Obiri Yeboa's son Osaben Odiawuo, Twènèboa Kotia and Nsuase Poku. Safe was favoured to succeed the latter, while Asiama Tia was disgracefully killed. They had sworn not to kill him, yet a public hole was dug, in which he was placed, his arms pinioned behind him, and people were ordered to go to privy upon him, which has given rise to a conventional expression in Kumase, "Mekomā Asiama akyê," I am going to say good morning to Asiama.*) The cannon captured are now a trophy in Kumase. Other advantages accrued

*) The most ignominious punishment inflicted on Asiama Tia, appears most barbarous, cruel, and a breach of faith on the part of the Asantes, who got the advantage of the day by the general's desertion of Ntim. But at a closer examination it appears that the Asantes did justice and established their power by righteousness. For, before the execution of that disgraceful sentence, a court had been held, when Asiama was charged with high treason. "You, as a general, ought to have done your duty to your king and nation, and settled any differences existing between yourself and the king at home, but never have acted so treacherously as you have done. You have made us gain the victory, yet justice must be done for a memorial to the world."

from this conquest, one of which was the monthly pay-note of the Dutch Government to the king for Elmina Castle, which became a perquisite of the victor till the year 1872, when St. George d'Elmina with the Dutch possessions were transferred to the English Government. Dankera having become a tributary state after the conquest, Ohuagyewa, a lame princess, was placed on the stool by the victor. (Others believe that prince Boadu Akafo succeeded Ntim.) The debt contracted by Ntim with the Dutch in making war is said to have been paid by Osei Tutu, an amount of 1000 peredwans.

Okomfo Anokye was richly rewarded by the chiefs for his good services. The king gave him 300 slaves, 100 peredwans, and a large gold ring for the arm; he made him a principal chief with seven horns, one big drum, a state umbrella and four hilted gold swords, and appointed him to a command in the van of the army. He received 100 slaves and 30 peredwans from Maniampon; Okyere Brafo, the successor of Twènèboa Kotia, gave 100 slaves and 20 peredwans; Oduro Panyin 100 slaves and 20 peredwans, and Nsante-fu the same. But Adakwa Yiadom is said to have refused giving him anything; hence a curse was pronounced against him, that no glory should ever attend any undertaking of his, when acting independently of Kumase, whilst conjunctly with them, he should be more glorious. Out of this number of slaves, the priest formed the Agona district in Asante.

We insert the following as different opinions or statements about the war. Some say, what led to the war and consequently the overthrow of the power of Dankera by the Asantes was, that Akôabena Bensua, the mother of Ntim, was once very sick. There was a certain tribe called the Boutwumafô, now Atwomafô, i.e. red clay people, originally slaves, doomed by the law of the country to the most barbarous slaughter when any royal personage died. At such times the unfortunate Atwoma people were sacrificed by hundreds and their blood used as the red clay in painting some parts of the body of the deceased as well as persons of the royal family, and some of their dead bodies placed in the grave on which the coffin was laid. Ntim had a wife from this tribe, who informed her people concerning the state of Bensua's health. They prepared to quit the country, as soon as they should hear of her death. She was there on a visit to her relations, when that sad intelligence reached them. The whole tribe now fled for protection to the A-

santes. The king sent for his wife and subjects, but they refused to go back, which of course broke the peace between Dankera and her tributary state.

The Asantes on that account stayed away from the funeral. The king, after the custom was over, sent an embassy with a large brass-pan, with a positive injunction to fill up the brass-pan with pure gold, and also to demand from every chief the favourite among his wives, wearing each a necklace of precious beads, who should become his wives in place of the one escaped to Asante.

Mr. Bosman and other authors say, that the youthful sovereign Bosiante was treated as the equal and friend of the great Osei Tutu; that the king of Dankera despatched an embassy in 1719 to the court of Kumase, consisting of the most black and comely of the ladies of his harem, and that the deputation was treated with courtesy by the monarch, who determined to despatch some of his ladies to Dankera to return the compliment. One of these dark beauties captivated the heart of the king of Dankera, who was not proof against the temptation. The lady returned disgraced to Kumase, and Osei Tutu determined to blot out his disgrace in blood &c. These statements do not appear to be true, and we retain our opinion, knowing that Mr. Bosman speaks of his government having despatched an officer to the camp to ascertain the truth about the war, which he was unable to know when he wrote his letter VI. page 74—77.

CHAPTER V.

Of the kingdoms of Akwamu and Akém. — The flourishing state of the Akras on the coast. — Oduro Tibo's war with Nyakō Kwaku. — War declared by Osei Tutu against Akém, and his death. — Akonno's invasion of Akra and the neighbouring tribes. About 1530—1730.

Having treated of the history of the kingdom of Asante from its commencement to the reign of Osei Tutu, who aggrandized it to the highest pitch, we shall in this chapter take up two other Tshi tribes, viz., the Akwamu and Akém kingdoms.

Of the former, we have obtained two accounts, one^s historical by Römer, which is already given in chapter II, and the other traditional, in chapter IV. Prince Akwamu, after staying with the kings

of Akra, obtained a piece of land, upon which he founded his town and state at the Akém-Peak (Nyanaw-ase). Ansã Sasraku of Tshuforo proper, being expelled by Owusu Bore, also settled at Asamankese. To reconcile these two accounts, we say, both statements are truthful. Akwamu, being a native of either Tshuforo or Adause, who had already founded his own state before the arrival of Ansã Sasraku, and both being Tshi princes, they may have managed to unite in forming the kingdom known as the kingdom of Akwamu, pre-eminence being given in naming it by the name of the first settler.

It was the habit of the Tshi emigrants from the interior, to extend their power and conquest into the territories of the aboriginal race on the sea-coast. It is but natural that the state of Akwamu was very small indeed at the commencement, at which time the Guan tribes of Agona on the west, the Bereku (Obutu) and Anum tribes on the south, and the Guan tribes of Akuapem on the east were all under the king of Akra; and that Tshi state was not excluded. For by tradition we are told, that in every yearly grand feast of the Akra king, the chiefs of Obutu and Akwamu were his hammock-carriers, or, at any rate, the chiefs over these carriers. To prove that the Akwamus were under the king, is very easy. How came it that the Akwamu prince Odegi was in the king's service, as Osei Tutu in that of Owusu Bore? Yet those princes of the tributary states sent to the capitals as horsetail-bearers or shield-bearers, and to study politics, generally became a plague to the kingdom. For instance, Osei Tutu in Dankera; it was he that destroyed that kingdom; Kwadwo Tibo was similarly employed in Kumase, and was the cause of its destruction; Odegi at Okai-Koi's court became the cause of the ruin of the Akra kingdom.

With the general aptitude of the Tshi princes for acquiring power, the kings of Akwamu by war and plunder easily managed to extend their dominion over the surrounding tribes. About 1530 and in 1680, after expelling the Akras from the country and usurping their territory, they became the third, if not the second, powerful kingdom on the Gold Coast. (We incline to say the second, because theirs commenced just after that of the Akras; Dankera must therefore be the third, yet co-existent with that of Akwamu; Asante the fourth power.) Bosman says of them, "The Akwamu negroes are very haughty, arrogant and warlike; their power is very terrible to all neighbouring countries except Akim. The nations under their

power are miserably tormented with daily plundering or rather robbing visits." One of their kings he describes as "of an abject temper and an inveterate enemy to the Europeans, and though he received from the English, Danes, and us an ounce of gold monthly, in recognition of the liberty given us by his predecessors to build in his dominions, yet he horribly plagued us, and that in so unreasonable a manner, that if he did but fancy any one of us had injured him, he was sure to oblige us all three to satisfaction, by shutting the passes so closely, that not so much as a single merchant (native) could get to us." The kingdom was despotic, and the king and his nobles, says Bosman, "are so rich in gold and slaves, that I am of opinion, this country singly possesses greater treasures than all those kings we hitherto described on the Gold Coast taken together."

Akém (Akyem, from ñkyene, salt), a name given to the country by the Asantes for being supplied with salt by the people. Bosman says, "Akim was already strong when Dankera improved in power". The aboriginal races seem to have been of the Fõmana and Kamãna tribes. Towns under the former were Kyiriahi, Bẽbe, Siana, Gyamãse, Supruso, Otwẽredruase, Pẽpẽase, Kwafoben, Okwakw (Akroakwaw), Wẽrewaso, Kukurapõ, Soukyeremaso, Amoa, Amuanna, Wẽrenkyemadu, Asona, Otapupuase. Oku Panyin of the Aberetufõ family was their king. Likewise was Kõtõkõ, king of Bẽgoro, over the Kamãna tribe, which is supposed to be the parent tribe of the Akwamu people. Indeed, when the government of the latter was established at the Akem-Peak, most of their towns, such as, Asamaikese, Aktotia, Otiriampa, Yobo, Soabẽ, Kede, Subi, Kwae, Gyatia, Banka, Osemdu, Ntronan, Morowanã, Tafo, Mmẽso, Asafo, Sẽem, Koko, Pram-kese, Trahyew and Anyinasin, were under the king of Akwamu, till the Adanse people began to emigrate there, at which period they became known as a powerful kingdom.

In the enumeration of the Tshi tribes, we mentioned that of Asante-Akém. Dansõ Birempong and chief Gyambra Amann of Tshuforo-Atoam, settling among this tribe, formed a very powerful state, whose king in conjunction with the one in Akém-Abuakwa joined the Dankeras in their invasion of Asante. It was about one of the kings or caboceers of this state, that we read in Bosman, "besides, a great caboceer of Akim with all his men were cut off." That caboceer may be Ofõri Kõrõbon or Firempong I, whose skull decorates the king's drum in Kumase.

The emigration of the chiefs of Adanse to Akém commenced at a remote period, and continues even to the present day. There was one Agyemang Musu or Aboagye Agyemang of Mamponden in Adanse, who is said to have been the first emigrant chief and settled at Okakom (Okakum) in Akém. The place got its name from the abolishing of Aboagye's way of dealing with his debtors. When a loan of money had been given by him to any one, whether paid or not paid, the borrower had to pay a similar sum every year. This being abolished, the place was called Okakum, killing of debt, i.e. when the capital money is paid with interest, it is liquidated for ever.

Even before the emigration of Agyemang Musu to Akém, there was a noble lady, called Boā, who is said to have been the first emigrant from Adanse and had settled at Ahwenease. After whose arrival the two powerful kings, Danso Birempong, the king of Kotoku, from Adanse Adomamu, and Ofori Panyin, the king of Abua-kwa, from Adanse Kubeante Sebereso, emigrated together to Akém. The predecessors of the former were Yarawere, the first king of the Kotokus, and Boadi Nanim, who had died at Adanse. When Danso Birempong emigrated, his relative, chief Gyambra Amanu of Tshuforo Atoam, joined him with his people. They settled first at Ahuren, then at Bomfa, and crossing the river Anuu they settled at Kotoku, from which place the emigrants got the name Kotoku up to the present day. *) Ofori Panyin also with his people first settled at Abrakaso, then at Adweso, and at last at Bauso.

After these, Abu Bonsra, the king of Adanse, and two of his great chiefs, Kwaku Dwamara and Apeaniu Kwafaramoa Woyia-

*) Tradition says, that a civil war broke out once between Ampong Agyei of Tokoboba and Osei Afweree of Dwabeñ. (This appears to be different from that between Atakora Maniampong and Akuamoa Panyin.) The chief of Mampong assisted his brother Ampong Agyese; they were, however, defeated by Osei Afweree; Ampong Agyei was driven to Okwawu, but his brother built Mampong, which unfortunately had been again destroyed by the Kumase people. One of the kings of Kotoku, either Danso Birempong or Firempong Manso, had settled at the place formerly; therefore prince Kwatai was commissioned to ask submission from Ampong Agyei, which he refused. He was thereupon engaged by the prince and driven to Abetifi. Another nephew of Danso Birempong, prince Tititi, repeated the demand of submission: but Agyei again refusing, he was engaged and driven to Okwawu Dukuma (Dukō-maū), where the Okwawus stayed for some years, and longed for home to enjoy their palm-wine and palm-nuts. Very fortunately Esen Kanya

wonyin with their people, fled when Berebere's case happened. Bonsra settled at Anyegem, Kwaku D̄wamara at Ahōmaso, and Kwafaramoa at Akropong. The third emigration was made by Anim Kwatia of Adanse Gyambibi. These emigrants acquired power in Akēm, and made war with the Kamāna people, whose king was Kwaw Kōtoko, then residing at Begoro. This war was caused by an elephant's tusk picked up by one of the emigrants when searching for snails. The Kamāna people claimed it for their king, which the other party would not submit to, and so chief Dākō of Sinuo on the Abuakwa side, and Sumtin Okwaɔwɔrefi on the Kotoku side were appointed to march against them. The Kamānas were defeated and expelled to Gyakiti, where they founded the following towns: Gyakiti, Pese, Nyampon, Apātifi, Apāso, Anyerewāse, Dasawāse and Awurahae. The Begoro who did not choose to join their brethren, had Kofi Dnro appointed to them by Dākō as their king. A horn belonging to the king Kwaw Kōtoko was captured, which Pobi Asomanin ordered Abu of Ati to blow thus, "Kwaw se se . . . wodi to," Kwaw says he could fight, but is proved to be unable.

was despatched by king Opoku Ware to recall them home, on which account the Okwawus were nicknamed "Kodiabe" i.e. they are going to enjoy palm-wine and palm-nuts.

On the arrival of king Odiawuo with the Okwawus, one Bādu, a descendant of the Kotokus, was the ruler of the whole country. Odiawuo thereupon requested Bādu to take a fetish oath in allegiance to him, whilst his intentions were to kill Bādu and his people in revenge of what his ancestors had done to the Okwawus. He was attacked the same night by the king, but escaped to Tshōme in the Krepe land. It was this Bādu who founded the kingdom known as Botoku or Asabi kingdom, and which was destroyed by the Akwamus in the reign of one Dākō, the successor of N̄kausa. Odiawuo, having expelled the Kotokus from the country, went in person to Kumase and thanked Opoku Ware for having recalled them. On his return to Okwawu, Opoku appointed Esen Kagya, the ambassador, and the sword-bearer Dongwa as commissioners of the place. Their descendants enjoyed the commissionership of the Okwawu country from that time about 150 years to the year 1874, when Antwi Akōmia, the last commissioner, and 40 of his people were murdered in cold blood, and their properties were confiscated by the Okwawu people. They thereby threw off their allegiance to Asante and declared in favour of the British government, through king Amoakō Ata. Okaraprem with the sword on which a gold cannon is placed, being a Kotoku by origin, was redeemed by his people, but the sword was retained by Amoakō Ata.

Abu Bonsra died, and was succeeded by Bekye, and he again by Amo Yaw. Kwafaramoa was succeeded by Kutukrunku, and Asare Kofi also succeeded Damaran.*)

These emigrants and their people were recalled by Osei Tutu to Adanse; but Kutukrunku and his people refused to go back. On the arrival (in Adanse) of Amo Yaw and Asare Kofi with Okumaniri Gyamfi of Abãmaso, Danso of Akokoase and Gyenin of Kwantanan, they had to pay a fine of 100 peredwans and swear allegiance; the government of Adanse was transferred from Amo Yaw to Asare Kofi of Fomãna, where the ruling power has remained till now. The chiefs who remained with Kutukrunku were four, viz., Danso of Abomосу, Kofia of Asamaĩmma, Nkansa of Asunafo, and Kyërekyë, the renowned fetish priest of Teawia. The former kings of Akém Abuakwa were: Boakye I., Boakye II., Boakye III., Agyekum Adu Oware I., Agyekum Adu Oware II., Agyekum Adu Oware III. — Ofosuhene Apenteng was the king of the Akém Kotokus after the death of Danso Birempong.

Having endeavoured to bring to view these two tribes known as Akém, we shall now cast a glance at the vanquished kingdom of Akra.

About 20 years after the kingdom of Akra had been subjugated and nearly all the inhabitants on the sea-coast had emigrated, the remaining Akras as well as the refugees who returned home with the new emigrants from different places had peopled several fine towns. The slave-trade which was carried on at Akra chiefly by the Akwamus and also the Gomoas and Agonas, with the Akras as brokers, is said by Bosman to have equalled that of the whole Gold Coast together. This trade chiefly assisted the people of Akra to rise from the abject poverty into which they had been plunged by the Akwamus.

The first king of Akra on the coast, of whom we hear again, was Nĩ Ayi. The influential chief was Amã Kuma. The Akwamus were the lords and masters in the land. Their king Akomo had become envious of the prosperity of the Akras, and was seeking an opportunity to fight them.

*) Some believe that Kutukrunku was rather the first king of the Abuakwas when at Adanse Kubeante Sebereso. He died there and was succeeded by Damaran, who also died before his successor Ofori Panyin left for Akém.

Already during the reigns of the three or four kings who preceded Akomfo, the Akwamus had monopolized the trade on the coast; Akems were not permitted to buy goods direct from the coast. Arms and ammunition were not sold to them at all. Dissensions, man-stealing and plunder were prevalent during those days among the people of Agona, Akrong or Gomoa, Akwamu and Akra. In the former wars between Akwamu and Akra the Agonas and Gomoas were hired by the Akwamus, who having deceived them in not paying what they were promised, the latter paid themselves by kidnapping them. The worst of all was, that the Akwamus carried on that nefarious practice among themselves. A band of strong men had been selected for that practice by the Akwamus. One of them, very often, on coming to the coast and happening to find another from his own place, enticed him to the forts and sold him. Even an Akra man meeting them on their way to the coast towns was not safe, but sure to be sold, unless redeemed by his relatives.

The merchants then resident at Akra, Danes, English, or Dutch, used every means to ship off from 5 to 600 slaves every month. The Akras as brokers for the merchants grew rich by that nefarious traffic. Hence the Akwamus were envious of their fortune, and began to take measures to crush them. But as the people of Akrong and Agona were on friendly terms with them, and carried on their trade chiefly at Akra, the Akwamus were unable to declare war against them, fearing they might be attacked from behind, when fighting with the Akras. Unhappily a war broke out between the Agonas and Gomoas.

Nyākō Akō (Nyākō Kwaku), king of Agona, whenever a son was born to him, ordered travellers and traders from Gomoa Asén to be waylaid and beheaded. He showed the heads to his infant child and said, "These are my toys, grow up and play with them". Thus he continued for a long time, till Kwaw Ehūra Akū, the king of Gomoa Asén, got tired of such repeated murder of his people, and applied to king Oduro Tibo of Asén Fufu (others believe that Kwaku Berefi, the king of Mankesim and Amoia Kōbō Adu were asked to assist in the fight) to protect them from Nyākō Kwaku. The reward for his services was paid down, his forces with those of Ehūra Akū under Kusā Adu marched against Nyākō, whose army was estimated at 32,000 men. Nyākō Kwaku was defeated, his army dispersed, and the king, with a single wife, fled into the bush. This Kusā Adu, who had by this time become an influential captain over

Kwaw Ebūra Akū's army, was originally a carrier of palm-wine, a native of Besabew in Abora. Residing in the capital, he became rich by his trade, and after the defeat and death of the king, he was made king of Gomoa.*)

Previous to this war, Nyākō had an Akwamu man for his friend, who was in the habit of bringing presents of sheep and other things to him on every annual yam-custom. It happened that the man once brought his son to the capital to attend the feast, and there the young man committed a criminal act with one of Nyākō's wives. He was thereupon arrested to be beheaded, as is the law of the country. The man bitterly pleaded for the life of the son, made every overture to the king to spare the youth, as being a foolish boy. He offered to pay any sum to save the life of the youth. At last he consented to receive a fine of 60 peredwans, which his friend borrowed from parties and accordingly paid to him and was promised the release of his son the next day. But early in the morning of the following day, the king's drums, whose beatings indicate that a human being has been executed, was heard. "What is the matter! who has been executed?" was the inquiry of the people, but chiefly the man whose son was under arrest. One coming from the palace informed him, that it was his son who had been killed. With trembling and a flood of tears in his eyes, he stepped inside and found his son really dead. "Has the king indeed killed my son after such a large fine had been paid?" Being accompanied by the man who witnessed the payment of the fine, he asked Nyākō, why he killed his son, for whom so much entreaties had been made and a large fine paid? The king's reply was, "The fine was the rope by which the waist of your son was tied up to me by yourself; his execution was a settled case, the prescribed punishment for the act!" The sad story was told to the wife and relatives at home, and all bewailed the loss of the son as well as the large amount of debt they had to pay to the creditors. After mourning for some days they repaired to their village.

Subsequently Nyākō and his wife, roaming in the bush, arrived

*) Tradition says, when Governor Meredith had been murdered by exposure, the British men-of-war had to bombard Wimeba. During those days one of the people misplaced a large property, which Kusā Adu very fortunately got possession of. This may be true, but not in Meredith's time.

at the plantation of that Akwamu friend. Here they were found by the mother of the youth who had been beheaded. "Okrawa! what are you seeking for here?" she asked. Okrawa related the sad story of Nyākō being defeated by Oduro Tibo, and that they were seeking for an asylum anywhere. She forthwith repaired home and told her husband of it. "Do you really mean Nyākō? for I can hardly believe my ears." Her reply was in the affirmative. The husband sharpened his cutlass and placed it aside, appointed a sheep to be killed for dinner, and went back with his wife to see Nyākō himself. He was found lying on the ground upon some cloth they carried with them. On seeing the man, Nyākō said in a mournful tone, "I am now your slave!" Upon which a flood of tears rushed from the man's eyes for the loss of his son, which poor Nyākō thought were shed on his behalf. He was brought home, presented with a bottle of rum and a sheep, and a dinner was prepared. After which he was advised to wash so as to break the fast of so many days starvation. While Nyākō was washing his head and face with soap, the man came upon him suddenly, and cut him to pieces! The remains were put in a basket of palm-branches and laid aside. But the dinner was given to feast the villagers, who got drunk and spent the whole day and night in dancing and singing.

Early the next morning the body of the unfortunate Nyākō was conveyed to Akwamu, followed by the man and his friends. Here the whole story was told to the king and chiefs, who rewarded the man and comforted him for his loss.

Oduro Tibo, who was seeking his victim to capture him alive or dead, was informed of Nyākō being killed and his body conveyed to Akwamu. He thereupon despatched messengers to demand the king of Akwamu to return the dead body to him; which Akonno positively refused to do. Fresh messengers were sent, but with no better result; consequently Tibo declared war against him. The assistance of Agona was asked by Tibo to claim back the remains of their king, but they flatly declined to do so. Akonno was attacked by Tibo and Kusā Adu, and defeated, and many captives were taken.

The Agonas, hearing of Tibo's success, required to have a share of the spoil, otherwise they would dispute the passage he was to make back. He ordered his men to march on until they might be attacked, before defending themselves. Which becoming sure,

Tibo mounted his royal stool and offered a libation of water to God and earth, calling them to plead his case and defend him. The Agonas attacked him, but were repulsed with heavy loss, which obliged them to send a flag of truce to negotiate for peace. A meeting was held, at which the Agonas were severely reprimanded, Yaw Menta, an utter foreigner, was placed on the stool of Agona, and Tibo, after threatening vengeance against any one who should dare to revolt, returned to his country. Since that time the descendants of Yaw Menta have been the rulers of Agona.

During Nyākō's reign, his mother died, so all his subjects attended the funeral with the usual salute of musketry; but the people of Winneba were late in doing honour to her memory. On their arrival, however, Nyākō objected to their firing the salute, and being thus put to shame, not knowing what might be the consequence, they ordered out a cannon from Europe and carried it to Anyākrom. The king replied, "Indeed, muskets were fired by my chiefs and people; if the Winnebas will fire a cannon now, I agree to it." They fired it for several days at Anyākrom, where it remains up to this time. It is customary also before the funeral ceremony to make figures or statues of the deceased, either of clay or wood, which are placed under a shed outside the town, and honoured by daily meat-offerings. But these meals are devoured by mice and lizards. Nyākō objected to thus placing the statue of his mother and the meals on the road; he said, "Spirits are like winds, and therefore the spirit of my mother can enjoy the meal anywhere else than on the roads. He accordingly ordered wooden pegs to be fixed in a large silk-cotton-tree near the town, by means of which the tree could be ascended and the statue and meals placed on the top of the tree. A sentry was appointed to stand by on the top of the tree, and cry to travellers passing by, "Wouldn't you look at the statue of Nyākō Akō's mother?" Hence, when children are cross and trouble their mothers by crying, the mothers usually tell them, "Mayest thou weep on and die, even if thou couldst do me once the honour of placing my statue and meal on a silk-cotton-tree!"

As the king of Akém had assisted the Dankeras against Asante, the next war in revenge was that declared by Osei Tutu against them. Ofosuhene Apenteng was then the king in Asante-Akém, and Kutukurunku was king of Abuakwa; both had determined to stand independent of the powerful king of Asante. In the year

1700 Osei Tutu marched against Akém, and, after two bloody battles, they were defeated, and Ofosuhene Apenteng was taken prisoner, whose effigy decorated the state-umbrella of Asafo Awere. His sister Nyantadam was captured by Oponkōkō, brother of general Amankwa of Nsuta, and Asiedu Apagya was also captured. Nyantadam was married to Oponkōkō, from whom she had eight children, Firempong and his sisters: Awusi, Korankyewa, Biama, Atimwa, Bensua, Agyoboā, Ampomā, Oboahema. Ampim was cousin to Firempong, his mother's name was Gyamfi Kēse, sister of Nyantadam. Thus Akém became tributary to Asante.

To get rid of paying the yearly tribute, Akram, Apenteng's successor, and Kutukurunku proposed to quit the country for some time. Having entered into an agreement with the Akwamus to protect six of their princesses, they left. Akram went to Kotoku near Okwawu, since which time that tribe of Tshuforo Atoam was called Kotoku (by Europeans: Western Akém); Kutukurunku went to some place in the forest, some say, to Krepe, but we think, it was the Krobo mountain where they sought refuge.

After roaming in the forest for three years, they returned to Akém and demanded back the royal family from the Akwamus. From the year 1702—1720 the differences between Akém and Akwamu began under king Akomfo. The princesses, having got married and born children, feeling more comfortable and quiet in Akwamu, declined to return. Consequently war was declared against them. But unable to fight, the Akwamus sued for peace, delivered back those women and children, and a certain sum was annually paid to Akém as indemnity of war.

In about 1730 Akém again rebelled. Osei Tutu immediately marched an army into the disloyal province and fought a bloody battle at Koromante, in which the Akems, being defeated, were obliged to cross the Pra and placed an ambushade there. The victorious sovereign fell into it one Monday, and was slain whilst crossing the river,—some say, while ascending the hill which got the name Koromante, in memory of the battle. This account of the king's death is refuted by the Asantes. They say, the king was infirm and not in a good health when forced to take the field against the rebellious Akems, and although the army was proceeding successfully in its mission, the king very unfortunately died a natural death. Opoku Ware, not informing the nobles and generals of what had taken place, confined the remains of the mon-

arch, and ordered it to be carried in the rear of the army. Opoku revenged his uncle's death and punished the Akems severely. After this he told the nobles of what had happened, and the army marched back to Kumase.

As even the natural death of an Asante monarch is a great national calamity, that in camp is a thousand times worse. Hence, when any of the warriors was asked as to the rumours of the king's death, his reply was, "Mekorge na mante" i.e. I joined the campaign, but never heard of it. This became the oath "Koromante", the most binding and dreadful of Asante oaths, which still embalms the memory of the most powerful and victorious king Osei Tutu. The oath Memeneda Koromante unites two oaths, for the Asante oath Memeneda originated with the death of Osei Bonsu.

After the bloody funeral custom for the deceased king had been performed, the stool was offered to his nephew Opoku Ware, who had not only successfully conducted the last campaign, but also been appointed by the late king himself. There were two other nephews, Dākō and Dākō, who likewise claimed the stool. Opoku tried to settle it among themselves amicably and to share the estate with them, but not the stool. They rejected his offers and induced a good number of the Kumases to favour their claims, while the majority was on the opposite side. This nearly led to a civil war; but Opoku prudently checked it and ordered Dākō and Dākō and their people to be killed. They all were beheaded, except one girl, thus putting a stop to bloodshed. Opoku was proclaimed the successor of his uncle Osei Tutu in the year 1731.

We must now follow the refugees driven from Abantang to Akém, and after that take a glance at Akwamu and Akra.

Akram, the successor of Ofosuhene Apenteng,*) having crossed the Pra, sought refuge in a place near Okwawu and Aguogo, known as Kotoku. This tribe got the name Kotoku from having settled there. The Kotokus seem to have been driven again from this place, and made a permanent settlement on the left bank of the Pra, where they founded the capital Dā. It was near Asuom by one Amā Kotopɛ at Obobitwaw, who was a native of Tshuforo proper, whose descendants emigrated with Ansā Sasaraku, but were left here when the latter came to Asāman-keṣe. The kings

*) Some have the opinion that the immediate successor of Ofosuhene Apenteng was Firempɔng Mansō, and that Ampim succeeded him, and was again succeeded by Kwāhene Boroni and Gyaberenkum.

Kwāhene Boroni and Gyaberenkum successively assumed the government in Dā, and now the royal family found it necessary to redeem Nyantadam's children from Nsuta. The sum of 100 pre-dwans, 30 sheep and 30 ankers of rum were sent, and the following royal personages were brought to Dā, viz., Ampim, Firempong and Firempommā. Before leaving Asante, they were made to swear a fetish oath, never to be hostile against them, whenever any of them should become king of Dā.

Ampim, brother of Firempong, succeeded Gyaberenkum, in whose reign there was peace between Asante and Akém, on account of the fetish oath he and his brother had sworn. But there was no peace on the coast and in Asante, as Opoku Ware took advantage of the peaceful time to conquer the north-western, northern and eastern districts of his kingdom.

At last Akonnō, during the contest between Tibo and Nyākō, declared war against Akra for the following reason.

The yearly feast Hōmgwo came on, when Akonnō despatched his wives down to the coast to attend the celebration of the feast. He advised them to put up with Amā Kuma, his friend, who accordingly provided them a whole compound for their accommodation and treated them with great courtesy. The feast being over, the ladies returned to Akwamu, when Amā was by false reports from the coast accused of having had illegal intercourse with some of the king's wives. Akonnō being very greedy for money, fining people very often from mere suspicion, accordingly sent messengers to demand 1000 heads of cowries as satisfaction from Amā. The latter, though innocent, was forced to comply. Another report was sent to the king to say, the fine was nothing at all to Amā, as it was not paid by himself, but only by his slaves. This encouraged the greedy king to demand another fine of 1000 heads, which Amā paid through the advice of his friends, only to maintain peace. Desirous to make war, Akonnō sent the third time for a similar sum. Nī 'Ayì, king of Akra, and his chiefs raised objections to such an act of Akonnō, which eventually caused the intended war.

Owing to incessant inroads, kidnappings and sieges, all the towns along the coast had been surrounded by close fences of the prickly pear (*Cactus opuntia*), introduced from St. Thomas by the Portuguese, who made of it enclosures for pigs and cattle. In those days of dissensions the Akras sent canoes with armed men to Ningo and such places to get supplies of this valuable plant.

Akonno marched towards Akra with an army. He was met half way by a quite insufficient force, who were driven back to the town and besieged. The Akras were soon forced to seek shelter in the Fort Crevecoeur. The king Nī 'Ayì and his party with nearly all the warriors entered in time, whilst Amā with a small body-guard, being too late, was shut out. He escaped to sea in a canoe, but the man at the helm was shot down. Accompanied by only two men, he was fleeing to James Fort, where they were murdered to the great dissatisfaction of Akonno, who would have rather had him alive to extort a heavy ransom.

Elated by success, Akonno shortly after declared war against Osu, Labade and Teshi, who not having assisted Akra, had now singly to face the powerful invader. Labade, being unprotected with cannon, was one night stormed, when a great many of its inhabitants were slain or captured and sold to the slave-dealers. King Okpoti (Odoi Kpoti) alone lost 1000 of his own people, and was obliged, with few of his retainers, to flee for shelter to Christiansborg. The warriors of the three towns congregated in Osu, their women and children were escorted by armed men to Sanyā. Nī Tshie was a youth at that time and one of the escorts. At Obenesu*) a battle was fought, in which the Akwamus lost their best chiefs**) and fell back to their camp at Labade, to prepare for another attack; the Akra army retired to Christiansborg. Sowa, brother of Adshei Kwaw, repaired to Teshi with his sons to get provisions; on their return they were attacked by the enemy; the father was caught, but his son Laye Nam escaped by swimming in the sea to Dutch Akra. The Akwamus, enraged at their loss, made a second attack, which forced the Akras to fall back to Christiansborg. The Akras, having run short of powder, requested the Governor of Christiansborg for a supply, who seeming to have some ill-feeling against the Labades for destroying the Ningowas, declined to do so. He is reported to have said to them, "Use the powder you had against the Ningowas for your defence." Whilst they were encamping at Tshābele, a vessel anchored there unexpectedly and they obtained ammunition from the captain by pawning their children, whom they redeemed after the war was over.

*) *Obanii-ansū?* most probably *Abènné-nsu* = skirmishing water. The two hostile armies were supplied with water from the place.

**) Tradition says, that Akonno was captured and beheaded by Adshei Kwaw, the son of chief Ngmashi of Teshi.

The European merchants of Christiansborg and Akra, who had kept themselves neutral till now for fear of stoppage of trade as well as troubles from the Akwamus, interfered on behalf of the people, lavished presents on the king and chiefs of Akwamu, promising to become sureties for the defeated, and so peace was made. The heads of the chiefs of Akra and Labade cut during the war were returned to the merchants, who gave them back to their respective relatives (although some say, those heads were kept in the castle of Christiansborg). The king of Akwamu then sent messengers throughout the country to inform the refugees to return home, as peace had been made. So all refugees to Shai, Sanya, &c. returned home. He also gave two girls of his royal family as a token of his sympathy for the loss they had sustained. One of the girls was given in marriage to Okpoti of Labade, and the other to Dākō of Akra. A policy which might eventually have brought the Akras under his power, if the descendants of these girls had obtained the stools. He nearly succeeded in that plan, had not Akwamu been destroyed afterwards, in which time a son born by the one given to Dākō was a youth, and became the king of Akwamu with the name Dākō Panyin.

The Akwamus, becoming powerful, desired Akonno, no more to pay the annual tribute to Akém. The king seemingly agreed. When ambassadors came to demand the tribute at the usual time, the king before his chiefs bullied them and put them into prison. During the night, however, he released and sent them away with the tribute; but at day-break he told his chiefs, the ambassadors had absconded. His subjects did not like him; they held him in suspicion as an accomplice in stealing their people. He reigned from 1702—1726 and died.

Akwanno (Ansā Sasraku III.), who assumed the government after the demise of Akonno in 1726, not only refused to pay the tribute to Akém, but went so far as to kill the ambassadors. He beheaded them and put their heads in a bag for the only survivor among them to carry to Akém. The Akéms could have marched against them, but on account of the unsettled state of affairs between themselves and Asante, they were obliged to leave them alone for a time, which encouraged them to carry on trade freely and also to make war on and plunder the Akras, Akuapems and Adangmes. Then it was that the large and biggest towns of Akuapem were depopulated; Abotaki, the then capital of Akuapem, was ravaged with fire and sword.

Shai, the kingdom of Lānimo (or according to Bosman Lading-cour), was not spared. This kingdom consisted of the following 22 towns about the Shai mountain, viz., Legbedshe, Manyā, Lenḡdshe, Kpōfū, Asinḡdshe, Salom, Bonāse, Māpong, Dḡbó, Lādoku, Yomā, Abotia, Klēkpe, Nagala, Māgbiḡh, Mlā, Drawe, Lagá, Kayikpo, Gblaka, Hiḡwe and Ninawe, with the capital at Klēkpe.

Lānimo, the father of Lāte Odoi, who was the first king of Krḡbe, was both priest and king, and Sḡdshē of the town Kayikpo was the most powerful general of the priest, having the command of 16 towns directly under him. After continuous inroads of the Akwamus, they were advised by the invaders, to cut off the right hand of the general to stop the war. The Shais, being tired, consented to that request and accordingly cut the general's hand off. This grieved him so much that he quitted the country. As he was the protector of Shai, the others determined to emigrate with him, and travelling towards the east, they settled on the banks of the river Godshei, hence Shai Godshei. In memory of Lānimo, the defender of the Adangme tribes, this song was composed: "Lānimo bē we, nī mḡmḡi ye imā kē tšū," i.e. In consequence of Lānimo's absence the whole barn of corn was eaten up by cornflies. The inhabitants of the town Māpong, who were descendants chiefly of fallen women of Otufu, and were detested, could not go along with them, but settled on the Akuapem mountains. By these Mampong in Akuapem is said to have been peopled. The Lādokus removed to Lā and others to Prampram and formed the Klei quarter there. The very few fugitives partly went to Krḡbe, and the rest concealed themselves on the Shai mountain, till they increased sufficiently to become a town.

It was from these places the Akuamus chiefly obtained captives for the European slave-dealers, that the king alone sold in every month from 2 to 300 slaves. Hence he became the most powerful and wealthy king on the whole Gold Coast. Another resource for the king was the heavy fines demanded from people who had criminal connection with his numerous wives he had married in every town and village, whom he did not keep in the harem, but let them free in order to get people into trouble. When the offenders' relatives were unable to meet the fine, the offender and several members of the family were sold from the country. The king and his selected banditti alone spent an amount of 1000 slaves worth in rum every year!

CHAPTER VI.

The warlike and victorious reign of Opoku Ware. — His wars against Amo Yaw of Takiman. — The great improvement in the Akra kingdom in the reign of King Ayikuma Tiekō, and his preparation against Akwamu. — Firepong declared war against Akwamu, and the troubles on the coast. — The three kings of Akém and their being hired by the Akras to fight the Akwamu. — Their expulsion to Krepe, and Akém's supremacy on the coast. — The battle of Bennā and the invasion of Kumase by Abirimoro. — Saŵi and Gyāman ravaged. Subjugation of Būroñ-Kyempim and Ntamang. — 1731—1749.

Opoku Ware on his accession to the stool restored peace, and requested the fugitive Bāfo, who had taken refuge at Ņkoransā, to return to his district. The powerful king of Takiman, Amo Yaw, objected to this request. Meanwhile Opoku had advised Bāfo's relations at Makom, urgently to request him to return home. By those messengers Bāfo not only informed the king of his willingness to do so, but also stated how he could manage to defeat Amo Yaw and make his kingdom tributary to Asante, on condition that he should rule over it. When all was arranged between the king and Bāfo's people, Opoku requested Amo Yaw to send back Bāfo. He replied, "No one placing himself under the protection of the golden stool of Takiman can ever be delivered up; it is therefore impossible for me to comply with Opoku's request." Besides this, he ill-treated the Asante traders to his kingdom. Amo Yaw was too powerful a sovereign to submit to a demand from such an inferior king as Opoku. Both Amo Yaw and his sister Dvamarawa were so rich that they counted gold as stones on the street. The latter often asked, "What do people mean by poverty? I wish I could know what it is!" Tannō, the principal fetish, often warned her never to use such expressions, as poverty might overtake her unawares. She, however, did not believe this.

Bāfo meanwhile kept up constant communication with Opoku, informing him how things were going on at Takiman. At the same time he was the chief adviser of Amo Yaw. This monarch asked Bāfo, "How do the Asantes manage, although not so powerful a state, to conquer great kingdoms, as Dankera and others?" He replied, "My people remove the firelocks from their muskets and bury them in the ground. They are then loaded to be used by the warriors, who order the guns "tow! tow!" that is, fire!

If not heeding the first or second order, they must obey the third or fourth, and fire on repeatedly." Amo Yaw, having placed so much confidence in Bāfo, believed all he said, and ordered all their firelocks to be removed and buried. This being known to Opoku, he marched against Amo Yaw with an army. The overwhelming forces of Takiman mustered and encamped to repulse the invaders. The treacherous Bāfo marched out with the king against the Asantes, and encamped close to the king, letting Opoku know his own position in the camp, that the Asantes might shoot there without bullets. When the battle commenced, the deluded Takimans said: "tow, tow!" to their guns. Opoku rushed swiftly upon Amo Yaw and Bāfo, and took both prisoners. The Takiman army was routed and multitudes made prisoners. A certain Asante, before going his rounds for plunder, placed a loaded gun on two forked sticks, and, in hearing of his prisoners, addressed it thus — "You gun, take care of these prisoners till I come back; should any one dare to escape, shoot him dead!" The poor prisoners were obliged to ask permission from the gun, as school-boys and girls do if they want to go out for water or otherwise. Thus every warrior managed to catch plenty of prisoners and large spoil.

By Bāfo's advices, Amo Yaw and his sister Dvamarawa with himself were placed in irons; the whole treasure of the kingdom was carried off by the Asantes, whose power was greatly increased by this conquest. Several improvements were, by the advise of Amo Yaw, made in the government and social condition of Asante. He taught Opoku to use gold and silver weights, to claim the estate of a deceased chief or general, to make several laws by which offenders were fined to increase his power and keep down the subjects. Dvamarawa, who once boasted of riches, was now obliged to sweep the market-places and the most stinking parts of Kumase. In doing this she used to throw away her smoking-pipe from her mouth. In her glorious days the pipes she threw away were snatched by 1000 maidens who stood around; as there was no one about her now to pick them up, such pipes fell to the ground, and consequently thousands of them were lost.

The king one day called the army to the capital, congratulated the chiefs and generals on their success, and requested them to thank Bāfo for the assistance he had rendered to Asante; Amo Yaw now perceived how foolish he had been in taking the advice of Bāfo. The king requested Bāfo to return home; but as it had

been agreed upon, that he should rule the country, and as he had meanwhile advised the Mohammedan subjects to flee till his return to Ńkoransā, his treachery both to Amo Yaw and Opoku came to light; hence the expression "treacherous as Bāfo." He obtained the rule in Ńkoransā and recalled the Mohammedan refugees; thus it became a tributary state to Asante. Amo Yaw's persistent endeavours in advocating despotic rule led to a conspiracy of the chiefs and generals, in which he was killed.

Ayikuma Tiekō had acceded to the stool of Akra after the death of Nī 'Ayì. Being an intelligent king, he established the regal power by recalling his subjects who were dispersed about the country or had emigrated to Little Popo in consequence of the Akwamu invasions. His friendly connection with the Dutch Government, and the improvement he introduced in the country, encouraged the fugitives to return home. He abolished capital punishment, and the practice of paying double dowry for wives. Previous to that time dowry was given twice: the first, to obtain the wife, and the last, when she died.

As brokers to the slave-traders, the king as well as several of his subjects had grown rich in the country; yet they were tributary to the Akwamus. The king, knowing how powerful his ancestors were in times gone by, when the Akwamus were vassals to them, was never pleased to undergo that state of servitude under their former subjects. Hence he was meditating some means or other to get rid of that heavy Akwamu yoke. It happened one day that some dispute arose between the governor of the fort and the king. Some say, the Dutch Governor, being invited by the Governor of Christiansborg to dinner, had the king in his company. At the party the Danish Governor is said to have given a stroke in the face of the king, which he returned some days afterwards to the Danish Governor, when on a visit to his town Akra. This greatly annoyed the Dutch Governor, who said, the case had been settled already, the king ought not to have revenged himself after all. Others say, it was the Dutch Governor himself who struck the king's face. On that account the king did no more visit the Fort for a good length of time, which gave uneasiness to His Excellency. His time to go on leave was coming on, and apprehending that his successor might have cause of sending a bad report of him to the Governor General at Elmina, he called upon the chiefs of the town to negotiate on his behalf, that the king might

be induced to have the difference settled before the arrival of the new Governor. At last the king opened his mind to his chiefs, that, should the Governor take upon himself to support them with arms and ammunition to break down the power of Akwamu, then alone he would consent. That being told the Governor, who knew what sort of a plague the Akwamus were to both white and black, he readily consented, and the case was amicably settled.

To ascertain the number of warriors of both Akwamu and Akém, the Governor travelled to both places and distributed pipes and tobacco to every warrior. On his return he assured the king of success of their intended war against Akwamu. Every arrangement on behalf of the Dutch Government for supplying arms and ammunition was entered into, Prince Ayai (Tété Ahene Akwa), son, and Okaidsha, nephew, were given as security for the amount of supply of arms and ammunition to be required. These matters being settled, an opportunity to give a hint to the Akém kings had to be sought for.

In the meanwhile Firempong had assumed the government of Akém Kotoku after the death of his brother Ampim, during whose reign there was peace between Akém and Asante on account of the fetish-oath administered to them previous to their leaving the place.

Besides, Opoku Ware had assured Firempon, when he presented him with a young tamed elephant, that he would never take up arms against Akém during his life-time. Kutukryuku was still the king of Akém Abuakwa. Akwannō, the Akwamu king, had refused to pay the tribute to Akém and killed the ambassadors, after that arrested and plundered 300 men with their loads belonging to Firempong. The cause was this: Prince Kotiko was sent by his father with those people to buy goods from the coast. On their return home, they had a dispute with Okrapa (a female slave of Akwannō), which he made a pretext for hostilities. When goods and people were seized, Akwannō released four men to accompany the prince to tell his father what he had done, challenging him to come out for his property.*)

Firempong Mansō thereupon informed Kutukrunku of Akém-Akro-

*) Others believe that the king of Akwamu at that time was Mānkure, and that he and Firempong began their quarrel at Kumase, and Osei Tutu was about to pacify them, but one Ofofu T'witiakwa instigated the king not to do so.

pong that he was preparing against Akwamu to claim back their property, wishing him to join with his army. With an army of 40,000 they marched and attacked Akwamu, but were repulsed with a loss of Kutukrunku, Gyamankoroã, nephew of Firemping, and several others after three days' engagement. Firemping retreated and encamped at Anyakurom; from thence he asked the assistance of Oduro Tibo of Asén Fufu and Teteakoro II. of Adyuma-kô. Damaram succeeded Kutukrunku, and encamped at Apiraman. It appears that Kudsha was king at Akra, who sent out some detachment of his army to join in the war. Thus reinforced, Firemping marched against Akwamu. He captured one of his chiefs, Boadu. Yet the Akwamu women cherished the hope of success, and said, so long as general Amanyã Kwaw was commanding the army, there was nothing to fear. But at last this general also was caught alive, and both he and that chief were beheaded by Bã Kwante, who sung, "Makum Boadu, makum Amanyã Kwaw, bráfo ne me, bráfo ne me!" I have killed both Boadu and Amanyã Kwaw, I am a hero! The invaders, however, also sustained painful losses, Damaram, Gyamedua, nephew of Firemping, and several others being killed, and yet Akwamu had not been defeated. But the invaders had also captured many prisoners and large spoil. Oduro Tibo founded the town Barakwa with the prisoners he obtained, and got a horn in acknowledgment of his services from Firemping, which is blown "Oduro Tibo e, meda wo ase awusi o!" Pobi Asômanin succeeded Damaram, and both he and Firemping retired from the field to Akém.

The Governor of Christiansborg at that time was illiterate, a sailor by profession. He did not care much about any trade except watch repairs and the like, and had quarrels all the time with the people of Christiansborg, who on that account traded chiefly with the Dutch merchants at Akra. When any of his officers was caught by them, they sold him to the merchants at Akra. Sometimes he loaded the guns with stones and fired into the town. He had even made a statue of himself, of wax, which he placed on the wall of the Fort. The people, on seeing that, imagining it was himself, fired guns at it; at last he set the town on fire. This brought Akwamu down to the coast, who settled the dispute between the governor and his subjects and got large presents for it. Keeping ill-feelings against the Dutch merchants at Akra for instigating his subjects of Christiansborg to trade with them and

also fight with him, the governor told Akwamō to attack Akra again. The king returned to Akwamu and sent 1000 armed men to invite the governor to his capital. The Dutch Governor, suspecting a trick, sent order to Elmina for arms, ammunition, provisions and gunners, and prepared for the expected attack of the Akwamus. He advised the people of Akra, to send down those who would be unable to fight, and some women and children to Little Popo. This was the third emigration of the Akras to that place.

In January 1733 Akwamō invested Akra. The siege went on during four months, and caused a frightful famine in the town, the number of deaths occasioned by hunger exceeded those slain in the war. This induced king Ayikuma Tiekō of Akra to send two of his chiefs, Okai Pæmseyekō I, Amo Nakawa I, and Amā Safo, with the royal necklace of precious beads, the pay-note, the national state-cane Asempayetia and the golden crown of the late king Okai Koi with several presents to Akém, to ask the aid of the three kings: Bā Kwante, Firempong Mansō of Akém-Kotoku and Owusu Akém. The ambassadors had to make their way via Coast Bereku and after a circuitous walk of two months they reached Akém. The Dutch Government also sent arms and ammunition by an officer to the kings, for which Ayāi (Tete Ahene Akwa) a son, and Okaidsha, a nephew of the king, were given as security. The ammunition was packed, as is reported, in fishing baskets, to prevent detection by the Akwamus. Amo Nakawa easily induced the Obutus and Agonas to throw off their allegiance to Akwamu. The kings gave their consent to assist the Akras, but being at war with the Asantes, and for the safety of their wives and children, they made a treaty with Opoku Ware, not to come behind them. Of course, they only told Opoku that they were going to demand a certain tribute from Akwamu, which they had refused to pay; but he did not know that they had been hired. The king of Asante allowed them five months time to return, on condition to pay him 500 men for the permission granted.

He knew that they could not stand the power of Akwamu, and if weakened by them, he might easily conquer them himself. But Akwamu was ripe for judgment for all their wicked deeds! Forty grains of corn were given to the ambassadors to tell the king, that every day one grain had to be taken from the number, and that, as soon as the grains were finished, the Akras should know, that they were upon their enemy.

About the month of June, a few days after the ambassadors had been sent home, the Akéms started, which obliged Akwamu to raise the siege of Akra. After a sharp contest with the combined forces of Akém, Akra and Akuapem, Akwamu was defeated and a large number of prisoners was taken. Their women and children, never expecting a defeat, were not prepared for fleeing, and all at once they came upon them. As the rainy season had set in, they surrendered themselves to their enemies. Thus was Akwamu driven from the Akém-Peak to the banks beyond the Volta. In their precipitation the Akwamus hid all their gold in the ground and marked the places with daggers and the like. These hidden treasures are occasionally discovered by Akuapem and Akém farmers.

There seems to have been a cessation of hostilities after the capture of both Boadu and Amanya Kwaw, the chief and the general of Akwamu, before their entire expulsion. The war being carried on in the bush, the Akwamus did not know the cause of it; but when they got to know that it was done by the instigation of the Akras, they suddenly and violently attacked the Akras. The Akéms having retired for awhile, the Akras alone could not stand them, and so they were driven for the fourth time to Little Popo. Ayikuma Tiekō having died, Ofori Tibo was then the king of Akra, Amā Wusu Ahyia, chief of Gbese, Nī Tshie, chief of Teshi, who being an elder cousin to the king and chief of Akra, was the chief-leader of the refugees to Popo. Chief Otu Ahyiakwa and his warriors having been annihilated in his expedition in aid of the Dutch Government against the Commendas in 1694, Amo Nakawa I. was made to succeed him. He died during the flight of the Akras to Popo. Nī Tshie and Dākō, the son of the deceased, ordered his remains to be carried during the whole time. In crossing the Volta first with the remains of Amo, the Angulas tried to resist them, but they were easily driven back, and being no more molested, they reached Popo safely.

Owusu Akém, having heard of what his friends had suffered from their enemy, came upon the Akwamus at once and drove them clean from the country, pursuing them along the stream Nsaki to Gyakiti on the bank of the Volta. In their flight a number of bush-hogs were roused and crossed the Volta, which encouraged the fugitive Akwamus to cross on the same fordable path of the river; hence bush-hogs became sacred animals to the Akwamus [i.e. wild hogs are not eaten by them].

Having crossed, they sought an asylum in the country of the king of Botoku in Krepe. The king of Botoku assured the Akwamus that he could afford them protection, and that Owusu Akém and his army were nothing to him. He ordered all his Krepe subjects to get under arms and array themselves for their defence. Although they were numerous, yet the Akwamus could not confide in their being able to protect them. After a week only, the Akéms arrived and gave them a battle. Numerous prisoners were taken by the Akéms, among whom was the king of Botoku himself; the Akwamus escaped to Pekipong. By the rising of the dust one day Owusu Akém perceived that the Akwamus were marching from Pekipong towards the south, which made him suppose that they were on the way to attack the Akras who had taken refuge at Little Popo; he accordingly ordered a march behind them. The Akras were attacked by the Akwamus at their place of refuge, but under the command of the old Nī Tshię, they furiously resisted for a whole day. The fighting took place the next day again, which might have finished up the poor refugees; but all on a sudden, their old friend and benefactor Owusu Akém arrived with his brave Akéms. Being out-numbered and out-flanked, the Akwamus were utterly routed; king Akwanno Kuma was caught and beheaded by old Nī Tshię. Their scattered remnant sought refuge in Hwatshi, some in Tshiriamim, and the rest gradually came back to Krepe. At that time Okansa, the king of Asabi, ruled over all Krepe. They fought with him and conquered the country. They drove the Nkonyas from their country and founded their town Akwamu on the site it occupies to this day. Owusu Akém advised Nī Tshię to lead the Akras back home, that they might obtain salt and all necessaries of life from the coast by them. Thus encouraged they returned home.

The byname of Mansai in Krepe was "Mansai Peteprebi, Okum Akém" which means "The invincible Mansai who conquered Akém". That small Krepe force could never be able to conquer the powerful Akém force under their brave king Owusu. The fact was this, the king knowing to have got permission for five months from Opoku to carry on war with Akwamu, whom he had driven from Nyanawase to Krepe and utterly routed, was obliged to hasten back to Akém, in order that the king of Asante might not get an opportunity to attack his country in his absence, as not keeping to the five months permission granted. Hence on his hastening

homeward with very numerous Krepe and Akwamu captives, Mansai people attacked his forces, yet he did not choose to return the fire, but marched on; hence they imagined to have driven the Akéms. They, however, got a trophy consisting of a royal drum and three large ivory horns in their possession from the king of Akém, which they captured at that time, and which they give as a proof of the superiority of their force over that of the Akéms.

The old enemy had been cleared off; the Akéms now proposed to storm the fort of Christiansborg. But the governor, hearing of it, sent a large present to pacify them. Yet they were not satisfied by it, but persisted upon coming upon him. Unfortunately there was no ammunition in the castle; however, all his subjects took refuge inside. A fetish priest, as is reported, proclaimed that the Danes were God's children; if they were slain, the world would turn upside down. The Akras, not believing the oracle of the priest, wanted to march to Christiansborg. But they were after all cooled down by the declaration that the high fetish, to punish them for disobeying his orders, had quitted Akra and gone to reside at Labade with Lākpa. Yet 40 men were caught among those who could not reach the fort in time from Labade.

1733—1742. The reign of the three kings of Akém, Bâ Kwante, Firempong Mansō and Owusu Akém. Numerous prisoners having been obtained by the Akéms and their allies, 500 of them were paid to Opoku. The Akéms neither sold nor killed their prisoners, as the Akwamus used to do, but retained and naturalized them; hence after some years they forgot their country.

They got the trade on the coast into their hands, and were intrusted with the protection of the Forts. Firempong had charge of Christiansborg, Bâ Kwante, of Creveceur and James Fort. Firempong therefore shaved his hair and put it with eight ounces of gold into the foundation of that part of the Fort which was then built. As protector he received a stipend of 32 $\text{\$}$ per month from the Danish Government. All the trade with the Danish merchants was placed in his hands. But he had never seen a white man; the reports he used to hear from traders, especially the Akwamus, were that the Europeans are a kind of sea-creatures. He therefore expressed his desire of seeing a European, and Mr. Nicolas Kamp, the book-keeper, was commissioned to Dâ, the capital of the Kotokus, to be seen by the king. A grand meeting was held for his reception. In saluting the assembly, Mr. Kamp approached

the king, took off his hat, and when bowing to salute him, he thought he was an animal who would jump upon him. The king fell down flat from his stool, and cried loudly for his wives to assist him. The drummer Adam Malu, whose native name was Kwabena Nyankum, and Ngi Afadi, the government interpreter, did their utmost to convince the poor king that Mr. Kamp was a human being, and that his movements were the mode of Europeans in paying their respect to superiors. The king got up from the ground and sat on the stool, ordered his wives to sit between him and the European and his men. By this he could cool down his fears. Upon seeing the cue, i.e. a tail-like twist of hair hanging down the back of Mr. Kamp (as people were then in the habit of wearing as the Chinese do now-a-days), he said, "Dear me, all animals have their tails at the extremity of the trunk, but Europeans have theirs at the back of their heads!" The interpreters explained to him that it was no tail, but hairs so twisted. All this while the king's wives were watching every movement of Mr. Kamp to know whether he was a man or an animal. Not being satisfied yet with all he had seen, the king requested Mr. Kamp to take off his clothes, which he declined to do, saying he might do so at home, when no lady was present. The meeting retired and Mr. Kamp went to his quarters, where a table was prepared for him. During the repast the king's wives stood by peeping at him; some said, "He eats like a man, really he is a human being!" After all Mr. Kamp took off his clothes before old Firempung, who now could touch him, when he said, "Ah, you are really a human being, but only too white, like a devil!" Another meeting was held; after the king had satisfied himself by a touch, and every arrangement having been made, Mr. Kamp got a present of two slaves and returned to the coast. This mission revived the commerce with Dã and Akém; and they traded very briskly in pure gold dust, not like that which had been mixed up by the Akwamus. When sufficient goods were in store, 1 or 2000 dollars worth of wares could be sold in a day. They were very fond of the real Danish guns, seven for 32 g ; those from Holland, ten, and the English, twelve for 32 g , and the traders came by 2000 at a time.

Opoku Ware became envious of the success of Akém, who had now the whole trade in their hands, besides the numerous Akwamu captives they had naturalized. He began to think of measures whereby to crush them down ere they became more powerful than

himself. Bâ Kwante about 1702, while still young, had been taken as prisoner of war to Asante, but ransomed by paying 1000 ounces of gold. Opoku, however, called him his vassal, although he had been redeemed. Under pretext, Opoku sent ambassadors to Akém to tell Bâ how lenient he was in not attacking them when making war with Akwamu, he therefore wished them to declare themselves his tributaries. His friend Firempong having died in 1741, and his cousin Ampim having succeeded him on the stool of Dâ, there was no obstacle in his way to declare war against Akém.

Bâ was too fond of drink, especially the Danish liquor, which he used very freely with his chiefs, 20 ankers every month. Of all Akém kings, he alone was as much given to drink as the kings of Akwamu. Being under the influence of liquor, he told the ambassadors of Opoku that their master should be careful, otherwise he would cut off his head and the heads of his chiefs and hang them at his drums! Upon this, war was declared. Owusu Akém proposed to Bâ, that they had better remove to Krepe and allow their armies to carry on skirmishes alone with Asante till they weary them. But Bâ objected to it. If Owusu alone had been the king of Akém at that time, he would have known how to deal with the Asantes.

The Akéms had not only the trade on the coast and the protection of the Forts in their power, but also a sort of jurisdiction on the coast. The Akras were not very willing to submit to them, especially when violating their religious days. A scoffing song against king Ofori was: "Ofori Shādsho, you have a hoelike rump, beware, when fetish-wheats are planted, no horn should be blown!" The Dutch government, however, acknowledged Lete Bøi (Bøi Tono) as the Akra king; what they marked on his state-cane was: "Akraese coning Lütte boy: A. D. 1734." This was the year when the Akwamus were expelled. The jurisdiction of the Akéms lasted but a short time, from 1733 to 1742; hence they could not establish their power on the coast.

When preparing to meet the Asantes, the Akéms asked the assistance of Akra, Akuapem, and Adangme as their friends and allies. But only chief Dākō Panyin of Otu-street in Dutch Akra, with his own people and few Akras, and a small force from Akuapem went to their aid. The king of Agyumankō was asked by Ampim to assist them. He sent his nephew Ampōma with the women and children of Dâ to Otabi, king of Asafo Dankera in Fante, for pro-

tection. Opoku had also hired some Fantes and had some Hausa warriors to assist him. During the later part of 1741 some skirmishes were carried on at Ahantang; there the king of Agyumankō, Firempong's nephew D̄wawere, and Kwaku M̄oteng, captain of the Apagyafō (the fire-striking band), were slain. Ampim fled and took an asylum by Takwa Dākō of Takwa Kyiase. But Dakō betrayed the king, and he was attacked and killed. His nephew Kwāhene Broni succeeded him. Another engagement took place at Amantara Tēbeso, and Kwāhene was captured, but was made free and died shortly after that. Gyaberenkum, his successor, reigned only one year and 40 days, and was succeeded by Karikari Apaw. Chief Dākō also lost most of his people at the same place, which became the oath "Ahantang of Otu-street in Akra."

But two bloody battles were fought in 1742, near the river Bemmā. The Akéms were numerous and fought with great determination, kept the enemy at bay for a long time and the battle was indecisive. The loss was considerable on both sides, and the Akéms might have gained the day; but it being the rainy season, the fire-arms on both sides could not be used, whilst the Hausa warriors resorted to their bows, and gained the day for the Asantes at the third engagement. Owusu Akém having received 25 wounds fell on the field of battle, which caused his chiefs and generals to shoot themselves on the spot. Karikari Apaw also fell, and his generals did the same. Bā committed suicide during the night, and his chiefs, generals and warriors followed his example. Thousands of the brave Akém warriors were lying slain in heaps around their dead kings. Thus the way was obtained by the Asantes to capture 4000 prisoners, and Akém became a tributary state. The women and children of Dā, sent to the care of king Otabi, were also betrayed to the Asantes. After the conquest they went over to Fante and shared the prisoners with Otabi and his subjects. Prince Ampōma being among the prisoners was sold, but fortunately one Pēreşē of Ofosu Ansā in Asikuma redeemed him for ten oz. He brought him home to the royal family and was paid 60 oz. Tradition says that the survivors of the royal family buried the heads of their kings, with the whole treasury of the kingdom in a large grave in the bed of a turned off stream, which they turned back again, to cover the grave. The Asantes searched in vain for the heads of the fallen kings. Had the whole Akra, Akuapem and Adangme forces combined with Akém, the Asantes could have been conquered then and there. But their time was to come!

Opoku Ware was putting the conquered country in order, when a very sad account reached him from Kumase to say that Abirimoro, the king of Safwi and Wasa, had invaded Kumase and several towns, and had destroyed the towns and killed all the royal family. They pounded the royal family in large wooden mortars! Upon receiving this sad intelligence, the king commissioned Osei Afweree of Dwaben to get the fine of 1000 peredwans each from the Abuakwas and Kotokus and to place new kings on the stools, appointing at the same time Nsuta Amankwa, Owusu Sekyerere of Mampong and Komawu Basewa to assist Osei Afweree in that important mission. With Bekwai Poku and Kokofu Brayie the king started from camp in forced marches to pursue the invaders. At Korowadaso they were overtaken, attacked, and completely routed. He proceeded to the capital and destroyed it. King Oburum Ankama as well as Abirimoro were taken prisoners and beheaded. One thousand prisoners of Safwi were sacrificed in honour of those royal personages they had massacred. One of the princesses was Akyi-awa Kesse of Dwaben. She was not killed, but carried away prisoner to Safwi. After the elapse of some years, she was brought home by a trader, to whom large presents were given for that act, and whose family was for ever exempted from being killed in Asante. Otim Nketiawa and Aberesi were the only female survivors of the whole family. By them the royal family was again increased. Opoku Ware returned to Kumase with large spoil and numerous prisoners. Nantwi was commissioned to inform Osei Afweree and others in Akem camp, how the invaders had been treated, and that the Kotokus must be forced to remove from Da and settle over the Pra. Pobi Asomanin was placed on the Abuakwa stool and left in Akem, after the fine of 1000 peredwans had been paid; although the amount was 1000, yet 3000 peredwans were paid. Obeng was made to succeed Karikari Apaw and also paid 3000 peredwans, after the 32 gold-hilted swords and the offering sword of Apaw had been plundered by them. Obeng and his people were forced to cross the Pra and settled by one Opong, who sold a piece of land to the king for 30 peredwans, on which Dampong, the fifth Kotoku capital, was built. Dampong means dependig on Opong, the owner of that place. Having settled the Kotokus, Osei Afweree and his co-commissioners and their forces were marching back to Kumase, when four sharpshooters of Kotoku were ordered to lay an ambush by the river Kwadutwum, and Osei Afweree was shot and killed; hence the Dwaben dreadful oath — Kwadutwum.

Opoku, knowing that Karikari Apaw was forbidden by his fetish the use of snails, ordered a gold snail to be made on his offering sword, while Kankam was appointed its bearer. On account of this conquest the kings of Asante are generally extolled: "Owusu Akyem antumi amno wo kyem so"; "Bākwante nè wo nni ūkra" = Owusu Akém could never strike on your shield; Bākwante did not take leave of you [or: B. and you have no communion].

Among the 4000 prisoners was a prince, the heir to the stool of Akwamu, who was not known to be such, till nine years later. Opoku Ware thereupon treated him very kindly, gave him many presents and sent him back to Akwamu with the name Opoku Akoa (Opoku's slave). As there was then no right heir to the stool, he then and there was made king, and therefore changed his name for Opoku Kumā. The king was annoyed on hearing that his vassal had changed the name given to him, so ambassadors were sent to ask him why he did so? His reply was, "If I were called Opoku Akoa, I should lose my influence on my subjects." A fine of 100 slaves was imposed upon him, and his people refusing to pay the fine, he administered an oath to the young men of his capital, after he had got them drunk, and in one night, he attacked some of his own subjects, caught 100 prisoners, and the fine was paid. In one of the inroads of king Pobi Asōmanin of Akém against Akwamu, Opoku Kumā and Agyam were killed.

After these conquests Abo, the king of Gyāman, was also demanded to return back to his people at Odōmara, but refused to comply. Opoku therefore marched to Bontuku, its capital, and made it tributary to Asante. Numerous refugees having fled to Kong, Opoku marched his army to the capital, where they arrived after three months' travelling. They never expected that there was such a large town in the world. For the whole army appeared in the town as a handful of men, so they were frightened. Yet they forced themselves to keep courage and to deal with the Queen mother, whose son had gone out to war. The old queen thanked her stars that Opoku was so fortunate to have come in the king's absence, otherwise his whole army would be swallowed up. She amicably returned 500 refugees to him and made some valuable presents thereto. Opoku also presented her with 100 of the captives and named her "Aberewa Poku", a name she delighted to be called by. After this the king hastened his march from such a large capital to Gyāman, and Kofi Sono Ampem was made king

of the place, after which Opoku returned home. The new king of Gyāman repaired the delapidated kingdom and kept peace with Asante till the time of Adinkra.

Asen failing to pay tribute, he ravaged it with fire and sword. Tshuforo next fell a prey to his ambition, and Wasa and Fante acknowledged his superiority.

As already remarked above, Opoku Ware was during the whole of his reign engaged in completing and consolidating the conquests of his predecessor in the North and North East countries. The Nta country was then governed by the king of Yebo, a nominal province to Mampong. Thence coarse woolen blankets for baskets, silk cloth, &c. were brought for sale to Asante. Owusu Sekyere of Mampong, who had the charge of that province, despatched messengers there to levy men for him to offer them as sacrifice in honor of his late father. But the king of Yebo did not allow the messengers to do it. Therefore Owusu Sekyere consulted the king, and forthwith war was declared against the Ntas. The warlike Opoku embraced the opportunity, marched an army and conquered the whole country. Some refugees having escaped to Yāne, capital of Dagbāma, Okuru Karikari, the king of the place, was attacked, but unwilling to fight, easily submitted after a short struggle in which Koranten Pete I, commander of the Asante van, fell at Sābe. As the king of Yāne had submitted, a fine of 3000 slaves was claimed from him, in payment of which Okuru wisely included 1000 Yebo refugees.

The king of Namonsi at Mimira was asked to submit; refusing to do so, he was attacked and defeated. King Akarasi I. of D̄waben got the charge of that province, while Yāne was given in charge of Koranten Pete II. The king of Krupi was also asked to submit; refusing he was captured alive after a short struggle. Owusu Sekyere got charge of this place. The camp being fixed here, Opoku Ware demanded from Osubri, the king of the Ntshummurus, who resided in Bāsa, whether he would quietly submit? Because Osubri very often disturbed the trade carrying on then at Krupi market by seizing and killing Asante and Hausa traders coming there. Osubri not submitting, Akarasi I. of D̄waben was commanded, being joined by a detachment of the king, to give him battle. Osubri was caught alive, and his army dispersed after three days' fight; numerous prisoners were taken, but most of the fugitives fled to Karakye, seeking protection from Odente, the far-famed fetish of

the place. The king despatched his son, prince Adu Kwanfeni, and Konadu Amin, and linguist Dāmang Safo of Dwāben to demand the delivery of those refugees from Odēte, who told the messengers, that he would never have a quarrel with the king, but was under him; the refugees must be given back. This brought Odēte into connection with Asante, but chiefly with Dwāben, to which province Karakye was attached. After the war four chiefs were brought to Krupi, took fetish-oath and paid 1000 men, who were given to Akarasi, and were shared by him and Damang Safo. Adubron, a quarter in Dwāben, was made up with these prisoners. The rest of the refugees, the king allowed Odēte to claim for himself. Only two towns, Badshamiso and Akaneem, the king ordered to provide provision every year. Osubri was sent to Kumase to be under arrest till the campaign was over; the figure of a raven was on the top of his state-umbrella.

The camp was broken and the army crossed the Volta to Yēdshi. Atalafirām was the king of the place, who, unable to fight, easily submitted. They were added to the king's basket-carriers and were fined for 100 men, and the horns of Atalafirām were given to Nsuta Amañkwā. The Guans at Prāi were attacked and subdued, and were given in charge of Pampaso Atireyie. King Akōtrefenim of Komawu was ordered to give battle to Diakō, king of the Gwañ-nation, but was driven back, so Diakō encamped at Pae. Odiawuo of Kwawu was ordered to assist Akōtrefenim to conquer them, but crossing the Volta, they fled and emigrated to Krepe country under king Dākō of Asabi. (They are supposed to be people of Pekipong, Pareman, Tōsen, Peki and Tōngō.) As Akōtrefenim had failed to conquer the Gwañ-tribes, no province was given to him, but their land. On that account he was fined 300 peredwans and forced to abdicate. Okyere Barafo succeeded him. — Agyei Badu and Akuamua Panyin of Dwāben were Okyere Barafo's children. The army now crossed the river Prōw (Buro), and Dawia, the king of Atabuobu, was asked to submit; not willing to do so, the king's body-guard of Abōhyēn and Oyoko under Asāman Ankra, Kanyerese Okyere, Mamponten Kagya and Ahenkuro Sēi were ordered to give him battle. Dawia fell and his people were subdued and given to the charge of Ankra. Kwame Kyere, Dawia's nephew, was placed on the stool. The king crossed the River Prōw, met his body-guard there and commanded them to march homeward, having subdued and brought under his kingdom a large terri-

tory, and obtained prisoners by thousands. But before breaking the camp, Nsuta Amankwa was ordered to attack Oduroman. His brother Oduro fell in the attack, hence the Nsuta oath "Oduroman". They were subdued and given in charge of Amankwa, but those who escaped fled to Krepe; they are the people of Owusutã and have ever since been subject to Nsuta.

The people of Daboya and Bona negotiated for peace, paid 300 persons and swore allegiance to the king.

The army now resumed its march in triumph home, having captured Osubri, Dawia and the king of Krupi.

Not long after this conquest Opoku, who had extended the Asante kingdom more than any of his predecessors or any of his successors, died in 1749.*)

CHAPTER VII.

Origin of the inhabitants of Akuapem and its formation into an independent state by the Deputy Prince Sãfori of Akém.—Of the eight successors after him to the reign of Obuobi Atiemo.—The reign of Ni Ayai, known as Tete Ahene Akwa or Momotshe and Okaidsha.—The reformation of the state of Akra by him; expedition to Little Popo, and his death.—Chief Okaidsha's civil wars; his visit to the camp of Dade Adu and his death.—Chief Wetshe Kodsho's reign and expedition got up by him for the purpose of establishing peace in the country.—The reign of Teko Tshuru, and the civil war, commonly called Kotoku and Twerebo-war. 1733—1777.

Akuapem i.e. Nkoa apem, which means, thousand subjects, is the name given to this small country by Ansã Sasraku, the king of Akwamu. It lies between 5° 42' and 6° 5' North Lat. and between 0° 3' and 0° 20' West Long., and is bounded South by Gã (Akra), East by Adangme and Krobo, North and West by Akém. The following 17 principal towns form the Akuapem state, viz., Berekusò, Atvëasing, Aburi, Afvërase, Asantema (Obosomase), Tutu, Mampong, Abotakyi, Amanokrom, Mamfë, Akropong, Abiriw, Odawu, Awukugua, Adukrom, Apiredè and Latè. If the latter town is reckoned as two, viz., Ahenease and Kubease, and Abonse is separated from Awukugua, we get 19 towns in the whole.

The inhabitants belong to three, or strictly speaking, two different tribes. Akropong, the capital, and Amanokrom are peopled by

*) A table of the Kings and the Royal Family of Asante will be given in the Appendix.

emigrants from Akém, and the rest of the country by aboriginal tribes. For after the expulsion of the Akwamus from Nyanawase, there seem to have been some refugees of the place, who were of the genuine Akan tribe, with a mixture of different people, such as Berekus and Guans, who had been subjects to the Akwamus. These joined the aboriginal tribes and are known as Afwérase, Aburi, Atwéasing and Berekuso. We venture to say thus from two reasons: 1. not all the Aburis speak pure Tshi, for the last 20 or 30 years ago their Tshi was just as that spoken by the Guans, although it is greatly improved by this time. 2. Nkunkreng, the place the Aburis are said to have emigrated from, sounds not like Tshi but rather like Guan or Kyerepong; we, however, consider those people as Akwamu refugees.

It has been told in the first Chapter that the Guans and Kyerepongs were numerous aboriginal tribes on the coast, and seemed to have been driven thence to the mountains by the Akras, who immigrated after them from the East. That they were then subjects to the king of Akra and were called not Akuapems but Guans (or Shugyi) by the Akras. When the kingdom of Akra was destroyed by the Akwamus in about 1680, the remnant of Akra as well as the Guans and Adangmes came under the Akwamu yoke. At that time their large number was greatly diminished by incessant plunder, inroads, and emigration back to the East. It was said that the five Kyerepong towns, viz., Abiriw, Odawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Apirede were 50, and the two Late towns 30 under their king Ani Kotia, but all was reduced to the present number through the different troubles from the Akwamus.

The cause of the emigration of the Lates to Nkonya, Karakye, &c. was the fetish Koñkom. It was then the highest fetish of theirs, for which a bullock was offered every year. The offering prepared was carried to the mouth of the cave, in which Koñkom was said to lodge. The priests and the worshippers had to retire after the offering had been placed there, when Koñkom had to come out from the cave and to select such parts of the meat as he chose, and the rest he left. Some naughty fellows took upon themselves to see who the fetish was that used to select the best part of the offering. Hiding themselves at a certain place, they saw that a certain figure in the form of a man, but with a single eye, a single arm and a single leg, came out to the offering. They rushed upon and dragged him out from the hole. This offended Koñkom that

he entirely left the Latęs for Karakye. To punish them for that desecration, Koŋkom before quitting Latę promised them a wonderful harvest, and therefore advised them to burn all the corn and rice they had stored in barns. Which they accordingly did, and the consequence was a famine so fearful that they lived on roots and such things for a while, and then quitted the place. The people of Ntshummuru, then at Karakye, asked the emigrants: "From what place are you coming?" They replied, "From Tshi-Date", which was corrupted for Odęte and applied ever since to the fetish Koŋkom. The remnant of the 30 towns came together and formed the present Ahenease and Kubease. Hence Ansā Sasraku gave the name Akuapem, i.e. 1000 men capable of bearing arms, to the country. The Akuapem history says, that it was the Aburis, the advance-guard of Ansā Sasraku, who first revolted from the yoke. Abuwa, the queen of the place, accused her subjects to Ansā, who, knowing how brave they were, did not give them battle at once, but ordered their loaded arms to be filled with water whilst they were working at their plantations on one Wednesday, and then attacked them. Several principal men were then captured and killed; hence the oath, "Aburi Wukuda (Wednesday)"; from that day they forbid working on Wednesdays. For such treachery the Aburis appealed to the king through his nephew, prince Opong Tenteng. Not obtaining redress, they went to war. The prince, who took their part, was slain. They took the body and fled to the place which the Basel Mission station now occupies, and founded the present Aburi. The Atwęasings were at that time at Kubesing near Akém-Peak, when the Akwamus were driven from thence. They in company with the Berekusos removed first to Anamrakō. The former removed to Atwęasing and founded that town, which now has become united with Aburi, and the latter to Berekuso.

In those days the Akuapems were not governed by any principal man, but every town had its ruler. The remaining five towns of Kyerepong, viz., Abiriw, Odawu, Awukugua, Adukrom and Api-rede, had their ruler at Awukugua, where a large market had been established by one chief Awuku, and on account of that market the town got the name of "Awukugua". Through marriage the ruling power was removed to Adukurom, a village founded by one Bôámo, but which got the present name by one Akém-mau Adu-manuro, who was a native of Anum, then at Nyanawase, the capital of the kings of Akwamu, and one of Ansā Sasraku's execu-

tioners, resident in Bôamo's village, and by generosity his name was given to the place i.e. Adukurom = Adu's town.

The Latęs also had their chief at Kubease, who had children from a wife of Ahenease and also from one of his capital. The children of the former wife cared properly for their father in his old age, so that on his dying-bed he bequeathed to them the stool, and thus the chieftainship was removed from Kubease to Ahenease. The other towns had their chief at Abotakyi, a very large town in Akuapem, which was afterwards destroyed chiefly by the Akwamus and Asantes.

Chief Asiedu Kęse was the founder of the Latę state and was succeeded by Gyadu Ņkansa, in whose old age and at his hour of death prince Săfori arrived in Akuapem, just at the beginning of his successor Ohene Berentiri's reign. Sędięsă (Asare Dięsă) was chief over the Kyerepongs and OŃęe Agyemang over the Aburis.

As those different states were not governed by a king, the country was very often in a state of civil commotions, chiefly between the GuaŃ and Kyerepong tribes. One Okyăme Aworobeng of Mamfę was the first man who bought a good number of Danish guns, by which he committed great havock amongst the Kyerepongs and Latęs. He took many of them prisoners and kept them in his village Amanprobi. At the accession of Săfori, the chiefs of the different states conspired against Aworobeng, and at their request he was deposed and his younger brother Mensă Atshekpatę took his place. To revenge this degradation, Aworobeng armed a dozen of his confidential slaves, attacked the Kyerepongs and Latęs, and killed hundreds of them. On his way home he put an end to his life between Akropong and Mamfę, and was buried on the spot. His village with land adjoining was granted to Săfori by all the chiefs of Akuapem.

The cause of Akuapem becoming an independent state is by popular tradition reported thus: Ansă Sasraku had two haughty nephews, Oteng Abransamadu and Oteng Agyare. These young princes used the middle of the breasts of young women of Akuapem as targets in exercising their newly bought arms. The chiefs reported this wicked conduct of the princes to Ansă Sasraku, and the result was, that they were sent down to the Dutch Governor at Akra to be trained on the coast. On their arrival, they refused to eat anything, so the Governor was obliged to coax them for three days before they consented to taste food. Their wives were ordered,

there and then to prepare some dishes for them, and were told by them privately, that they should bring two razors along with the dishes to shave off their beards. The wives accordingly brought the dishes with the razors, and after having washed themselves, they cut their throats with them. The Governor was grieved to hear of the suicide committed by the princes, and despatched messengers to report it to the King. His Majesty's reply to the Governor was, "I have heard nothing"! The Governor thought the first messengers were incapable of carrying out the commission, so he despatched other messengers to tell the king that he was ready to pay any amount to satisfy him. The king's last reply was, "I will accept as satisfaction *ahum nè abam, nnonno nè ñha-ha*", that is, everything in the world: stones, trees, dust, gold, silver, copper, brass, cloth, fowls, sheep, quadrupeds, birds, &c. This message greatly annoyed the Governor. He called a meeting of the king and chiefs of Akra and consulted them what was to be done. They told the Governor that they were tired of the Akwamu tyranny, they would unite and fight for their independence. The Akuapems were informed of it by the Akras. Chief Ofee Kwasi Agyemang, then at Gyakiti, who appears then to have been the nominal king of Akuapem, was also informed by the Akuapems. He brought a small force in aid of them, and battle was given to Ansã Sasraku by the combined forces of Akra, Akuapem and the Gyakitis; but they were unable to stand the brave Akwamus. So the assistance of Ofori Panyin of Akém was asked, and prince Sãfori, brother of the king (and governor of Akém Akropong), was ordered to march a large army to assist. The Akwamus were then conquered and driven across the Volta. In this war Bã, the king of Krobo, was also asked to join, when seven maiden hostages were sent to him by Ofori.

Tradition and history differ widely on this war. Römer as well as the Akras say, the war was fought by the three kings of Akém, Firempong Mansõ, Bãkwante and Owusu Akém, and that is true account. For the war being fought in the year 1733, and Firempong, the principal king among the three, died eight years after that. His nephew Karikari Apaw then succeeded him in 1741, at which time war broke out between Asante and the Akéms of Dã and Abuakwa, known as the battle of Bennã in 1742.

When both Bãkwante, Karikari Apaw and Owusu Akém were slain and the Akéms were conquered, the Kotokus, who were the

principal warriors in the campaign, were entirely translocated from Dâ across the Pra to Dâmpong. The conquered land of Akwamu was left entirely to the Abuakwas, then governed by Ofori Panyin, hence he was known as the king who fought and deputed his blood relative Sâfori to the government of Akuapem. Otherwise not the Abuakwas, but the Kotokus would have had the prerogative in the rule of the conquered places. For it appears that not only the Akuapems, but the Akras also were for some time under the jurisdiction of Ofori Panyin, as already narrated. But that jurisdiction was very short, as the Dutch Government and whole Akra acknowledged Lete Boi, alias Boi-Tono, as the king of Akra in 1734; hence Dutch Akra is called Boimang. To prove that the jurisdiction over the Akras lasted but a short time, and then became a mere alliance is, that the kings of Abuakwa were compensated by obtaining the pay-notes of both king and chief of Dutch and British Akra, which satisfied them, while the Akuapems, not obtaining any thing of that sort, obliged them by serving the Deputy Prince Sâfori as their king as we see by the following account.

After the conquest of Akwamu, prince Sâfori retired from the camp to Amamprobi, and summoned all the Akuapems to come there. He requested them to untie the cartridge-belt from his loins, which means, to pay him so as to retire home. At that time they were so poor, having no gold-dust, money, or even cloth to wear, that they used dresses of Obofû, the bark of a certain tree, beaten to answer the purpose of clothing. Hence they asked Sâfori to remain as their king, which he consented to do, and informed Ofori Panyin of it.

To cement that agreement, the new king requested them to take an oath of the fetish Kyenku at Obosomase. They all met at Abotakyi, and the fetish oath was administered to them to the effect, that they would never throw off their allegiance to him or any of his successors for all times to come. This being done, the whole mass of people was organized into a regular Tshi order, viz., the five Kyerepong towns formed the right wing division, Late and Mamfê, Tutu, Mampong and Asantema (Obosomase) the left wing, and the Akéms of Akropong and Amanokuroom known as Kômang i.e. defenders, and chief Ofêe Kwasi Agyemang of Gyakiti with the Akwamus of Afwerease, Aburi, Atweasing and Berekuso, who are Tshis, formed the centre force. In reward of the services rendered by Ofêe Kwasi to the Akuapems, previous to the arrival of

Sāfori, he was nominated as the Manklalo, or chief in general over the centre force, being next in rank to the king. Through one Bagyiri of Abiriw, who gave land to the king, he removed from Amamprobi to Nsoremu, thence to Mpeniase, and founded Akropong, the capital of Akuapem, so named in memory of Akropong in Akém, the first town of Sāfori.

The successors of Sāfori were, Okyerema Mānukure, Ofee Boa, Ofee Ntoakyerewo, Ofee Amanāpá, (the three last may have been more or less connected with the family of chief Ofee Kwasi Agyemang, being named after him,) Maniamfēm, Fiañkō Betuañfō, Sakyiama Nteng, and Kwapong Kyerefo. Of these eight kings very meagre traditions have reached us, because the periods they reigned were very short. From 1734—1777 or thereabout, nine kings had reigned at an average of not more than four or five years, if we admit the Akuapem traditions as correct. Fiañkō Betuañfō is said to have bought cloth and given to his chiefs, to enable them to appear in public, and also to have bought chairs for them to the same purpose.

Sakyiama Nteng, we suppose, was one who joined the expedition against the Angulas in 1750, when their assistance was craved by the Adās, in which war the two kings Twum Ampōforo of Akém and Sakyiama seem to have been captured by the Angulas. Staying there in captivity for some years, the former was redeemed and reinstated, but was afterwards deposed and killed by his subjects. Whether Sakyiama was likewise redeemed is uncertain.*)

After the return of the Akras from Little Popo, Nī Tshię (Nōte), the chief of Teshi, who was the principal leader of the refugees, staid in Dutch town to assist his cousins, Amā Wusu Ahyia, the chief of Gbese, and Asā, the king of Christiansborg, in the administration of government. It was chiefly through his energetic efforts that a collection was made towards redeeming the two princes, Tēte Aheue Akwa and Okaidsha, the securities for the amount of ammunition bought from the Dutch government in the Akwamu war.

Kuru, brother of Nī Tshię, is said to have paid the share of the collection for Teshi and Gbese. It was through his large trade with Europeans that the surname Abrotširi-Akara i.e. "Minor Europe"

*) Both Twum Ampōforo and Sakyiama Nteng were ransomed; but the latter died in his war against Sokodei in Krepe, hence the Akuapem oath "Sokodei."²

was given to Teshi. The amount having been paid to the Dutch government, the two princes returned home.

Tetē Ahene Akwa succeeded his father Ayikuma Tiekō, and Okaidsha, his father Amā Wusu Ahyia. The former was the king of whole Akra, the latter the chief of Gbese.

These princes might, by their connection with the Dutch government, have become the reformers of Akra, because several of their sons were educated. But unfortunately, they had to encounter gross disorders in the country in consequence of repeated inroads of the Akwamus, and the intrigues of different usurpers.

Besides this, gross superstition prevailed and destroyed every good thing that could be introduced by the princes. The people detested education. Even Mulatto children were forced to adopt the ways and habits of the natives. Those who could not stand it were obliged to reside permanently in Christiansborg, where education was given, or they enlisted as soldiers to the Danish government. The evil effects of that deplorable state of things are felt to the present day! Yet those that had European blood in them, although in the native habits with no education, eventually became the protectors and deliverers of their country from the hands of their enemies — men as Tetē Tshuru, Ayikai Tshuru, Akotia Owoshika, Kodsho Saul, and others.

King Tetē Ahene Akwa, commonly known as Momotshe, soon after his accession commenced reforming and improving the state as well as establishing order among the chiefs. Then the report came that a war had broken out in Little Popo, where several of his relatives and people had settled. Ambassadors were sent to the king, earnestly asking his assistance. The king readily agreed to assist them; but the chiefs and people dissented, saying, Popo had never been a lucky place for them. If an expedition started to the place, not all would be willing to return home, as several of their relatives would entice them to stay there. The Dutch governor of Akra also was against the king's marching an army to Popo, and therefore advised him to stay; yet go he must, as he had already given his word of honour to the ambassadors. Preparations were made in spite of his people's objections. Hence his own relatives from Abora and a few headmen from James Town down to Adā started with the king. The majority promised to follow afterwards.

This expedition greatly impaired the magnificence and glory of

our kings, as all the royal insignia were carried off and never brought back again. Even his son Tēko Ding, nephew of the rich Bōimi, declined joining his father from fear of losing the rich estate in case the uncle should die in his absence. As the king expected a reinforcement by the majority of his warriors, the expedition marched very slowly indeed. Some Angula chiefs, however, joined the king, but the Akras never did. Spending several weeks in every town along the coast, the king at last reached Little Popo. Where after waiting a good length of time for his people, the king died from grief, without taking the field against the enemy. His remains were brought in a ship to Akra and interred in the Dutch Fort. But his people declined returning home from fear of being killed by chief Okaidsha on account of the hideous murder they committed on the king's nephew Ayikai Guahyia. They therefore dispersed in the country, which greatly diminished the number of the Abora force. Prince Tēko Tshuru, after staying a considerable time in Popo and Krepe, returned in his old age and was made king. His half brother Tēko Ding, who had got possession of the rich estate of his uncle Bōimi, had endeavored in vain to become king, which disappointment was a punishment for his refusal to join his late father to Little Popo.

Chief Okaidsha ruled during the king's absence. Being a very passionate prince, he dealt violently with those chiefs who had usurped power and refused to submit. He kept up constant war in the country, even with his own people of Gbese. He made alliance with all the towns on the coast against Asērè and Otu-Street people and fought with them. Chief Sodsha Duamōro was one of his powerful allies, and Dākō (Akpo) Panyin was the chief of Otu-Street. In memory of this civil war, Sodsha made a horn which blew "Wokō mā Okaidsha mā Dākō dō wo nā," i.e. you fought for Okaidsha and were blamed by Dākō. Chief Wetshe Kodsho of James Town with several others did not escape free and so he kept all of them to their places.

During his days king Kusā Adu*) of Gomoa Asén, who gained

*) It was not Kusā Adu, who was of the Asōna family, as Kwaw Ahūra Akō, the first king of Gomoa Asén was, and to whom on that account the stool was given, but it was Dade Adu, the third king in the line of Kusā Adu. The government of Gomoa Asén became hereditary in Kusā Adu's family, as large property was left by him to his successors, hence they became more powerful than Kwaw Ahūra Akū's

the stool by merit, acquired so much fame and power that he was called Dade Adu i.e. Adu the iron or powerful. He marched against Yaw Menta, whom Oduro Tibo had forwarded to the government of Agona. It appears that after the death of Nyākō Akō, the Agonas had not entirely given up man-stealing and plundering of both Fantes and Akras. Having defeated and chastised Yaw Menta and his people, Dade Adu encamped at Dshoma near River Densu (Humō). He invited Okaïdsha to visit him in the camp. A grand preparation was made by all the chiefs of Akra from Christiansborg to Teshi, who came to his camp, where a grand reception and rich presents awaited them. He gave Okaïdsha two big drums, made an alliance with the Akras and promised to assist them in any thing they asked him for. After this he proposed to attack the Akuapems, who were troublesome to the Akras, as the Agonas were to the Fantes; but Okaïdsha interceded saying, they acknowledged his power, and also constantly assisted in roofing the public court at Akra. Thus the matter dropped, and the king marched back to Gomoa.

After this alliance between Gomoa and Akra, two twin brothers, Akwete Otēm and Akwetē Okuru, were left as hostages in Gomoa Asén by their own people. When redeemed afterwards, they introduced the custom of making offerings (abamdshū and hādshiadshamō) to souls and twin children.

It was a custom among the Akras, never to coffin a deceased king who had been a priest to their national fetish. Chief Okaïdsha had died and the educated princes among his sons proposed to coffin their venerable father; but the other members of the royal family objected to this. His remains were nevertheless confined. This led to a contest between the people and the educated princes who were (as government officials) backed by the soldiers in the Dutch Fort. His remains were honorably interred in the fort. This originated the oath of Gbese: "Okaïdsha adeka" i.e. Okaïdsha's coffin, because several lives were lost when the people were fighting to gain the remains of the chief. In consequence of this riot the feelings of

successors, viz., Kwaw Ahūra Akō, Kusā Adu(?), Okuntu, Okwasi, Kofi Wusu, Kwabena Gure (4. April 1800), Kofi Osūa, Kwaku Apeteto, Kwaw Bentum, and the present Kwadwō Akrapā. The other line runs thus: Kusā Adu, Endu I., Kwadumanu, Dade Adu, Kwaku Ata, Endu II., Kwadwō Akō, Ogwang Akō, Kwabena Otebi, Tannō (deposed), and the present Kwadwō Kum.

the princes were so embittered, that they preferred to reside permanently at Elmina. On the other hand the people of Dutch Town became more averse to education.

Wetshe Kodsho of James Town became the influential chief in the country after the death of Okaidsha, and Dako Panyin had been waylaid and killed in his travelling-basket by some unknown party, when returning back from Akem. Some say, he went with 100 men to assist the Akems against Asante in the battle of Bennā, when the Akras were asked by the Akems to assist them. In that battle he lost nearly all his men, hence the oath "Ahantaug", because skirmishes between Asante and Akem began at that place, from which the oath got its name, or the loss of 100 men "Ohanam". Others say, chief Dako went on purpose to Akem to get the assistance from the kings to fight with the Akras on account of the recent civil wars between himself and Okaidsha. Although Teko Tshuru was then the king of Akra, being an old man and not moneyed, his influence was less. Had the stool been given to Teko Ding, who had the rich estate of Bōimi, the government would have been more glorious as far as money concerns.

In those days rivalry among the Dutch and Danish, as well as the Dutch and English merchants, manstealing and scarcity of provisions were in the highest stage in the country. The kidnappings by the Agonas had been checked by Dade Adu, but Akra women were not safe at Mlafi and other Volta towns, when travelling there to buy corn. As pillaging and plundering during that period was too general, the farmers of Akra could not make their farms more inland; so scarcity prevailed nearly every year, that people were forced to travel to Krōbo, Ningo and such places for food, where they were never safe.

As chief Wetshe Kodsho, the most influential man, who should have thought of checking this evil, was indifferent, the public held him in suspicion as an accomplice in that state of things, in revenge of the recent troubles he got from Okaidsha. At last an expedition of whole of Akra was got up by him to chastise the plunderers. The Angulas heard of the expedition, were frightened, retreated to their towns and asked for peace. The messengers were answered, it was not intended against them, but the Volta Towns' people, who had fled yonder; they ought to be warned to desist from their practices, that trade might flourish in the country. The Adās were ordered to join the expedition, and the Mlafis were attacked and

driven across the Volta. The Krõbõs were also warned, and the expedition marched back; but chief Kodsho passed through Akua-pem for the same purpose of establishing peace in the whole country. This restored peace in the interior of the country, though on the coast the rivalries of the European merchants continued.

In 1777 a civil war broke out in the country, which was called the Kotoku and T̀wẽrebo war. Kotoku means, a bag, a name given by the natives to Mr. Niels A. Aarestrup, governor of the Danish settlements, and T̀wẽrebo means flint, a name given to the Dutch governor of Akra. The former, calculating the large number of the Danish subjects, accepted that name as suitable, because he could be able by means of his numerous subjects to "bag" his enemies. The Dutch governor accepted the name "flint", on account of his subjects being brave.

The real cause of the war was not known to the natives, but they were only called upon by their masters respectively and were armed to fight against each other. King Obuobi Atiemo of Akua-pem as well as the Krõbõs were ordered to come down to Christiansborg. King Nãku Odang of Christiansborg and chief Ako Dsharam of Labade, the chiefs of Ningõ and Adã, allies of the Danish government, were summoned to come with their forces; arms and ammunition were distributed to them. Obuobi Atiemo with his forces of Akuapem alone got 500 guns, three puncheons of rum, three bullocks and 1000 heads of cowries, powder and lead not known. King Tẽko Tshuru, chief Oto Brafo of Akra, chief Ngma-shitshe Okang Mensa of Teshi, the chiefs of Ningowa, Tema and Poni, king Obiri Korane of Akém, allies of the Dutch government, were also called to Akra and got arms and ammunition.

A night meeting of all the kings and chiefs of both parties was held at Tunyea (Victoriaborg), in which they said, "We see no reason why we should kill ourselves on account of differences between two foreigners! You Danish allies are quite aware that you can never stand us, we therefore advise that every one of us must fire without bullets. And that you flee before us to the town of Christiansborg so as to have the matter dropped." They all agreed to this proposition, and one Thursday was fixed, on which the engagement was to take place. Visits were paid to both towns simultaneously till the day fixed came on, when each army, beating its drums, arrayed itself at Tunyea and engaged each other

The Danish allies accordingly fled into Christiansborg; while the Asêrês, the left wing of Akra, passed to the eastern side of the town. They were met by a party of Labades there, were fired at, and a captain commanding the Asêrês' force fell. This captain is supposed to have been the headman of Abora quarter with the name Abeo-Twerekôanna, of whom it had been foretold by Sakumo, that his fall would insure success to Akra. His body was conveyed to the town and put down as a bait on the road to Akra, to allure them to come out for it. The cannon in the fort were posted in its defence. They attempted thrice to capture the body, but were repulsed with loss; fortunately they succeeded at last and got possession of it.

This greatly annoyed the Akras; however they proposed again a meeting of all the chiefs and elders to be held at Labade, to settle that misunderstanding. Labade had been evacuated during those days. Oto Brafo, Obiri Korane and some of the principal chiefs with a few of their body-guards were seen passing one morning to hold the meeting at Labade, when the Labades took the party to be hostile and advised the rest to open fire on them. Prince Osuapem, the son of king Obiri Korane, and several others were wounded, but the fire was not returned till they reached Labade, where the chiefs of Teshi had been waiting for them. Being thus treated by the Danish allies, the Akra chiefs went in conjunction with their friends to Teshi. The fires being heard by the farmers in their plantations, they returned to the town and reported it, that a very large army was seen in the afternoon marching to Teshi to escort back the chiefs who had been driven there. The Danish forces opened fire again on the army, but it was not returned till the chiefs were conducted home; and having been brought home, they determined to brush out that disgrace and to punish the Danish allies for their treachery. On account of this civil war the prickly pears used as a fortification around Christiansborg were doubled, and gates were placed on the ways leading to the town and were shut every evening at six P. M.

Oto Brafo at the head of the Dutch allies encamped at Otonsrang (near the Supreme Court-house Victoriaborg) and gave battle to the Danish allies. Under the heavy fires of the cannon and rockets from the garrison of Christiansborg Castle as well as those of the allies, the latter were driven clean into the town and took asylum in the fort, and the town was taken by the Dutch allies. In me-

morial of this victory, Oto Brafo is said to have washed himself in the market-place of Christiansborg. Tete Diao, Mensa, Odai Anteo and Tete Akrong, all of Gbese, were the bravest men among them. A detachment of the Labades, who could not get admittance into the fort from reaching the place late, are said to have concealed themselves under a rock on the seashore. It would have met a complete annihilation, had it not very fortunately met a force from Teshi, which protected it. According to Akuapem tradition the Dutch allies were beaten and driven into the town, and they would have set it on fire, had not night overtaken them. They also say that a cannon ball was shot from the garrison of Christiansborg into a cannon in the Dutch Fort, and the Dutch Government asked for peace.

The loss on the Akuapem side alone was 35 men killed, and 200 persons wounded; that of the other warriors is not known. However chief Ako Dsharam of Labade fell in the action, and his remains were interred in the castle of Christiansborg with due honours. Another principal man of Christiansborg among the slain was Yeboa, elder brother of Tete Ashong. The whole expense of the Governor on behalf of the Akuapems was 500 arms, six puncheons of rum and six bullocks, 1000 heads of cowries as "subsistence" and 1,600 heads as compensation for the 35 men slain, besides monthly stipends to king Obuobi Atiemo and all his chiefs and interpreters. What the Governor spent on the kings and chiefs of Christiansborg, Labade, Ningo, Adã and Krobo is not known. The loss of life of the Dutch allies, and the expenses of the Dutch Governor are likewise unknown. We ask, what were the consequences of this waste of money and loss of life for both the Dutch and Danish Governments? Bitter feuds, ill-feeling, commotions, pillage, and what not, raged among those tribes, as we shall find in the subsequent chapters. When such people rule a country, what can be expected, but woe and destruction, not only of life, but of good morals, unity and peace! Governor Niels A. Aarestrup left the country for Europe on the 24th June 1777.

We insert the following tradition from cousin Philip Reindorf about chief Okaidsha.

He was born of Teko Adu Emiri (Edu Emil), the son of Amã Wusu Ahyia of Asamang-kese in Beremang Province, now called Eastern Akém, and Kòkoi Mota Barã, a female descendant of the

stool, relative of Ofori Ankama, the successor of Boa Ankama, king of Akrokyere in Adanse. When the Dutch West African Company took the Gold Coast-territory from the Portuguese, it seems that the contest between the Akéms and the part of the Akwamus who unfortunately killed Boa Ankama (under the command of the king's son Asare, afterwards nicknamed "Okum-ose", the leader of the insurgents) was still seriously raging. Consequently, as the Dutch Company desired that the war should come to a permanent end, they offered to assist the Akéms then residing in Akra to extirpate the insurgents, who were then hovering over all the bush. And as the Akém Chiefs had to give surety to the Director General of the Company for the good conduct and faithful performance of the stipulations and agreements that were to be entered into between them and the company, and for due payment of the amount for the arms and ammunition they were to be furnished with to carry on the war, Okaïdsha and others were given to the director Mr. Nicolas as security and hostages. This took place when he was a child; he was sent to Holland by Mr. Nicolas.

During his absence a great change took place in the political life of the country. The Akéms in pursuing the Akwamus left Akra with the exception of a few old men and chiefs. The names of them as far as they have come down to us are these: Ofori, Adu-Ñkurang, Owusu Ahyia, Abonua, Ahenkwā Sono, Ayikai Osiahene, Obuamang, Tete Amārakeſe, Damte, Firempong, Otu Ahyiakwa, Dākō Ampim. It seems that at this time Christiansborg and James Town had not yet been built.

On the departure of the Akém army from Akra and its suburbs in pursuit of the Akwamus, the residuary element of the Gā lineal body assumed the power of exercising the functions of the monarchy subjected to the dictations of the Guans, who form the fetish order; the remaining Akém element, in order to have the help of the fetishes invoked in behalf of their men who were engaged in the fight with the Akwamus, acquiesced thereto.

Now you will find that in the time we are speaking of, there were living in the town of Akra people of three different races: first, the Aborigines Guan; second, the immigrants Gā; and third, the Kōmang, Otshi and Akan. The body of the latter race kept very reticent concerning the matters relative to the town, leaving them to the others and relying upon their efforts to induce the fetishes to support them to conquer the enemy.

At this time the people with one consent elected a prince, by father an Otshi, and by mother of Gā descent, named Ayikuma Tiekō, to be king of Akra. This personage claimed Okaïdsha as a nephew by virtue of his father being a relative of Okaïdsha's mother. More also he was Amā Wusu Ahyia's son or nephew by a brother.

The Dutch Company, having failed to obtain satisfaction from the Akéms, brought Okaïdsha back from Holland to Elmina, some time after Ayikuma's death, intending to substitute him as king in the place of his ancestors, the Akan-race; but the people were bribed by Ayikuma's son named Tete Ahene Akwa to oppose the succession of inheritance in Akra being reverted to the Akan rule. (Here we will find that originally the inheritance in both the Gwan and Gā races was by male line, that is, a Son; but this was converted into the Tshi system during the time of the temporal reigns of Ofori and a few of the Akan Royals.) Hence Okaïdsha was long detained at Elmina by the then Director to his great inconvenience.

It seems that, before Okaïdsha was sent to Holland, he had married and had a son, named Adu Amā, after the names of both his father Adu Emiri and grand-father Amā Wusu Ahyia; or perhaps he had him after he returned to the coast. He sent this son to the Hague in Holland through the company to be educated, for which he was nicknamed Adu Amā Broni, whose descendants are living now at Gbese (Ussher Town), Akra, and at Elmina. Okaïdsha was kept till this son returned to the coast. Tete Ahene Akwa having been installed king of Akra by the unanimous voice of the combined body of the three races, as there are several of the Tshi descendants who were at that time indulging in certain political airs which did not belong to their ancestors, and therefore feared that on Okaïdsha's accession to the stool he would reduce them to their proper places. About some of these chiefs we shall speak presently.

When Adu Amā Broni (Adamā Broni) i.e. Edu Amā white man arrived at Elmina, he met his father there, who was prevented from coming down to Akra. He assisted his father to the best of his ability, and as he had been employed in the service of the company, used his influence for his father's release. All these proceedings between the son and the company were communicated to the Akras, and this caused a division among the people: some favoured his coming, and others opposed it. The Director decided

in favour of his coming, and proposed to communicate it to the Principals in Holland. When this was reported to Tete Ahene Akwa, he said that he had been solicited by the Popos to go and help them to fight against an hostile tribe. He left Akra after having bribed the Guans not to oppose his march, and the Ga element with some Tshis, who were in his favour, to follow him clandestinely one night, taking with him all the property belonging to the Akan Royals, without making any preparation towards going as a warrior.

Two years after he had left, Okaidsha arrived in Akra, and found the town in a most dissipated and unsatisfactory state. He first built a house close to Abonua-house on the site now forming the open space north-westward in front of the Ankra family house, which were all included in houses which he built for his wives and family. After having built and established himself, he began to question about the property which he ought to have inherited from deceased members of his family. This question brought another era of troubles. He persisted on having Tete Ahene Akwa brought back from Popo by those remaining chiefs whom he suspected to have hand in the runaway's affairs. But Tete Ahene Akwa refused to return, stating that he had gone for war and the Akras had better follow him to fight and finish the war, before he came back to give Okaidsha an account of the property and the stool. Okaidsha got into a rage and mustered all the forces he could and started to overtake him; but unhappily the Dutch and the Danish Governments interfered and stopped him at Christiansborg, where he stayed, refusing to come back until he had Tete Ahene Akwa either dead or living. The Dutch Government sent a man of war with soldiers to bring him. Some say that the Dutch failed, while others say that he was at last surrendered to the Dutch force by the people, and when he was brought to the ship, he poisoned himself during the night and was found dead the next morning. His corpse was brought to Akra. Okaidsha, not knowing him in life, doubted the body to be that of his opponent, although many others, besides Tete's own daughter, named Momo, who was then married to the Danish Governor at Christiansborg and was living there, came and identified him and claimed his corpse and buried it. Some say that Momo's mother was a niece of Okaidsha's, or that she belonged to the family of Okaidsha on the mother's side, that is Ofori's family. At present her descendants consider themselves as connected

with Okaïdsha's by this relationship and form one family, sympathizing with each other in every disaster. Tete Ahene Akwa's children and all the people, chiefs, and captains that went down to Popo with him remained there from fear of being killed by Okaïdsha.

Okaïdsha's indignation having been thus pacified, he returned from the camp on the suburbs of Christiansborg to Akra. During the time he was in the camp, his followers dug up the reservoir now at Christiansborg known as Tuïma Ayi (Tuïmawe-Ayi = Ayi of Tuïmawe).

As I have stated before, some chiefs of the Tshi race intrigued with the Gã and Guan races to oppose Okaïdsha's return to Akra, when he was at Elmina. Okaïdsha now seized the opportunity to avenge himself of the injury by picking up quarrels with such chiefs and noblemen or their successors, whom he thought to have been injurious to him. He began by fighting Amã Kuma, a chief or nobleman at Shnõwumonã, and killed him. This Amã Kuma was another son of Ayi Kuma Tiekõ and therefore a half-brother to Tete Ahene Akwa. He next had to fight Ayikai Siahene, whose office was to perform the ceremony of installing the candidate on the kingly stool. Ayikai Siahene addressed Okaïdsha in a debate as "Agyaba nnam," that is, my father's son hero or sharpness, and probably he was his half-brother.

During the reign of Tete, Ayikai, being the one who had installed Tete on the stool, boasted that he had cut off Okaïdsha, and was greatly respected. He kept the Akém Royal household fetish called Afieye (Afriyie) and from that he had all the priests of the Guan seven fetishes, and subjects thereto belonging, rallied around him, and assumed a perfect royal power after Tete left Akra. He belonged to Guanmoa, now corruptly pronounced Gumoa or Gomoa in Fante, and therefore had a privilege to interfere with the Guans. He appropriated all the moneys and things that people offered to the fetishes, and the receipts of the ferry on the river Sakumo, which were generally shared among the headmen of the seven quarters in which each fetish lived. When Okaïdsha, being engaged with several other matters, seemed to have taken no notice of all these, he was nevertheless on the alert, and one day called him to account from whom he derived that power. Ayikai stated that it was from one Amã, a headman over Sakumo people then living at Lomõtshokunã at Asèrè. — Amã could not be asked; he either had died

or gone down with Tēte; but his brother Odoi Kōtēi was summoned to a meeting and asked. He said, Amā had not given any power to Ayikai, hence the song, see below.*) Ayikai resorted to other excuses, had seduced the aborigines to take him as their king, and had appointed one Yabōi as the priest of Nāi fetish, Odoi Blem as priest to Sakumo, and to several other fetishes the same.

Okaīdsha claimed that his ancestors, the Akan representing the Kōmang, were those who saved both the Gā and Guan races from the oppression of the Akwamu insurgents, and that they had lost not only their king Aūkamā, but their great state Adanse also. He therefore claimed that he alone had a right to use the power Ayikai was assuming, and therefore Ayikai must surrender every thing to him. Ayikai refused, and summoned all the Guan element to his side, viz., the priest of Oyēni, Tēte Kpeshi, and his family, and the Berekus, besides the Gomoas who were his own people. (The Bereku or Mereku people lived at Tafo and Sākōtshoishi, and the Sempe people also at Oyēninā. Oyēni was next in rank and age to Nāi, the paramount fetish of the Sempe people.)

Okaīdsha summoned to his part all the Tshi elements, viz., Lakote nukpa, whom he made the priest of Nāi, Amā Wusu Ahyia's people, Adu Nkorang's people (these two chiefs were then living in Gbese by Nāi's priest), Tēte Amarakese's people, called Onam-ōkō (living with the priest of Kōle at Sākōtshoishi at Asērē), Oboama's people, called Otuopai, living then at Shuōwumonā at Asērē (himself and his people living with the fetish Amugi in Abora) &c. When things were going on like this, the Gā race remained neutral, as they did not wish to provoke the displeasure of one party by taking the opposite side. There were also Tshi elements of the Agona family. (The Tshis were divided into several families, as at the present day.) Because Ofori brought down Damte of Tshiforo, Firempong of Odā or Dā, and Otu of Dankera; all these be-

*) Múnnyae ñkōrodo, wammā no biribiā ē,
Odoi Kōtēi se, Amā ammā no biribi.

Ē, wammā anye yiye.

Ē, Odoi reko ō, múnnyae ñkōrodo!

Give up your prattling, nothing had been granted,
Odoi Kōtēi says that Amā didn't grant it.

It was falsely given.

Oh, Odoi is off, give up your prattling.

longed to the Agona family, and therefore did not interest themselves in behalf of their brethren, the Asona and Akuona families, so long as their fetishes Dantu &c. were not touched; they too, therefore, remained neutral. But Okaïdsha was quite enough accommodated by providence with all he might require. A fight ensued between the two respective bodies. The Guañs were driven out of the town, and their leader Ayikai Siabene is said to have been caught and executed. Okaïdsha had such marked success in every undertaking, that he was surnamed "Afóroso" (= he has surmounted), "Oka-frafra" (= he bites fiercely).

The Guañs, who form the present quarters in James Town known as Amanfā, Oyēniñā, Sempe, Mereku and Akañmādshe, having been thus beaten and their leader being killed, went up into the bush and afterwards returning built towns on the other side of Kōle, viz., Gblamōtē and Kōlebu. When they were living there, they sent messengers to Dade Adu, the king of Gomoa, to help them to fight and conquer Okaïdsha, forgetting that he also belonged to the Asona family, and not the Apiade family, to which their leader had belonged. Dade Adu came down with a very large force to the suburbs of Akra. He encamped at Aberekuma and Anyā, and sent for the chiefs of Agona and Aburi, thinking really that he would fight with Okaïdsha and conquer Akra, which he had long coveted. But to his sad disappointment he was told by the chief of Aburi, who Okaïdsha was. He was then led with joy and pleasure to send for Okaïdsha, who went to Anyā in company with all the chiefs of Akra, who expected to see Okaïdsha thrashed for his conduct as he deserved. But fortunately Adu received Okaïdsha with more spirit of friendship and familiarity than Okaïdsha himself thought. Previously the chief of Aburi had given him a hint not to fear. The meeting was very grand; four chiefs or kings ruling the Guañs in Gomoa, Agona, Akuapem and Gā, three of whom, if we take Okaïdsha to be an Asona, belonged to one large family, and only the chief of Aburi belonged to the Abrade family. Thus to meet together with much pomp and glory was a pleasant meeting indeed. Although Okaïdsha went as a common man, yet Dade Adu received him as a superior to himself, both for Okaïdsha's age and birth, as some say that he was much older than Adu. Every thing that a king should have was given to Okaïdsha by Adu; he pronounced a blessing upon all his efforts, exhorted him how to manage his kingdom, and to rule without fear of any one. He also pacified

him with good words to reconcile to the people, in consequence of which Okaïdsha afterwards reconciled to the Guan party in Akra. He married a cousin of the chief of Amanfā, named Kpakpo Amoforo, called Amanua Kwāfo, and gave his sister or one of his relatives as wife to him, and by this intermarriage a permanent peace was established between the people of James Town and the Abora and Gbese people.

About this time the English West African Company came, and Okaïdsha arranged with Kpakpo to stay under the English, and in doing so they were called English people. The company's chief trader lived in the company's house with their servants called Alata. Okaïdsha having arranged all this, removed all the fetishes, which were harboured at Asêrê quarter, to Gbese, where Nāi was already. He removed Sakumo from Lomotshokunā, deposed its priest Odoi Blem, and bought a slave whom he made a priest in the room of Odoi. He removed also Kōle from Sākotshoishi and Okndshām from Firempong-we. The followers of these fetishes, and Adu Nkorang, Amā Wusu Ahyia, Tête Amārākese, Oboamang and Ayikai Tshuru and their people, he made his own attendants, but refused to occupy the stool of Sakumo, which was left by Tête Ahene Akwa.

It is said that there were three stools at Akra at that time: the Gā stool, made of ivory, the Adanse stool brought by Boa Ankamā, made of wood and decorated with gold, and the Guan stool which was dedicated to the king of Akra by Sakumo. The latter was never to be carried out of the town.

Tête Ahene Akwa took the former two down with him to Popo, and Okaïdsha determined that, unless these two stools were brought back, he would not accept the latter, and he refrained from interfering or participating in the worship of the fetishes. He deprived Abora of all Tshi descendants, hence the phrase "Obi nni Abora", Nobody is at Abora. He did all this for the purpose of showing his dignity as the heir of Ofori.

The people for some time had nobody at their head in worshipping the fetishes, principally Sakumo. The fetish prophets therefore instigated the people to appeal to Momo, to nominate some one of the family to act as their mouth-piece to the fetishes, Okaïdsha still retaining them in his custody. And she did so. The tradition says that a sister of Momo was married to a nephew of Okaïdsha, and they had a son named after the grandfather Têko;

the father of this son was dead. Momo consulted Okaïdsha, and, obtaining his permission, gave him to the fetishmen; he was wrapped in an ephod and taken around the town. This originated the usage still prevailing, that before a king is instated, the chief of Gbese must be consulted and his consent formally obtained, and the king must, on the death of any fetish priest, officiate in all the fetish houses especially in those of the three principal fetishes, viz., Nāi, Sakumō, and Kōle.

CHAPTER VIII.

General Constitution of the countries. Tshi form and Akra form of Government.— Construction and worship of the Royal stool.— Law about succession; collection of revenue.— Organization of their armies.— Different bands and their symbolical mottoes.— Preparation for war; symbolical means of communication.

The Governments established in the country are of two kinds.

The Tshi form of Government is an absolute monarchy, in which the king or chief has unlimited power over life and property of his subjects. Those Tshi chiefs coming into the Protectorate have, however, moderated their claims on their subjects, by coming in contact with the European form of government. The Royal stool is by order of the king, who established a dynasty, constructed and carved, generally out of "osēsew" or any other hard wood. It is generally worshipped as a kind of national fetish. Human sacrifices were sometimes offered to it, but generally the blood of a ram, and it is annually painted with the blood of the victims, and the subjects are taught to fear it, as the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans are taught to fear God. The stool of Asante was made by Okomfo Anokye, who told them that the stool was possessed with the spirit of an albino, or white negro, and therefore, no white man should ever be sacrificed to it; hence the Asantes never sacrifice or behead a white man or albino as an offering to the stool.

The successors of the king were formerly his younger brother or his first son, but subsequently his nephews. Among the different traditions showing why nephews became heirs, we choose the following: The priest Anokye advised the king in whose reign the stool was made, that in celebrating a yearly feast in its honour, yam must be used. That first king was Sei Tutu, in whose days yam

was not known in Asante, but was indigenous in Takiman. Amo Yaw, the king of the place, had strictly forbidden the export of it into another country. The king of Asante sent messengers to him, requesting a favour of a few seeds to plant. His request was not granted; alleging as his reason that yam was a noble plant, and unless one of his noble royal blood be sent in exchange, it could not be spared. The king thereupon consulted with his wives, that one of them should give up a son to purchase the seed; but none consented to his request. The king was in great distress, till his sister offered one of her sons and obtained the seed, which was planted in Asante; hence nephews became heirs to the stool. In celebrating, therefore, the grand yam-custom, it was settled by the sister, that 300 persons must be slaughtered, not for the stool, but in honour of that royal personage, who was sold to obtain yam. In course of time, the number of the poor victims was reduced to 200, then to 100, afterwards to 80, and at last to one person, on every yam-custom.*)

*) The above tradition may be true, yet it seems that the occasion has not taken place in Asante, but in one of the kingdoms established prior to that, for both in Adanse and Dankera — the first ruling powers — brothers and nephews have been heirs from the beginning up to the present date.

Yam is said to be indigenous in Meñnye, a country north of Takiman. When the country was conquered by Opoku Ware, access was obtained to the place, where not only the seeds were obtained for cultivation in Asante, but the people were ordered by Opoku Ware to contribute yams as part of their annual tribute for the celebration of the Yam-Custom.

There are seven principal original family groups or clans, called „Abusūabañ-ason” among the Tshi nation, to which ten minor ones are connected. The principal original family groups are: Asekyiri, Asona, Agona, Oyoko, Aduena, Asokore and Abrade (Asēnee). The first Adanse kings were of the Asekyiri family group; the kings of Dankera, of the Agona family, the kings of Akwamu of the Abrade family, and the first three kings of Asante of the Akoona family, but those from Osei Tutu downwards are of the Oyoko family group. The Asōna family group is the most numerous and is found in several states, viz., Akém Abuakwa, Akuapem, Wasa, Fante, Agona, Ofeso &c. If they could be united, they would form the most powerful body on the Gold Coast. This family group appears to have been once most powerful, but at what period, we are not certain.

In all these families, succession is principally with brothers and sisters of the deceased (and sometimes even any competent person of the same family, but from another town), as for instance, Kwaw Ehūra Akō, the

Okomfo Anokye (or the soothsayer Anokye) was a native of Awukugua in Akuapem, and by origin of the Guan tribe. The Guan people are the most superstitious tribe on the Gold Coast, and it was through Anokye, as it appears, that superstition and fetishism was introduced into the Tshi tribe. Princes of the Tshis rule by power and wit generally, whilst the princes or priests of the Guans ruled by fetish influence, as will be seen in the Gã or Akra form of government.

As the government of the Tshis is an absolute monarchy, and the political as well as military power is in the hands of the king, he according to their custom arranges his subjects into three principal divisions: general chiefs, commanding the centre force or van, and the right and left wings; and also two other divisions: chiefs commanding the rear and the body guards. These five divisions constitute the kingdom. In all political and military matters, the king sits with these generals and chiefs of the different divisions to decide. For all minor cases, he sits with the chiefs and captains of his body-guard, who reside in the capital. The generals also have sub-chiefs and captains under them, who form together a sort of jurisdiction under the king. The generals and captains get their appointments directly from the king, who also increases the number of warriors to every new general or captain, enlarges the funds of a captain, and inherits the property, a part or the whole of it. The stools of the general chiefs are hereditary, as that of the king; but captains are often appointed by election or merit.

The Gã or Akra form of government was formerly an absolute fetishocracy. In it the supreme power was formerly directly, and is now indirectly lodged in the hands of a set of impostors known as foretelling priests, who are rightly named by the Akras "wõntšemei" i.e. fathers of the fetish or originators of fetishism. Women are also admitted to be members of this class. Originally the headman among the foretelling priests, called "lomo" (now corrupted into "lumq"), a title now given to kings, rulers, and governors), seems to have had the ruling power over the people. Just as we

first king of Gomoa Asén, was succeeded by Kusà Adu of Abora; hence, when there is no brother, the nephew takes the mother's place. In this light, we find no vital difference in the form of succession with the Tshi people and that of the Akras. The lawful son is the heir in an Akra family, when there is no brother or sister, whilst in the state, the lawful son is the heir, when there is no lawful half-brother of the deceased.

find it still in the government of the Angulas, where the king or "kong" (kongé, a Danish name for a king) is the chief foretelling priest of their national high fetish Ligblè, who assumes the government by the fetish's own election from any tribe whatever, and not by hereditary right or by the people's election. Such a prophet-priest-king is represented by an ordinary man in public; the former is the in-door-king. But by an undue exercise of that power, the lomos forfeited that privilege, and it was conferred on the officiating priests of the national high fetish, who were called "wulomò" i.e. fetish-man or fetish-servant. And thus this class of people became the ruling family, instead of the former, from which a priest was elected, who was acknowledged as king or chief in every town, and had to serve in the fetish-yard, keep the place clean every day, and administer the holy water (some leaves and water in a country trough) for the worshippers to wash themselves with on fetish-days. He instructed the people in the laws of the fetish, ruled over the people according to the instructions of the fetish, offered sacrifices in behalf of the people, and prayed for them. But such priest-kings were ruled by the advice of the foretelling priests, who were considered as the mouth-piece of the fetishes or their representatives, as through them the whole constitution was framed. Hence the government of the Akras was a fetish-hierarchy. Sometimes it happened that the priest-king was at the same time a member of the foretellers. In such cases, the government was an absolute fetish-monarchy, as the government of king Okai Koi seems to have been; he possessed three important powers of the government. Hence it has become an established law of the Akras, that the priest who is the king should never be a member of the foretellers, neither should any one of the latter become king. Even a prince, becoming a foreteller or predictor, forfeits not only the stool, but also his becoming a "lomo" i.e. the acknowledged principal foreteller or prophet; because he would connive at the tyranny of the ruling family, or would support them in such ways. The Akras are not ruled directly by the priest or king, but by the foretelling fetish-priests.

The form of government somewhat resembles that of the ancient Jews. The priest might be also a prophet, and at the same time a judge, as we see with Samuel. When the Israelites asked for a king, and Saul was appointed, the three offices became separated.

Coming into contact with the European and Tshi forms of gov-

ernment, that of Akra became more patriarchal. The Akra king was at the same time the priest of the national high fetish. But gradually, to avoid violation of the sacredness of the priest in appearing often in public, and especially when the seat of government was removed from Ayawaso to the coast, the two powers were separated. The priest retained his priestly stool, and the honour of a king was conferred by the priest on a second person, who is held as a vassal to the fetishes and is under the priest. For that honour conferred, the king has to undergo any expense to get a wife lawfully married for the priest; when the priest dies, the king is bound to sleep and watch in the fetish-house, until he has got a new priest in his room. The priests are the owners of the lands in and about the town by right, as it was among the Egyptians in ancient times, because the lagoons which are held as fetishes, and whose priests they are, were in the land prior to the immigration of the inhabitants. But the king retained the political power; yet the foretelling priests exercise their influence over both priests and kings.

The office of a king or priest is hereditary; they are succeeded by their half-brothers, whose mother was lawfully married, or by their lawful sons. The Tshīs are succeeded by their brothers or nephews, according to the age of the mothers, i.e. the son of the elder sister succeeds the uncle; after him, the son of the second sister, thus throughout the family. Sometimes the succession is left entirely to the sons of a single sister. With the Akras, the son inherits the stool only, but the nephews the estate, imitating the Tshīs; though both nations had the same law of succession, till the Tshīs changed theirs, as already remarked. Formerly no one was made a king or priest, unless he had performed the custom of “kromṭṣuñwō” or “butuñwō” (a custom which entitles one to have access to the fetish-house, a rank among his company, and to wear sandals and use an umbrella), and had taken a wife according to the established law of the country. If the one to be nominated as king or priest had not performed these customs, the chiefs and elders would undergo the expense before he was appointed.

In former days the priest had a good revenue from runaway slaves protected with the fetish; he got presents from influential and rich people, who either washed themselves with holy water, or made vows in sickness or in any undertaking. The priest of Nāi (sea) could claim a duty of ₤ 16 = £ 3.12 and rum from every

captain anchoring in the roads at Akra, besides annual presents from the merchants &c. The ferrying of Sakumõ was the large revenue to the king and the priest of Sakumõ; the rate of ferrying was: 25 strings of cowries for a slave, a bullock and ivory; five strings for a sheep, and two strings per man.

The rate was raised afterwards to one head of cowries for a slave, a bullock, and ivory, and 12 strings a sheep. At that time all the great merchants, such as a Mr. Hansen, Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Richter and some Europeans, offered each a pass-book to the king, in which accounts of their people running up and down were kept, and paid quarterly. At present the rate is one shilling for a bullock, and 3^d per man.

The amount collected on Monday and Tuesday belongs to the priest; that on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, to the king and chiefs; and that on Sunday to the ferry-men. The priest of Lākpa claims the whole property of people dying in August and September, in Labade, Teshi and part of Christiansborg. The priest of Oyeadu at Akra claims the whole property of women dying in child-birth. The fishermen collect two porgies (per canoe) for the king and priest of Nāi in August and September. No tax is levied for cultivation of the land. Besides these petty incomes, the chiefs collect small fines from people summoned to their courts.

The Tshis are very exact in collecting tribute and fines, from their subjects. When gold is dug and a nugget is obtained, the king claims one third of it. They are able rulers and administrators.

There are three sources from which the revenue is collected: 1) The conquered states have to pay annual fixed tributes in human beings, cattle, poultry, and native manufactured cloths. Of the human beings, some are kept for domestic purposes, some are enlisted as soldiers, and the rest sold for public expenses. 2) Swearing of oaths. If one swears the oaths Kōrōmaute (in memory of the death of Osei Tutu in 1730), Memeneda (death of Osei Bonsu in 1823) and Ntamkese (Adañkese, also of Osei Tutu's death), — the fine is 110 peredwans each, in Asante. Of the oaths: Kwadutwum of Dwaben (in memory of Osei Afweree's murder in 1743); Oduroman of Nsuta; Yawda of Mampong; "Bekwae-hõutwuma" of Bekwae, — the fines vary from 20—30 peredwans each. Of the oaths: Kwanyākõ (death of Ata and his chiefs by small-pox in October 1811) or Ahenebanimsubri and Wukuda, all of Akém, the fine formerly was 20 peredwans, but is now £ 1.10. Of the A-kuapem oaths: Sokodei, Kwabenyai, Wukuda, and Ntamkõkõ or

Sareso, the fines vary from £ 3 to 10 or even 30; the latter is strictly forbidden. Mankata-Wukuda in Fante (in memory of Sir Charles M^c Carthy's death in 1824), the fine formerly was § 32. Of the oaths: Momotshe Tong, Gã-Hogbã, Ahantang, Okaidsha-adeka, Osu-So, Tòdsheï, &c. of Akra, — the fines vary from § 32 to 32 shillings. Swearing of oaths has nearly disappeared in Fante and Akra, and people are only summoned before kings, chiefs, and English Courts. — 3) Swearing by the king's life or by a deceased king (Taramekese) is punished with death in Asante, but in all other states the parties are heavily fined.

The king's officials and household servants (ahenkoa) scour the country to collect fines from people who have sworn the oaths or are going to swear them.

As Christianity is introduced and people are getting more enlightened, especially as the Gold Coast has become an English Colony, the priests are much neglected and left with very small revenues on which they can hardly subsist. Nor are the kings and chiefs much better off, for they are also losing their power on account of the influence of Christianity. The Constitution has run out its three stages: the prophet-stage, in which the foretelling priest held the reins; the priest-stage, in which the high-priest of the national fetish had the reins; and the king-stage. The best method, therefore, left to the educated community is, to reorganize the whole structure of government on Christian principles, before we shall be acknowledged as a nation.

The power of the priest over lands and revenues is gradually falling into the hands of the kings. However, the chiefs of every quarter in a town claim a right over any piece of land belonging to the quarter, as defenders and protectors of those sites. Hence a quarter near the sea-shore generally has less laud. Hence it is self-evident, why the whole territory of the Akwamus was not occupied by the Akras, after the former had been driven from it, but allowed to be sold back to them by Akwamu refugees. If kings had been owners of lands from the beginning, that could never have taken place.

Both forms of government had nearly the same character, when the European form was not known. The Tshīs under Asante assumed the despotic form of their masters, but the coast tribes gradually moderated theirs, till at last it assumed the patriarchal form.

The Akras are divided into two parts: I. Akra proper, with

seven towns: James Town, Dutch (or Ussher) Town, Christiansborg, Lā (Labade), Teshi, Ningowa, Tema; and II. Adangme, also with ten towns. These 17 towns formed the kingdom of Akra with about 100,000 inhabitants at the time of the battle of Katamansu. But when adding Obutu, which is a brother tribe of the Akras, and the Volta towns, acknowledging Taki as their king, we may say, there are now about 200,000 inhabitants. Every chief was at liberty to make some by-laws and settle disputes in his town; but all difficult cases were submitted to the king in Dutch Town, before this place had become an English Colony.

The Akra form of government may be said to consist of three divisions. The king or chief and his grandees have to make their own laws for the town people, and have the political power in their hands. The military power is partially vested in the principal headmen of the quarters in a town, known as Akuashong. But they cannot undertake to make war, unless the chief with his grandees sanctions it. The last power is vested in the companies, who also transfer any difficult case to the assembly of the principal headmen or "akuashong". They even have to submit such difficult cases to the chief and his grandees. If a war case, it is reported to the king in Ussher Town and submitted to his decision, and then it becomes a general concern of all the Akras. Although the king of Ussher Town is the head of all the petty chiefs, yet in times of war every individual man has to provide himself with arms, ammunition, &c. to carry on the war; for there are no public funds for that purpose. The Akuashong, having the military power, lay in store for self-defence a good quantity of powder and lead against sudden emergencies. The king and all the chiefs and influential men also lay in store some quantity of powder and lead for personal defence. Every youth of the age of sixteen is bound to buy a gun or gets one from his father, otherwise he is never esteemed a man worthy of his country, and the company, to which he may belong, look down upon him. The general mode of exercising oneself in the use of fire-arms is either by hunting, or at the funeral custom, when guns are fired in honour of the deceased.

When the Danes, Dutch and English had their respective governments on the Coast, the consent of each government was necessary before their subjects could take part in a general war of the Akras. But otherwise each government had to carry on war alone with its subjects.

The Tshis alone have an organized order in their army. They have special captains appointed for the main divisions: the van, the right and left wings, and the rear. The kings of Asante have not only to appoint captains over their army, but they have to organize it and also to increase it, as the occasion may be. Before a captain is appointed, the king has to collect recruits in readiness. They may be either captives of a recent war, or his own subjects whom he bought as slaves when they failed to pay a certain sum imposed on them as a fine for an oath they had sworn, or they may have been bequeathed to him by a deceased chief or captain. Over a number of from 500—1000 men thus obtained, the king appoints a captain, on which occasion a grand public meeting is held, and the body of men presented to the captain as his soldiers and slaves. Those subjects bought have to remain in their own towns, but the captives have to stay permanently in the town of the captain, whilst himself stays in the capital. Other presents are made to the captain by the king, a name is given to the band or "asafo", and now the captain and his men are handed over to any of the generals over the five main divisions.

The following are the different bands or "asafo" which have been instituted by the kings of Asante :

1. Qsej Tutu: Koronti, Akwamu, Asakara, Kyidom, Dumakae, and Samang.
2. Opoku Ware: Ananta, Koronko, and Fante.
3. Kwisi Bodom: Nkonsong.
4. Qsej Kwadwo: Asabi, Apagya, and Hyiawu.
5. Qsej Kwame: Apagya, and Ankobe.
6. Qsej Bonsu: Ateni, Akomfode, Atipiri, Anamarako, Apente, Piana, and Anumsa.
7. Qsej-Yaw: Apesemaka.
8. Kwaku Dua: Mawere, captain: Berentuo; Nkonsong, capt. Owusu Ansā Titrawa; Asabi, capt. Boakye; Ayebiakyere, capt. Kwasi Gyambibi; Sömehene, capt. Akwasi Abayie; Ampoti, capt. Qsej Hyeaman; Twidom, capt. Osubri; and Pinkyedomko, capt. Kofi Dei.

But the Akras have to arrange themselves according to their towns along the Coast. In truth, they are naturally brave, but the only organization existing in their army is made up by the different companies or bands existing in every town. It may be interesting to give a short account of the different bands, their names, and how

the drum of each band is beaten. The sound and meaning of the beating is mostly important on the field of battle to avoid collision. Although there are more than two dozen bands known in the country, one dozen will suffice for an illustration. They are:

1. Asonkofo — Independent band.
2. Apagyafɔ — Fire-striking band.
3. Akomfode — Priestly band.
4. Amferefo — Audacious band.
5. Atuafo — Attacking band.
6. Ntiafo — Kicking band.
7. Kyiramimfo — Fraud-detesting band.
8. Ohwammirifo — Black king-fisher's band.
9. Ampotifo — Stand-to-no-trash band.
10. Apesemakāfo — Officious band.
11. Piaũkofo — Invincible band.
12. Aũkoɓeafɔ — Body-guard band.

Each band has its peculiar symbolical mottoes for beating the drum; yet other symbols are often added to that by the skilfulness of the drummer.

1. The independent band beats the drum: "Bu-asɔ, bu-asɔ ne yeũ; kurotɔwiamansā ba, mmũ no abofra!" Which is: We are axe-breakers; a leopard's cub should not be deemed a boy (should not be disrespected).

2. The fire-striking band beats: "Ogya framframfram (fɔwereĩfɔwereĩ-fɔwereĩ)! Yeforo ekoko bi, yegasĩan ekoko bi; yegɓeforo ekoko bi a mũuare wɔ so!" Brilliant fire! we ascend a hill, we descend a hill, and will ascend a hill upon which is a bush full of thorns.

3. The priestly band: "Opoku takyi, ɔdɔto rehim! Yenom nsu mɛre ɛnam wɔ; yegadaĩ kyikyiku." Chief pelican, the dense bush is shaking; we drink water where fishes abound, we have become a torpedo.

4. The audacious band: "Wosũ, wosũ, wɔfre yeũ; yekum onipa a, yeyi n'abasa." When weeping, upon us they call; when we kill a man, we take off his arms!

5. The attacking band: "Kyere onipa, kita onipa, yegɔ ɔsonoba to!" Catch a man, take hold of him, we beat the hinder part of an elephant's cub.

6. The kicking band: "Hõna bekā, hõna bekā, hõna bekā yeũ?" Who dares to touch, who dares to touch, who dares to touch us?

7. The fraud-detesting band: "Kuntum, okuntumpā, kēka gu! Yekō yempira." Hyena, hyena, bite and throw off; we fight, but are not wounded.

8. Black kingfisher's band: "Onipa rekō, onipa retō, onipa repira." A man fights, and a man is killed, and another is wounded.

9. The stand-to-no-trash band: "Wotwè no bebrebe a, emmā, pinī do!" When you draw it excessively, you cannot get it; clear off!

10. Officious band: "Yēpē asem akā, yēpē okō akō!" We wish for a case to settle and a battle to fight.

11. The invincible band: "Mogya regu, mogya regu, mogya regu." Blood is being spilled.

12. The body-guard band: "Masiesie mehō, mewēñ mehō, enam m'akyi, enam m'anīm, na mede te ha yi." I have prepared myself, I keep guard of myself, they walk behind me and walk before me; hence I stay here.

Not only by the drums of the different bands symbolical mottoes and designs are displayed, but they are also to be found in the beating of the kings' or chiefs' state-drums as well as in the flags, and on swords and state-umbrellas. In order to make these signs (symbols, emblems, devices) better understood, we classify them as showing office, rivalry, nobility, heroism, incompetence, reliance on providence, &c. Signs indicating office: a state-umbrella with a sword on the top of it, belongs to the king's sword-bearer; such a captain is allowed to beat his drum: "So akōfrā! I carry the war-sword." Of rivalry: — One of the horns of king Dəwuona sounds: "Gyañ kokroko, m'ani wō kō so! Great or excellent Gyang, my mind is upon war!" To this the rival chief responds, also by a horn: "Asem kañkañ (wokāe kañ), mmā wo wēre mmi ō! Never forget what you have said before" i.e. your mind being upon war, for I am prepared for it. Of nobility: — a rich and powerful king would have a horn to blow: "Ōtamfō, kata w'ani! Cover thy face, thou envious man." To which is responded: "Yēboa Okō birempōñ, obirempōñ ba obirempōñ, meye odehye dadāda, The noble Yēboa Okō, the offspring of nobles, I am already noble!" Of heroism: — the horn of Boaten, the king of Dwabeñ, is: "Woye okatakyi, woye obarima! You are brave, you are a valiant man!" — Of incompetence: — a chief may pretend to fight with another chief, who is not his equal in power, and orders this to blow: "Sō dae ye atoro, sō dae ye atoro papa, Dreaming is really a falsehood." The late king Karikari of Kumase, upon his accession to the stool, deter-

mined to fight against the English Government. He ordered one of his executioners to extol him thus: "Karikari gyambi, Ayebofo a ode ntutea bekô aperem anô. i.e. Karikari hero, the champion who will fight at the mouth of cannons with his narrow guns." When Sir John Glover entered his capital with his forces, Karikari, who boasted to fight the English, had run away. In his palace one of his favoured horns had been left behind; it was brought to chief Kwadwo Mensa of Aburi. Then and there the chief ordered one of his retainers to blow: "Karikari, woye korokoro, Karikari, woye korokoro kwa!" which means: Karikari, you are a prattler, Karikari, you are a vain talkative fellow. Thus we see what the beating of drums and blowing of horns mean. When in an assembly of kings and chiefs such a display of nobility, heroism, &c. are extolled, then the horn of King Taki sounds in a broad tone: "Kpo avuô, kpo avuô tome!" which means: Just look at the ears of these dogs! No chief is allowed to imitate the symbol of another band, unless the one has been conquered or has willingly permitted it.

What keeps the warriors together in time of war, are the flags and drums of the bands, or the tune of the horn of the king or chief. Where the flag and drum are, there the captains are found. The flags and drums keep the men of the band together, whilst the tune of the horn keeps the whole body of a town together, otherwise every warrior stays with his own relations in camp.

The bands are more for defensive than offensive warfare, hence no captain can command his men to attack an enemy without first consulting the Akuashong. But an Asante captain has the power over his men for defensive or offensive warfare.

Furthermore it is most necessary, that every band must have a fetish of its own, be it their drum or anything else converted and consecrated as such by the company, — and that every such fetish-drum thus consecrated, dedicates a member of the band as its own foretelling priest, by whom future events are made known to the company, and sacrifices also made in their behalf in times of peace.

In times of war every member of each band has to apply to his own priest, or sometimes to another priest, for advice, for charms, for medicines &c., and also for what sacrifices are to be offered to insure his safety during the campaign. Thus no warrior ever joins an army without first consulting the priest at home, although the priest is bound to accompany the band whose foretelling priest he is, when engaged in war, there also acting as their adviser, fore-

teller, doctor, &c. Thus it is obvious what sort of influence the foretelling priests exercise, not only on the government, social life &c., but also in the wars of the Akras and nearly all the other tribes. All such fetishes of the different bands have their time fixed during the year for holding feasts in their honour.

An individual person has not only to prepare himself for war, as above-stated, but before the movement of the warriors to camp, the king and his chiefs have to meet to "boil" the war. Which means, any known and acknowledged fetish-priest will be sought after, who will be consulted as to the success of the campaign. With the Akras, Sakumø is the principal war-fetish, whose oracles must be obtained, as will be stated in ch. XIV., when he sanctions and shows all sacrifices to be offered before the war is "boiled", either by a priest of his, or any one whose magical powers are universally acknowledged. The whole transaction on such occasions resembles what we read in the Scriptures of Balak, the son of Zippor, the king of the Moabites, in sending for Balaam to practise enchantment against Israel. Numb. XXII—XXIV.

The king and his principal chiefs meet one night with the priest; the necessary things required for the sacrifice have been provided. A large pot is set on fire; the names or souls of the principal and powerful men of the enemy are called out and caught by means of enchantment. For every name, a piece of stone or any other thing is taken to represent it, and then put into the pot. When all are thus named, represented and caught, some leaves and other things are added to them in the pot to get boiled. When boiling, if the pot happens to burst, then the enemy is more powerful. The practice is repeated, till they are satisfied that the enemy is got weakened. After this every body feels encouraged and spirited to fight and conquer.

Every warrior in leaving his wife, relatives and friends to go to war, must get presents from them. These presents are given under the idea of showing their last respects, love and honour to the warrior, so that, if he should no more return, they had done their part in his burial. Precious beads of every description and gold jewels are tied to the warriors wrist, arm, knee, or neck. When slain in battle, the body is to be buried with those presents, yet a finger, toe, hair, finger-nail, &c., must be preserved as relic for general interment at home. At the funeral an ordinary coffin is made for such a relic, and it is buried as if it were the whole body.

Besides this practice, the national fetishes are all consulted, who will show different kinds of sacrifices to be made to insure safety and success. The Akuashong elders will also enquire oracles from their company's fetish, and the family and the individual fetishes are likewise consulted and worshipped before war is undertaken. For there are four different classes of fetishes: the national, those of the family (or quarter), those of the band (company), and the personal fetishes and charms.

Another means of keeping a whole army, the commander-in-chief, the generals and captains &c., as well as allied forces together in time of war, is the oath of allegiance, sworn before the campaign is undertaken.

The oath of allegiance is of two kinds, and is administered in two different manners. A subject in swearing an oath of allegiance, appeals solemnly to his majesty's or commander's being; by holding a sword in his right hand, and pointing the handle towards the face of the king, he declares his obligation of taking the field in his behalf or by his orders. The king does the same; pointing the sword, and not the handle, he affirms his readiness to support the subject on such occasions to the uttermost of his ability.

The second mode of swearing the oath of allegiance is done generally by a new king or chief entering into alliance with the king. Which being more important, the oath is taken by a ceremony commonly called "to eat fetish." The powerful fetish of the country or town is applied for; a potion is prepared by washing a part or the whole of the fetish with water. The allied king meets in public, and after due religious ceremony the potion is offered to him to drink. Before he drinks, he solemnly appeals to the fetish, to bring judgment upon him, if he disregards the oath. Sometimes the king also swears the oath of allegiance himself or by a representative, by drinking a potion of the ally's own fetish in recognizance of their mutual fidelity. The forfeit of this oath, by cowardness or otherwise, is death in Asante, in the Protectorate, an eternal infamy on the family and town.

Symbolical means of communication.

All the Africans not possessing the art of communication by writing, use several things to impart their thoughts to others, which things are more or less falling into disuse, as people come into contact with Europeans; hence the Akras have lost nearly all they

Used in ancient times. There are many still, which by careful examination can be found in their religious worship; but to know them requires a good length of time.

1. Three green leaves of the palmbranch, formed into a triangle by tying knots at the three points of meeting. When this triangle, called "akyere-mmengensono" by the Tshis (Asante, Dankera, Akuapem &c.), is put on as a necklace at the funeral of a chief, king or queen, it means that the wearer is to be sacrificed to attend the deceased in the other world. Another one, made of date-palm leaves, dyed red, is called "kômi" by the Akras. It signifies a solemn act of dedicating, as well as devoting one's self to, and for the service of, a certain national high fetish. When a wife is to be sought for a new priest of Lākṗā, this symbol is placed on the neck of a camwood-girl in any town whatever, and she is thereby obliged (even betrothed) to become the wife of the priest.

2. A dark red cloth called "adiŋkra" or "okobɛn" is a symbol of death or grief. It is employed to announce the death of a chief, king or queen; because a king's death is never announced by mere words. A relative, son, daughter or servant of a deceased chief wearing such a stuff, and chewing cola-nut, informs every chief or people to whom he or she is sent, that the king is dead.

3. A single grass broken in two and placed before a superior, judge or king, suggests pardon or excuse. This symbol is used in courts and public assemblies. If one is before a king or judge, and wishes to utter an unpleasant word which may be taken as an offence, he places this symbol before the superior, and all offensive words are pardonable.

4. Any kind of leaf placed between the lips is a symbol of silence. An ambassador returning from a foreign court and having a leaf in the mouth, shows his inability to express the message he brought. The king has to swear an oath to him, that in uttering any abusive words he is not held responsible. After which he speaks freely. A leaf so placed in the mouth is a sign not to address persons attending sick people and obliged sometimes to come out; as their being talked to by any impure person would impair the power of the medicine by which the patient is to be healed.

5. Bullet and corn are symbols of war and peace. If a king wishes to make war with another nation, he sends these symbols to the enemy. When the bullet is chosen, war is declared; if the corn, he asks for peace. Bullet represents death, and corn, life.

6. Two pieces of firewood mean submission to servitude. In time of war, when the defeated party wants to express their submission, and negotiate for peace, such a symbol is used. Hence in times of peace, especially during "Hōmōwo" (the yearly feast of the Akras), firewood, in connection with other presents, is given by inferiors to their masters.

7. White clay, "ayilo", is a symbol of justification or guiltlessness, whilst charcoal represents guilt or wrong. Formerly our kings in passing sentence of right and wrong, used, and are using now, such symbols, without even expressing the sentence in words. Sometimes the sentence is passed in words, after which the symbol is used on the head and the right arm.

8. Different sorts of precious beads, strung together into a lace of about six feet long and worth about £ 300, called "kyekyere-kōna", is used in reconciling parties, or when a king or queen feels unhappy and would not accept any comfort, it is placed on his or her neck and is sure to soothe. When a king is taking a walk in town with his servants, he sometimes on coming to a certain place will close his eyes and will not walk, becoming blind by his royal dignity. As soon as the news of this reaches the queen mother, she sends this symbol, which must be placed on his neck, before he will open his eyes and walk. When a general is sent on a war expedition, and fails to conquer, he will not return home for shame, unless this necklace is sent to him.

9. Cowries.— By as many cowries as are strung together and placed around the middle leg of a stool, the number of slaves a man possesses is indicated.

10. Leaves or grass are used in travelling to show the right path to those who follow. The one gone before will place these signs on the path he avoids, and leave the right path free.

11. A wisp of grass from a roof is used when calling on a friend and not finding him at home. The grass is put down near the door, or stuck into the key-hole.

12. A single red shell (lami) on a string as a necklace is a symbol of becoming mute after many troubles, either by repeated deaths in the family or any other calamity. When hostile parties are reconciled, the red shell is broken in the presence of both parties assembled at the king's court. Each party appoints a representative; the one for the injured party takes up a stone, the other representative holds part of the stone. The king appoints one to

represent him, who also joins in holding the stone, and then they break the shell. A bit of the broken shell is given to each party as a memorial of the peace, and the rest is thrown into the sea. We call this "lamidshūā".

13. A shell of a kind of insect, a species of beetle, called "aṅkō-nam" (i.e. I walk alone) is a symbol of being friendless.

14. "Kuṅkuma", a seed of a certain plant, which has acquired hardness in water and is found at the sea-shore or on the banks of large rivers. It is as big as an egg, or sometimes bigger. When one is used as a lace, it conveys the meaning of durability. Enemies may do their best to injure you, yet they can't effect your ruin.

15. "Sautroti" is a kind of night bird; some feathers of this bird are twisted into a string and worn round the knee by women when their husbands are engaged in war. The woman who wears it, every morning pulls out a part of the string into which the feathers are twisted, and prays that her husband may be lively as that bird in the campaign, and never be caught by an enemy.

16. A gold sword, called gyegye-tiri, on which the skull of a leopard is represented, is worn by the kings of Asante and of Dṽabēn as a sign of superiority.

17. "Fanfantō" is a kind of fly; when made on a sword, it means: "Go, fight and die"; a determination to conquer. When that sword is sent to a general by a king (the king of Asante), the general knows, he is to fight and die rather, than return home defeated.

18. A land-tortoise, when made on the sword of a king, is a symbol that nothing can be done unless submitted to him; everything the subjects do or have, must be brought to him.

19. A snail, when made on a sword, means: "Be careful, and do not easily be caught as a snail; or to an enemy, it is a symbol of incompetence.

20. The head of a large horned snake called "ḡnaṅka", when made on a sword, is a symbol of power. Although the snake creeps on the ground, yet he is capable of catching a kingfisher.

21. A sword with an axe is a symbol of ability to pass through thick and thin to obtain an object.

22. The head of a river-fish "adwēn" (silurus), when made on a sword, means: "Contemplate when sleeping", or "be thoughtful."

23. Two or more green leaves of a palm-branch folded together and hung on a piece of stick are means forbidding; this emblem is used to prohibit people from trespassing on one's property (land).

24. "Tšeregbanŋ", division or breaking of a cola-nut (or lemon), is used by friends as a symbol of dissolving friendship with a deceased. At the funeral custom, where the body of the deceased is lying, all his or her friends will come and stand before the body, and cast each a single cola-nut broken into two halves (or a lemon divided into two, when cola-nut is not obtained). When the pieces cast fall unequally to the ground, the one reclining on the back is for the friend, and the other for the deceased; then the friendship is acknowledged as dissolved by the latter. If not acknowledged, the cast must be repeated until it is acknowledged.

CHAPTER IX.

The attack by the English man-of-war on the Fort Creve-Cœur and Dutch Akra, commonly known as the war with the man-of-war (Manŋwōta).—The first Danish expedition against the Angulas. 1782—1784.

We have a proverb, "Never a musket bursts in Europe and wounds one in Africa." For a period of nearly half a century, the country was free from any foreign war. For the old enemy, the Akwamus, had been driven from the country to find a shelter beyond the Volta. But the country was never free from petty internal wars and commotions which were brought about chiefly by the Danes, Dutch, and English, then trading on the Coast.

In the year 1662 the "Company of Royal Adventurers" was formed in England for the purpose of trading on the Coast. Soon after this, a war broke out in Europe between England and Holland, which was a death-blow to that Company in Africa. For the famous Dutch Admiral De Ruyter took all its forts with the exception of Cape Coast Castle. In 1672 a new company was incorporated under the name of "the Royal African Company of England". To vie successfully with the Dutch Company, they built forts at Dixcove, Seconde, Commenda, Anamabo, Winneba, and Akra. In 1750 their establishments were transferred to a new association, "the African Company of Merchants. During their administration hostilities with the Dutch continued. In 1782 Captain Shirley of the *Leander*, although repulsed in the attack upon Elmina, succeeded in taking the Forts of Mowure, Kŋromante, Apā and Bereku.

The commandant of the Fort Creve-Cœur was said to be one "Jandraka" as the natives called him. Tēko Tshuru was the king

of Akra, Okaidsha having died; Ayite Okoso was the chief of Gbese, Ayai Pékō, an influential man at that time; Oto Brafo, the chief of Otu street. In consequence of the war in Europe most of the Europeans had been removed, with the exception of the commandant and the native soldiers in the fort. The English had asked the assistance of the people of Winneba, Agona and some detachments of warriors from Anomabo, Gomoa-Asen, Apã and Obutu, who were Dutch allies and refused to render any assistance to the English. They were brought down to Akra, to join the James Town people, who, although brethren to the Dutch Akras, could not refuse the orders of their master, but simply advised the Dutch Akras to leave the town and never oppose the English.

The king and chiefs could not bear to leave their town, and determined to defend both it and the fort. Chief Oto swore that he would never allow the English to take the fort in the absence of their masters. The people of Teshi, Ningowa, Tema and Poni, then allies of the Dutch Government, sent their warriors and obtained ammunition from the commandant, whereas the people of Christiansborg, Labade and Ningo were Danish allies, therefore kept themselves neutral. — Captain Shirley, having landed marines from the *Leander*, began to attack, bombarding the fort from the ships and Fort James, while the allies of the English and the marines arranged themselves along the bush at Dshoshi, which separated the two towns, and were fighting the allies of the Dutch. The English forces continued the fight from six in the morning till dusk, during 24 days, without being able to take either the town or the fort, till all at once the allies got tired. On one Thursday the Fantes sustained a heavy loss which obliged them to flee back to their country. The ships, at last, ran short of ammunition but got a supply from the Danish Government, who under pretext bought back all the shots which had been used for the English; they even sent out people from Christiansborg to pick them up from the field, and bought them for the ships. They advised the English to hold out, as they were sure the natives would soon give in, for many of them had removed their women, children, and property to Christiansborg; yet neither the marines nor their allies could hold on any longer. At last the Dutch allies having also run short of ammunition, the king ordered his warriors to give up the town. They did so, and removed with children and women to Kwabenyau, and blockaded the paths against the allies of the English and Danes to

prevent their getting fire-wood and provisions. The hunters of chief Oto surveyed the land, and found Kpokpoase, to where he and his people removed and established a large town for themselves, and left Ayai Pekō and the king with their people at Kwabenyan. Here they stayed for about five years (although the natives say nine years) and kept their usual customs, as they were in the habit of doing on the coast. In 1785 the forts taken by the English were given back to the Dutch. The English having failed to obtain possession of the Dutch fort, although severely bombarded, the people of the town also refused submission, and so they retired. But before doing that, the James Town people urgently entreated them to intercede to make peace between them and their offended brethren of Dutch Town; by hook or by crook peace was made.

It would be very interesting for our readers to know to what cause the natives attributed this war. A few months previous, Amā Lomo, the predicting fetish-priest of Nai, had been drowned in the lagoon Kōle by order of Lamte Dshang, interpreter of Dutch Town. The chiefs and people tried to find out the cause of his death, and Dshang being suspected of the murder refused to attend the court of the elders. They therefore went to his house to know why he refused to appear. But they were met at his gate with fighting, and Dshang escaped to James Town for protection at chief Anēgē's house. The case was settled, Dshang having committed suicide with several of his people. To chastise the people, Nai invited the English to fight with them for the murder of his priest.

We have known both by tradition and history that there was never peace permanently existing between the Angulas on the eastern and the Adās on the western side of the Volta. This mutual animosity may be traced to the following causes:— 1. Disputes about the boundaries in fishing the Volta;— 2. the panyarring or forcibly demanding long standing debts by seizing men and property belonging to other parties in payment of those debts, as we found in the case of one Geraldo with the Adās, for lodging the Danes who traded in their town, although the Danish government had repeatedly asked the consent of the Angulas to have a fort built at Keta for slave trade, which they refused;— 3. the immense quantity of salt obtained annually by the Adās from the lagoon,— and lastly, the Adās being in alliance with the Akras. The first war between these tribes was in 1750, in which Tshum Ampoforo, the king of Akém, and Sakiana Tenteng, the king of Akuapem, as-

sisted the Adàs. In conjunction with these Tshi warriors, the Angulas were defeated, but two of the royal blood of the Tshis, viz., the two sovereigns themselves, were taken prisoners. Peace was made in 1767, and the Angulas traded to Adã. The royal captives were ransomed with a large quantity of cam-wood.

But the Angulas made use of those peaceful times to prepare for an invasion. Having made an alliance with several tribes, they attacked the Adàs by surprise in 1776. The contest was frightful; nearly one half of the population were slain; great numbers were taken prisoners, the remnant of the Adàs fled for shelter to Oko-huem, near Wekumagbe, and Ningo. During this time the Danish merchants carried on a brisk trade with some confederate tribes on the banks of the river, Agalaves, Tefres, Milamfes, Batos &c. The trade with the Krepes was lively, and the Agotims supplied them chiefly with slaves and ivory, who were escorted to the factories by the Milamfes. The mountaineers traded chiefly with the Angulas in cam-wood, which they powdered and mixed with palm-oil for anointing their bodies for their daily religious ceremonies. In return the mountaineers brought home large quantities of smoked and dried fish.

The Danish merchants kept their position during the whole time the Adàs were at Ningo, by the aid of a dozen cannon placed on a rampart on the bank of the Volta, just in front of their factories. The Angulas kept quiet and traded with them, until their savage spirit stirred them up to form intrigues against the Europeans. That case was, however, settled by giving hostages to the merchants, and promising henceforth to be at peace at all times. The young men of Angula did not approve this transaction and constantly taunted the elders for having given hostages. Hence the trade on the Volta became insecure, goods in canoes to the factory at Keta were seized, and the canoemen sold as slaves. After a great deal of forbearance the Danish Government in 1782 took measures to crush their refractory spirit.

The kings and chiefs in alliance with the Danish Government on this side of the Volta, and to whom monthly stipends were paid, were king Nãku Odang of Christiansborg, Ako Dsharam, king of Labade, the chiefs of Poni and Ningo, and Obuobi Atiemo, the king of Akuapem. Major Klöge, governor of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast, summoned those kings and chiefs to Christiansborg to consult about an expedition against the Angulas. They

advised the governor to ask the aid of the king of Dutch Town, Akra, whom they acknowledge their head, without whose assistance an expedition against Angula would be difficult, or even dangerous. Tēko Tshuru, the king of Dutch Akra, and his chiefs Oto Brafo, Ayite Okoso, Ayai Pēkō and their captains and people had at that time removed to Kwabenyan and Kpokpoase in consequence of the bombardment of the Dutch fort by the English. They were disaffected against the governor and the people of Christiansborg for supplying the English men-of-war with ammunition. Governor Kiōge was obliged to go in person to see the king at the Gā bush, to propitiate him and ask his aid. A grand meeting was held to settle the case; yet the Akras were not inclined to join the expedition. "Had we been killed by the English, when you supplied them with ammunition, could we assist you?" was what they told the governor. Chief Oto, one of the most sensible and powerful among the rest and universally acknowledged almost as a king, then rose and addressed the meeting, "Brethren, for my part, I would advise you to consent to the request of the governor, to join our brethren of Christiansborg in organizing the expedition. For I am confident we can conquer the Angulas, as our fathers once conquered them!" His royal horn-blower then responded, "Oto ē, Oto ē, kyere w'akyiri ō!" which means: Oto, except in thy back! — meaning, when he would not go before, any transaction or undertaking would be impossible for the Akras to carry out. By these words their consent was obtained, and the meeting broke up. The governor and his party returned to Christiansborg. Chief Amā Oterene of Tesbi and the chiefs of Ningowa, Tema &c., who were then in alliance with the king of Dutch Akra, came with Oto and got their ammunition and subsistence. King Naku Odang with the other chiefs, king Obuobi Atiemo and his chiefs of Akuapem, and the allies of the Danish government were supplied with arms and ammunition. The time to move the expedition was fixed. Tradition says that the governor spent the cargos of seven barques in supplying ammunition to the expedition. His Excellency despatched three sailing vessels to Fante, and they were loaded with corn for the use of the army. Owing to the unsettled state of the Akéms, in consequence of the war between them and the Asantes, some hostages were demanded by the governor from the king to insure his loyalty during the absence of the expedition. One of the hostages also joined the army.

On the 4th of February 1784, all the armed men with their kings and chiefs from Akra, Akuapem, Krobo, River-side and the Adas arrived. A large assembly met between the rampart and the new building, Kongensteen. In the midst of a large circle of armed men, five European gentlemen, the governor, the merchant, Mr. Biöru, Dr. Isert &c., were seated round a table, on which a bottle of liquor, seven wine glasses, and a beautiful sabre were placed. King Naku, with a few of his retainers, was seated under a state-umbrella on one side, and king Obuobi Atiemo, also with his retainers, under a state-umbrella on the other side of the Europeans. On the opposite side some puncheons of rum, rolled tobacco, and cases of pipes were placed.

The governor requested the assembly of armed men to make a choice of one of the kings or chiefs to be general and commander-in-chief of the whole body. Chief Oto was unanimously chosen, to whom the sabre on the table was handed. Holding it up with both hands, he took the oath with these words — "I possess one stool, one drum, one horn, and one umbrella; where these things are, there I am, heaven and earth help me!" His horn-blower then responded: Oto ē, Oto ē, kyere w'akyiri ō! The whole mass then shouted: hurrah! hurrah! Seven guns were fired in salute of the general. That mode of taking oaths seems more expressive than that of the Tshis, who point the sword to the nose of the superior. Some liquor was served to the kings and the chiefs, who after emptying the glass threw some drops from their mouths into the mouth of the retainers, — a mode of giving liquor to inferiors and children at that time. The whole proceedings of the meeting was interpreted in the different dialects of those present by an eloquent linguist, and the meeting broke up.

The next day, being the 23rd of February, a second meeting was held by order of the general, at which fetish-oaths were administered to every king and chief of the army to the effect that they acknowledged Oto the commander-in-chief, and that they would obey his orders and fight faithfully during the campaign. The presents, consisting of rum, tobacco and pipes &c., were impartially distributed to every king and armed man, who were ordered to get themselves in readiness on the day appointed for crossing the Volta.

During the whole transaction, Fort Kongensteen was being built, and on the 21st of March it was finished. The Danish flag was hoisted,

and the governor and his staff took lodgings there. The Adās, who were against building a fort in their town, were convinced at last that it was partly for their own interest — to avoid destruction from the attacks of the enemy, and were finally much contented with it.

Boats and canoes, sufficient to cross the whole army, were got in readiness, and on the 25th of March the crossing commenced (as tradition reports, at Tefre). The Europeans superintending that work were most anxious to prevent overloading the boats and drowning. The Akras arranged themselves with their flags along the bank at Aziza (the estuary of the Volta). The enemy, sheltered in the bushes beyond, watched them. The whole army of 2000 men crossed under the fire of the enemy, and having crossed, they formed their divisions. The centre, composed of the Akras under the general; the right wing, composed of the Adās, Kroboḥ and the River-side people, and the left wing under king Obuobi Atiemo with the Akuapems. The enemy, after vain attempts to oppose the crossing, fled to their camp, and a march was ordered against them. On the 30th the Angulas were found to have encamped behind a marshy lake, overgrown with thick grass, called yikiyiki. The Adās who wished to fight in revenge, as well as the Akras, tied their cartridge belts to their heads, each laying his gun on his head and crossing the lake, while the body was up to their shoulders in water and mud. When across, they fought like tigers. The left wing under the king of Akuapem could not pass the lake at the same moment, else the enemy could have been enveloped in three quarters of an hour. The enemy, not being able to stand the fire, were obliged to retreat, in consequence of which Atoko was set on fire, oxen, sheep and pigs were seized. The army now formed two columns and marched to Futē at 5 o'clock P. M., and set fire to it and the capital. Atitōnu, Alakple and Anyako were also in flames on the same evening. A large camp fire was kindled during the whole night, and the warriors feasted on the abundant spoil obtained that day. The savage mode of destroying everything which came in the way of the army, viz., houses and fruit-trees, and mutilating the slain, displeased the governor highly. He was told, unless they did so, the Angulas would never admit to have been conquered by them. Forty men were wounded that day, of whom very few died. An Adā seized with terror shot himself. On the first of April, the march was resumed to Keta, as the enemy had fled and could not be traced. Wei and Tegbe were burnt down.

At Keta all but a single man had fled, though they professed to be neutral. Chief Lâte, the father of George Lawson, arrived on the 4th with an army of 1100 men composed of Afrawus, Beis and the people of Little Popo. Lâte, being an Akra and hearing of his people's arrival, came to assist them. The whole army numbered now over 3000 men. On the 10th they marched from Keta to Kpotibra, where there was plenty of salt, which they seized and exchanged for provisions. The enemy was nowhere to be traced, and on the 11th May the camp was removed to a plain. The supply of ammunition had been wasted in buying provisions, and more was required, which obliged the governor to send to Keta, when several men got an opportunity of running down to the coast for articles in demand in camp. Had that been known, the enemy might have thought of an attack. A good supply was obtained for the army, which now amounted to over 4000. Although Lâte was one of the most sensible and powerful among the chiefs, yet the governor and his staff were suspicious of him. A hint having been obtained of the enemy encamping at Fetā, they marched again on the 13th, and got in sight of his camp. The River-side people opened fire on them, which was not returned. The warriors were arranged according to their divisions within sight of the enemy's camp, and the whole night was passed in watching, singing, and dancing till the break of day, the 14th. They washed, dressed, and made some stripes of white clay on their bodies. The enemy had taken a strong position along the Klêve bush, and had dug holes in the ground, inside and outside; some of the holes they had slightly covered to entrap the warriors, while others were left open to protect their persons when fighting. A detachment was ordered to draw them out on the plain. Here the Akuapems, who could not fight in the first engagement on account of the swamp, first began fighting very gallantly. The centre and the right wing also marched to meet their lines. The conflict was sharp and doubtful till noon, when the enemy retired into the bush. The left wing, consisting of foresters, rushed in after them, but sustained some losses. A party of the enemy's troop rushed to attack the rear, but the reserve army of 500 men drove them back. The remarkable gallantry displayed by chief Lâte removed the suspicion formerly entertained against him by the governor. The battle lasted till dusk, when the enemy retreated, and left the expedition masters of the field with the loss of 24 slain and 54 wounded. The enemy

had 54 slain, 160 wounded. The expedition slept on the battle-field, and chief Lāte was ordered by the governor to be his body-guard during the night. Nothing more was heard of the enemy; the expedition marched to Kpotibra. Here prince Ofōri Thosu, the son of king Ashangmō of Akra, who had emigrated to Popo in 1680, arrived with an army to mediate on behalf of the Angulas. He sent a captain after them to Klikō where the enemy had fled, and on the 27th they sued for peace. King Obli of Popo was then at Afrawu collecting an army to join the expedition. He sent repeatedly to advise the governor, never to grant peace to the Angulas till he had arrived. The governor was obliged to go there in person, and what he was told by the old king of 80 years of age was, "Wait in camp four weeks, and if I cannot join you then accept the negotiation for peace from the Angulas." A sanction to establish a factory at Afrawu was obtained. (King Obli died in 1786.) The governor now returned to camp. As the Angulas were asking for peace, the camp was again pitched at Keta, and on the 4th June, four ambassadors arrived with nine hostages. A grand meeting was held on the 18th to receive the hostages and sign the following treaty of peace.

1. The Angulas must allow a Fort to be built at Keta.
2. They must allow free passage to travellers by land as well as by the river.
3. They must allow Factories to be established in the country, especially in the capital.
4. They must not carry on trade in slaves, ivory, and other articles of commerce (provision and poultry excepted) with any other European nation, but the Danes.
5. They were allowed to rebuild their towns, and to keep perpetual peace with the Keta people (Agbosomes).
6. They must give ten hostages, sons of the chiefs, and bear in mind that on the infringement of the treaty the hostages were to be sold from the country.

The four ambassadors, creeping on their knees and hands, saluted the leading men of the meeting, after which the nine hostages were handed over to the governor. The signing and witnessing of the treaty followed, and then the meeting broke up. On the next day, the 19th, the general with the leading men of the army gave fetish to the ambassadors to the effect that they would, in the name of

the whole country, keep the peace, be faithful, and never in future dare to take up arms against the Akras.

The plan of the fort Prindsenstein was made, the ground prepared on the 20th, and on the 22nd another grand meeting was held, at which the foundation-stone was laid by Adade, brother of king Obli. Prince Ofori Thosu put the first mortar on the stone with these words: "Whoever dares to touch a single stone of the building, touches my person." And then the building commenced. Tradition says that the Akras planted some trees in the principal towns of Angula as a memorial of the victory. The whole army was put in motion homeward on the 26th, and reached Adâ the following day. As the Angulas were not well pleased with the building of the fort, and likely to give some trouble, Prince Ofori Thosu and chief Late with their people were commissioned to protect the building till it was finished. The government had to order the stones for the building from Christiansborg.

To prevent further bloodshed, the governor made presents to the whole army, and would have given monthly stipends to the king of Dutch Akra, and his allies; but Oto declared that they would never change their flag, but await the return of their former masters, the Dutch. The chiefs of Teshi, Ningowa and Tēma were, however, submitted to the Danish government, got monthly stipends and hoisted their flag till the English government bought Fort Christiansborg, and all the Danish allies came under the protection of the English government. The Dutch Town people repaired their town and removed from Kwabenyan and Kpokpase.

CHAPTER X.

The state of Asante and Akém at this period.—The battle at Mpemehō-
asem, dissensions and commotions in the country.—The first Asante
invasion of Fante, known as Fantekaa.—The invasion by the Obutus
and Fantes of Akra on Saturday, known as Hōta. 1749—1809.

After the death of Opoku Ware, his nephew Kwisi Bodum succeeded him on the stool, who restored to the great chiefs the constitutional powers of which they had been deprived by his predecessor. He was the most humane of all the monarchs, forbade the human sacrifices, and brought peace among the chiefs. Yet

they did not approve of his being so less blood-thirsty, so that many tried to irritate his feelings by committing acts against the law of the constitution; however, he kept to his principles. His nephew and successor Kwadwo seduced four of his wives who conceived by him. To spare him for the stool, Duedu, who had the charge of the harem, professed to be the offender, and was therefore beheaded. Prince Kwadwo, after this, persisted in his wicked course, and was clearly convicted. The king, however, to avoid further bloodshed, spared his nephew. But one night he ordered all the most valuable treasures of the kingdom, the best medicines for preserving life as well as those for carrying on war successfully, to be thrown into a deep swamp of the river Nsuben, as a punishment for his wicked act. Adabo, one of his sons, also transgressed with some of his wives; as a punishment he ordered him to be castrated. He was the first king who appointed inspectors of nuisances and clearing of the roads and paths in his kingdom. The insignia of that office are a gold sword, and a gold and silver whip. The fine for committing nuisance or not clearing the paths was domafā = 3/11. From those who observed the law, they used to get a present of two fowls and $2/3$ cash. Such revenue was called Nsumen and amounted annually to 3000 peredwans or sometimes less. It was divided into three parts, $1/3$ the king's share, $2/3$ to Koronti and the surveyors. His eyes being dim by age, the nobles of Asante determined to put an end to his mild reign, built a king's palace for him at Kyeremade, and removed him there, where he remained till he died about the year 1770.

Every fortieth day, known as Adae Kwasi, the king of Asante with his nobles visits Kyeremade and offers sacrifices to the spirit of Kwisi Bødum. After this the king repairs to Mogyawc to keep the Adae. Adae-kese is the yearly Adae, at which time the king receives his nobles and captains at Dwabirim and spends 1000 peredwans in presents to his chiefs, captains and officials. The following day he spends at Bantama to sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors.

Prince Kwadwo was then made king of Asante. His first act was to pick up those valuables from that deep swamp, at which attempt 1000 men lost their lives, whence that place is called Meneapem, i.e. swallowed a thousand men.

Worosā, the king of Banna, used to seize and kill Asante traders on his territory. Osegi Kwadwo, therefore, declared war against

him. He marched against Worosā with such forces as were available, hoping to nip the rebellion in the bud. He was twice defeated, and had to retreat into the forests which surrounded Kumase. There, rallying his troops and their reserve, he turned on his enemies and inflicted on them a signal defeat. The Bannas had for the first time fought with fire-arms, and were assisted in this campaign by the Moslem cavalry of Kong. The cause of his defeat was attributed to an Asante being captured, who was carried to the house-top of Worosā, who asked the prisoner to show him the camp of the Asantes. The prisoner, seeing a great number of "kurokronasuo" trees with beautiful red blossoms, said to the king, "There is the camp of the Asantes." Startled to see so many state-umbrellas, as he thought, of an enemy he knew to have defeated, he lost courage and blew up himself and his people with powder. The blasting was heard by the Asantes, who attacked and routed the enemy. Worosā, found nearly dead, was beheaded by a stroke from the sword of the king. The shape of his head was made with gold, and placed on a sword which was called "Worosā-ti."

Multitudes of prisoners were captured. The adults were sacrificed, or sold as slaves to the Dutch and English in the slave-market at Manso to defray the expense of the war, and all the male children were educated at the king's expense and became soldiers of a new body-guard which he instituted under the name of Ńkōnsong and Hyiewu, with *Okō nē Okō* for captains.

Animiri Panyin, the king of Wasa, boasted that, if he could get hold on *Osegi Kwadwo*, he would drive an *epā* (a curved iron closing round the wrist of a prisoner and fixed on a block) into his head. Wasa was therefore invaded and ravaged; Animiri was captured and his head was treated as he had offered to treat the king's, and then hung on a drum with the name *Agyankoto Agyankāma*. So the terror of his arms was felt beyond Cape Palmas. He pitied prince Adabo for the punishment he got from his father and therefore made him the chief surveyor of the nuisance and paths clearers or scavengers. A big jar of palm-wine was appointed as his daily allowance, hence the name "adaboa" was given to any jar.

After this, Akram, king of the Kotokus, then established near Agogo and Okwawu, was, one midday, defeated and slain; hence the king received the surname "Okōawia", who fights on midday.

Nakāwa succeeded Okuru Karikari, who had been recently subdued by Opoku Ware, on the stool of Yāne. He organized a very

large army by making several alliances with the neighbouring tribes, and revolted against Osei Kwadwo. General Koranteng Pete III was ordered to give him battle. A hot contest ensued. The fortune of the day was almost in favour of the king of Yāne, when the general by a bold attack surrounded the king's body-guard and captured him alive. This obliged his numerous forces to lay down their arms. By Osei Kwadwo's instructions to the general, Nakāwa's life was spared, but he was obliged to write a contract in Arabic, which both himself and all his generals signed, to the effect that he and his successors should remain vassals to the king of Asante, and pay a tribute of 1000 slaves annually to the king. General Koranteng Pete and his successors had not only the charge of this province, but also 300 slaves out of the tribute every year. The Asantes in levying this tribute counted two or three boys and girls to an adult, hence the appellation "Okumka-deka", i.e. he paid the debt and is yet indebted, is applied to the king of Yāne.

During Osei Kwadwo's reign the civil war between Mampong and Dwabeng took place. Atakora Maniampong of Mampong had the jurisdiction of the tributary states of Nta and Brong, and Akuamoā Panyin had that of Namonsi, Karakye and Bagyam. The latter claimed the jurisdiction of the state belonging to the former, and thus war broke out. The chiefs met near Namonsi one Wednesday morning. After a sharp contest Akuamoā Panyin was beaten and escaped on horseback. His *prempɛ*, *ɛkrawiri* (two kinds of state-drum), money-bag, pistol and kettle-drum were captured by Atakora. The king despatched armed men who brought the hostile chiefs to Kumase, where the case was investigated. Akuamoā was found guilty, and the Namonsi people were restored to Atakora. His people then began to extol him: "Wo na wode *prempɛ* si nsoa; wo na wode *ɛkrawiri* yɛ agyensu; wode sanā bɔ sanā so; womā Bosompɛ di afasew Wukuda." Meaning: It was you who made the *prempɛ* to become a fishing-net; it was you who converted *ɛkrawiri* to a gutter; you tied one money-bag upon another; you made Bosompɛ eat yam on Wednesday. — Dadease was then under Akuamoā, but the people did not assist their chief against Mampong. They were ordered to come over to explain why they had not taken part in the war. Alleging that they were indebted to the amount of 30 *peredwans*, the amount was paid for them by chief Asare Pomsem and princess Adwowa Piraṃan of Kokofu, to

whom they became subject. Others believe that they were sold by Akuamoā for 100 peredwāns.

Shortly after this, Akuamoā was deposed from the stool of Dwa-ben, and resided at Marabang where he had the pleasure of hearing the song of certain birds, from which the Ature dance was invented. The new king, Fetua, proving unable to rule, Akuamoā was reinstated.

Atakora Maniampong died and was succeeded by Owusu Sekyere. During the last year of Osei Kwadwo's life, when he was worn out with old age and hardship, Asen, Akuapem, and Akem took advantage of his condition to rebel. He died about 1781.

His nephew Kwame Panyin (Osei Kwamena), a youth of about 12 years, succeeded.

His first act was to send an army under Opoku Frefrefre against the Asens who had by their rebellion embittered the last hour of his uncle. The rebels were defeated, and the heads of Akombra of Kokom and Ofosu, both kings of Asen, were added to the trophies which decorate the palace of the king of Kumase.

Owusu Sekyere, who had the charge of the provinces of Nta and Brong, went to Krupi to attend a funeral custom of the late chief of the place. Staying there for a year, he became very proud and cruel by practising all sorts of enchantment against Asante. His own captains, Afidwase Babu, Gyamase Bediakō, and Adwira Boday Atōtō sent privately to inform the king of Owusu's doings there. Ogyoben was commissioned by the king with 30 armed men, three peredwāns, ten loads of cola and ten ankers of rum to the chief of Yegyē, to get Owusu drowned when crossing the Volta. The plot being known to him, he crossed the river in a common fowl-basket in which he had hid himself. To the surprise of his enemies, who were waiting to see him drowned, he landed safely. Jumping from the basket, he called out, Diako! (the name of the late king of the Guan tribes driven by Opoku Ware to Krepe). Ogyoben delivered to him four ankers of rum and a message from the king requesting his presence at Kumase. Owusu sent the commissioner back to the king with 12 slaves and the assurance that he was coming. At Nyenyemura general Yemoa Pōnkō at the head of a large army gave him battle; for three days he could not be overcome, till one of his servants, Kotokoro by name, placed him on his back, thus enabling him to climb by a creeping plant up to the top of the rock Atwiebo, where he committed suicide.

Hence the Mampong oath of Thursday. The king appointed his brother Osafo Katanka to succeed him. But he was deprived of the provinces of Nta and Brong. Krupi was also taken from his jurisdiction and the inhabitants removed to Pami, which became the present far-famed market-town of Salaga. Osafo in memory of this humiliation ordered different horns to be blown, showing how he had been deprived of every thing he possessed, and would therefore be mute.

Akuamofo Panyin having died, the king went to D̄waben to attend the funeral, and there had connection with Agyei Badu, sister of Yeboa K̄ore, whom he ought never to have married, as it was against the constitutional law of Asante. Besides he neglected his duties in the capital, as he had taken permanent residence in D̄waben. Korantēn Pete and Apea Dankwa, two powerful generals in Kumase, combined with the nobles and chiefs, led an army to D̄waben and deposed the king. The D̄wabens and his body-guard would have resorted to arms, but the king, to avoid bloodshed, prevented them. During his reign, he constituted another body-guard known as Apagya for his son Owusu Gyamedua, and Atipiri for the captain of Ankōbea. He also built the town Beremang. Agyin, the chief of Tafo, was presented with one peredwan of gold and a piece of nsā (a basket-cover) for permitting the king to build the town. Osegi Kwamena also forbade the selling of real Asantes from the country. Residing in Dwabeng, he poisoned himself in about 1799.

His brother Opoku Fofie (Opoku II, Kwabom) succeeded him, but reigned only two months and died suddenly, being, it is said, visited by the apparition of his late brother, when in bed with one of his wives by name Firempoma Tanno.

During his life-time the Mohammedans of Kong instigated the population of Gyaman to rebel against Asante, because the ex-king encouraged the Mohammedan religion. It was professed at Bontuku that the object was to restore to his stool the deposed king Osegi Kwame. But Opoku being suddenly removed by death, the case dropped and peace was restored.

At his death, he was succeeded by his brother, much younger than himself, and with the advent of Osegi Tutu Kwamena, properly known as Diasibe and Bonsu, to the stool, we enter on a period in which political relations may be said to have subsisted between Great Britain and Asante.

There was peace in the country during a period of 18 years after the return of the expedition against the Angulas; lawlessness, however, prevailed in every district. Asiedu, a nephew of king Safrotwe of Akropong, came to Akra, and had a quarrel with an Akra woman, the real cause of which is now uncertain. He was seen beating the woman, when one Bontoakō Tēko, who was close by, had to jump through his window to her assistance. Asiedu went back to Akuapem, but died shortly after that. Safrotwe thereupon sent messengers to Akra, demanding satisfaction, which was refused, alleging that Bontoakō was not the cause of his nephew's death. The intercourse between Akra and Akuapem was on that account broken, and the paths became unsafe.

To obtain redress for the injury, a small party of armed men was sent under one Okule, a Fanteman resident at Aburi, with the instruction of panyaring Akra women on their way to Mayera. It being one Tuesday, no one passed on the way, yet there were some farmers with their families busily gathering ground-nuts. They were attacked, the women and children effected their escape, and left some of the men slain on the spot. Their heads were cut off and carried in triumph to Aburi. The king was greatly annoyed at this disregard to his instructions. "You have brought me into trouble," he said to the party. "I meant to capture them alive to adjust the difference between us! How am I now to return these heads to the Akras?" Upon which the Akuapems there assembled responded, "Come what may, we can stand the consequences." Knowing what would naturally be the consequences of this atrocity, the Akuapems, upon breaking up the meeting, immediately attacked Oyeadufa and Pantang, villages belonging to Labade and Teshi. Kruding, a captain of the priestly band of Teshi, and one Okru, residing at Oyeadufa, fell in the attack. When the head of the former was to be cut off, Tēte Obokum of Berekuso, being his friend, interceded, dragged him behind some plantain-trees and hid him under the leaves. He became conscious during the night and went back to Teshi; Okru also is reported to have survived.

King Anugi of Akra with his chiefs, Tēte Ankama of Gbese, Amo Kōbā of Otu-street, Kwaw of James Town, Nāku Odang of Osu, Sowa Kpobi of Labade, Kōle and Okang of Teshi, were enraged. They concentrated their forces and encamped at Nyantrabi to give battle to the Akuapems. Safrotwe thereupon encamped with his forces on the Opoku hill near Berekuso. The Akra camp

was removed to Ashongmang awaiting their descent, which did not ensue. King Amugi ordered his forces to attack the Akuapems on the hill; but through divers opinions, which was nothing else but want of courage, they at last proposed to decamp for the celebration of their yearly feast. No sooner was the camp broken up, than the Akuapems descended and pitched their camp on the spot.

Afo, an influential man of Otu-street in Dutch Akra, advised the Akras not to wait for the celebration of the feast of the other towns, which generally comes on ten days after theirs, but to encamp first at Nyantrabi, till the chiefs of Osu, Labade and Teshi should join them with their forces. They accordingly did so, however, not with all their men. The Akuapems, having been informed of the weak state of the Akra camp, immediately attacked it and killed most of their principal men. The king, Tete Ankama and chiefs Kwaw, Amō, and several others were fain to hide in the bushes, and made their way home during the night. Some even strolled in the bush for three days before they found their way home. Several influential chiefs were captured, brought to Akropong and there barbarously killed. Afo was accused of having acted as a spy, and even killed many of those who were wounded, among whom was Ayite Okai. It was in August 1802.

A large Court was held in Dutch Town by all the chiefs and warriors of Akra, to which Afo was summoned to clear himself of the charge. The commandant of James Town was called upon to intercede, who was willing to pay any amount whatever to pacify the infuriated people, but nothing was acceptable. At last they were cooled down, fines and presents were given and shared, every one was to retire home, when unfortunately one Oni Tete of Otu-street excited the populace to a contest, in which many were slain, and Afo among the number.

During those days of commotions and dissensions, the people of Christiansborg, Labade, Niugo, and the Akuapems were allies of the Danish government, while those of Dutch Town, James Town, Teshi, Tema and Prampram were Dutch and English allies.

The allies of the Danish government on the coast had, in times of scarcity, access to the mountains. To distinguish themselves from those of other towns, they had to wear some peculiar neck-lace with one or two cowries in it. To get them into trouble, the Akuapems smuggled articles of their own property into the loads of the Akras, as Joseph did to his brothers in Egypt. But though

deceitfully dealt with by the Akuapems, they never thought of standing united against their common foe.

Some Danish colonists, as Messieurs Schönning, Truelsen, Meyer, Grönberg and others, had established villages of their own at Sêsêmi, Dŵabeñ, Bebiase, and Kpõnkpo. A fine fort was built by Schönning in his village and armed with cannon.

Kwaw Safrotwe used to frequent that place, being on friendly terms with Mr. Schönning. Once upon a visit, after the usual entertainment, the king ordered his people to play a dance for their amusement. Being unsober, he ordered this song to be played: "Bibifo sòm me, na Brofo sòm me," The blacks as well as the white men serve me. Mr. Schönning was greatly displeased, ordered at once his fort to be pulled down, and retired to the coast. The king did all in his power to appease him, but in vain.

The Akras not being very active in taking revenge after the attack at Nyantrabi, encouraged their enemy to carry on his inroads even to the coast. An attack upon Teshi was planned, but knowing how powerful the place was, and hearing at the same time that a good number of the Pramprams had been engaged at James Town, they fell upon their town, and carried off some women and children. The Ningoes heard the fire, chased them as far as Owidõ near the Shai mountain, and killed two of them; some of the prisoners effected their escape, but the rest they sold in Fante. The Akuapems, on their way back, surprised Ashikuma, a village belonging to Teshi, killed three men and made two prisoners. Doku, the son of chief Okang of Teshi, was one of the prisoners, whom they proposed to sell, when he exclaimed, "You will never get a real native of Teshi besides me, you had better kill me!" They accordingly did so. Some common fellows of Christiansborg and Labade, having kidnapped a boy from Teshi, were severely beaten and driven from their villages. The Labades thus banished, called down some of the Akuapems, and went before them, decoying the Teshis from their villages by calling out their names, and catching them.

Such was the state of the country, that pillage, manstealing, and murder prevailed in every district. If the European governments of the Danes, Dutch, and English then established on the coast had not become demoralized and weakened through the slave trade, such general disorder could easily have been checked. The poor people they pretended to protect, were so far protected, alas for their own benefit! —

The two principalities into which Asén was then divided were Apemanem and Tannosu, which were governed, the former by Amō Adae, whose chief captain was Tokudum, and the latter by Tibo and Kwaku Apotōi, co-partners in authority. One of Apotōi's followers opened the grave of one of Amō's captains and robbed it of some treasure. Amō, unable to obtain redress from Tibo and Apotōi, appealed to Osei Kwāme Panyin. The king thereupon gave judgement in favour of Amō and imprisoned Apotōi. He escaped, and Amō, unable to obtain redress, marched into Tibo and Apotōi's province. The king therefore commissioned the chiefs Kofi Amparaku of Adanse, Bosompim Nto of Omanso, Agogo Kyei, Amantara Ofosuhene, and Osemdu Akora. Boakye Atansā with captain Mpg and Apea Anyo from Kumase went with the commissioners to Asén and summoned the hostile chiefs to meet and settle the case. Tibo and Apotōi treacherously attacked the commissioners and Amō. The latter successfully resisted, but the commissioners were killed, with the exception of Boakye and his captains from Kumase. Hence the oath: Adanse-Praso. The king fined Tibo and Apotōi 300 pere-dwans; but the case seems to have been adjourned in consequence of the death of the king.

On the accession of Osei Tutu Kwamena, surnamed Diasibe, to the stool of Asante, an appeal was made by Amō to have the wrongdoers brought to justice. The new monarch interfered, and again the wrongdoers attacked Amō. Then, after two more attempts at reconciliation, and more treachery against Amō, Osei Tutu Kwamena marched his army into Asen.

The two principalities in Akém, Abuakwa and Kotoku, had been governed by several kings respectively after the defeat and subjugation at Bennā. Ofori Panyin, Obiri Korane Aboree and Tshum Ampoforo had ascended the stool of Abuakwa; likewise Obeng and Kotoku Ampōma, nephew of Karikari Apaw, one of the hostages to the Adwumankus, had been redeemed, and succeeded Obeng. Aparaku, the son of general Bantama Wua of Kumase, succeeded Tshum Ampoforo I, and Ampōma having died in his preparation against Asen, Opoku succeeded him. These kings of Akem were ordered by Osei Tutu Kwamena to join him against the Asens.

Tibo and Apotōi fled with their followers into the Fante territory. The king then sent a present to Akumanin, king of Asikuma, asking him to allow the Asante forces to pass through his country in pursuit of his rebellious vassals. Leave was granted, and Apea

Dankwa, the Asante general, overtook and defeated Tibo and Apotoi.

But the Fantes then joined in the war, and attacked the Asantes, who were again victorious. All the Fante tribes now united with the Asens, who had bribed their chiefs. The Dutch Governor at Koromante admitted the Asantes to the fort, and the king himself advanced to Abora with a considerable force. Colonel Torrane attempted to mediate, but was unsuccessful, and the Asante king, ascertaining that Tibo and Apotoi had taken refuge with the English, laid siege to Anomabo on the 15th June 1807. Mr. White, the Governor, with Messieurs Meredith, F. L. Swanzy, Barnes and T. A. Smith, and twenty-four men including some artificers and servants, received as many of the inhabitants as they could, and determined upon a gallant defence. They repulsed every assault with tremendous slaughter. A small detachment came to their relief by sea, and Colonel Torrane entered into negotiation with the king. At this juncture a whale was seen moving and sporting in the sea, and the name "bonsu" a whale, was given to the king.*)

Colonel Torrane's negotiations were not honourable to England, as he agreed to give up the refugees to the vengeance of their enemies. Apotoi escaped, but Tibo was put to death with circumstances of atrocious barbarity. The king, having expressed his respect for the brave defence of the garrison, claimed the Fantes who had taken refuge there as prisoners. He was at last satisfied with half their number, and Colonel Torrane, keeping the other half, sold them into slavery. The king declined to allow Colonel Torrane to interfere on the behalf of the Fantes, but promised to recognize his authority in the towns under the guns of the British forts.

It is to the credit of Mr. John Swanzy, then Governor of James Town, Akra, that he rose from his sick-bed and went by canoe to Cape Coast to remonstrate with Colonel Torrane against his pusillanimity and cruelty, but it was too late. Few of the wretched Fante prisoners escaped the fate of victims or of slaves, and Mr. Swanzy returned to Akra only to die, but with the satisfaction that he at least had striven (if in vain) to maintain the honour of his country.

*) Some believe that the name "Bonsu" was given to the king on account of the several hundreds of fishing and landing canoes he ordered to be broken at the beach of Anomabo.

The Asante army was suffering severely from the climate and bad water near Cape Coast, but they were put in motion, and defeated the Fantes in a bloody battle near Kōromante.

The king encamped in the neighbourhood of Winneba and Obutu, which he destroyed in October. A steady slave traffic was forthwith opened between the Akras and the camp, which greatly irritated the Fantes. But the king, in consequence of famine and an epidemic of small-pox, returned to Kumase toward the close of the year. His sister Akuwa Akurukuru and two others of the royal family died from the small-pox, hence the second reason why the oath Kōromante became so binding: — the murder of Osei Tutu in the interior, and the death of these on the coast.

On the king's march back to Kumase, he attacked the rich queen Aberewa Kōbo, and after 3 days fighting, she blew herself up with powder. Her daughter with a son and all her treasures were taken. That grandson of Aberewa Kōbo was named Afaboō by the king, which means, he has taken out the heart of the queen, i.e. her daughter and grand-child, as well as the riches. Afaboō was well educated in Kumase, and was one of the ambassadors in negotiating for peace in 1831.

An incident took place between king Aparaku of Akem and his subjects during the king's march to Kumase. At Asenenyewa, the Abuakwas revolted against Aparaku for having beheaded four of them. The case was brought before Osei Bonsu, and Aparaku was found guilty. Upon this the chiefs of Akem Abuakwa deserted their king and went back home. Only the chiefs Abomosu Odom Aku, Kwābeñ Oware and the linguist Bānyin Kakawa of Kubease were loyal to Aparaku and accompanied him to Kumase.

On the return of those chiefs to Akem, Bonsu ordered them to tell the rest of the chiefs of Abuakwa that, if they deposed their king, the royal stool would never be given to them, unless 30 pere-dwans were paid. The chiefs paid the amount, which was brought over to Kumase by those loyal chiefs; after they had been made to swear a fetish oath, the king delivered the stool to them. When it was brought, Ata Wusu Yiakosan succeeded Aparaku, and the king's message, that he must make his appearance in Kumase after being made king of Akem, was delivered by Bānyin Kakawa and the two other chiefs. Ata agreed to visit the capital after 3 years.

For the same cruelty Akem Poku, the king of Kotoku, was also deposed by his chiefs. Kwadwo Kuma, the nephew of the late king

Ampōma, was the right heir to the stool. He being absent from Dampong, a rich relative, by name Kwākyc Adeyefē, was chosen to succeed Opoku.

The cause of Kwadwo Kuma's (Kwadwo's) absence was that when his uncle was alive, Tslum Ampoforo died in Abuakwa, and he was sent by his uncle to attend the funeral of the late king. He behaved very arrogantly, competing with Ata, whose uncle had died, and contracting a debt of 5 peredwans in rum bought from Osam Kwasafo of Asikuma. His uncle was grieved to hear of Kwadwo Kuma's lightmindedness, and refused to pay the amount. He managed to borrow the sum in question from Dokuwa, yet he felt ashamed to return home, so he staid a long time with Ata.—

The Obutus, who were warned of the king's approach when he was encamped near Winneba in 1807, brought their families and property to Akra for shelter. Nnamkoi was the king of Obutu at that time. A rich Obutu chief, by name Awushi Tete, had sheltered his property with chief Saki at James Town. The war being over, his son Nsaki asked for the property; but Saki had sold most of the people into slavery and given the rest to the Asantes. An Obutu refugee, by name Sami nukpa, who escaped from Tshoku, had reported to his people how Saki had disposed of them. The sum of 100 heads of cowries, one puncheon of rum and a bullock were presented to the Obutus by Saki in order to have the case amicably settled.

The property not being produced, a meeting was held at Kpatshakole a few miles north of Akra by the Obutus and Akras. The enormous sum demanded by Nsaki, so irritated the Akras, that one Akuashong Kwatei stood up and said, "Let a sum like that demanded from Saki be produced by whole Obutu, and we can afford to pay it!" Thus the meeting broke off in a rage. From that time the Obutus began to kidnap Akra women and children.

A company for defensive warfare was organized by all the iron-hearted men of Akra, among whom were Ato, Nkrōma, Okule Apeseo, Tete Kwaw, Amā Gbāgri, Oblite, Amui, Teko Owara, Adama Adshagara, Abe Otwesa, Ayi Dshomoa, Adama Dshang, Ofēi Ashong, Kofi Nanyiranse, Aboardshe, Ayi Koto, Ati, Adshing Owuo Akoa, Ashi Tshuru, Afutu, Kodsbo Saul &c. and Adama Pataku as their commander-in-chief. Through their operations a stop was put to the inroads of the kidnappers. The chief weapons which they carried with them were a kind of native manufactured large hatchet or bill-hook.

When the kidnappers were checked, the chief of Akoti in Gomoa, by name *Qsafo*, encamped at *Ngleigong*, with the view to obtain by force from the Akras the property in question.

The defensive company, being headed by their commander-in-chief *Adama Pataku*, attacked *Qsafo* one night and totally routed his force. He was wounded and died on the way. His wife *Dekyi* was caught, but escaped; his other wives, however, were taken prisoners. Some fugitives from the scene of action brought the sad intelligence to Akoti. And to punish their enemies, they hired Fante Gomoa people, who, with other Fantes, bore bitterest grudge against the Elminas and Akras on account of their friendship with the Asantes, who, during their late invasion of Fante, had carried on a steady traffic with them in slaves, of the prisoners taken there. They had determined to revenge themselves one day, and gladly seized the present opportunity.

In the year 1809 the combined forces of Obutu and Fante invaded Akra. They formed their camp west of the town from the lagoon *Kole* to the east. They appeared so unexpectedly that the farmers in their plantation villages had no time to enter the town. *Saki* ordered a gong to be beaten that no one should interfere, saying, it was a case between himself alone, but not the whole town's people. After he had failed with the offer of one pipe of rum, a thousand heads of cowries and some bullocks to purchase peace, the investing army ordered an attack. The Akras, having found how they pressed into the town, did not take notice of the gong, but opened fire on them on Saturday 1809. The commandant in James Fort ordered his few soldiers to stand outside, to protect it from being stormed. The fire of James Town people began to slacken, so Mr. Hansen ran to the commandant in the Fort to render them assistance by the guns, which he refused to do, declaring himself neutral, and that, if he should comply with his request, he must pay an ounce of gold for every shot. Mr. Hansen then left the Fort, took a supply of ammunition to the Dutch Fort, and there he rendered his people the desired assistance to drive off the enemy. Even his mother stood behind her people, among whom was *Kofi Ape-trepe*, to fight the enemy. Hence she got the appellation "*Asare wententu, onè mmenini kōe*". Mr. Neizer, a coloured man of Elmina, contributed largely to the success of the day. The enemy was first repulsed by Dutch Town people, and combined with those of James Town, both chased him with immense loss, and then they retired. The principal men among the invaders were *Okomfo Heɛ* and *Apatu Koti*.

During the same year the Fantes and Wasas, with the people of Cape Coast and Anomabo also, joined together to take revenge on the Elminas. Governor White was unable to dissuade even the people of Cape Coast from this step. Indeed they were forced into it by the Fantes, who threatened them with an attack, if they refused to join the alliance against Elmina. They formed their camp behind the town, and made various unsuccessful attacks upon it, which failed through the assistance rendered by the Dutch guns from Fort St. Jago. Finding it impossible to gain possession of Elmina, which they had hoped to plunder and destroy, they proceeded to invest it closely. The inhabitants were sometimes reduced to considerable straits; but having a free communication from seaward, there was no absolute want of supplies. They suffered a good deal, however, from occasional skirmishes; but the allies had the worst of it, being in great distress for provisions, and so they returned home.

CHAPTER XI.

Evacuation of Dutch Town's people to Kaneshi, or the efforts on the part of the Danish and English Governments on the Gold Coast, in abolishing the Slave Trade. 1807—1847.

We should do great injustice to the European governments on the Gold Coast, if we were silent on this important subject, although their main object in settling on this coast had been slave trade,—a trade which greatly decreased the population of the country. A writer of the seventeenth century says, “Europeans frequently carried from the West Coast above 100,000 slaves a year. The very great extent to which this traffic is carried on on the West Coast undoubtedly gives rise to many abuses among the native states in the neighbourhood, and is productive of frequent wars among them.” Of the Portuguese he says, “They introduced their religion among the natives, and their slaves are catechised and baptised before they are shipped, which tends to diminish the terrors attending transportation. Their slave-ships are never crowded, and are chiefly navigated by black marines”—Kruboys perhaps, for whose faithful and good services it was arranged between the Portuguese and the Kruboys, never to make slaves of them; hence the mark on their foreheads is a sign of freedom. All the forts built by the Portuguese,

Dutch, English, Danish, French, Swedes, and Brandenburg, from Asini down to Keta, were for the slave-trade only. In 1803 slave-trade entirely ceased throughout all the colonies of Denmark. On the 25th March 1807 the slave-trade was abolished by the English, and English cruisers were sent to the West Coast to capture the slave-ships. Yet domestic slavery could not be put down either by the English or Danish government. In prosecuting, however, their object, both governments had often to resort to hard measures.

After general Amankwā had left for Asante, the country enjoyed peace, but then the slave-trade with the Portuguese became brisk. Chief Ankra was the general broker for the slave-dealers. All the influential chiefs, such as Ato, Sempe Mensa, Kwatei Kodsho, Tete Tshuru, Dowuona, &c. had their hands in it. As there was no commandant in the Dutch Fort at that time, Dutch Town was made the depôt. Slaves were sold during night, and Ankra had the charge to keep them till a slaver arrived, and the poor people were shipped in the night, all to avoid detection by the English and Danish governments.

In August, about the year 1819, when the Akras were congregated in Dutch Town for the celebration of their yearly feast, an English man-of-war arrived on the roads on one Thursday. On the following day nothing was heard; but in the afternoon of Saturday, when the inhabitants were about to commence oshi (the demonstration of the king, chiefs and people of their merriment), the ship fired at the house of chief Ankra. The warriors at once armed, and put themselves in battle-array on the beach, ready for the landing of the marines. None came on shore, but the fire continued day and night till the close of Sunday. On Monday the ship left. Ankra's house lay in ruins, some other houses were damaged, and the big fetish-tree as well as the upper part of Sakumo's shed were knocked down.

About the second month of the year 1820, a squadron of seven English men-of-war arrived on the roads with the view to suppress the slave-trade by force of arms. The Marines proceeded to land in James Fort, but the Akras at once removed all their property to Christiansborg and to their plantation villages, and left for Kaneshi, about three miles from town.

Ankra's house was pulled down, and his property confiscated, all the fishing and landing canoes were removed to James Town. King Kudsha Okai and his chiefs, Akwete Krobosaki, Akotia Owosika, and Apomsa, determined to fight the marines, if they proceeded to

Kaneshi, but never to attack them in town. It was reported that the marines either paraded outside the town, or had the intention to attack the Akras at Kaneshi; but when the Akras came to meet them, the marines marched back to town. The farmers were during this campaign prohibited from bringing in provisions to town, hence the James Town people had the worst of the whole affair.

Through the interposition of some influential men, the English government agreed that the king and his chiefs should return to the town, but the slave-dealers should be delivered up for punishment. The king, not willing to deliver them over, alone with the chiefs and fishermen returned, but Ankra went to Kpokpoase, Kwatei Kodsho to Opã, Tete Tshuru to Kwabenyan, and Sempe Mensa to Amamgre.

A slave-ship, being chased by the English cruisers during those days, was obliged to land 160 slaves on shore at Tema in charge of one Mr. Smith from Dutch Town. The governor of Christiansborg, Major Steffens, hearing of them, armed his subjects of Christiansborg, Labade, and Teshi, and proceeded himself with his soldiers to rescue these slaves. But chief Ankra had already prepared an army of the warriors of Dutch Town, who were with him in the bush, and being headed by his brother Ayi Kokosaki, they reached Tema before the governor's arrival, and removed the people into the bush. The governor and his army arrived there late, and got only few of the slaves, who had been left behind in the hurry of removal.*) The Temas were partially plundered for allowing slave-dealing in the jurisdiction of the Danish government. The slave-dealers remained in the bush for three years. The English Government overlooked the matter when Sir Charles was preparing to invade Asaute, and so they returned to the Coast.

The Danish Government was also ardent in suppressing the slave-trade. All their subjects caught practising that nefarious traffic were deported, and their property confiscated. A coloured man of Christiansborg was accused of dealing in slaves; his lands and slaves at Sesemi as well as his house (which afterwards became the property of the Basel Mission at Christiansborg by purchase) were confiscated and sold by public auction. The commandants in the forts at Teshi, Ningo, Adã and Keta were strictly charged to suppress

*) Lãbi Sisiabo, the chief of Tema, prudently met the governor at the mouth of the lagoon Sakumo with a flag of truce.

the trade. Although domestic slave-dealing was not prohibited, but that with the Portuguese, or selling one to the leeward, where the trade was encouraged, and not to the windward, was a criminal act and severely punished.

In 1839 governor Hans Angel Giede was informed that one Don Jose Mora, a Portuguese slave-dealer, had established a depôt at Batô on the bank of the Volta. The governor, at the head of about 60 soldiers and some armed men, the chaplain Mr. Törsleff and Mr. W. Lutterodt marched to Batô to apprehend Don Jose Mora. He tried to fire a pistol at the Governor, but failed and was captured with his weapon. His goods and a few slaves he had bought were confiscated.*) After promising never to carry on slave-trade in the jurisdiction of the Danish government, he was set free. Don Jose Mora shortly after opened the slave-trade at Wei in Angula. In 1842 the Danish governor Wilkens with Mr. W. Wulff, the secretary and treasurer, and 150 soldiers set sail in an American trading vessel to apprehend the malefactor. They landed at night, and marched to attack Don Jose Mora, who managed, however, to jump through a window of his house and escaped. His property and slaves were captured and brought to Christiansborg. Such slaves were set free, but to protect them, as they could not easily have got back to their countries, they were added to the emancipated slaves of the government, and employed as labourers for monthly pay.

There was at that time a custom of transferring slaves, after the death of their masters, by public auction to new masters, provided there was no legitimate successor to the estate. The amount paid by their new masters was added to other proceeds of the sale of the testator's effects and transmitted to the lawful heirs, wherever they might live. Such being the case, a wealthy West Indian of the name of Johan Christian Balck, who had, many years before, come into the country as a government agent, died on the 2nd Oct. 1843. He had possessed lands at Abokobi with more than 200 slaves, and died intestate without a son or right heir. The slaves anticipated that the custom of transferring slaves to new masters might be put into practice in their case too. Mr. Balck having been a government agent and not a native of the country, the government proposed to protect the estate. But the slaves determined to oppose the

*) The pistol was presented to Mr. Carl August Reindorf, then in service of the governor.

government when interfering with the estate; however Paspō, the elder among them, was apprehended and arrested in the Fort. One morning the prisoners were conducted by Private Jonas Reindorf to the sea-shore behind the fort, for the purpose of going to privy. A good number of the slaves, armed with clubs and swords, had concealed themselves behind the fishing canoes on the beach, and all at once rushed upon the prisoners to extricate their elder from the rest. The sentry as well as the few soldiers on guard rushed to the assistance of the soldier, but were overpowered by the greater number of the assailants. The onset was so furious that the soldiers might have resorted to arms; but in peaceful times wooden flints were used instead of the natural ones, and ammunition could not be distributed then and there, as the officials in the Castle had set out for Akuapem, to settle disturbances which had broken out there. The slaves carried off their elder. Private Joseph Fleischer was severely wounded on the head during the struggle. The few soldiers left, as well as the townspeople, were ordered to arms, and swiftly marched against the slaves. At Abokobi they were found to have quitted the place, having taken refuge in several villages belonging to the Labades and Teshis at Kwantanang. So the armed men returned home with one or two men captured. The infuriated slaves agitated the whole townspeople and the government, so that at last their quarter was bombarded. They made themselves free, but dispersed in the country.

By virtue of the treaty of 1784 the Fort was built at Keta, and was occupied by government officials, whether Europeans or natives, as commandants. When the slave-trade was abolished by the Danish Government in their settlements on the coast, the fort was not kept in proper repair. In 1844 Sergeant J. C. Hesse was appointed commandant of Keta to relieve H. Meyer. On Mr. Hesse's arrival he was informed that the old Don Jose Mora and two other slave-dealers were still at Wei, carrying on that nefarious traffic. He, according to his instructions, prepared to attack them at that place; but they heard of his intentions, and removed the slaves to a place out of the Danish jurisdiction. Mr. Hesse one night saw old Don Jose Mora passing by the fort with a gang of slaves. Ordering out the few soldiers under his command, and joined by Mr. Walter Hansen and some young men from the town, he overtook the gang and ordered them to halt, upon which Don Jose pointed his pistol at Mr. Hesse, and three times attempted to fire, but without effect.

He was then caught and the pistol taken from him. The slaves were brought to the fort, but the dealers were suffered to depart. Induced by bribes from these dealers, the king and elders of Angula requested Mr. Hesse and Mr. Hansen to give back the slaves; which they refused to do. There was an English man-of-war in the roads, whose assistance they might have claimed, but no reliable person was found to bear the letter. The fort was out of repair, and the enraged Angulas, who came to get the slaves back, easily penetrated. Sergeant Hesse would have persisted in his refusal to give up the slaves, as they were then locked up in one of the prisons. But he found that there was want of courage with those who should assist him in that work. And the elders of Angula said, as their people had assisted him in capturing the slaves, he must return them to the owners, that they might not incur trouble from the Portuguese. Should he refuse, they were prepared to break open the doors of the prison. The king held himself responsible in case the governor should claim them back from him. Thus, by the advice of Mr. Andreas Malm and Mr. H. Malm, Sergeant Hesse and Mr. Hansen agreed and gave the slaves back to the king, who had promised to keep them till the governor's arrival. He then and there sent an express messenger with a letter, and reported to Governor Carstensen what had happened, and the reason why he gave way to the demand of the king. The fort being out of repair, the soldiers determined not to fight, but were ready to desert him at the crisis. Governor Carstensen, on receipt of this report, marched with the soldiers under Lieutenant Svedstrup to Keta. The king and elders of Angula were summoned, and the Angulas were punished for assisting the Portuguese to claim back the slaves. The governor returned to Christiansborg, and despatched Lieutenant Svedstrup with 16 soldiers to Keta, to get the fort repaired. A few months afterwards Governor Carstensen returned to Europe, and was succeeded by Governor Schmidt.

Among the slaves were two men whom Mr. Hesse harboured; an Akuapem man, by name Ashong Agbo, was one of them. On the return of Lieutenant Svedstrup, he was brought home and made free.

As the Governor had ordered the repair of the fort, Lieutenant Svedstrup was appointed commandant of Keta, and Mr. Hesse, who had meanwhile been relieved by Mr. H. Malm, was again appointed sergeant. On their arrival there, they commenced buying shells and

firewood to prepare lime for the repairs. Among others, captain Dshokoto of Anyako, in company of his people, sold firewood, and was paid for it. After some time they returned to say their pay was too small. They were told that the commandant had gone to his bedroom for a recreation. While waiting for him, one of them turned round and began to make water. He was warned by the sentry, but refused to obey. A quarrel ensued. The sergeant was coming to make peace, when the captain held a fist in his face, as if to box him; upon which the sentry struck off his hand with the sword he wore, which the captain tried to snatch and got his fingers wounded. The assailants now retired to the town very much incensed, and armed themselves with clubs, awaiting to take revenge as soon as any of the soldiers were found in town.

The commandant had visited captain Marman, and on his return to the fort was assaulted by them. On being told what was going on in town, the few soldiers on guard rushed to defend their master. They were using their swords flat, but the assault becoming serious, the lieutenant exclaimed, "Cut them to pieces!" An Angula man raised a club against one of the soldiers, who received it with the sword and cut one of his ears off. Another wielded his club, but missed, when the soldier gave him a deadly cut in the belly. His comrades fled, and the three soldiers marched back to the fort with the commandant, just as their comrades, who had been in town, were coming to their aid, and the gate was locked. The whole town was in uproar that day, and the next morning the whole Angula force came to Keta in arms, demanding the commandant to deliver up the soldier who killed the man to be punished. Their request not being complied with, they blockaded the fort, and forbade selling provisions to the soldiers. Their mess-women in town were also strictly forbidden to cook for them. They managed, however, for some time, to pass food in their clothes, till they were found out and prevented. The commandant could obtain no bearer to inform the governor. Fortunately an Adā woman was found passing up, who concealed in her dress a letter, which she delivered to the commandant at Adā, by whom it was forwarded to Governor Schmidt at Christiansborg. He received the letter in July 1847. At 4 o'clock the same day His Excellency started with Mr. Andreas Bergesen, as an interpreter, Mr. Walter Hansen, 75 soldiers under command of sergeant Andreas Malin, with 2 congreve rockets, and 50 armed government labourers as basket- and load-carriers. They quartered

at Prampram, and reached Adāfo the following day. The king of Adā having provided sufficient canoes, they crossed on the third day and then formed their divisions, the governor and his staff with the carriers in the middle, one half of the soldiers in the front, and the other half in the rear. They had breakfast at Dshita, where they were hospitably received. Half an hour's march brought them in view of a flag, the ensign coming to meet them. His Excellency then jumped down from the basket, and marched before the soldiers. The ensign reported that chief Ndokutshu of Atokō was coming to fire a salute, to which the governor objected, as being inadvisable in a time of commotion. At Atokō they were grandly received and richly entertained, and two messengers appointed to lead them on. At Angula, the capital, they were hooted at for being carried in baskets, as such was against their religious custom. All that was said against them was misinterpreted to the governor. Passing through the towns they reached Dshadukofe and indicated their approach by firing two rockets. It was the most joyful day for the commandant and the soldiers, who were starving since the fort was blockaded. They marched out to meet the governor, who entered with his army. The chiefs and elders of Keta were summoned the next day to appear before His Excellency. They were asked why they allowed the Anyakos and Angulas to fight against the government? They asked for a certain time to answer it, and this being granted, retired to town. The time fixed was up, but none appeared. A fresh summons was issued, all to no effect. Sergeant Hesse was then ordered to apprehend them. One of them was arrested; the soldiers went into the next house and found old Akpaku, who asked leave to put on his dress. He went into his room, but did not choose to come out. The soldiers went in and found him holding a finger-ring which he put into his mouth. He was dragged out, but refused to walk, yet the soldiers carried him into the fort. There and then they found him dying, which was immediately reported to the governor, who requested them to send him away then; but on being carried out of the fort, he expired. His people fetched him home and buried him.

During the night all Angula assembled in arms, and at daybreak they opened fire on the fort. The garrison gallantly held out for weeks; immense numbers of those Angulas were slain. Private Carl Engmann displayed a remarkable heroism during the whole siege. On seeing a detachment of the enemy, he fired one of the guns among them, which not only destroyed many lives, but dashed

out the brains of the linguist just addressing the army. Cut off, however, from every communication, the garrison suffered fearfully from want of provisions. Chief Tei alone was loyal to the government, and secretly provided them with corn and some fowls, which were divided among the soldiers. The cassava fields of the enemy had all been pillaged by them during the night. Providentially a French man-of-war "Abeille" anchored off Keta. It seems there were no signals in the fort to communicate directly with the ship. The Danish flag was, however, hoisted up and down, and then the French flag. Governor Schmidt determined to go on board, the soldiers were ordered to fall in, and the government canoe, laying outside the fort, was carried in the hollow square of the soldiers to the seashore. The enemy opened fire on them. In precipitation the canoemen uncorked the natural hole of the canoe, but launched in. The soldiers were trying to clear the enemy off to get into the fort, when to their surprise they found His Excellency in water being driven fast by the current towards the enemy. Immediately they marched under fires to his rescue, sergeant Schandorf and Carl Engmann crossed and swam over, got hold on him, and brought him on shore. Two of the canoemen, Adang and Ashirifi, imagining to have relations at Angula, kept to the canoe. They fell into the hands of the enemy and were killed. With the exception of these two men there was no loss of life. About half a dozen soldiers got wounded, among whom were Daniel Reindorf and Christian Miller. The next day, not knowing what to do, the ship sent out two boats well equipped close to shore so as to obtain communications from the garrison. A capital swimmer, by name Sanka, volunteered to carry the governor's letter on board. He was conducted by the soldiers to the shore and swam to the boats; news of the state of the garrison was conveyed to the captain of the ship, who asked a loan of canoes from captain Marman's vessel, then on the roads, which favour was denied. They took the canoes, however, by force, and sent a good supply of provisions the next day in canoes and boats. The soldiers, being ready, met the enemy right and left, while from the ship and boats showers of grape-shot were poured on them. The ships not only supplied the garrison with provisions, but effectually cleared the coast of the enemy.

The governor then embarked for Christiansborg, and had a meeting with the kings and chiefs in alliance with the Danish government, to organize an expedition against the Angulas. He also reported

the case to the authorities in Denmark, and Commodore Kling of H. M. S. "Ornen", was sent out to punish them. On their arrival, the governor again embarked with the soldiers for Keta. On reaching Wei, a canoe was perceived with 13 men, who came on board, not knowing what ship it was. They were arrested and brought to Keta. The Angulas, cowed by the late war, sued for peace, as soon as the governor landed with the marines and soldiers from the ship. A court was held and the case adjusted; a fine of \$ 2000 was imposed upon the Angulas, 600 were paid then and there, and the governor retired to Christiansborg in the same ship with the forces. The slave-trade was much suppressed from that time in Angula, and the depôt was established by the Portuguese at Little and Grand Popo.

The entire suppression and general emancipation of slaves domestic and the like, could not be effected either by the Danish or English government till the year 1874, after Kumase had been captured and the power of Asante broken by the English. However, before the general emancipation took place, the Basel Mission on the Gold coast had abolished domestic slavery and pawning of people in all their congregations in 1862.

The slave-trade was commenced in 1517, and the general abolition and emancipation took place in 1874. It was a disease which had been imported by Europeans, and which had affected the whole country during a period of 357 years. Providentially the curse was removed by the English government, but left the country without a substitute. If our English government would encourage and assist the introduction of railways into the country, the vast amount of money sustained as a loss by the emancipation, could be compensated. Labour and living would be cheap, trade would flourish, the country would improve rapidly, and the revenue would increase.

CHAPTER XII.

The first Asante revenge on the enemies of Akra by General Opoku Frefrefe. — The second invasion by the triple army of Fante, Akém and Akuapem on Thursday, commonly called Sôta. Kwadwo Kumā's rebellion, and the second Asante revenge by General Amankwa Abunyawa. 1811—1816.

The existence of brotherhood or friendship between the Akras and Asantes will in the following chapter be proved by traditions and

narratives showing how the Asantes took a deep interest in the affairs of the Akras.

The king of Asante, on hearing about the recent invasion of Akra by the Obutus and Gomoas, and that of the Elminas by the Fantes, appointed his general Opoku with a large army to punish the Obutu and Gomoa people, and Apea Dankwa, with another force, to punish the Fantes. Captain Boakye Yam and Odunkyi*) with 300 armed men were sent by the king to Akém to ask the linguists Bānyim Kakawa, Odom Aku and Oware, why Ata Yiakosañ had not as yet kept his promise of visiting the capital? King Kwākye Yadegefē should appoint messengers to accompany them to Ata. Whilst they were staying 40 days at Dampong, Ata heard of them, and secretly sent prince Apeamin with 12 men to enquire of Kwākye the object of those messengers from Kumase. The prince was sent back to say, their mission had no other design than to invite him to the capital. Ata thereupon sent Kwākye a fetish to swear upon, whether there was really nothing serious connected with the mission. Kwākye declined; so Ata at once prepared for the worst. He captured 90 peaceful Asante traders, among whom was prince Owusu Nantshiri, who had received a large amount of the king's stipend from the Danish government, together with valuable furnitures and goods, and was accompanied by Kwamena Kuma of Christiansborg, the messenger of the Danes. The goods were taken and the traders killed.

When this was reported at Dampong, the commissioners returned to Kumase to tell the king. Kwākye sided with the Asantes and delivered to them Agyei Korowa, mother of Kwadwo Kumā, and her sister Bosuma with her daughter Ohēwa, and Adwowa Buaso, sister of Kwadwo Kumā. They were brought to Kumase by the commissioners, and pounded to death in a mortar in revenge of the prince and others.***) General Adu Sei Kra was despatched against Ata with an army of 10,000 men. Ata, advancing from Banso, defeated this force at Amomani and a second time at Sāman. Adu Sei Kra fled to Adesawase and reported his defeat to Bonsu.

Meanwhile presents of what Ata had plundered from the traders and Adu Sei Kra were forwarded to Kwaw Safrotwe of Akropong, who forthwith joined Ata in his revolt against the king of Asante.

*) Some suppose that it was Asamoa Kwadwo who was sent by the king to Ata.

**) Kwadwo's mother and relations were not killed until he imprudently killed Yaw Besē, the ambassador of the king sent to him.

General Opoku Frēḍefrēḍe now crossed the Pra and, joined by Kwākye Yadeefe, drove Ata back to Pantampa. Here Ata and Safrotwē united their forces, awaiting the Asante general. After a fierce and bloody battle Ata and his ally retreated to Akuapem. Opoku formed his camp at Mampong and invited the Akras to join him. The latter sent him a detachment under Okai Paemsegkō II. They also sent messengers under Adshekoi of Christiansborg to Otutu Osombofo, the king of Eastern Krōbo, to prepare against the fugitives from Akuapem.

The combined army of Akém and Akuapem was newly organized, the Akuapem force was divided to form the right and left wings, the main force was under Ata himself. A desperate battle was fought at Mampong. Opoku became so fierce that the Asantes faced the enemy rather than himself. The Akuapems retreated from their lines, which caused such loss to the Akéms, that precipitate retreat was the only available means. Kwaw Safrotwē and Ata with their forces retreated to Aboi-aboi at the foot of the Berekuso mountain. Kofi Asante was sent by Ata to scout the Asantes, who had then removed to Aburi, and thence through Kyereme to Nsaki. On their arrival there, the stream ran short, which gave an indication that the Asantes were close by. The Akéms and Akuapems divided and retreated, the former in the direction of Fante, the latter towards the Volta. Chief Anim Ampāna of Adukrom with women and children of Akuapem went to Krōbo, being related to the Nyewe quarter in Yilo, where they were subjected to such barbarous slaughter, that they found it advisable to leave. Kwaw made his way through Kpong to Adā, and was harboured in an island, where many of the royal family died from hardship and exhaustion. Opoku, having received arms and ammunition from the Akras, formed his camp at Mukong near Dutch Town, and then resumed his march in pursuit of Kwaw. Several men found in the villages of Labade and Teshi were caught by the Asantes in their pursuit. At the approach of the army the Adās escaped to the islands of the Volta. Finding Mr. Flint, the Danish commandant of Adā Fort, the general accused him of having connived at Kwaw's escape, and took him prisoner. He was detained five months in the Asante camp at Berekuso, but was treated with kindness and respect (others say the contrary), until ransomed by the Danish Government against payment of a hundred ounces of gold.

Under the escort of captain Osrang of Adā, Kwaw Safrotwē

escaped across the Volta. Opoku left Adã and marched to Krɔbɔ, imagining that he had fled to the mountains. As chief Anim with his people alone was there, they instigated the Yilɔs to carry on skirmishes against the Asantes. Opoku demanded redress, but his messengers were beaten, which enraged Otutu Osombofo as well as the general, and the Yilɔs were attacked as far as up to Ogoɔme. The Krɔbɔs united and forced down the Asantes with great slaughter. The cause of the fight was investigated, and the Krɔbɔs were found guilty. The Krɔbɔ hostages, Odonko Otwesa and Tei were carried away as prisoners. This enraged the Krɔbɔs to revenge themselves on the refugees, by setting fire to the houses they occupied during the night. Opoku was then ordered by the king to return at once to Kumase. The Labades and Teshis caught at their own plantations tried in vain to be made free. Okai Paemseeko had to accompany Opoku to Kumase. On his return, however, he set those prisoners free, and brought them to their homes.

Vast numbers of people of Akem and Akuapem were made prisoners or slain, or perished by fatigue, hunger and thirst during the pursuit by Opoku. The women and children of Abotakyi, harboured at Eburumaso, were detected and carried off by the Asantes. The infirm and sick committed suicide, babies were smashed to death by knocking their heads against trees to prevent their being captured by the enemy, and their graves were either a foot deep or holes of the same depth of wild yams. Children were seen sitting by way sides, having been deserted by their parents. Mothers would carry three or four babies in a wooden trough or basket for several days, and when tired threw them all into the bush. Sometimes a mother had to flee carrying on her back her new-born child! Oh the horrors of war!

Apea Dankwa with an army of 6000 men invaded the Fante country, and several insignificant skirmishes took place, but all ended in his favour. He reached the coast near Winneba. Here the Fantes of Anomabo, Adwumanko, Apa, Mumford, Winneba and Gomoa Asen had formed a large camp, and were ready to give him battle. A severe conflict took place near Apa. The Fantes were defeated, and many were taken prisoners, among others Bãfo, the chief of Anomabo. Mr. Smith, the commandant of Tantum Fort, tried to open communication with Apea Dankwa; but referring to the king's orders that he should punish the Fantes who had laid siege to Elmina, he did not admit any mediation.

Kwaw Safrotwe had meanwhile escaped to Fante. Here he found Ata and his forces, consisting only of three thousand followers. The combined army hastened to meet Apea Dankwa, whose force had been weakened by the late action near Apã. The firmness of Apea Dankwa gave way when he heard of their approach, and he ordered a retreat. He was pursued by Ata and routed. With the remnant of his force Apea fled to Asen.

After his victory over the Asantes, Ata was attacked by small-pox which had broken out in his army, and fell a victim to the disease at Kwanyakô in October, while on his march back to Akém. He was one of the bravest kings of Akém, and might have saved his country and people from the Asante yoke, had he not been cut off by death in the midst of his daring career. After his death Asare Bediakô succeeded him on the stool of Akem. The following chiefs committed suicide at Kwanyakô when Ata had died: Kwabena Konkû of Kukurantumi, Kwantanu Gyenin, Kwaben Odakwa Wœ, Sinnô Dākô, Apireman Afum; the captains over the Fanteakwa or right wing, Siewufo or left wing, adutere or centre, and the body-guard also committed suicide. Princess Yeboakua, the younger sister of Dokuwa, was given as hostage to Opoku. She was afterwards married to Bonsu and had a son Owusu Akém.—On account of those grievous bereavements, Dokuwa applied to herself this saying: “Kotodwe abo dua, eyaw npa mu” i. e. When the knee knocks at a tree, it never ceases from pain.

The two generals of Asante, ordered by the king to take revenge on the enemies of his friends, the Elminas and Akras, having retired, the country was relieved from external war for a short time, yet by no means free from internal dissensions and commotions.

The combined forces of Akem and Akuapem were still in Fante. Kwaw Safrotwe instigated Adoko of Fante and Asare Bediakô of Akem Abuakwa to march with him against the Akras. Adoko agreed at once, Asare was with difficulty persuaded, and the allies invaded the Akra territory. Their camp extended from the lagoon Kôle to Labade. For three weeks no Akra could venture to leave the town for provisions or firewood, and bitter distress began to be felt. Old bedsteads, the roofing of houses, and dried leaves were employed to cook the scanty food that could be obtained.

About that time a Portuguese vessel had anchored off Akra. The chiefs applied to the captain for arms and ammunition, against payment in prisoners whom they expected to obtain by the war.

The captain, having supplied the invaders, who had made the same promise and were more numerous than they, flatly declined, having no faith in their ability to supply him with prisoners. The Akras were, however, very active in their preparations. The forces from James Town to Ningo had been concentrated, and a meeting was held one night at Dodokwè, to arrange matters. A young man is reported then to have stood up and said, "Brethren, let us attack the invaders very early in the morning, to make a havock in their lines before the break of the day permits them to ascertain the small number of our army", — to which they all agreed.

Very early in the morning of that memorable Thursday, the invaders were furiously attacked, and routed. They were pursued beyond the Sakumo, in which many were drowned or devoured by sharks. Numerous prisoners were taken, so that the Portuguese slaver was freighted within a few days after the battle.

Many Akéms were killed and wounded, and the royal stool was captured by the enemy. This loss deprived Asare Bediakò and his nephews of their title to the royal dignity. At the suggestion of his people Asare killed himself, after having spent a week in drinking, dancing, and singing in anticipation of his own funeral. He was succeeded by Kofi Asante. Kwaw escaped with great loss to Akuapem.

The day before the attack, the labourers of the Danish Government were surveying a piece of land, and happened to kill an Akuapem-man in the bush. On account of this an ambush was laid, and when the forces of Christiansborg were marching to form their line, captain Kwate Anokòwía and his brother Kwatei Asoasà, the drummer, were shot and killed; Naku, the brother of Dgwuona, was wounded, and died after a few days at home. Kwaku Saw, the brother of Safrotwè, who had made a vow, never to shave his hair until he had captured a man from Teshi, was eventually taken prisoner by the same people. On the day of his execution at Teshi, he sang: "I had slain a leopard's child, and shall be killed and devoured by hyenas!"

When the intelligence of that second invasion of Akra reached Kumase, the king sent large presents and his sympathy to the Akras, which will be mentioned in the XIII chapter.

Dokuwa having reached Kyebi, she thanked Kwadwo Kuma for the valuable services he had rendered to Ata, and thereupon liquidated the debt of 5 peredwans she had once advanced him. She

gave him 3 peredwans, 40 guns and $3\frac{1}{5}$ kegs of powder, and advised him to go and claim the stool of Kotoku from Kwākye, as he was the right heir to it. She also appointed Obrōkwa, chief of Otumi, to assist Kwadwo Kumā in claiming the stool. Bosompim, chief of Asene, and Ntronan Broni joined him; they gave battle to Kwākye at Dampong, and he fled with the stool to Kumase. Linguist Kusi and Akyikyia were sent by Kwadwo Kumā to Sewa of Dwabenu to intercede for him, that Osei Bonsu might force Kwākye to deliver the stool back.*) The king despatched Yaw Besē, Nuakō and Odunkyī, Sewa also appointed Adu Sosoronkuo, to tell Kwadwo Kuma that he would obtain the stool, if he came to Kumase and swore the fetish oath of allegiance to the king. He agreed to do so after three years, at which time he would be sufficiently prepared to appear in the capital. Kwākye died 30 days afterwards, and his successor Kofi Duodu and a few of his people were accompanied by Akwasi Duro and Koso to Anpaw of Omanso to stay there. Agyemang, nephew of Kwākye, was kept at Kumase by the king.

Kwadwo Kuma had meanwhile sounded the minds of Akwadamma, Bawua and Odofo, principal men in the king's household, as to whether it would be safe for him to come up or not, and being advised never to venture it, was actively preparing to quit the country. When the time appointed for his visit came on, the messengers were sent for him. Adu Sosoronkuo and Nuakō escaped, but the rest he killed, besides many Asante residents in Dampong, who had been enticed to go there by the reduction of the prices of provisions and venison. The Asantes used to tell their friends, "Provisions and venison have become too cheap at Dampong, we should go there to live on rich diet."

The following chiefs deserted from Kwadwo Kumā to Adanse, when the king's messengers were killed: Akokoaso Pobi, Kwā of Bontodiase and Kuku Asā of Adwafo; but Amoakō Panyin left for Agogo. The loyal chiefs and captains were Ntronan Broni, Asene Bosompim, Gyadam Kyei, Mooso Nti, Aberem Añkama, Odomara of Bogyeseanwo, Domanten Nabra Kunan, Adasawase Kwāme Tia, Mampon Saw, Afōsō Kusi, Kyekyewere Kore, Bāsa Oteredu, Fobonto, captain over the right wing, Pira Kwāme, over the left wing, Oteredu

*) Some say, the principal ambassador sent by Kwadwo Kumā was Boa Otu, who met Kwadwo's mother and relations alive at Kumase. The king was willing to deliver them back to Boa Otu, had not Kwadwo imprudently killed Yaw Besē, the king's ambassador.

over the body-guard, and the linguists were Adu Kōkōō and Amokō Panyin.

With these Kwadwo Kumā shut up the Asantes in their country for the space of two years, that the king's messengers with those presents for the chiefs of Akra were obliged to travel through Akwamu, as already mentioned.

The king of Asante made a great effort to crush the Akéms and Akuapems, who had continued in a state of revolt since 1811. With this view he collected an army of 20000 men, whom he placed under Amankwā. He was fully determined to throw open the path, to renew his communication with Akra, and to draw from thence the stipend of the Danish Government, which had remained unpaid since the last invasion. Amankwā was also charged to receive the submission of Kwadwo Kumā and Kwaw Safrotwe, who, it was supposed, would sue for peace on the approach of such an overwhelming force.

But to provide against their escape, Apea Dankwa was sent at the same time with a smaller force in the direction of Winneba, to cut them off on that side. Amankwā moved towards Akuapem with his army. When within a day's march of that place, one of his foraging parties, consisting of seven persons, was cut off by Kwadwo Kumā. He gave battle to the whole Asante force on the day following, at Adweso. The battle lasted six hours, and ended in the defeat of the Akéms and their allies. Amankwā proclaimed his victory to the Akras by sending a jaw-bone and a slave to each of the towns, and soon after followed with his army, and received the stipend from the Danish Government. Kwadwo Kumā and Kwaw Safrotwe with their forces had again to flee to Faute for protection. Amankwā therefore encamped at Onyāse, 8 miles north-east of Akra, for nearly a year, to receive the submission of the Akéms and Akuapems. Berekuso was the town which first submitted; but the other Akuapems were in the neighbourhood of Obutu, and used to send foraging parties, among whom were Akrong Kwasi and Kwaku Fitō of Aburi, to commit pillage and plunder on the Akras, Asantes, and even the Berekusos.

Meanwhile the party under Apea Dankwa had encountered the Fantes on several occasions. The Adwumankō and Agona people were defeated with great loss, the towns of Winneba and Bereku were plundered and burnt, and the Fantes were subjected to the most cruel impositions.

Apea Dankwa died in Asen, and was succeeded as commander of the army by Apea Yanyo. Amankwā was ordered to unite his forces with him in the Fante country. Oपुरо Tuata, Oपुरо Kwabena, and Kofi Mensa of Berekuso, and a party from Akra were commissioned to accompany the general and his forces to Fante. They met with Yanyo and his forces at Asikuma and marched together through Adwumankō, driving the Fantes before them. A large body of these had encamped at Abora, but fled at the first onset. Crowds of people fled to the forts for protection. Upwards of four thousand men, women and children are said to have fled for protection to Cape Coast Castle. The governor sent a flag of truce to the Asante general, to know his intentions, but meanwhile the Asantes approached nearer and nearer to the Castle. On the 16th of March messengers arrived from the camp at Abora, and explained that the king's army had come to Fante in pursuit of Kwadwo Kumā, of Kotoku, Kwaw Safrotwe, and Kofi Asante of Akém Abuakwa, and to punish all who harboured them. The general accused Kwaw Agyiri, Opentri and Amisa, three Fante chiefs, of having stood in arms against the Asantes for the defence of these men. A meeting was held in the hall of the Castle on the 21st, at which it was proved that Kwadwo Kumā, Kwaw Safrotwe and Kofi Asante were not in Cape Coast, and the headmen of Cape Coast took fetish oath to that effect. However, it was arranged that one hundred ounces of gold must be paid by the Cape Coast people and the Fantes, to purchase peace with the Asantes. This was done, and their friendship cemented with a fetish oath. Soon afterwards the Asantes broke up their camp at Abora, because they had now conquered the whole Fante country, and went in the direction of Akra in search of the proscribed men. Kwadwo Kumā, hotly pursued by the Asantes, put a period to his own life at Nkum near Asikuma, being unable to escape from the party of Apea Yanyo's force, who surrounded him there.

There are divers opinions about Kwadwo Kumā's death. Some say, upon seeing that the Fantes were tired, he fled from the country with a single wife. Notice was given to the effect that whoever could bring him alive or dead, should be rewarded with £ 18. A hunter, being fortunate in finding him roaming in the bush with his wife, killed him and brought his body to town, where it was delivered to the generals. The true account seems to be this: Kwadwo Kumā, having found that the Fantes could not protect

him, fled from the country with Gyadam Kyei and Amoakō Hene, with the view of returning to his capital Dampong. Osaka, the mother of Aduanan Apea, with her daughter Badua, having been taken prisoners by the Asantes, Apea and Kwamena Asamanin despatched eight messengers after Kwadwo Kumā, who was overtaken by them at Ńkwantanan, and was expressly told to return, as the Asantes had fled from the Fante country. They brought him back, and delivered him up to the generals at Ńkum, while Osaka and Badua were released. Both Kwadwo Kumā and Amoakō Hene were beheaded, smoked and brought to Kumase with Gyadam Kyei alive.

All the chiefs and captains of Dampong, who fought under Kwadwo Kumā, asked Kwasi Amankwā of Asikuma to intercede for them, after the general had gone to Kumase. Kwasi Amankwā commissioned captain Biredu to settle the case for them. The king appointed Odunkyi and Nuakō to accompany Biredu to Dampong, and after a fine of 300 peredwans had been paid, all the chiefs were beheaded, and Amoakō Panyin, who deserted Kwadwo Kumā to Agogo, was ordered to govern the Kotokus. Alirifa Akwadā, cousin of Kwadwo Kumā, but the son of Amoakō, and his mother Buadiwa and sister Korama would have been killed, had not Amoakō paid 3 peredwans to save their lives. After which he made them take a fetish oath to the effect that they must allow him to rule in peace, as long as he was alive.

Meanwhile Kwaw Safrotwē, the roaming fugitive, the chief disturber of public peace, whom no one could lay hand upon, had made his own subjects tired of him; the Agonas also were tired. The Akwapems thereupon opened a communication with the chiefs of Akra by Ado Dankwa, entreating to negotiate for peace on their behalf. Fees demanded and paid to the Akras, before they opened a communication with the Asantes, were a punchcon of rum and 50 slaves. The general accepted the negotiation for peace on condition that 1500 heads of cowries and 200 slaves must be paid, and Kwaw and all the chiefs who fought against the king should be delivered up. Kwaw had meanwhile left the Fante country for Akwapem, and concealed himself in his own village at Amamprobi.

Ado Dankwa, whom the general had promised to make chief of Akwapem if he could deliver up Kwaw, conducted a party of Akras and Asantes to his hiding-place at Amamprobi. He placed an ambush around him, and then entered into conversation with him. He advised

him to kill himself, as it was impossible for him to escape from the Asantes' vigilance; but Kwaw refused, alleging that he would wear out the king's patience. Upon this Ado Daŭkwa left him, which was the preconcerted signal for the party in ambush, who fired and killed him. His body was conveyed to Akra, smoked and sent to Kumase. His two brothers Opoku and Amankwā shared the same fate.

Chief Anim Ampaana of Adukrom was brought to Christiansborg and beheaded. All the chiefs of Fante, Akém and Akuapem came to Akra, begging to intercede for them. They acknowledged their being tributaries to Asante, and an annual tribute was fixed for each of them. For upwards of one year Amankwā encamped at Onyāse, 8 miles from Akra, and brought about a full and lasting peace in the country. Thus by means of that peace the Akras obtained liberty to reoccupy their own lands and villages unmolested by their enemies for 12 years, till Sir Charles MacCarthy induced them to break off their friendship with Asante.

The object of the expedition was now obtained, the heads of Kwadwo Kumā, Kwaw Safrotwe and Kofi Asante were now in the king's possession. Amankwā, therefore, returned to Kumase, having thus reduced Akem and Akuapem to a state of vassalage and established the king's authority throughout Fante. Asante residents were left behind in charge of the principal districts, whose duty it was to keep the Fantes in subjection, and to collect the king's tribute. In the execution of this duty, they exercised great tyranny, and seldom were at a loss for an excuse of their exactions. The mere suspicion of disaffection was sufficient to draw upon any chief or headman the infliction of heavy fines. The same tyranny and infliction of heavy fines were experienced by the Akras during general Amankwā's encampment at Onyāse, and several of them became slaves and pawns. And for that account, the Akras, after due consideration, accepted the proposals of Sir Charles to declare against Asante.

CHAPTER XIII.

The deplorable state of the country in consequence of the invasions by and the tyrannical rule of the Asantes.— The deputation composed of Mr. James, Governor of Akra, and Messieurs Bowdich, Hutchison and Tedlie with a present to the king of Asante.— The king of Asante commenced war with Gyaman. The insult given to Asante residents in Fante.— Mr. Dupuis as Consul to Asante — The former friendship which existed between the Akras and Asantes.— 1817—1823.

From 1807 to 1823 the Asantes were lords of all the country between their kingdom and the coast, and ground down the people with the most barbarous tyranny. Those Asante chiefs and headmen residing in the principal towns exercised more authority over the people than the king himself at Kumase: Merchants, mechanics, clerks, canoe-men, the poor, the rich, high and low, all were subjected to a rigid system of cruel extortion on every possible occasion, and often on pretences altogether ludicrous and unheard of. Several persons were deprived of their handsome wives. If one mentioned the king's name, he was fined. If one had any words with an Asante, if one accidentally or inadvertently touched or even alluded to an Asante, he was punished. In Fante as well as in Akra, the interior not excepted, several chiefs were made to pay enormous fines under various pretexts. The European governments only occasionally interfered by very gentle and not always sincere protests. Most of the best kings and chiefs as well as the greater part of the population had been annihilated or brought over to Asante as captives for life. Many a populous and large town lay in ruins, and poverty prevailed everywhere, chiefly in the interior countries. The English, Danish, and Dutch governments began to feel for those they pretended to protect, and endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of those kings, chiefs and people who had sought protection at their hands. From time to time they despatched embassies with large and valuable presents to Kumase by way of befriending the king and to encourage legitimate trade, that the Protectorate might enjoy peace. The Danish and Dutch governments even allowed the king a monthly stipend.

In 1817 presents were sent by the African company in England to the king of Asante. The embassy was composed of Mr. James, governor of British Akra (who after a short time was recalled), Messieurs Bowdich, Hutchison, and Tedlie. Hospitality was shown

them in every way, but when they came to business, matters did not run smoothly.

The king produced Notes or leases which he had captured from the Fantes, and claimed that payment on account of them should be made to him in the same manner as the Dutch paid him rent for Elmina, due on the document which he had taken from Dankera. This was contested on various grounds, but at last the Notes were made over to him (Osei Tutu Kwamena or Bonsu), and the subjection of the Fantes to him was thus acknowledged. Other difficulties were raised, but reparation was made for insults offered at Komenda and Amisa by large payments, and the Treaty of Peace and Amity was at last signed and sealed (by the kings of Asante and Dwaben and Mr. Bowdich) on the 7th September 1817. The Fante tribes were by it reduced to the condition of tributaries to Asante, but a kind of British Protectorate was admitted.

The fourth and the eighth articles of the treaty ran thus:

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

“The governor-in-chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any subject of Asante or Dwaben guilty of secondary offences; but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the king, to be dealt with according to the laws of his country.”

The mission withdrew, Mr. Hutchison remaining as resident for some months, and it is to this mission that we are indebted for the excellent work of Mr. Bowdich.—

Almost all the monarchs of Asante had to carry on war against Gyaman, since the first war with them in the reign of Osei Tutu, either to suppress rebellion or to enforce tribute. The hasty recall of general Opoku from the siege of Krobo in 1811 was on account of the king mustering an army to march against them.

Adinkra, the then king of Gyaman, had made a gold-stool similar to that in Kumase, and being a tributary king to Osei Bonsu, it was considered not becoming his position. The king thereupon commissioned the renowned linguist Kwāme Butuakwa to Boutuku

to claim the stool for him. Adinkra quietly yielded to the king's demand and sent the stool to Kumase. Not very long after this, Gyamarantwi, one of Adinkra's drummers, had illegal intercourse with one of his wives, and then escaped to Kumase. The criminal was sent back to Adinkra by the king, to be dealt with as he might think fit. The king not killing the criminal made Adinkra suspicious, as to whether by punishing him with death the king might be offended, hence he set him free. He, being acquitted, there and then insulted the Asante messengers in the presence of the assembly, but none checked the criminal.

One of his ladies, Nyañkūrā, a princess of Kong, was displeased at Adinkra's cowardice in giving up his gold-stool. She would prefer a man with courage to a poltroon as he was. Finding it too late to recall the stool, Adinkra indemnified himself by sending insolent messages to the king and throwing Asante residents into the gold mines. The king of Asante warned Adinkra, but he persisted in his perversity, and provoked the king at last to invade Bontuku with an army.

Adinkra inquired an oracle through a Mohammedan priest called Adumámu. By his direction the commissioners bought two rams, named one of them Adinkra, the other, Osei, and let them fight; the one named Adinkra was beaten. Knowing now what would be the result of the impending invasion, Adinkra spent a whole week in drinking, dancing, and singing, in anticipation of his own funeral. After which he sent commissioners to inform the priest what had happened, and to ask him for some war medicine against the king of Asante. The medicine was brought and buried in the main road to Bontuku. At the same time the Mohammedan king of Kong was asked to assist Adinkra with an army. The king of Asante, being informed by his priests that that spot had been poisoned by their enemies, was advised, on reaching the spot, to take another road. The army from Kong not having arrived, Adinkra was obliged to send two ambassadors to sue for peace. On the bank of the river Tain the ambassadors met the king, but he rejected their entreaties.

Adinkra was defeated and slain. His son, Prince Apaw, cut his father's head, and cutting open the belly of a woman with child, put it inside and sewed it up. The battle raged for several days. Apaw was taken prisoner and brought before Osei Bonsu, who by promises and kind treatment induced him to assist in finding

the body and head of his father. The Asantes then sowed the dead king's head on his body, dressed and seated him, and held a court in which the king brought his charges against Adinkra. The elders went into a consultation and brought a verdict of guilty. Adinkra was then, according to the Asante custom, beheaded by the executioner. Immense treasures and numerous prisoners were carried off to Asante. The Kong army arrived after Adinkra had been slain, and returned home with the Princess.

It was during this war that Kwadwo Tibo, king of Dankera, displayed such dashing bravery, that the king in astonishment exclaimed, "Kwadwo, if you fight so bravely for your master, how would you fight in your own defence?" Really Kwadwo Tibo was the African General Forwards.

Among the prisoners was Soko Ni Agyei, the second in command of the Gyamans, who was caught by king Boaten of Dwaben. Adumamu was also caught by Opoku Frefrefre. After affirming by solemn oath and written treaty that he and his people would never be hostile to Asante, he was set free. Princess Tamia, sister of Adinkra, was brought to Kumase and married to Saupane. She had a daughter, Ampomahwence, and a son, Agyei Bonne Adu. Osei Kwadwo married the former, and Owusu Taseamandi, who escaped to Cape Coast in 1881, was born. Apaw tried to escape and was killed, but Tamia was liberated by Kwaku Dua and sent back to Gyaman.

All the tributary kings of Akem Abuakwa and Kotoku, Akwamu, and Akuapem had either joined in person or appointed their representatives with their respective forces in this war; only the Fantes kept aloof. Encouraged by rumours of disasters said to have befallen the invading army, they grew insolent and began to insult and beat the Asante residents, and among these one Koso (Osono), a court-crier of the king, whose gold cap, the sign of his office, was lost in an affrey [at Komane or Commenda]. Reports of this were brought to the king in camp, and on the strength of the treaty he applied to the governor for redress. The governor refused. Other messengers came, whom the governor received with great indignation, presenting them with a ball-cartridge, in token that he was ready for war. The king received the message, and his nobles at once demanded to be led to the coast. But he could not reconcile the conduct of the governor with British good faith, and believed that there must be some mistake, and that the governor

had been imposed upon. As the treaty had stipulated that in the event of any aggression on the part of the protected tribes he was to seek redress through the governor, so he had done, and had no intention of giving offence.

The king, therefore, despatched Owusu Dome, a messenger of high rank, with a numerous retinue. A little previous to this date the British Government had sent out Mr. Dupuis as consul to Asante, and he was waiting at Cape Coast to proceed to Kumase, when Owusu Dome arrived.

The governor was extremely jealous of Mr. Dupuis' appointment, and seems to have been determined to thwart him. When the ambassador appeared in the council chamber at Cape Coast, he begged that the treaty might be read aloud, and laid chiefly hold upon the fourth article (already given) and the seventh, which provides that "the governors of the respective forts shall at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Asante who may resort to the water side." The envoy then, with much dignity, said, that redress must at once be given, or the king would appeal to arms.

The envoy was then informed of Mr. Dupuis' presence, and of the nature of his appointment. At the close of his address he had tendered to the governor the parchment on which the treaty was written. He now, at Mr. Dupuis' intercession, consented to retain it till he received fresh instructions from the king.

A fresh ambassador was then sent down, a relative of the king. He abated nothing of his demands, but insisted on a payment of 1600 ounces of gold from the inhabitants of Cape Coast, and a like sum from the British governor.

Upon this Mr. Dupuis went to Kumase. He was well received by the king, who seemed willing to adjust the differences without proceeding to war. A new treaty was drawn up, recognizing the king of Asante's sovereignty over Fante, and stipulating that the natives under British protection should be answerable only to the governor for their acts. The king withdrew his demand for 1600 ounces from the governor, but insisted on the fine to be paid by the Cape Coast people. He also consented to receive missionaries to preach the Christian religion.

When Mr. Dupuis returned to the coast, the king also sent ambassadors, whom he wished to proceed to England with presents to the Prince Regent. The governor, however, refused to ratify

the treaty, or to assist in obtaining for the ambassadors a passage to England. The policy of these acts is justly designated by Mr. Cruickshank as short-sighted and perfidious. In spite of the disavowal of the treaty, the refusal to satisfy the king's demands on Cape Coast, and the contumacious rejection of his ambassadors, Osei Bonsu still refrained from war. Mr. Dupuis sent him word that he would lay the matter before the Home Government. When several months had passed without reply or redress, Prince Adum, the ambassador, was ordered to retire from Cape Coast and to stop the trade. He established his head-quarters at Manso, and exercised authority over the protected tribes. Trade was entirely stopped, and the whole territory was a scene of lawless violence. In consequence of this, an act was passed through the English Parliament (in 1821), abolishing the African Company and transferring the forts and settlements to the crown. —

The alliance between Asante and Akra was made during the reign of king Tete Ahene Akwa about the year 1740, when Opoku Ware was the king of Asante. The following statements refer to that alliance or friendship.

It is a well-known fact that the Asantes never took up arms against the Akras and vice versa, while several other nations were attacked and conquered by the Asantes.

There are several traditions which say, the Akras were brothers to the Asantes, hence none of them has ever imbrued his hands in his brother's blood. To prove the particular nature of such a brotherhood is now beyond every traditional research. Naturally, the two nations could never be of one and the same family, as the Akras are distinguished from the Asantes by the practise of circumcision and speak a different language. The following traditions and accounts might, however, throw some light on the subject.

1. The first tradition is already given in chapter I.

2. Tradition says that two daughters of one of the chiefs of Elmina were married one to a prince of Kumase, the other to a prince of Akra. Their descendants obtained respectively the royal stools of Asante and Akra, hence they kept up that relationship.

3. An ancient league may have existed between the two nations prior to the destruction and expulsion of the Akwamus, and that league was faithfully observed by them.

4. The king of Dutch Akra, the supreme chief of all the Akras,

being a Dutch subject, and the king of Asante a Dutch ally, both served under one flag, hence the friendship.

5. The Akras were at all times peaceful trading people, not eager for war or extension of their power. Consequently they never provoked other people to war, and were inoffensive to the Asantes.

6. It may have been the policy of the Asantes, to keep peace with one tribe till they had subdued the other. "Divide et impera." If such was the case, the Asantes did not get a chance to declare war against Akra before they were faced at Katamansu.

However this may be, the existence of true respect and friendship between the Asantes and Akras is proved by different smaller circumstances.

Before the battle of Katamansu, several of the Asante monarchs used to apprise the kings of Akra and their fetishes of any projected expedition, and receive in return fetish-leaves and war-medicines. On the return from such expeditions large presents of prisoners and spoils were sent to the Akras.

Further, there were annual presents sent by the former kings of Asante to the chiefs of Akra. Once upon sending such annual presents, and also to sympathize with the Akras for the Thursday Invasion in 1812, the road having been stopped in consequence of the invasion, the messengers made their way through Akwamu. Akoto, the king of Akwamu, sent an escort headed by Ofori Biribiti to conduct the messengers safe to Akra. The Akuapems, hearing about the messengers, planned to attack and rob the escort of the presents. A fight ensued, in which Ofori Biribiti was wounded.

All difficult cases that occurred among the Akras themselves were settled by a special commissioner from Kumase, as in the instance of Odade Afrowua and others. Several principal men among the Akras were befriended by the kings of Asante. They were never tributaries to them, as the Fantes, Akéms, Akwamus, and Akuapems were. The observance of Osei's oath was, however, prevalent, that offenders were fined by the Asante residents in the country.

One Kwame Ata was accused of having used some terms of great disrespect to the king. Thereupon Saki Akomia of Akra was commissioned by the chiefs of Akra to bring him over to Kumase to be judged by the king. But being found not guilty, he was sent back without any punishment.

With the exception of the lime prepared by the people of Tema and the Akras, which the Akuapems carried to Kumase, no direct

service had ever been performed by them in acknowledgment of their subjection to the Asantes.

At length, to the infinite joy of the whole country, it was made known that the British Government, resolved to put an end to the existing state of things, had directed Sir Charles MacCarthy, the Governor-in-chief of Sierra Leone, to proceed to the Gold Coast.

The Akras were at that time in a flourishing state owing to their exemption from Asante invasions.

From the expulsion of the Akwamus in 1733 up to 1826, almost a century, the Akras enjoyed peace and prosperity. As traders and brokers to European merchants in the slave traffic, and also by several affinities to them, they acquired riches and popularity and improvement in their social life. The foreign and civil wars in which they were engaged during that time, did not cause them much loss of lives. They alone, in those critical times, had not suffered by any Asante invasion. The country was well peopled and able to send out a force of 20,000 warriors. Their political and military administrations were in good order. They were mostly blessed with good, powerful, brave, and patriotic kings, chiefs, captains and rich men, who had of late broken the peace with Asante by complying with the request of Sir Charles MacCarthy, and were now eager to assail that power at once before it were too late. For they knew that their children would have to suffer the worst, if the Asantes were to invade the country, when they had been gathered to their fathers.

The warlike spirit evinced at that age, was employed by the fetish priests as a means of making money. They told the people by what sort of sacrifices the king of Asante could be stimulated to action. Hence different oracles were obtained to that effect from the principal fetishes. The oracle of Sakumo was, to make a man and a stool of clay, to place them outside the town, on the road leading to the interior, and to catch a black flying ant and put it on the stool. After the insect had stung the clayman three times, it should be removed from the stool. The oracle from Lākpa was, to make seven different camps, to put fire to the sheds one after another, till the seven camps were reduced to ashes. That of Tema Sakumo was, to make a wooden stool, tie it to a rope, drag it to the bush, and back again home. All this was to show that they were ready and anxious to fight the Asantes.

CHAPTER XIV.

Arrival of, and preparations made by Sir Charles MacCarthy for the invasion of Asante.— Expeditions to Aburi and Asikuma. 1822—23.

A few months previous to the 28th of March 1822, when Sir Charles MacCarthy landed at Cape Coast to assume the government of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast, and, amid the firing of cannon and general rejoicing, read the new charter and proclamation, — a difference had taken place between the English Government, and the Asantes on the following occasion.

Opentri, the chief of Abora, and principal caboceer of the Fante nation,*) had a slave by name Kwāme Tete, who, having committed some crime, sought refuge in the town of Cape Coast; upon which Opentri, without making any application to the Governor to deliver him up, proceeded himself with a force to Cape Coast, seized, and carried him to Mowure, the then Dutch settlement, six miles east of Cape Coast, and there caused him to be beheaded. When this outrage was made known to Mr. Smith, the Governor, he despatched a party of eighty-five soldiers under the command of Mr. Colliver to seize Opentri, who was, however, warned of their approach, and an action took place in Mowure town, in which eleven lives were lost, many wounded, and Opentri himself killed, and his body conveyed to Cape Coast Castle. As the whole Faute nation was then subject to the king of Asante, Opentri's master Osam Kofi appealed to the King, and urged him to demand satisfaction from the British Government.

This affair was still pending, when a quarrel took place in Anomabo Fort between one of the sergeants of the Royal African Corps, whose native name was Kwadwo Otetefo, and an Asante trader, in which the latter used some terms of great disrespect to the governor of the fort; upon which the sergeant retorted, and applied the same reproachful language to the king of Asante. This silly affair cost the sergeant his life; for the words were related to the king, who was advised by the Fantes and some of his chiefs to insist that the unfortunate man should be delivered up to him to be punished as he might deem fit. This insolent demand was, of

*) Osam Kofi was then the chief of Abora and principal caboceer of the Fante nation. He being poor, Opentri, who was his own servant, got into power by riches.

course, not complied with, and thus all intercourse was broken off till Sir Charles MacCarthy's arrival, when these circumstances were made known to him.

It might have been expected that His Excellency had announced to the King by an ambassador the transfer of the Forts from the African Company to the Crown, and his arrival to take upon himself the supreme command, which would doubtless have led to the settlement of any differences then existing. His Excellency, however, did not attempt anything of the kind, but immediately began to gain over the Wasas, Fantes, etc., inducing them to throw off their allegiance to the king of Asante. And the brave British soldier was perfectly right in doing so; because the officials of the late African Company refused to give him information or to take office under him. The tyranny of the king, the oppression which the Fantes had to endure, and the insolence of the king's residents in the country, convinced him that there could be no solution of the difficulties, but by war. The views of the new Governor were soon made known to the King, through the Elminas and his residents at different Fante towns, and thus the breach was widened.

Sir Charles MacCarthy left matters in this state on his first visit to the Gold Coast, and returned to Sierra Leone, leaving Major Chisholm in command. A few months after his departure, the same sergeant was sent by the officer commanding at Anomabo to Agyā, a small town about three miles away, where he was seized by the Fante chiefs (among whom was Amoenu, the chief of Anomabo) and delivered to Kwāme Butuakwa, Amoa Bāta, and Apentento, the Asante residents at Abora, in whose hands he remained for four or five months. He was at last cruelly put to death, and his head and hands sent to the King.

The sergeant's detention for four or five months at Dunkwa by Kwāme Butuakwa and party, before being brutally killed, strengthens the evidence of the following narrative, which says: "The sergeant, after apprehension, was sent, under an escort, to the King who, personally desirous to live in peace with the British Government, raised objections to the sergeant's being brought to Kumase, and released him, as Kwāme Ata was in former years acquitted, but punished the accusers with death. The chiefs and captains of Asante took the responsibility upon themselves, and authorized Butuakwa to kill the sergeant in spite of the king's objections." Before executing the order, Butuakwa, however, was reported to

have said: "How often have I tried to keep together the power and kingdom of Asante by my eloquence, but they would not have it." Some chyle being found mixed up with the blood of the sergeant, the bystanders exclaimed "Wiase agu hyirew, atofɔ aba maɪ mu", which means: "The world has given the white clay (sign of justification), the slain in the field of battle will be numerous."— That saying at last proved indeed a prophecy.

Sir Charles was soon apprized of the event, and returned to the Gold Coast with the intention of punishing the Asantes. For this purpose, to the surprise of all, he brought down a reinforcement of only thirty-five men of the 2nd West India Regiment, which, with the troops then at Cape Coast and Anomabo, made his number about 220 men. With this force, a swift and secret night-march and an onslaught in the dusk of the morning of the 26th of February 1823 was made to surprise Butuakwa and his party at Dunkwa. But by the treachery of a native of Cape Coast, named Sam Brew, the project was defeated; for at daylight, when the party expected to surprise the Asante chief in Abora, they had been led by their guides into an ambuscade at Tuaŋko, many miles from that place, and surrounded by the enemy. The advance guard, consisting of a few well-trained men of the W. I. R. under the command of Captain Laing, fought bravely, whilst the Volunteers vanished in an instant. They succeeded in making good their retreat to Anomabo, but not without the loss of one officer, ten men killed, and forty wounded and missing. The war was thus commenced in Fante.

Still the Asantes were not only permitted to trade to Akra, but the monthly stipend to the King continued to be paid here. This little affair might have convinced His Excellency that the Asantes possessed courage and were not entirely unacquainted with war and stratagems. For after the battle at Dunkwa, the King despatched the renowned Akra linguist Kwashi Apente with the King's son Prince Owusu Pera, Anɔneang and Abam, to tell the king of Akra what had happened and what he had heard about the movements of one Mankata (Sir Charles), who was preparing to invade Asante, and also to know from the Akra king, whether he would join the British Government against him? A very difficult question that! To deliver his message and the Akra king's answer accurately, the linguist was made to swear on a certain fetish at Kumase, and had his lips wounded by the sword of the King's successor Osei Yaw, with which he swore to fight the British Government, saying

thus: "No nation will dare to invade Kumase, unless we rather make war against that nation. Whoever attempts to burn Kumase, shall quench the fire with his own blood."

After several meetings held by the Akras alone, they unanimously resolved to support the British Government. Prince Owusu Pera was brought by the Akra chiefs before Captain Blenkarne in James Fort, and ordered by the commandant to return speedily and tell his father that the country would be invaded by the English.

Another tradition says, that the skull of the sergeant killed at Dunkwa was brought by Prince Owusu Pera to the king of Akra, with overtures of peace to the English; but that Sir Charles Mac Carthy rejected the proposals made by the King through the Dutch Governor, after which Commandant Blenkarne ordered the prince to get away with the skull.

His Excellency after the Dunkwa encounter redoubled his efforts to withdraw the Wasas and Fantés from their allegiance, which efforts were attended with some success.

He also succeeded in gaining Kwadwo Tibo, king of Dankera; he likewise now embodied 800 Militia at Cape Coast, Anomabo and Akra, paid a visit to the latter place, and had an interview with the Danish Governor, Major Johan C. von Richelieu, and made every arrangement with him to allow all Danish subjects to join the expedition against Asante. He had an interview also with the influential native merchants, Messrs. Hansen, Bannerman and Richter etc. Through these means, after considerable trouble and promises of rewards held forth to the king and chiefs of Akra, the English, Dutch and Danish Akras were induced to declare against the Asantes. Before their final consent was obtained, they told Sir Charles that they had a master whose oracles were more essential, and which they must first consult. The chiefs thereupon applied to Okomfo Nyākō, the renowned fetish prophet in that age, seeking divination from Nai (the sea), their highest fetish, who told them through the prophet, that his mind would not be known until his great captain Sakumo had been consulted. One Monday night, the chiefs assembled at Nyākō's predicting-shed, inquiring the same from Sakumo. What they obtained was: "I have already raised my sword." The oracle obtained from the female fetish (lagoon) Kōle on the following Friday night was: "I have my sacred basin already in my left hand, and I will sprinkle the refreshing water on my husbands." Large presents were privately given to the chiefs by

those native merchants, who made them understand that to side with Asante was, as it were, to keep a snake in the pocket. And the same experiences they themselves had made when general Amañkwa Abunyawa was on the coast in 1814, when several Akras were subjected to heavy fines and extortions, so that many a one became either a slave or pawn.

After having gained over the Akras and obtained the full consent of the Danish Government, the next important step was, to gain over the Akems, Akuapems, Akwamus, and Krobos, all tributaries to Asante.

Tshumasi Ankra, headman among the Akem hunters in the bush near Akra, was ordered to come down to the coast. King Amugi and his chiefs, after having sounded his mind, brought him over to Captain Blenkarne; he was then commissioned to go to Dokuwa, queen of Akem. That masculine queen had sworn never to attend any grand yam-feast in Kumase, on account of several cruelties the Akems had undergone at the hands of the Asantes. For, the first twin brothers of the royal family, and kings of Akem, (*viz.*, Ata and Ata, her uncles) had been killed by the Asantes; after those, the second twin brothers, who were her brothers, shared the same fate. Hence she determined never to go up to Kumase with her twin sons Ata and Obiwom. Her presence was, however, urgently required at Kumase, and after much hesitation and misgiving she yielded to the positive demand of the King to go to Asante. During this time Ado Dankwa also sent his son Atiemo, with Adi, Asā and Kwasi, to the queen to inform her of his intention to support the king of Asante, and not Sir Charles. She agreed to do the same after all, and sent Oware Fori, Apeagyeyi Aponsagya and Asirifi to accompany Ado's ambassadors to announce their intentions to the king. Not long after the messengers had gone, Dokuwa was quitting Akem for Asante, and had reached Abompe, when the chiefs Okru of Apapam, Obeng Ayekwa of Apedwa, and Kwasi Asimen of Tete determined to force her back or deprive her of the Akem stool. She was supported by Tanno Asiakwa of the Oyoko tribe, an adherent of the king of Asante, and the most influential chief in all Akem. He was at Abompe vanquished in a battle against the three chiefs, and beheaded. The queen was, at the same place, overtaken by Tshumasi Ankra, who delivered to her the message from the Government and the king and chiefs of Akra. At first she positively declined to break off her allegiance to

the king of Asante, as she did not believe in the success of the expedition. She said: "Suppose the white men and the Akras fail to break down the power of Asante, what will become of myself and my subjects? Whither could we flee? The white men could run away to Europe, the Akras would be safe enough on the coast, but upon me and my subjects the Asantes would pour out revenge!" Tshumasi replied: "Suppose the white men run away from the coast, will they not put a stop to the importation of gun, powder, flint and knife, etc.? And could the Asantes fight without these materials?" The debate ran high, till at last the queen was overcome by the following speech. "The white men have brought out corn with them, have determined to conquer Asante, and plant the corn in the soil of Kumase, and eat some before returning to Europe!" Dokuwa gave in and was brought to Akra with her twin sons and people. Her eldest son Ampofo, though but a youth at that time, was presented to the king and chiefs of Akra as the king of Akem, although the reins of government were in her hands. At the reception given to her by the British officials and the chiefs of Akra, she held in her hand a stick with a parrot sitting on it, to indicate that she could retire like a parrot into the forest, should the British Government and Akras fail in conquering the Asantes.

After completing all arrangements with the Governor and the chiefs of Akra, she left her twin sons Ata and Obiwom as hostages, renewed her ancient league with the Akra king, and confirmed the whole by an oath on their chief fetish.

This being done, the next people to gain were the Akuapems. Some force was required to induce them to declare war against their former masters. Yaw Okoampa, the right heir to the stool of Aburi, had gone to Akropong and had summoned Kwafum, who had been made chief of Aburi, to claim the stool as his rightful property. The ambassadors of Dokuwa and Ado Dankwa, who were sent to the king of Asante to negotiate for peace and to inform the king that they would never declare against him, were still detained at Kumase. Kwafum, being very cunning, knew that by yielding to the persuasions of Ado Dankwa to declare against the Akras and the British Government, he might forfeit the stool of Aburi, as by that he would come under the power of Asante. He managed to practise martial law by plundering and killing prince Owusu Piabere, one of the sons of Osei, who had passed down to the coast for the purpose of buying goods, with all his people at

Agyankama. Atiemo and the other messengers were cruelly killed at Kumase, when this outrage was reported there. Ado Dankwa tried to take revenge by beheading Kwabina Loko of Late, who first fell upon the prince, but all Akuapem opposed his doing so.

No sooner was the murder of prince Owusu Piabere committed, than Kwafum declared in favour of the Government. He ran down to the coast, entered into the alliance, and swore allegiance on a fetish given to him by the chiefs of Akra. But in spite of the sad news from Kumase, that Atiemo with the other messengers had been killed by the king, Ado Dankwa still adhered to the Asantes. After fruitless remonstrances and threats, an expedition was organized of 4000 Akras under Captain Blenkarne; Messrs. Hansen and Richter joined it and marched to Aburi. Kwafum with the greater part of the Akuapems also joined. Information reached the camp that Ado Dankwa was preparing to escape to Kumase. So the expedition proceeded to Akropong. Ado was apprehended by Kwafum at Adobesum, and brought to Captain Blenkarne. The Asante residents at Akropong, over one hundred persons, with a large amount of collected tribute, were captured and brought to Akra, some killed, and the rest sold into slavery. At Akra, Ado was forced to declare against the Asantes, gave his son Kofi Bampo and nephew Okra as hostages, and the king and chiefs of Akra made him swear on a fetish. Ado was after all these arrangements still very lukewarm, and thus sang at a play:

“Me nenanom Ñkraifo, — meikāme mo ō, meikāme mo!
Osēi asēm, womú! Adwāne o, adwāne ō!”

“You people of Akra, my grandfathers you are;
I don’t oppose you (but I am not responsible).
Osēi is not to be trifled with!
You’d better flee, you’d better flee!”

The chiefs were annoyed at such a song, and hushed him up.

With the Akwamus and Krobōs no trouble was encountered, especially as the king of Akwamu had made sad experience at Kumase in a case between himself and Pobi Asāwa of Akra. The latter swore the oath of Osēi on king Akoto of Akwamu, when he was once trying to kill him for having had illegal intercourse with an Akwamu woman, whom the king, under false pretences, claimed as his wife. Pobi Asāwa, knowing that the woman was no wife of the king’s, swore that both he and the king must appear before Osēi, and

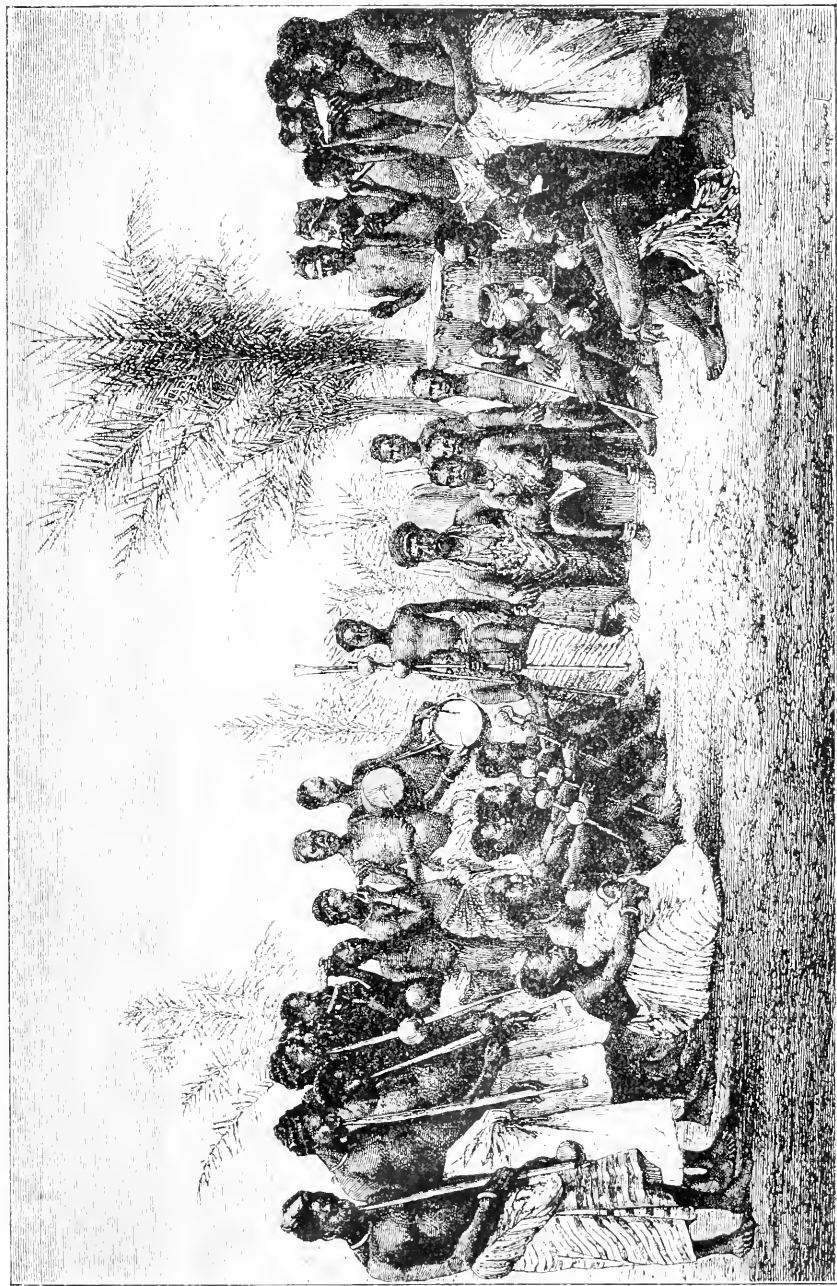
settle the case there. The king's personal expenses from Akwamu to Kumase, those of his chiefs and retinue, and also those in providing a sheep every day to the supposed culprit in irons, as the king was required to do every day by virtue of the oath sworn, the judgment given against the king in Kumase, with the enormous fine imposed, and the ill-treatment which he was made to suffer, had cautioned him never to declare in favour of Asante. He gave Nyaukomago, and Agyemang, the king of Akem Kotoku, gave Okenni as hostages to the British and Danish Governments.

Thus the Governor had succeeded in stripping the Asantes of the whole of their tributary force on their southern frontier. He now repaired again to Sierra Leone, leaving to Major Chisholm the arduous task of managing this tumultuous force, and of satisfying the unreasonable demands of the numerous chiefs, who reminded him of the promises held forth to them by Sir Charles MacCarthy, as the price of their joining him against the Asantes. In His Excellency's absence, several expeditions were despatched into the interior of the Fante country, some to oblige certain chiefs to remain faithful to their new alliance, and others to attack those who still adhered to the Asantes.

One of those expeditions was that to Asikuma. Before throwing off his allegiance to the king of Asante, Aduanan Apea, the chief of Adwumankō Pong, had to collect the annual tribute in Fante, part of which he used in buying salt for the King. Kwasi Amankwā the chief of Asikuma, had to send the salt to Kumase by Asikuma people. Amankwā first declared in favour of the English Government; but when Apea declined to do so likewise, the same Kwasi Amankwā informed the King against Apea, as if he (Apea) had thrown off his allegiance to the King, — upon which forty of Apea's people, who were then present at Kumase, were beheaded. The King then commissioned Kwasi Amankwā with the collection of the tribute, and also to demand back any amount Apea had still in his possession, after which, to fight with him as a proof of his loyalty.

The Fantes refused to pay any further tribute to Amankwā. Apea too, having declared in favour of the English, when his people were beheaded in Kumase, refused to give back the tribute collected to him. — Amankwā gave battle, but was defeated; his town was burnt down, and he escaped into the bush.

After a few weeks, he returned to the ruins of his town, when a detachment under Obongo, Taŵia, and Osimpam, was sent against



CHIEF ADUANAN APEA OF ADWUMAKO PON WITH HIS WIFE AND COURT.

him. On their approach, Amankwā again retreated into the bush. The detachment now gave themselves up to drink and merriment, were attacked one night by Amankwā, and routed with heavy loss; the three principal men were among the slain.

On hearing of this disaster, Captain Blenkarne, Captain Hingston, and Mr. Hansen immediately organized an army of the Akras about 4000 strong. Chief Ammā of James Town, chief Dɔwuona of Christiansborg, Tete Tshuru, Ato, Ankra, Kwatei Kodwo, and Sempe Mensa directed the expedition. These, knowing that their appearance in the Fante country would look too mean, as their state-decorations were then inferior to those of the Fante chiefs, proposed to strip themselves of any gold ornament and the like, and to wear fetishes only; in those they appeared. A grand reception was, however, given them by Apea, at which they were much astonished at the grandeur of the Fante chiefs in a meeting. They compared Apea to Osei and Akoto, besides whom, no one else on the whole Gold Coast was so magnificent and powerful. Kwasi Amankwā had meanwhile fled from the Fante country to Asante, and after a vigilant, yet unsuccessful, search of him and his party at Asikuma, the Akras marched home. Kwatei Kodwo became a friend of Apea; he and Dɔwuona were the two chiefs he acknowledged. On the return of the expedition, the Akras endeavoured to acquire state-decorations in imitation of the Fantes.

CHAPTER XV.

Martial law proclaimed by the British Government.—Kwadwo Tibo's flight from Kumase.—Sir Charles' death.—Expedition to the Pra. 1824.

After Sir Charles had succeeded in stripping the Asantes of their tributary countries, he declared war against the King, and forthwith proclaimed Martial Law.

During those days Asante Agyei, the son of Adum Ata, the renowned linguist of Kumase, came to the Coast. He was arrested and imprisoned in James Fort; but as the chiefs of Akra interceded for him, he was released, and went up to Kumase. He met a large number of Asante traders coming to the Coast to trade, and advised them to return; but very few of them complied; the

rest, about 300, went to the Coast. The same day the martial law was put into force. Captain Blenkarne hastened to Christiansborg, where lots of the Asante traders were residing. Their goods were confiscated, and themselves either killed or sold as slaves. A good many of them rushed into Mr. Richter's house for protection. The chiefs of Christiansborg went to them, and took a fetish oath that no evil should befall them. But no sooner had they left the premises, than they were attacked, some captured alive, others cut to pieces, or shot down. A good amount of their property fell into the hands of the Christiansborg people. Mr. Peter Quist was wounded by an Asante during the struggle.

After having witnessed the very active execution of the martial law by the people of Christiansborg and James Town, King Okai of Dutch Town with his chiefs determined, after all, to imbrue their hands in the blood of their former friends, so as to remove any suspicion which might be held about them by the English Government. The king and his three chiefs, Akwete Krōbosaki, Aktotia Owosika, and Aponsa, therefore appointed Ammā Gbagri, Tēko Owara, and captain Mensa. These waylaid Prince Adu of Kumase and his people at the late Mr. Bannerman's garden, and fell upon them as they were escaping from James Town. The prince and three of his people were killed. Captain Blenkarne, on being informed of what the king had done in proof of his faithful adherence to the new alliance, sent him a present of 200 heads of cowries. "Do you rejoice when such a heavy case is lying upon you?" was a song*) of those Asantes subjected to all sorts of barbarous cruelties by the martial law. They anticipated the speedy retaliation on the part of their king. Thus the war was also commenced at Akra.

It was, however, a very trying case for the people of Dutch Town, to see their old friends thus treated. But as they had already given their consent to join the British Government to fight the Asantes, they could not go beyond that. Some, however, tried to bury the dead bodies lying about Kuku near Christiansborg, but were advised to desist from doing so, and had to obey.

The gallantry displayed by Tibo at the invasion of Gyaman in 1818 had greatly astonished the King, and led him to ask "If you fight so for your master, how would you fight in your own defence?"

*) Thus they sang: Asem kokroko te sē da mo so, na motenē? Motenē aye deñ?

Hence Tibo had perceived the critical state of his life in the hands of the Asantes, because he knew how his predecessors had been killed by them. He was a wide-awake prince, and having been brought up in Kumase, had studied the Asante policy, waiting only for an opportunity to make himself independent.

Tradition differs as to the reason why Kwadwo Tibo was summoned to Kumase, whence he effected his escape to the coast. Some say it was for the purpose of obtaining ammunition from Sir Charles. Another tradition, which seems more probable, relates that a rich Wasa man, Kwadwo Mensa, grew so proud and independent that he ordered one of his slaves to blow a horn thus: "Obommofo, wummekum Kwakuo?" i. e. hunter, wouldn't you come to kill Kwakuo (a kind of monkey)? After some time the king of Asante was informed of the tune of that peculiar horn, and knew what it meant, — the king being the hunter, and Kwadwo Mensa the monkey living independent in the forest and defying the hunter to catch him. Owusu Akem of Akuropong, the king's chamberlain, was commissioned to march with an army to Wasa for the apprehension of Kwadwo Mensa. He went by a roundabout way to Wasa, defeated Mensa, cut off his head, and seized his property. But on his way back he passed through Bansa, the capital of Dankera. Kwadwo Tibo was enraged at these proceedings in Wasa, a territory that stood under his jurisdiction, and claimed all the gold confiscated, leaving to Owusu only the prisoners and spoil.

Tibo was now summoned to appear in Kumase. The case was judged and decided in favor of the defendant. Being thus acquitted, Tibo played and danced all night, singing: "I once had no master, but now I have one." For this he was called to appear in Court a second time. But Adu Sei Tshatsha, the renowned linguist then in Kumase, a Dankera by origin, had been heavily bribed by Ayadankwa, the mother of Tibo, who accompanied her son to the capital and was the concubine of General Opoku. The court was corrupted by bribes, because the king was ill, and could not attend in person. Boaten and Awua Yaw, the chief enemies of Tibo, were thus unable to obtain the unanimous opinion of the rest to punish Tibo with death.

The Dankeras, in consequence of a false report that their king had been arrested in Kumase, assailed the Asante residents and slew four of their chiefs: Kofi Mako, Ankwani, Kwisi Awua and Afei. Tibo was again called before the Court, but his legal adviser, Adu

Sei, had instructed him to defend himself by taking the forbidden oaths of Asante, and thus he flatly denied every charge.

The Dankeras, anxious to throw off their allegiance to Asante and to join the English, urgently requested Tibo to come, as they would else act without him. The king exhorted his people to be patient and abstain from acts of violence.

There were then four Mohammedan priests in Kumase: Baba, Soma, Sibri, and Kantama, who in concurrence with Agyei Yeboa, the predicting fetish-priest of Tibo, were trying their best enchantments in behalf of Tibo. They advised him to leave the capital one Thursday night. After amusing himself with dances the greater part of the night, Kwadwo Tibo left with only thirty armed men, ordering the drummer to beat the kettle-drum during the whole night after his departure. His people, who had been ordered to meet him on the way, had sent 1000 Wasa and 1000 Dankera armed men to await his arrival, who had meanwhile concealed themselves in the forest of Terabuom. The small party of armed men he had with him was stationed in the neighbourhood of Asafo as rear-guard. They allowed him sufficient time to meet those in the forest, then marched through the street with a noise, and blew the horn of Tibo: "Kwadwo mmirikakô!" The inhabitants awoke, and knowing at once what it was, attacked them suddenly; but Tibo was gone. The Dankeras, in conjunction with the rear-guard, answered the fire of the Asantes, and a sharp conflict ensued with a heavy loss to the Asantes, and the town was plundered. Another attack was made at Ohiakose, in which two of Tibo's men, Ofori and Atuamo, were killed and their heads sent to Kumase.

On receipt of those heads, captain Dei Kra was immediately sent with a large army in pursuit of Tibo; Adu Sei Tshatsha acting as the commander-in-chief. But his army was not sufficiently supplied with ammunition. Hence all those warriors who hastily left the capital had to wait at Ohiakose for want of ammunition. Thus Tibo managed to escape. We may be allowed to suppose that the captains had been bribed. Tibo marched in two days from Kumase to Bansa, packed everything, with all his people, women, and children, and resumed his march towards the Coast.

The Asantes were ten days in marching from Ohiakose over Adubea and Afohomaso to Bansa, where they stayed forty days more in search of plunder. Akosea and Pimpin, two messengers despatched by the King with arms and ammunition, urged the army

to carry out their task, stating that the king had appointed Awua Yaw commander-in-chief. But scarcely had the Asantes left Bansa, when a Wasa man, Boampong, with 700 warriors blockaded the road behind them, killing all travellers passing from or to the capital.

In November 1823, Sir Charles came again to the Gold Coast, and, on the 27th of that month, was informed that an Asante army 20,000 strong under the King's cousin Kokofu Ofè had attacked and totally defeated the king of Dankera, had taken his country, and was pursuing him to the Coast, in which direction Kwadwo Tibo was flying with the utmost speed. His Excellency immediately put himself at the head of a small force consisting of eighty of the Royal African Company, 300 Cape Coast Militia, and about 1200 unorganized Fantes. Having received a message from the Wasa chief Kwasi Nyākō, that he was ready to join him with 10,000 men, the Governor procured arms and ammunition for all of them, but no more than 600 men made their appearance.

Though disappointed by that chief, Sir Charles resolved to encounter the Asantes. Kwadwo Tibo, being informed of the approach of an English officer with a large army in his defence, hastened to join him. They met, Tibo was overjoyed, but is said to have observed that the Governor's force was too small to meet the Asantes, and begged Sir Charles to retreat a few miles in order to concentrate all the available forces; but he replied, "I am confident in the strength of the small force I have under me, I am determined now even to offer myself a sacrifice, that the one to conquer shall come after me." Tibo turned round and told his people, "I am quite sure that the Fantes cannot stand; the whole charge will fall upon the Governor and his small force, and the consequence will be the ruin of Dankera!" They encamped upon the banks of the Ankaw, a small tributary of the Pra, near the village of Asamankaw. The Wasa force formed the right wing, about 1000 Dankeras under Tibo the left wing, and Sir Charles with the Fantes the centre. These comprised the whole of his force, viz., 380 Regulars and Militia, and about 3000 of the unorganized force. Others believe that Sir Charles' men numbered in all 5500. On the 21st of January 1824, His Excellency engaged the enemy, who completely lined the opposite bank; the British soldiers opened fire at him across the river. Owing to the density of the jungle the conflict resolved itself into a series of distinct skirmishes. The Fantes and Wasas threw down their arms and fled at the first discharge from the Asantes, leaving the unfor-

mate Sir Charles MacCarthy with his 380 men (with only 20 rounds each) aided by the Dankeras to fight nearly 20,000 men, flushed with recent victories!

For several hours the Regulars and Militia kept the Asantes from crossing the stream; but on their pouches becoming empty, they were no longer able to hold their ground, and no sooner did the exulting Asantes perceive that the fire was slacking, than they forded the river and by their overwhelming numbers and their peculiar mode of advancing in the form of a fan completely surrounded Sir Charles and all the unfortunates who were with him. They had no alternative but to sell their lives as dear as possible. They fought with their bayonets, till overborne by the pressure of numbers, and each man as he fell was instantly decapitated.

Sir Charles had by this time received many wounds from poisoned weapons, and seeing that all hope had fled from the centre, he rushed in where the king of Dankera was still fighting against vast odds. During this action Messieurs Buckle and Wetheral were killed, with other Europeans; Captain Raydon was afterwards offered up a sacrifice to a fetish. Nine British Officers and 180 Regulars and Militia were killed, missing or captured.

When His Excellency marched with his small force to cross the river Pra and support Tibo, he had no thought of meeting the enemy early, for he had despatched Major Chisholm with the main body consisting of 600 Regulars and Militia and 3000 unorganized natives to cross the Pra at Aponsasu about 25 miles on his right, Major Laing with 100 Regulars and Militia and 2000 Fantes in the direction of Asen, while Captain Blenkarne with 300 Regulars and Militia and 6000 Akras were to approach Asante through Akem; and His Excellency expected all these forces to join him at a certain point before he could meet with the Asante army.

The Eastern division under Captain Blenkarne had reached Mampong in Akuapem and was about to march to Akem, when they received the sad news of the defeat at Asamankaw. The camp was immediately broken up, and the troops began to march home. After a week's preparation, the force of James Town under chief Ammã and his captains started first. Captain Blenkarne, Mr. Hansen and Mr. Bannerman were among them. On the second week king Kudsha Okai and his chiefs of Dutch Town, having appointed prince Koi, Dodu Nyang, Tete Tshuru, Akwete Gbekẽ and Tẽko Owara as their representatives, also started. Then came chief

Downona of Christiansborg, who was appointed by king Owuo, and some detachments of Labade and Teshi. Old guns of some of the warriors were exchanged for new ones at Winneba, and the whole army marched to Anomabo. The army of more than 6000 men received subsistence from the Government of one dollar each per week, and new guns were again distributed here. They proceeded on to Cape Coast, where Apea, Tibo, Adoko and all the Fante chiefs had sheltered their women and children; themselves and their forces were encamped in the interior against the invaders. Major Chisholm with the organized force under him with the Akras joined the camp of the Fantes and Dankeras. Apea and the Akras formed the right wing, Adoko the left, and the Major the centre on the main road to the Pra. After four days' march in swamp, rain and hunger, they crossed the Pra. On one Thursday morning Adoko sent messengers to inform the army that the enemy had been found by means of scouts. The march was resumed immediately on the following two days. Many dropped down from fatigue and hunger. At last the enemy's rear was perceived, a position which could have enabled them to defeat the Asantes. But just as they were falling in to commence the attack, Apea sent urgently to advise the Akras never to open any fire yet, as the Fantes forming the left wing under Adoko had deserted their post. They proposed a hasty retreat, and during the whole ensuing night groped back in the dense forest amidst mud, rain and hunger to the banks of the Pra. They framed floats of four pieces of plantain-trees, upon which most recrossed the river, the upper part of the body, the gun and the cartouch-belt on the float, and paddling off. Some swam across, with the belt tied on the head and the left hand holding the gun. Captain Mensa of the force of Otu-Street in Akra ferried over a great many of his people, and perished in the waves from fatigue. Above one hundred of the Akras were drowned in consequence of precipitate crossing during the night. The Europeans encamped on this side were busy till Sunday noon taking over the panic-stricken warriors.

After crossing, most of the Akras marched to the battle-field at Asamankaw, and witnessed the frightful scene there. How cruelly the enemy had tied or nailed the poor victims alive to palm and silk-cotton trees! Apea, on the retreat from the Pra, was attacked by small-pox, and died at home. He was first brought to Cape Coast Castle, and placed under the kind and skilful treatment of

the European doctors, who did all in their power to save such a valuable chief as he was, but failed. During his illness, his mother and sister Baduwa asked the high fetish Nananom concerning the state of his health, and were told that he was to live no longer, because the spirit of his elder brother Bafo, whom he secretly murdered under pretext of suicide, had since been urging on the fetish to avenge his blood. He being, however, the powerful chief who defended the country, he forbore the execution of his brother's request, but now he must die. The camp with a small store of ammunition at Daboase was abandoned through the confusion of the whole army after the river had been recrossed. On the 2nd of April, Major Chisholm was forced to retreat from the Pra, and the Akras, from want of provisions, escaped one by one to their homes. Mr. Hansen, chief Ammā, and his captains returned to Cape Coast.

Tibo, determined to fight the Asantes to the last, kept the field, and, with the native forces under him, attacked them at Dompim on the 25th of April. Neither party seemed to obtain great advantage, when the forces from Egwafo, Aberemu, and British Commendah came behind the enemy, which made way for the numerous Wasa prisoners captured at Asamankaw to effect their escape. The Asantes turned their march into that direction, which caused the evacuation of Commendah Fort. Several towns were plundered and destroyed by them.

Meanwhile preparations were made to meet them again, and on the 21st of May a stern engagement took place at Afutu. The Asantes were defeated, but many of the Fantes, frightened at their own success, fled in the moment of victory. The English were obliged to concentrate their forces around the town of Cape Coast, where all the women, children, infirm and sick from the interior had taken refuge, who died daily in great numbers from hunger and disease. The Government did their utmost in giving relief to this tumultuous mass of distressed people, and also engaged actively in preparing against the invaders, by converting into balls any kind of available metal, either from the roofs of houses, or the stores of merchants.

While these preparations were being made, Osei Yaw Akoto, the brother and successor of Osei Bonsu, who had reached Manso when the late battle was fought at Afutu, joined the army on the 29th. The cause of his appearance on the field was this: Forty days after

the flight of Kwadwo Tibo from Kumase, the old monarch died, and his brother becoming successor could not ascend the stool before the grand funeral custom for the deceased monarch had been made. Nor was it possible in the absence of the army. Hence a party of warriors of the king's body-guard, about 6000 men (some say 12,000) was organized, headed by himself, the king of Dŵaben, and Yaw Osekyere (who had recently returned from the invasion of the Krepe country), and marched into the Fante country to recall the army. The principal captains in command of that force were Oteng Kwasi, Adu Kwāme, Adu Brade, Amoa Bāta, Apentento, and Asamoa Deheg. When they joined the army, a grand reception was given and every circumstance connected with the campaign was reported, yet the king was greatly annoyed that Tibo was not as yet captured. His captains arrogantly and officiously swore that they would catch Kwadwo Tibo if he had taken shelter in the body of the smallest fish Ŋkamfrā (a small flat sea-fish of 2" × 4"), or in the castle of Cape Coast; they would break down its walls; and if their bullets were too slow, they would outvie their speed to catch him! They proceeded to besiege Cape Coast, whereupon a few marines and seamen were landed from the British man-of-war and some merchant ships, numbering less than 400, of whom not all were in good health.

Hark, 'tis the ancient story
 Of wars fought by our forefathers,
 Their battles and victory;
 Of their shoutings and their bloodshed,
 To sing together our anthems
 In praise of Sir Charles MacCarthy!

He came and fought the battles
 For the blacks he did never know.
 He came, drove the Asantes
 With courage uncommonly known.
 His ammunition failed, but yet
 With his sword in hand he did fight.

The noble son of Britain
 Fought, but the natives left him 'lone.
 The ground upon which he stood,
 He kept possession of to death,
 Died, yet retain'd the possession
 In a living attitude.

His troops were put to the sword,
 And yet himself not vanquished.
 At Katamansu he rose;
 His spirit defeated Asante,
 Defeated totally for ever,
 That the Gold Coast be set free.

Liberty hast thou obtained
 By Britain's dear sacrifice.
 From bonds of sin and Satan
 No man can set thee free.
 To thy Redeemer Jesus turn,
 And so all in all be free!

CHAPTER XVI.

The causes that led to the battle of Katamansu.— Defeat of Osei Yaw at Cape Coast. His retreat and disorder among his captains.— His accession to the stool, and preparation for an invasion to reclaim his honour — His principal captains. March for invasion and incidents in camp and on the coast. 1825—1826.

After the death of the noble and gallant Sir Charles MacCarthy, the Asantes closely besieged the Fantos and Dankeras who had retreated to the town of Cape Coast. The bull-dog for the European Governments on the Gold Coast was again called upon to appear on the field of battle. From March 1823 to June 1824, the Akras have five times been in arms in behalf of the English Government: at Aburi, Asikuma, Mampong, Daboase, and Cape Coast.

Colonel Sutherland, who had lately arrived to take the command, immediately sent informations to Commandant Blenkarne, to ask the aid of the Danish Government and king Okai of Dutch Town. Major Von Richelieu, the Governor, summoned all the Danish allies from Christiansborg to Adä, Akwamu, and Akuapem. Captain Oketeku arrived from Akwamu with a force of 120 men, chief Kwafum from Aburi with the chief power of the Akuapems. His Excellency the Governor distributed arms and ammunition to every warrior, and appointed the Danish officer Mr. Poulsen, the book-keeper, who was said to be of the Royal blood of Denmark, with about 50 Regulars, as commander-in-chief of the Danish forces. King Nɔtɛi Dɔwɔuna and the chiefs of Labade and Teshi commanded their respective

forces under this officer. King Kudsha Okai of Dutch Town joined in person; his chiefs Akwete Krobosaki, Akotia Owosika, Dodu Nyang and Tete Tshuru held the command of his forces. Dokuwa, the queen of Akem, on hearing of the arrival of an Asante army under captain Kwaku Biri on the frontier of her territory, advised king Ado Dankwa not to march against the Asantes who had besieged Cape Coast, but to come with his forces to prevent the enemy's march into their country.

About the first week in July, the army, estimated at about 15,000 strong, marched to Winneba, and thence to Anomabo. The women and children of the place had taken refuge in the Fort in consequence of Kwasi Amankwa's attack on Biriwa a few days before. Old Adama Pataku, with his company of iron-hearted men of Akra, proceeded to clear the enemy from the forest of Fufumpo, and the whole army arrived at Cape Coast on the 5th of July. They found lots of the Fantes dying from hunger and disease; most of the dead bodies were even thrown into Paparata, the water of which every body was obliged to drink. From Tuesday the 6th to Friday they were engaged in clearing off the bush about the town, to obtain a clear view of the enemy's camp and have a free ground for action. The inhabitants of Cape Coast refusing to assist in clearing off the bushes, the Akras were ordered by the officers on Saturday morning to rush into their houses, and take possession of anything they might find there. Repeated attempts of the Asantes upon the line met with effectual opposition.

On the 11th of July a furious attack was made upon the lines by the whole Asante force, but signally repulsed, and on the 13th, a random ball from one of the guns on Smith's Tower having struck the king's palanquin, the Asantes retreated. It is related that an Akra man, captured during the heat of action, was asked by the king, who those were that fought so bravely and fiercely against him. Being told they were Akras, old friends of the Asantes, in whose blood they never imbrued their hands, whom they had often defended against Fantes, Akems, and Aknapems, he replied, "Let us march back to Kumase, and I will come upon them." Thus the siege was raised and the whole army marched back to Kumase.

Another cause why the siege was raised was said to be the annihilation of captain Kwaku Biri of Asante Akem and his forces. He and other captains with their forces were posted on the boundary between Akem and Asante, when Osei Yaw and the king of

Dwaben marched into the Fante country to recall the Asante army in pursuit of Kwadwo Tibo.

Ado Dankwa with a small force having gone in aid of Dokuwa, the combined forces of Akem and Akuapem attacked the Asante army under Kwaku Biri one night at Aseue, and exterminated it, both captains being killed. The fugitive Asantes brought that sad intelligence to Kumase and Dwaben, and the whole nation was agitated, expecting an attack from the Akems and Akuapems. Thereupon Osewa, mother of Boatem, the king of Dwaben, immediately despatched a messenger direct to Fante, to inform her son, who was besieging Cape Coast, in what state she was. He therefore broke up his camp and prepared to march back. Osei Yaw, desirous to punish the Fantes before leaving their country, expostulated with Boatem on the subject; but he said, "I might capture 1000 Fantes, if I were to remain, but are they worth my mother, whom I must in the first place protect?"

The army was suffering from the ravages of small-pox and from want of provisions, and Osei Yaw, anxious to reach Kumase, hastened his retreat to Bereonaase, where he waited for the chiefs and generals of his army to impeach their conduct at the battle, and to punish them for cowardice. This brought on a great disorder among the captains, some of whom determined to shake off the yoke of Asante. Even the royal family, among whom was one Akyiawa, a woman of masculine spirit, with several mothers whose sons had been lost in the campaign, did not approve of that inglorious retreat, and many a scoffing song was heard when the king returned to his capital. The first thing he did on his arrival was, to perform the grand funeral custom of the deceased monarch Osei Bonsu.

After the king's retreat, the Akras, who were suffering from want of provisions and had lost 70 men, prepared to retire from Cape Coast; but the English Government and the Fante chiefs were against their doing so. They thought the Asantes would return again to repeat the attack. All the remonstrances to retain them a few weeks longer were, however, useless, and one by one the warriors left their chiefs, which obliged them at last to return.

Some of the captains of Asante, knowing what was awaiting them at the capital, retreated slowly after the king, and then resolved upon breaking out at once. We have reasons, however, to suppose that the battles fought at Asamankaw, Dompim, Afutu, and Cape Coast, had fully convinced them that by the combined efforts of

the British Marines, Akras and Fantes they could be protected from the power of Asante, which power they had perceived was on the point of declining, whilst the power of the Gold Coast tribes under the protection of the White Men had a bright future.

Previous to Kwadwo Tibo's escape from Kumase to Dankera, he informed Dampong Amoakō of his intentions. After that Tibo Panyin of Asen did the same. Dokuwa, after having declared in favour of the British and Danish Governments, sent Afē and Akroma to sound the mind of Amoakō. Upon which a meeting was held privately at Pomaase, where Adae, brother of Amoakō, Nuama, and Odenkyem, brother of chief Gyima Yeboa, represented the Dampongs, and Ofori Tiri and others represented queen Dokuwa. They made a covenant, and a fetish oath was taken to confirm it.

In consequence of this oath, the Dampongs played double game in the battle at Asene, so that the king's army from Kumase under Kwaku Biri alone suffered greatly and he was killed.

On the day the Kotokus in Dampong and the districts in their jurisdiction were to quit the place, king Dampong Amoakō, fearing that he might be deprived of the stool of Kotoku on reaching Akem, as he was of the Asōna family, and the Kotoku kings of that of Agona, — he with a small retinue retired to Agogo. Upon which his son Afrifa Akwadā, cousin of the late Kwadwo Kumā, was made king. With 900 armed men they crossed the Pra to Kyebi. The following were the principal chiefs among them: Gyima Yeboa, over the Pira force; Kwaku Gyima, Adu Yaw, Kwaku Nfra, Asante Du, Apenteng, over the Sōdāfo; Kwadwo Kokrokō, over the shield-force; Ofwiedu Gyenin, Boapea Nyame, Apea Kwame, Dabra Kumau, linguist Adu Kōkō, Kwaku Tia, Okēni, Aseni Dompri, Otebooso Tete, Asubon Kwadwo Pong, Dasawase Adu Kofi, Mampong Dwa Panyin, Okōasuo Nyamā, Bamfo Afosu, Aberem Kofi Tawia, Adwanua Ayedu, Adewasena Ntiamao, Kotoku Okye Amoia, Nkwateng Atewa, Bontodiase Yaw Kwā, Odomara Ayerebi, Adwafo Odomara, Kōkōwaso Odakwā, Anyeraase Gyakari, Abase Ofō, Agyobue Odobere, etc.

A grand reception was given to all of them at Kyebi by Dokuwa, who was very glad to have received back all her relations and advised them to choose a capital from among the towns of Gyadam, Adasawaase, Mmogso, Mampong, Dubi, and Asatō Asen. — But unfortunately, while still at Kyebi, a large tree was blown down upon the king and one of his wives, and killed them. After the customary

funeral rites had been performed, they retired to Gyadam. Here the nobles and chiefs consulted together whom they should elect to succeed the late king Afrifa Akwadā. And without informing Do-kuwa of their intentions, Agyemang, the nephew of Kwakye Adeyefe, was nominated, who was then at Soadru in care of chief Kwakye Ampaw, who also had thrown off his allegiance to Asante.

Special commissioners were despatched by the chiefs of Kotoku, viz., linguist Adu Kōkō, Kwadwo Kokrokó, half brother to Agyemang, and several others. After a fetish oath had been administered to the commissioners and three peredwans had been paid, they brought Agyemang to Gyadam, where he was made king. A better selection could never have been made; yet their act greatly displeased Do-kuwa, not personally, but on account of his late uncle's conduct towards the royal family of Kotoku. Hence the ill-feeling which existed between them, which resulted once in the incarceration of Agyemang, originating the oath "Agyemang-Dayemfo," that is, Agyemang's fetters, and a quarrel with Ata Obiwom', in consequence of which Agyemang was expelled to Soadru in April 1860.

Kwadwo Tibo and his captains were the first refugees, and after the battle at Cape Coast, the following chiefs and their captains revolted and fled: Agyemang, Ampaw, Amoakua, Kwasi Amankwā, Aboagye, Kwā Tenteng and others: for servitude under Asante was really terrible. Those kings and chiefs took the oath of allegiance to the British and Danish Governments and entered into alliance with the kings and chiefs on the Gold Coast.

On his accession to the stool as king of Asante, Osei Yaw resolved to punish the Akras for having assisted the Fantes. The late king had on his death-bed exhorted Osei Yaw never to take up arms against the white men on the coast. The king of Dwabon, knowing this, earnestly reminded him of the dying father's last injunction, but without effect. The king sent to ask the oracle of Tanno, the chief fetish of Asante, as a dispute had broken out between himself and the white men and Akras on the coast, and he wished to march down and settle the quarrel.

He was in reply told to wait till Tanno and his warriors had been to the coast to see whether the king should march down or not. A few weeks later Tanno reported his return from the coast, and requested the king to have 100 pots of palm-oil poured into the river Tanno, after which the fetish would tell how he had found matters. The oil was accordingly poured into the river, when

Tanno said, he had been defeated on the coast by Akra fetishes, and sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, so that the oil was required to dress the wounds of his warriors. The king ought, therefore, not to march against the Akras. The king, enraged at this oracle, sent word to the fetish that from the beginning he had been no fetish of his own, but became his by right of conquest. He would, however, march down to the coast and bring another fetish to Kumase. Tanno replied, that he might go down if he chose; but he would do well to provide himself with a strong horse from the interior, make iron shoes for him, and be sure to reach Kumase from the coast in six days.

Kramo Kokō, the head Mohammedan priest, was now called for, and was told by the king to catch for him the chief fetish of Akra. He stayed three weeks in his room, without eating nor drinking, and then said to the king, "I have done my best, but failed to catch any of the Akra fetishes. They have driven your own fetishes from the town inland." The king said: "You are a coward," dismissed him, and made Adīsa head-priest.

Boaten also sent to consult the oracle of Odente, the highest fetish at Karakye. A hot mess of cassada (or roasted flour) was placed in a dish, with another dish as cover, wrapped up in cloth, and sent to Dŵaben with this message: "If the meal is cold in arriving, it means good luck, if warm, Boaten will smell fire on the coast." However he showed him what sacrifices to make on leaving Dŵaben and before encountering the Akras. The meal was still warm on reaching Dŵaben.

The king made the necessary preparations, distributed arms and ammunition to all his warriors, went in person and boiled the war at Oserebooso. After that he went through the outskirt of Kumase to Bantama, poured out a libation to the spirits of the deceased kings, and then took up his quarters at Dākō. The next day he came to Santemanso, the first town of the Asantes, before Kumase was built, stayed there for the night, and then proceeded to Kokofu. He encamped two months at Sewua to muster the troops. To protect the country against invasion, he left three captains — Bekwae Sei, Kokofu Asare and Amoafō Sei — on the boundary of Dankera and Asen.

The Asantes and their tributaries were quite reluctant to invade the Protectorate so soon after their inglorious retreat from Cape Coast.

Ntedŵa of Apemanim and Otibo Kuma I. of Atannosu, kings over

the two principalities into which Asen is divided, appointed three messengers: Prince Andwa, the son of Ntedwa, Kwasi Dākō, and Apere, to inform the king of their unwillingness to serve in this war, unless His Majesty would grant them sufficient time for rest. The king replied, "Let them join my enemies, if they choose, for I can get hold of them!" This frightened the Asens so much that they instantly crossed the Pra, when they heard that the king had encamped at Sewua. Ntedwa with his family remained behind; he had secretly informed the king through Kwantwi, the chief of Adanse, that he would never throw off allegiance to Asante, and had therefore concealed his royal stool in the bush. This message was conveyed by Bonsra, brother of Kwantwi, and Kwaku Sie, who were passing up from Fante. The bearers were commissioned by the king to administer a fetish oath to Ntedwa, after which he and his family were removed to Asante. Prince Gyebri was appointed to succeed Ntedwa in the government of Apemanim. He and Otibo Kuma I. with their forces then joined the allies in the Protectorate.

As observed in chapter VIII, the Tshis, more especially the Asantes, are distinguished from other tribes of the Gold Coast by the regular organization of their army. It consists of five divisions: the king's body-guard, the van-guard or centre force, the right and left wings, and the rear or reserve-guard.

The king's power is absolute; every subject is considered as a slave. The king appoints every captain, and can at pleasure dismiss him or have him beheaded. He may also do as he likes with the property of the deceased captain. He defrays the war expenses, and claims one half or one third of the spoil. When an expedition is to be undertaken by the chiefs, he assists the warriors to a certain extent with arms, ammunition, and money. But the chiefs and captains sometimes borrow extra money from him, which they have to pay back with the spoil, if successful; otherwise the amount must be collected at home.

A list of the names of the generals and captains who fought under the king of Asante at Katamansu will be found in the Appendix.

The king left Sewua and camped for two months at Bogyeseawo. The king of Dwaben had delayed by the tardy reply of the oracle, and, by his want of zeal for the expedition, was very long in arriving; and when at last he came, an accident happened which nearly led to the outbreak of civil war. Boaten one day came to Kumase, and his military chest, containing 1000 peredwans, equal

to £ 8016. 13. 4. sterling, was audaciously stolen, but no trace of the thief could be found. Boaten was on the point of declaring war to Kumase; but the elders of Dŵaben, to prevent bloodshed, offered to pay him the amount, which they did, and so the matter dropped. A gold jewel which had disappeared with the royal chest was found in a tuft of hair on the head of one Osei Asen, a courtier of the king. A clue to the theft was thus obtained, and the king of Dŵaben claimed the stolen property from Osei Asen. But the king did not support the course of Boaten. The elders of Dŵaben had again to interpose by saying: "If we insist upon claiming that lost property, and civil war ensues, we might, if defeated, flee to some other country; but then what would become of our wives and children at home? We entreat you, therefore, to forego the case!" And thus Boaten had to yield.

The marching out of the Asantes was not yet known in the south when they had got to Sewua. Agyemang had attacked the Okwawus three times, and burnt Atibie, Oboman, Oboo, and other places. But fortunately an Akem prisoner, escaped from Oseibereso to Akem, warned his people. Agyemang now gave up fighting with the Okwawus, and all Akem began to prepare.

The scouts of Dokuwa had meanwhile managed to kill some of the Asantes and brought their heads to Kyebi. Their jaws were immediately despatched by messengers to king Taki with a request to inform the Danish and British governments of the impending danger. The Akéms were ridiculed by the Akras as having sent old jaws of deceased persons; but Governor Bröck ordered six soldiers to accompany the messengers homeward and ascertain the truth. The Akéms had meanwhile left Kyebi and their other towns and were fleeing towards Akuapem. They met the party, and the captains Boapea of Kyebi and Akoi of Late were sent along with the soldiers. At Anyinasin they met some of the enemy foraging. The soldiers fired at them, killed four, captured four, and returned to the Governor with the prisoners and two heads.

There could now be no doubt of the threatening invasion, and rigorous preparations were made to encounter the enemy. His Excellency Governor Bröck distributed arms and ammunition to all the subjects of His Majesty the king of Denmark, from Christiansborg down to Adã, the river-side people, Osudoku, Kröboş, Akwamus, Shais, Akuapems, and Akéms. Extra arms and ammunition were given to all these people by the British government, besides which

the influential native merchants, Hansen, Richter, Bannerman etc., gave to all those warriors what was the general custom of the country. When Akoto the king of Akwamu's people were carrying home the ammunition given them in James Fort, they were overheard to say, "We have conquered the enemy!" which meant, that they had obtained a good supply of ammunition by which to defeat the Asantes.

A very unfortunate affair happened at Akra during those critical days, which the people, with their superstitious notions, attributed to the magic powers of Asante, and which, but for the interposition of the commandant at James Fort, might have led to great dissension among the warriors of James Town and Dutch Town. Sempe Mensa was keeping one of his female slaves, by name Bosumali, as a wife. A certain Mensa Tshinakong, not knowing this, had illegal intercourse with the woman. The offended husband demanded a heavy fine from Tshinakong, as if she were a lawful wife. Every body advised him to be lenient. Old Tete Osabu too advised him to think of the future and never demand so much. Yet Sempe Mensa rejected all advice, and fined the offender 24 heads of cowries (equal to £ 5. 8 at that time), which was the price of a slave, and was then considered a very large sum. A few weeks after, Mensa Tshinakong missed a castrated sheep. Upon search, the sheep was found in the stable of Sempe Mensa; it had been brought there by his son Abeka. Having obtained a fact in hand, Mensa Tshinakong also now demanded 400 heads of cowries (about £ 90), as fine for the theft committed; but Sempe Mensa refused to pay. An action was taken by swearing upon the attacking band of James Town to claim the amount from the chief. But the defendant refused to appear before the company; consequently the assistance of another attacking band of Abora quarter was obtained by the attacking band of James Town, and having redoubled their strength, the court was held at Sakumotshoishi. In giving verdict, the jury did not agree. The chiefs wished to justify the defendant, but the company, the plaintiff. The foreman, being on the side of the company, gave judgment against Sempe Mensa. Thereupon he was enraged and left the court with his quarter's people with contempt. The companies painted the right arm of the plaintiff with white clay (a sign of being justified), placed him on the shoulders of one, and paraded through the town, dancing.

Sempe Mensa and the people of his quarter had preconcerted to fight the company, in case they should pass through the street

insultingly. The dancing company at last reached Sempe's quarter, when all at once one Kpakpo Tshum fired at the company, one woman being killed and several wounded. Instantly the company resorted to arms, and fighting commenced. Loopholes had been made, the previous day, in the houses at Sempe; their sharpshooter, Pobi Oboakora, had been called from his plantation, and posted himself on the gallery of Sempe Mensa. The company were assailed furiously and had several killed and wounded. The sharpshooters of the company, Adshietē and Mensa Adshoē, discovering the position of Pobi Oboakora, fired at him, and he was killed. The soldiers were ordered from James Fort for the apprehension of Sempe Mensa, which ended the struggle. Judgment was given in favour of the plaintiff at the court of James Fort, and the defendant was heavily fined.

CHAPTER XVII.

The old, women and children of Akém and Akuapem obtained refuge at Akra.—Concentration of the troops at Akra.—The first and second encampments.

The king of Asante spent 40 days at Bogyeseaŋwo in drilling the whole army, which amounted to about 40,000, beside women, children, and load-carriers. Wherever they camped, they calculated on plunder. All splendid houses at Akra and Christiansborg were portioned out among them beforehand. The army proceeded to Bereonase, and thence, driving the Akéms before them, through Kwāben, Asiakwa, and Asafō to Kukurantum, where they stayed for a week, and then proceeded to Adweso, where they remained for about 40 days.

The chiefs of Akra obtained from a fetish priest some injurious war-charm which was performed on the enemy at Adweso by two Akéms and two men from Aburi, named Ntow Kwabena and Kōfi Bosompra.

The enemy now marched on to Nkwapranase, Bampo's village, Amanokuroom, and Afwērease. Their guide was Owusu Akém of Akropong.

The king calculated to attack the Akras from the east, so as to prevent their escaping to Little Popo (as they had done formerly in their wars with the Akwamus), to drive them to the west, and

thence to lead both the Fantes and Akras captive to Kumase. An Akuapem man, captured by the Asantes, informed them that the whole army of Akra had encamped at Dodowa.

Another incident happened at Manfè, which might have caused confusion in the enemy's army. Osei Asen one day ordered the big drums to be beaten, and danced through the camp with his thumb stretched up in sign of mockery. The king of Dŵaben, informed of this insulting conduct, vowed to behead Osei Asen, "though he had seven heads on his body", if he presumed to enter his quarters. Report was brought to Bantama Wua, who swore the Koromante oath, that, while he was general of the van, Asante should not be ruined by men like Osei Asen. Forthwith he ordered his people to seize those drums, and thus peace was restored in the camp.

As the appearance of a lion rouses all the beasts of the wilderness, thus the march of Osei Yaw caused a lively stir among the whole population of the Gold Coast. When he camped near Kyebi, every body was agitated. The Akéms and Akuapems fled to the south. Their women, children and infirm were removed to Christiansborg and Akra; but some stayed in the forests of Onyāse, Kwabenyan and Kpokpoase, where the Akéms, like "bush crabs", as they are, managed to conceal them, or else in the bushes near Akra. In the towns every inch of land was occupied by Akéms or Akuapems.

Akoto, the king of Akwamu, and his captains and warriors arrived at Akra; Kwadwo Tibo and his captains and brave troops, Aboagye in iron mail and helmet, Kwamena Asamanin, the king of Agona, and captains came on; Obropo Akotia, the king of Cape Coast, had commissioned chief Bani with a small force of the priestly band under captain Kobena Manfoi; two companies came from Winneba, and Mr. Hutchison came in command of a small party of Anomabo.

The principal merchants, Messrs. Hansen, Bannerman and Richter, had drilled their own household people and slaves, and formed a militia. Mr. Bannermann being absent in Europe for the benefit of his health, Mr. Jackson put himself at the head of his people.

The British officials in command of the whole army were, Major Purdon, the governor of Cape Coast Castle, as commander-in-chief, Captain Hingston at the head of about 60 British marines, and Messrs. Jackson and Hutchison. The militia under Messrs. Hansen, Jackson and Richter was near 600 strong, carrying with them the newly invented congrève rockets and two brass one-pounder field-

pieces. All the kings and chiefs who had to join the army were sworn on a fetish by king Taki, to render faithful services to the British government, as well as to the king. They also invoked the fetish to bring judgment upon any one daring to deliver them up to the king of Asante for the sake of peace, in case the campaign should fail.

King Taki and his chiefs met every day at Amuginā or Sakumotšoishi to arrange everything necessary for the campaign. He was repeatedly advised by the Tshis to appoint one of the ablest kings general of the van, as that was the most important point in making war with the Asantes. Impressed with his own importance, the king-in-chief of all the Danish subjects, and therefore commanding half of the army, Nōtei Dōwuona, required in the council to be appointed general of the van. Chief Akwete Krōbō Saki of Akra with characteristic boldness replied, "We mean to go and fight, but not to display riches. You better leave us alone to command our own van. Oseī never meant to fight the Danes or English, but the Akras, and we are the Akras." This settled the question.

On the 22nd of July, after due preparations, two native Danish soldiers were despatched to report to His Excellency Governor Bröck the proceedings of the campaign. Carl Ludwig had marked the guns of every warrior with a small piece of calico to distinguish them from the enemy. The troops were commanded to leave the towns to encamp against Oseī Yaw Akoto. The troops of Ningowa, Tēma, Poni, and Prampram refused to encamp with the main body. They determined never to leave the roads to their towns unprotected. This little force of only 70 armed men not yielding to the demand of the Governor, the other towns also stayed away. And we are to this very day indebted to the people of Ningowa for what we deemed at first obstinacy. Had they removed, which would have induced others to follow, the vast army would have sat at Onyāse, and the enemy could easily have executed his design. The whole army was estimated to be 50,000 strong. Most of them had been partially drilled, and their arms inspected by the Danish and English officers.

Major Purdon with the regulars and militia, king Taki and his forces with Kwadwo Tibo, Tibo Kuma, Kwasi Amankwā, Kwamena Asamani and their troops, encamped at Onyāse, Governor Bröck with a body-guard of about fifty soldiers, with Dōwuona and Akoto, at Okamfrā (Ablōadshei), king Saki at Oyeadufa, king Ofori at Pantang, queen Dokuwa and Ado Dankwa at Kpoñkpo.

Every one of them was expecting the Asantes would come down by the main road to Akuapem. The Akras, who are so confiding in their fetishes, obeying their orders as if they were their generals, remained for eleven days at Onyāse with the few white men, whose power seemed to be limited on account of their small number.

King D_owuona, perceiving that the army was not properly encamped, remonstrated with king Taki, and so did Dokuwa and king Saki of Labade, but without effect. So on the 2nd of August D_owuona removed his camp with the purpose of marching directly to Katamansu with all the Danish forces under his command. On reaching Oyeadufa, his people entreated him to stop there, that no blame might be attached to him, in case, by fighting with only half of the warriors, the fortune of the day might not be theirs.

Fortunately for the credit of D_owuona, an Asante prisoner, carrying the head of another Asante killed, was, on the 3rd of August, brought into the village by four men of Prampram, under the command of Mr. Carl Grinstrup, a native Danish soldier of Christiansborg. The party had caught the Asantes plundering a plantation. The king, having assembled his warriors, asked the prisoner, "Where is your master marching to? and when will he remove the camp?" The prisoner replied, "to Tema, in about three days, and if you were the king of the Akras, you should make haste to meet my master before it be too late!" Messengers were sent to king Taki, who instantly broke up his camp and advanced to Oyeadufa. On the 4th of August all the troops assembled at the village. The kings and chiefs were sworn in, and became united as one man. A council of war was held how to meet the enemy, who had encamped on the plains of Sasabi, and could reach Tema by a nine miles' march. It was proposed that the Akuapems, being well acquainted with their own forest, should send out some scouts. Chief Apagya Kofi of Adukrom was proposed; but he flatly declined saying, "It is no play to spy an army of Osei; should I venture it, I might be lost with my men!" The next proposition was, that each division of the army should take its line and march directly from Oyeadufa to the plains of Sasabi, the Akuapems, on the flank of the left wing, to march through the forest along the foot of the Akuapem mountains.

Captain Māle of Labade, a resident of Amarahia, objected to that proposition as dangerous. "I will be the first to morrow", he replied, "to go ahead and direct you where to encamp". Being a hunter,

he had cut a pathway along the plain for hunting purposes. On the morning of the 5th of August Måle called several young men of his company to the main road leading from Amarahia to Sasabi. This road they completely obstructed by dense masses of sharp briars. Standing here, Måle directed the whole army to march on his pathway to the plain. Had he not done so, the army would have taken the main road to Sasabi, and not been prepared in their divisions and lines; a total rout would have ensued without a single shot. Grinstrup and Måle deserve praise.

The dust raised by the marching army was seen by the enemy, who said, "A large force has come into the field." The marching continued the whole day and night. Every warrior was only provided with sufficient rounds and small victuals; on that account the warriors were anxious to take the field as soon as possible to return home. The following day, being Saturday the 6th of August, they completed their encampments according to their towns along the coast. The Tēmas were removed from their first camp eastwards, which position was reoccupied by Dōwuona. The force of Teshi joined that of Akra, but was detached behind the Labades. Governor Bröck with his body-guard, Mr. Lutterodt, Mr. Aarestrup, Messrs. Hans Holm and Engman, encamped with the king of Christiansborg.

The Asante army counted about 40,000 warriors, 12,000 forming the centre, 10,000 the right wing, 8,000 the left, 8,000 the rear and 2,000 the reserve or the king's body-guard. A force to meet such a division as the van must be that of Dutch and James towns, Christiansborg, Labade, and Teshi, as well as the regulars and militia. Kwadwo Tibo commanded the left wing, having all Dankera, Asen, Fante and Agona forces under him. Akoto, king of Akwamu, commanded the right wing, having Akwamu, Akem, Akwapem, Ningowa, Tema, Adangme forces, and the river-side people under him. Major Purdon with part of the regulars and militia formed the rear. Messrs. Hansen and Richter inspected the whole line of the army, arranged everything and encouraged every king, chief, and warrior. The same day the Asante monarch sent his sword-bearers in disguise as Akwamus, and inspected the whole position and line of the army. Their report to the king was: "It is known and acknowledged that the forest belongs to the elephant, else we could say the buffalo is also on the plain. Nothing suits better than your majesty's own presence to assume the whole

command, for an army is in the field." A war council was instantly convened, whom the king addressed thus, "I have called you together to hear for yourselves the report from the enemy's camp. It is therefore my wish and command that, as we come to fight on the plains, you should give up the mode of commanding your troops in your baskets. Every chief or captain must to-morrow lead on his troops, giving command in the proper manner, that the fortune of the day be ours and not doubtful." It was said that this advice was given to the king by the linguist Adu Sei Tshatsha, and for that reason, when he returned to Kumase, for some little offence he was ordered to be stoned to death by boys.

A council of war was also held by the Akras, in which they said, "To-morrow we must fight the enemy, catch them, and go home; we have but a limited store of provisions, having left the large supply in the first camps."

There was a strong movement that evening in the hostile camp and that of the Akras. They approached within musketshot distance, abusing each other, and then retired to the camps. The Akras, while marching back, started and killed a buffalo. The advance-guard under Yaw Opense, whose fashion it was to carry one thousand torches with him for an attack in the night, prepared to do so in the silence of the night; but the monarch objected saying, "I never fight at night; wait till morning, when I shall show myself to them. Should they even flee into the belly of Kamfara (a small sea-fish), I shall catch them!"

CHAPTER XVIII.

The battle and victory.—Plundering the camp.—Retreat of Osei out of the Protectorate.—Triumphant return of the different troops.—Enormous wealth poured into the Protectorate by the victory.

August 7, 1826.

Early in the morning of the 7th of August, the warriors washed themselves and made stripes of white clay on their persons. The special war-drums of the king were beating, *Perempe, perempe!* *Kom, kom!* Akoto and Kwadwo Tibo, who were familiar with these war-drums, sent information to king Taki, advising him to have the warriors in readiness, as the field would be taken immediately by the enemy. Captain Hingston, Messrs. Hansen and Richter, paid

a flying visit in the camps, and strengthened the hands of the warriors. Orders from the head-quarters reached them while on their visit, to return as hastily as possible. The kettle-drum of king Taki was beating, *Ńkraĩpòu, wose a, eye du, ketekere, òm a enni amanfò! Mònkā ntoa, mònkā ntoa, mònkā ntoa!* i.e. The great and durable Akra, who perform what they say, not subject to destruction, get to arms, get to arms, get to arms! Likewise the sound of the enemy's kettle-drum was heard to beat, "*Asante Kòtòkò! kum apem a, apem bēba; mònkā ntoa, mònkā ntoa, mònkā ntoa!*" i.e. Asante porcupine (or, emancipated, purchased, absconded), when thousands are killed, thousands will come, get to arms, get to arms!

King Dòwuona, on seeing the enemy's advance-guard having crept forward in the front of his line, thought they were Akras; he ordered his captain Abose Kwaw to clear them off. But he fell into the hands of the enemy, with his aid-de-camp Adshei Obadsheng, was caught and killed; his head was sent to the king, with that of the aid-de-camp. The king placed his feet three times on the head, gave a smart pat on the head of the youth, and said, "Sit down here before me, and soon your father and mother will be brought to you!"

The women in camp and those at home had since the marching out of the warriors each assumed the dress and tools of her husband and imitated his work, dancing in company, and singing to keep the spirits of the husbands lively in camp. One of their war-songs is:

: Mmanini-mma, múso 'tuo mu! :

King búrofo se, munyā kō a, mobekō."

: Mmanini-mma, múso tuo mu! :

! : Sons of heroes, get hold of your guns! : |

The King's white men say, When you get to fight, you will fight!

(When the war breaks out, you will be able to fight!)

! : Sons of heroes, get hold of your guns! : |

One of the war-songs of the enemy is:

Agya See ò, Agya See ò, Awira See ò!

Onè ne mmerante kò sa kòfa nnommm bebrè.

Agya See ò, Agya See ò, Awira See ò!

O father Sei, hurra! O master Sei, hurra!

To catch plenty prisoners he is gone forth with his youths to war.

O father Sei, hurra! O master Sei, hurra!

There was a gorgeous display of different flags, and a deafening noise of horns, drums, and war-cries. While the two armies were drawn up, two Numidian cranes (or horn-blowers of Sakumo, as they are superstitiously called) flew with the noise of a bugle through the camp of the Akras, who welcomed this as a good omen, as their high fetish Sakumo had passed to inspect their position. After which a loud voice was heard from the line of the Asere people, saying, "We are about now to pour in, brethren!" Another voice responded from the line of the Gbese people, "Wait till all the colours have reached the same line of the column!"

The Akras commenced the battle by a heavy fire of musketry, which forced the enemy to fall back. Every remonstrance of the captains to their forces, not to take prisoners, but rather to fight on, was disregarded. At last, they headlessly rushed on the Koronti and Akwamm, the well organised veteran force of Asante, who drove them back clean to their camps. It was the most critical moment. The battle seemed to be deciding itself in favour of the enemy. Chief Añkra of Akra proposed to chief Kwatei Kodsho that they should blow themselves up with powder, but was exhorted by him to wait till he heard of the right wing. One of the English officers proposed to fire his pistol into the ammunition store to prevent the enemy from capturing it, but was advised to have a little more patience. Mr. Hansen had the narrowest possible escape from being taken prisoner. A field-piece was captured by prince Kwame Ankyeafo, but



Mr. Richter.

Mr. Hansen speedily recovered it by a discharge which caused great havoc in the line of the enemy. Sergeant James Kittson sent in a rocket which blasted some pounds of gunpowder in the line of captain Opoku Fredefrede, and killed several, himself being severely wounded. The enemy was thrown into confusion. One of the Asante captains shouted, "Obubuafo nso, wode no ye deñ? Múnuom!" i. e. For what use else is a lame thing (meaning the field-pieces)? forward! The army took advantage of the

enemy's confusion, and furiously attacked them with knives and hatchets. Mr. Richter, being mortally wounded in the thigh, was advised by the commander-in-chief to retire to town, so he rode

home. The commander-in-chief, Major Purdon, contributed much to the success of the day.

At that moment, Akoto, the commander of the right wing, who had, for some reason of his own, hitherto kept quiet, ordered his large state-umbrellas to be moved towards the enemy as if to desert to his side, and all at once attacked the rear violently, just the moment Nabera, the brave captain over his force, had fallen. The combined forces of Prampram, Ningo, Adā and river-side people followed up the attack, and it became most critical. The monarch himself marched in defence with his body-guard, stood upon the royal stool, and drew the war-sword towards heaven and earth, as kings usually do in war, but the rebound was too strong, and he got wounded. There happened a collision between the monarch's body-guard and the forces under Opoku Fredefrede, which greatly weakened the enemy. On that account the general afterwards poisoned himself and died at Asafo. Dshani, Afutu, and Antę from Teshi are said to have then uttered the religious war-cry: Awo, Awo, Awo! to which every warrior of the whole column responded as one man, Awō, Agbai, bereku tšō! A loud voice was heard on the enemy's line, "Edom agu ō!" The battle is lost! Then all the baggage was hastily thrown on a heap as high as a mountain, and the enemy took to flight, after having fought and kept their position for 9 good hours, from 6 a. m. to 3 p. m. Prisoners were made, and then the baggage and camp were taken. The king effected a narrow escape with a good number of his body-guard through the right wing of his army, and left the Akras victorious on the field of battle.

Most of the pusillanimous men among the forces of Winneba and Bereku fled from the battle-field at the first discharge from the enemy, and left their king Ayerebi with his own body-guard and Gyankuma with his men. They disgraced themselves all the more by allowing Akra women to snatch away many a gun from their hands, when passing the towns. The undecided Kwasi Amankwā also deserted and went over with the view to surrender himself, but was captured and cut to pieces; others believe that he was not deserting, but was caught while bravely engaged in fighting. It is said that the king asked him, when captured, "Akwasi, what have I done to you that you have joined my enemies to fight against me?" To which he replied, "Nana, woyę boawu, madi w'akyi mabere!" which is, To cooperate with you, king, is death.

I have grown tired of following you! — His people, however, managed to capture his remains, which they conveyed to the banks of the river Densu, and there buried. On their way they are said to have murdered several Akras and Akems. When peace was restored in the country, his people again removed the remains to Asen. Kwameua Asamanin, who could easily have captured the monarch of Asante, was coward enough to let him escape saying, "One should not allow himself to be overrun by an army of Asantes", and the monarch took shelter under the shade of a large tree. While taking his rest there, he had to witness the capturing of his wives, daughters, and other relatives, as well as all his royal badges, state-umbrellas, gold-hilted swords, jewels, and the military chest containing thousands of gold cartouches filled with gold-dust instead of powder. Even their god, the golden stool, was left on the battle-field. While most of the army were plundering, a select band of warriors under Apea Dǔwā set out to overtake and capture the monarch. While Akoto and the Adās were fighting bravely to take possession of the golden stool, Ńkuntrase Antwi was gallantly fighting to rescue it, when Boaten, retreating from the right wing to the spot, asked, "Where is my uncle?" Antwi replied, "He is retreating". — "Was he going along with the god (meaning the golden stool)?" — "No! I am just fighting to get possession of it." Assisted by Boaten's troops, Ńkuntrase managed to secure the stool, and brought it to the king of Dǔwaben.

The brave Apea Dǔwā met his end unexpectedly by an ambuscade; his men, however, instantly took revenge on those parties. The detachment brought his body to camp at half past 6 p. m., which brought the campaign to a close for that day.

Among the very few prisoners caught by the enemy was one Mensa from Manfē, a court-crier of king Ado Dankwa, known as brother to one Ako, who assured Osei that he could conduct him safe to Kumase, and was promised by the king to be made a captain of high rank, if he succeeded in doing it. He guided the king from the battle-field through Amarahia, Damrobe up to Obosomase, and thence to Mampong; there he met Boaten with other fugitive Asantes. The retreat went on precipitately to Adweso, where they tried to halt, but were carried along by the rushing mass of fugitives. Here Mensa effected his escape with his hands pinioned behind, and roaming in the forest for some days, he fortunately came to a village belonging to Adukrom people, and finding two Asante fugitive

women, he ordered them to loose him, after which he brought them home as prisoners.

At Asafo in Akem the king, Boaten and several of the chiefs halted, thinking that the danger was over, and the single sheep they had managed to bring along with them was sold by Boaten to the king for £ 7. 4. 0. Meanwhile a detachment of Akems under Kofi Aberanteg arrived, whose wives and children had in the Akra bush been captured by Ata and Ata, the twin-brother Asante captains. The Akems, allowing the fugitives time to cook and prepare that sheep, fired among them, and compelled them to flee with great loss. At Asantewa the fugitives were again attacked by four brothers, Aboagye, Namhene, Gyima, and Apea Hene. They were bold hunters and succeeded in rescuing their only sister Oforiwa, who had been taken prisoner on the battle-field. A third detachment of Akems under Kwabena Edu, Bankye, and Apea Nti, likewise pursued the king. At Apedwa they heard he had left Asafo. They met, however, the wounded prince Owusu Ansã Apenteng, riding on a horse, and slew him. Apea Nti pursued the king as far as Bogu and then gave it up. The fugitives, marching day and night, reached Akem Akropong. Here they were safe and could take rest.

At Sewua, Boaten is said to have delivered the golden stool to the king, shortly after which three messengers from the captains who had been left to protect the country, arrived, with the following message, "We have been sent by your Majesty's captains, viz., Bekwai Sei, Kokofu Asare and Amofo Sei, to give their compliments to the king and their congratulations for fighting, and state that they sympathize deeply with your Majesty's troubles and losses! They desired us to ascertain whether the rumours they had heard were true or false, — whether your Majesty has brought back the god, if otherwise, to be informed so as to march down to the place where the god is, and warm themselves with the fire which is reported to have been kindled there and is burning!" The king replied, "I have brought it with me." They replied, "We could not dare to ask this by ourselves, but we were expressly requested by your Majesty's captains to be allowed to have a look at the stool!" It was brought before them. Then they said, "Nana, we have seen it", and reported the same to the captains.

The king's intention was, to go in company with Boaten to Kumase; but he declined and said, "One should not be put to shame

twice, it would not do to be ashamed at Kumase, and after that at D̄waben. They thereupon parted. Reception was given to the king of D̄waben, but the king entered the capital unperceived. He only sent his compliments to the chiefs and informed them that he was arrived, but too unwell to receive them. He sent for Gyanliwa, mother of Yaw Osekyere, and comforted her for the loss of her son, promised to support her, and gave her four slaves and four peredwans. According to reliable reports, the king stayed four or six months at S̄ewua, attended the wounded and the sick, appointed new captains for those who had fallen in the battle, before he appeared in the capital and met with a grand reception. Adu Sei Tshatsha, the renowned linguist of Kumase, was stoned to death by mere boys for being suspected of an intrigue. Kwadwo Tibo met some Asante traders at Cape Coast, whom he took for servants of Adu Sei Tshatsha. In conversation with them, he let out the whole secret of his escape from Kumase, that it was through the kindness of Adu. He sent presents and an old finger-ring, a sign of their intimate friendship, by them to the old linguist, by which he was detected. He was also said to have been the chief instigator of the king to make war with the Akras. The boys who were allowed to stone him to death also complained that he was the cause of their having become orphans and fatherless.

The forces under the twin-brother captains, Ata and Ata, who could have done great injury to the war-dancing women and children in the towns, were kept back from doing it by the orderly beating of the big drums by mere women in every town along the coast. They, however, killed several persons on the roads to the towns and in some villages. They put fire to the town of Berekuso, captured 70 Akem women, harbouring in the forest near Kwabenyān, and were marching off with them in triumph. The Akems under Kofi Aberanteg and others pursued them, and rescued their wives and children. Of the 70 prisoners they brought only 30 to Kumase.

Having followed the king of Asante in his inglorious retreat up to Kumase, we should turn our course again to the field of battle. During the night after the battle the mournful groanings of the wounded and dying, of men, women, and children, were heard. They cried for water and food, calling out most piteously for help and deliverance. Oh! the horrors and carnage of war! The Akras postponed till Thursday the 10th of August reconnoitring the battle.

field, on which about six thousand corpses were lying unburied. The Akras got many prisoners and valuable spoil; but the principal amount of booty was gathered by their inferiors.

Of all the battles fought by the Asantes since the establishment of their kingdom none had ever proved to them so fatal as that of Katamansu. The monarch had lost sixty of his generals, chiefs, and captains. But few of the commanders escaped with himself and Boaten. It was God in heaven who mercifully defended our country. But our deluded people attributed the victory not only to their fetishes, but also to every cartilaginous, spinous, and testaceous creature in the sea, which they consider, to the present day, as warriors of their fetish Nai (the sea) and suppose to have taken part in the engagement and even, in some instances, to have got wounded at that time.

The loss on the side of the army was comparatively small. There were five captains of renown who fell, Nabera, Abose Kwaw, Tete Okogyeatuo, Krote, Kwasi Amankwā. Our loss on the whole in killed, wounded, and missing amounted to 1800.

The troops of James Town sustained a heavy loss of 99 men captured and killed, which has been attributed to several causes. Some say: through the force of Christiansborg, which in the general falling back of the whole army was somewhat repulsed a few yards below the line. If that were the cause, the force of Gbese, which was next to that of Christiansborg, should have sustained the loss, and not that of James Town. Others say, it was from some of the Fantes, who fled at the first discharge from the enemy. We may arrive at the truth by saying: in the general confusion, the James Town troops may have either advanced beyond the general line, or may have retreated a little backward, and the line being broken, the enemy took advantage of that to attack them from behind. The force of Gbese and the right wing of Christiansborg were expert and manly in joining their line again when it was broken by the first general falling back, otherwise the latter might have suffered a similar loss.

The Akras being religious in their way and less blood-thirsty, spared many of their prisoners. The different contingents of the army marched back in triumph to their respective towns, where the warriors were enthusiastically received by their wives and friends. They spent several days in merriment, and offered thanksgiving oblations to the fetishes. During those days of merriment

the warriors used to go out in bands to the battle-field, where some picked up wounded men whom they carried home and cured, and others obtained different kinds of valuable spoil.

August and September being the months of the year on which the Akras celebrate their yearly feast, the one in 1826 was uncommonly grand.

Tete Akôsem and his brother Mensa Okotokuo of Christiansborg captured Oti Panyin, a captain and first class linguist of Kumase, and brought him home alive. Akoto, hearing that his former persecutor of Kumase had been captured, bought him for double the price requested, took him to the eastern side of the lagoon Krôte, and there barbarously killed him. His manner of death supplied a name for the word "target", so that, when soldiers have target practise, people say, they are shooting Oti.

The Angulas, owing a grudge to the Akras on account of the Danish expedition in 1784, had shortly before the battle brought their canoes to the banks of the Volta to catch the fugitive Akras. After waiting for several days, they heard of our success and shamefully retreated.

Shortly after the battle, it was rumoured that presents would be forwarded from England to all the kings and chiefs for their good services. They were expecting these presents until December, when a large man-of-war arrived at the anchorage. An English officer, it must have been Sir N. Campbell, came on shore, and requested to be shown the field of battle. Mr. Richter with some others accompanied him. They spent a few days there inspecting the place, and, as reported, the officer was disgusted at the sight of so many corpses lying unburied on the field, and hurt the feelings of the party by saying: "You killed them too much."

The spoil taken from the Asantes is believed to have been worth several thousands of pound sterling. The Ningo and Adã forces, which attacked the rear of the enemy, plundered the largest amount of gold-dust. But the deluded people of Adã, who were forbidden the use of that precious metal, had to exchange it, at a great loss, for cotton goods and cowries. Kwaku Kpotehãra, an Adã on his father's side, resident at Christiansborg, had captured a large amount of gold-dust, which he served out by handfuls to buy various trifles, and knocked off the dust that stuck to his fingers. Many grew very rich in the country, and up to this day there are in some families remnants of the booty, which they have converted

into fetishes and worship. After the battle of Katamansu gold-dust became the principal currency of the country.

The name of "Akra" now became famous; their influence spread far and wide, and they were respected everywhere. Their former enemies, Fantes, Akems, Akwamus and Akuapems, bowed to them, respected them, and their prestige was even acknowledged at Asaute and Dahome. They obtained riches by traffic in distant countries, and strangers came down to the coast for the purpose of commerce. The Fantes who had not joined in the battle, chief Ayi and linguist Dshang, both of Akra, were commissioned by the king to collect tribute from them, which also became a source of income to the chiefs of Akra. But we are very sorry to say, the Akras have not acquired till now the spirit for ruling, hence they allowed that fine opportunity of asking reasonable tribute from those chiefs they had under them, to slip from their hands. Hence there is no revenue whatever running into their treasury. Their kings and chiefs will ever remain poor, or even, when rich at their accession, will yet grow poor by having to spend, but nothing to gain. They will at last, as the people grow more civilized, give up the title of kings and chiefs, or when their position as chiefs is beneficial to the English Government in helping to keep up peace and order in the colony, some stipends will be allowed them to live by, from the large revenue yielded by the colony.

Well done! Victorious Gà,
 'Thou great and durable Akra
 Not subject to desolation!
 For thy words are truth and ten,
 Thy troubles many, thy patience long,
 Not forgotten yet revenges.
 Not minding splendour and pomp,
 Yet thy nature is as a rock.
 Hardy and strong, yet born peaceful.
 Enemies from North and South,
 From East and West, stood aghast,
 Who came in their pride to touch thee.
 But thy strength lies not in thee,
 Neither in thy Sakum or Nai;
 But in God, unknown by thee,
 And in thy white Protectors.
 When united, thy strength will grow,
 And more glorious shalt thou be!

CHAPTER XIX.

Establishment of Schools by the European Governments on the Gold Coast.—Count Zinzendorf's attention drawn towards the propagation of the Gospel on the Coast.—Arrival of the Moravian Missionaries and their deaths.—Major de Richelieu's negotiation with the Committee of the Basel Mission on the propriety of beginning a Mission work.—The first Missionaries and the difficulties accompanying their work.—Excellent plans of the Mission and its progress.—Arrival and establishing of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, the North German Mission, and the Anglican Church Mission.—Effects of these Missions on the different Tribes on the Gold Coast. About 1720—1890.

How far the Portuguese, who are said to have catechised and baptized their slaves before shipping them off, succeeded in what they did during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries towards the education of the Natives, cannot be traced. Even if they introduced their religion among the Natives, it was so much mixed up with idolatry and fetishism, that no vestige is left.

About the other settlers — Dutch, Danes, and English, we have traces of education given only at their head-quarters. It was mainly for the children begotten by them in the country (their children sent out to Europe for education excepted), but not for the general public. The Danes and the Dutch seem to have done more towards education than the English; yet the latter were more liberal in their views of imparting education, in this, that the educated were employed to hold positions according to their abilities, whilst the former had only one object, i. e. to enlist them as soldiers and nothing else. Hence the whole country was lying in an Egyptian darkness of barbarism and superstition. The gleamy light of Christianity shone only among the officials of the different governments on the Coast by the soldiers and the Mulatto ladies, and administration of the Holy Supper among that small circle of believers in that age could never affect the vast populations outside the pale of governmental employ. Oh! that an Evangelical Mission had settled earlier in the country, to preach Christ and to shed the Gospel light in this dark region! But our God, who would have all men saved, had not forgotten this part of Africa. He was preparing a people to be sent out in due time. He had brought peace into the country; three years after the great war between Akwamu and Akra, and again two years after the great battle fought at Dodowa between Asante and Akra, the Lord sent out messengers of peace into the country.

The Moravians, who called themselves "Unitas Fratrum" or "the United Brethren", founded a colony of emigrants from Moravia, where the Roman Catholics had persecuted them, under the zealous Count Zinzendorf, on an estate of his, called Berthelsdorf, in upper Lusatia, now part of the Kingdom of Saxony, in the year 1722. To this colony the name of Herrnhut was given. Through the zeal and success of this colony of believers, several colonies on the plan of the parent church were established in different parts of Germany, England, Holland and America. The energetic Count Zinzendorf met a West Indian negro at Copenhagen, which led to the establishment of a mission in the small Danish island St. Thomas, West India. The first two Moravian missionaries were sent to the Negro slaves there in the year 1732. Others were sent to Greenland, in 1733; to the Red Indians in North America, 1734; to the Negro slaves in Surinam, Dutch Guiana in South America, 1735; to the Hottentots in South Africa, 1736; to Jamaica, 1754; and afterwards to various other islands and countries. It pleased our merciful Lord to direct His devoted servant Count Zinzendorf, in whose heart was kindled love and zeal also for the salvation of Africans on the West Coast of Africa, to meet one Protten at Copenhagen in the year 1735.

By the suggestion of Governor Hendrik von Suhm, then in command of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast, Pastor Schwane, who acted in the capacity of a Chaplain on the Coast during a period of six years, was instructed to bring two Mulatto youths of the Government school to Copenhagen to be educated at the expense of the Government. Two youths were selected, but one of them being prevented by illness, Protten took his place. So he and the other youth were brought to Denmark in the year 1727. The mother of Protten appears to have been a daughter of king Ashangmo, who emigrated to Popo in 1680; and his father a soldier in the castle of Christiansborg. On the 17th of November 1727, Protten was baptized in Copenhagen and got the name "Christian Jacob". He began to study in 1728—1732. In 1735 he was asked to return to his native country, but found no confidence to do so, when fortunately he met Count Zinzendorf in Copenhagen, and after eight days intercourse with him, he expressed a desire to become a missionary. In July 1735 he accompanied Zinzendorf to Herrnhut, where the case was laid before the Society. Henry Huckuff was appointed by the Conference to accompany Protten to Africa as the first

Moravian missionaries. Zinzendorf proceeded with Protten to Holland and got passage for them. In March 1737 they set sail for Africa, and arrived at Elmina on the 11th of May. It was the intention of the Society first to establish their Mission at Elmina under the patronage of the Dutch Government. But on their arrival at Elmina, Protten proposed coming to Akra, and his brother missionary was obliged to accompany him down. But 35 days after their arrival in the country, poor Huckuff found his grave at Akra the 15th June 1737.

In September Protten went to see his relations in Popo. There he was kept against his will and did not return before October 1739. From this time up to 1762, he never was permanently employed in direct missionary work, nor settled in one place. In 1741 he returned to Germany. In 1743 he made a trip to St. Thomas, returned to Germany in 1745 and married there a pious Mulatto-lady, the widow of a Moravian missionary, on the 6th June 1746. He longed to go to the Gold Coast again; but as the Elders of the community of the Brethren had no confidence to send him, he alone went to Copenhagen and in 1766 undertook his second journey to the Gold Coast with good recommendations, to become a catechist or assistant chaplain and schoolmaster in Fort Christiansborg. When the vessel reached the African coast at Grand Junk on the Grain Coast (now Liberia) on the 10th of February 1757, fever and other reasons compelled him to go ashore. He stayed there 15 weeks, and one month later got to Christiansborg, where he was well received (28. June) by Governor Jessen. He wrote letters to Herrnhut begging for missionaries and for news from the Brethren and his wife. On account of an accident he was sent back to Europe (July 1761) and came to Herrnhut (February 1762). In March 1763 he was consecrated by the Elders of the Conference in Herrnhut to go out to Africa for the third time, with his wife. But when they had come to Holland and every thing seemed to be ready, the journey and the whole plan were frustrated by a series of adverse circumstances, so that at length he repaired to Copenhagen and again resumed his former employment under the Danish Government from 1764 to 1769, 24th of August, when he died at Christiansborg.

In March 1767 the Directors of the Danish Guinea Company in a very kind letter begged the Elders of the United Brethren to send missionaries to the Gold Coast to preach the Gospel to the natives there and make them orderly, faithful, and diligent people as those on the three Danish islands in West India.

In June 1767, after having asked the Lord what to do, for Africa, and being encouraged to hold on, the Elders of the Conference in Herrnhut resolved to send five missionaries. These were Jacob Meder, Daniel Lemké, Gottfried Schultze, Sigmund Kleffel and Samuel Hall. The conference laid the case before the authorities in Copenhagen, during which time the Danish African Trading Company surrendered their charter over to the Crown. All necessary arrangements were made. The missionaries arrived at Copenhagen, November 2nd, and went on board December 30th, but severe frost prevented their sailing. On March 29th, 1768, they went on board again, on April 4th they set sail and arrived at Christiansborg on July 5th, joyfully received by Governor Franz Kyhberg, by Protten and his wife, and the natives. But before Brother Meder with two others could go to Ningo to select a place for their settlement, the fever seized one after another, and three of them were called to their eternal rest, Schulze in August, Meder and Lemke in September. Only Hall and Kleffel recovered. Chaplain Miller, who had come with them from Copenhagen, proved a true friend to the brethren in their distress, and Protten also with his wife did their best in attending the sick.

When the sad news reached Europe, the Society did not lose courage; although it was a heavy affliction, yet four missionaries were sent out again. They were: M. Schenk, R. Bradly, S. Watson and Westman; the latter was only to accompany the rest to the Gold Coast and then return home to report of the state of the country. In October 1769 they left Copenhagen, and after 15 weeks arrived at Christiansborg on February 9th, 1770, greatly welcome to the two brethren and Protten's widow. Governor Gerhard Wrisberg soon presented them to Obiri Korane, the king of Akem, who came to visit him in the fort and showed himself willing to receive two of the brethren in his country. Schenk, Bradly, Hall and Watson started on March 9th to Ningo. They bought a piece of land and began to build their station; at the same time, they preached and taught the people; Westman and Kleffel remained at Christiansborg. On March 25th and 28th both Watson and Schenk got attacks of fever, so Bradly asked Westman to come down to Ningo, where he arrived on April 2nd. Watson died on the 10th; and the rest soon followed one after another. Westman, who survived, embarked for Europe and died five days after on the sea. The tidings of these rapid and mournful deaths did not reach the

Society directly, but the missionaries in St. Thomas heard a verbal message by a captain, and wrote home. In July the governor of Christiansborg reported the deaths, but his letter did not arrive before 1771. The full report of the death of all the missionaries from St. Thomas reached Herrnhut in 1773. Thus the Moravian Mission on the Gold Coast ended, by sowing eleven precious seeds of the Divine Sower in the soil of Western Africa. But those seeds were not lost, for the dying brethren had at least directed the eyes of those who waited for the kingdom of God to the miserable and deprived condition of the tribes of that coast, and Zinzendorf already prophesied a better future.

As in the 18th cent Denmark was blessed with several pious kings, who took a sincere interest in the spiritual welfare of their heathen subjects in the colonies, so there were several pious governors too sent out to the colonies. Major de Richelieu, a well-minded man with regard to Christian truth, was Governor of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast between 1822—1825. (He himself conducted the Sunday services in Fort Christiansborg in absence of a chaplain, and took care that the Mulatto children were properly educated.) On his return to Denmark, he pleaded in an official petition to the king for a better attention to the spiritual welfare of the Natives.

The Basel Missionary Society, founded in the year 1815, had for some time prepared missionaries chiefly for other societies, but since 1822 begun missions of their own.*) Now they were deliberating on the propriety of beginning a work in one of the benighted regions of the West Coast of Africa. De Richelieu wrote to Basel, offering in the name of his king fair conditions and every assistance

*) From 1818 to 1828 went out from Basel as missionaries for other societies: to India 14, to Sierra Leone 5, to Egypt and Abessinia 5, to Malta and Greece 5 (22 of all these for the Church Miss. Soc.); and from 1822 to 1828 the Basel Society sent 11 missionaries and 11 ministers for German settlers to Russia, Armenia and among the Tartars, and 6 missionaries to Liberia, West Africa, besides those 4 to the Gold Coast. To Liberia, the Society had a call from Governor Ashmun, the founder of Monrovia, previous to the call from Denmark. The Basel missionaries laboured for some time among the coloured settlers from America and the indigenous Veys and Bassas, but 2 of them died, and the 4 others, wearied out by the indifference of the settlers and the enmity of the slave-dealers, after 3—4 years found better work in Sierra Leone and elsewhere. — Chr.

in case the Committee should choose their field of labour on the Gold Coast. The Committee accepted the offer and entered into negotiations with the Danish Government.

In March 1827 four missionaries: Holzwarth, Schmidt, Salbaeh and Henke were sent out over Copenhagen. They arrived at Christiansborg on the 18th December 1828, and were joyfully received by Governor Hendrick G. Lind. They resolutely set to work, but from August 12th to 29th, three of them were buried. Henke survived till 1831. The fruit of his labours at the Government-school is still to be seen in the pupils he had under him. As a missionary he advised and encouraged the native chiefs to send their children to school. It was the first case here in Christiansborg. On the 17th November 1831 he fell asleep in his Lord. In March 1832, three missionaries, A. Riis, P. Jäger and Dr. Heinze arrived. But the medical man died six weeks after. Jäger soon followed and Riis was left alone. He was, like Henke, employed for some time in the Government-school and acted at the same time as chaplain. But in 1835, when Pastor Jørsleff arrived in the capacity of chaplain, Riis resigned. His mind was powerfully drawn towards the interior, where he wished to begin a mission. Messrs. Tørsleff and Grönberg accompanied him to Akropong. King Ado Dankwa, who desired Riis to establish a mission there, rendered him all assistance. A piece of land was sold to him, and the king ordered his chiefs and people to build him a house; hence the natives called him "Osiadañ" ("house builder"). The reception given to Riis at Akropong encouraged him to beg the Committee not to weary in their efforts of evangelizing the Negroes. His reports kindled a new fire of love among the friends of the kingdom of Christ. Two brethren sent out to his aid, J. Mürdter and A. Stanger, together with Miss M. A. Wolter, the future partner of A. Riis, arrived in 1836. It was hoped that a new era would commence for the mission; but in December 1837 A. Stanger was

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removed by death; in November 1838 J. Mürdter followed, and A. Riis with his excellent lady were left alone on the battle field. The mission within a period of 10 years lost 8 persons with apparently no result; no fruit of the work was as yet to be seen. The Committee declared in the report pro 1838, "We are bowed down at the hearing of all the sad news, we are dismayed at the utter failure of our plans, we do not understand the thoughts of the Lord with this deeply afflicted work."

Mr. Riis continued for some time his efforts at Akropong, but his health gave way amidst all the hardships. Before returning to Europe, he visited Kuniase. The impressions he received there in the lion's den were not such as to inspire him with hopes for an immediate beginning of Gospel work in Asante. In July 1840 he arrived at Basel. The Committee were not disheartened, whilst many friends were for breaking off altogether, as the Moravians had done 70 years before.

The Lord, however, had already chosen new ways; it was not his will to leave this stronghold of Satan in the peace of death. A new Inspector, the Rev. W. Hoffmann, an energetic man, took up the legacy of his predecessor with undaunted courage, finding out new means to "get the field." About three years after the above-mentioned sick leave of Mr. Riis, we find this faithful pioneer in Jamaica, assisted by J. G. Widmann, to enlist Christian emigrants from among the free Negroes for the holy war in Africa. The plan of Inspector Hoffmann was, to begin our African Mission work anew by establishing a settlement with Christian colonists from the West Indies at Akropong. In Jamaica 24 members of the Moravian congregation were found ready to go to their fatherland, and arrived on the 17th April 1843 at Christiansborg. Not all these West Indian brethren proved to be shining lights among those who were in darkness. Yet Akropong became henceforth a city on a hill, the light of which could not be hid.

At Christiansborg a school was opened for the Mulattoes, which soon became crowded with pupils. From 1845 a European missionary, Mr. Schiedt, was stationed there, and regular preaching commenced.

The young work suffered a great loss in 1845 through the utter breaking down of Mr. Riis' health and his return to Europe. But new missionaries arrived: E. Fr. Sebald, Fr. Schiedt and H. N. Riis in 1845, J. C. Dieterle, J. Stanger, Fr. Meischel and J. Mohr in 1847. A new station was established at Aburi by Mr. Meischel.

The annual Report of 1848 relates that at last the wilderness and the solitary places were beginning to rejoice, and the first blossoms were to be seen. About 40 native Christians besides the 20 West Indians were gathered in Christ's fold, both at Akropong and at Christiansborg, and at least 300 children received regular instruction. Between 1838—1848 only one missionary, Sebald, died on December 7, 1845, at Akropong. May we not ascribe this change to the earnest prayers of the newborn children at Christiansborg, who assembled for the special purpose of interceding for the lives of their ministers, as Mr. Schiedt's report of 1848 says?

We proceed to the year 1858, and are astonished to hear that no fewer than 18 missionaries, 9 married and 3 unmarried ladies, altogether 30 Europeans, besides 26 catechists and teachers are stationed not only at old places, but also at Gyadam in Akem, founded 1853, at Abokobi, founded 1854 in consequence of the bombardment of Christiansborg, at Odumase, founded 1856. Aburi, given up for 6 years after the sick leave of Mr. Meischel, was reopened by Mr. Dieterle.

The work had grown up to manhood, and manly were the endeavours to gain the victory. Our schools received a suitable development, so as to resemble well organised Christian schools in Europe. Plantations were cleared and laid out with thousands of coffee-trees, roads made through the bush, better dwellings built, and so forth.

But not only the outward appearance changed; the preaching of the Gospel brought a joyful harvest too. The number of regular church members at the end of 1858 was 385 besides 90 candidates for baptism. In every way the prospects were favourable for an increased onset; for the heathenish powers were beginning to give ground.

Ten years later, at the end of 1868, that is, after active missionary labour of 40 years, the tabular view showed the following numbers: 31 missionaries, 19 ladies, 53 native assistants, 1581 church members (four times more than ten years ago). The year 1868 alone brought an increase of 372 souls.

The Mission Trade Society had begun their operations to prepare the way for the Lord by trade based on Christian principles. The first Factory was established at Christiansborg in 1855 by our energetic missionary merchant Mr. H. L. Rottmann. We feel compelled to remark here that he has, during a period of 37 years,

devoted all his energy in that capacity of a missionary merchant and has thoroughly convinced many an intelligent and patriotic native by his simplicity, honesty, sobriety and self-denial as a missionary indeed. We say convinced, because the general notion prevalent on the whole Gold Coast is, that a merchant *nolens volens* becomes a worldling, a polygamist, and luxurious.

Two stations were also established on the banks of the river Volta: at Adā, and 60 miles to the interior, at Anum, in the midst of an abundant cotton district. Of course not only the merchants offered their goods, but native and European ministers also offered, without money and without price, to children and adults, the imperishable goods from above.

In one place we had to retreat. Gyadam, burnt down in 1861, was abandoned, but only to make place for a new station in the Akem country at Kyebi. A great number of out-stations sprung up, surrounding the central places in every district. After retreating from Anum in consequence of the invasion by the Asantes in 1864, the station was established at Akuse on the banks of the Volta. (Anum has been re-occupied since 1881, no more as a trading station.)

During this period, Elders were appointed in our congregations to assist the missionaries in their work and to settle minor cases of jurisdiction, which institution still proves to be a blessing in our whole organisation. Church regulations, adapted to the wants of our Christian natives, became the standard of life in our communities. Polygamy and domestic slavery, two evils closely connected, were subdued with all energy.

Our schools, the most flourishing part of our African mission, received every attention, because we must have a staff of well educated native assistants, before we reach our aim, the future independence of a native church. Boarding-schools were therefore opened in all our districts for boys and girls, besides the day-schools at each station and out-station. For a good while, a great number of the children under instruction were either orphans or belonging to heathenish families; in many cases also either the father or the mother were yet unconverted. It is clear that with children living with their ungodly relations, the good influence of the school is often weakened by the venomous influence of paganism. This is less the case with our boarding-scholars, who live entirely with the missionaries under strict discipline. It was no easy task to induce parents to give their children, especially their daughters,

to the missionaries for education. However all prejudices gradually disappeared by the enlightening influence of the Gospel. The greatest difficulty in establishing a Girls Boarding-school was, and is to some degree still, experienced in the Krobo district, where every girl has to submit to a certain filthy heathenish custom called Otafo or Dipo, or else becomes an outcast. "May the Lord destroy all the bulwarks of Satan, and pour out his spirit upon daughters and handmaids among the Kroboes!" exclaims the report for 1865. And the same is our fervent prayer still for all girls in the Gã and Adaimé district.

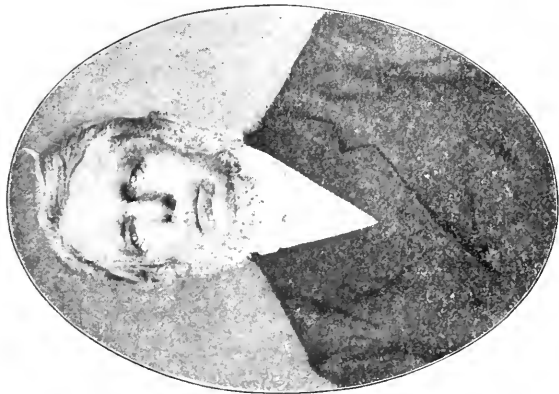
The boys and girls of the Boarding-schools are also instructed in handiwork, the girls especially in sewing etc. We do not expect that all these children will be converted; European experience and Holy Scripture would contradict such expectations. But one thing we know: the Holy Spirit is working in the hearts of many of them, and they all learn at least so much under the roofs of the missionaries as is necessary to become useful members of society in their after life, and to regard African superstition as sin and folly.

From among the boys of our Day- and Boarding-schools, we annually select the more intelligent and allow them to enter our "Middle-schools" in Akropong, Christiansborg, and Begoro. An active boy trained in this school has no difficulty in obtaining an apprenticeship in a mercantile business or in the Government office. Several young men are thus employed, and they reflect honour on our schools, but not so much on our congregations. We confidently hope that they will ere long become a credit also to our congregations, and active supporters of our native church. Others may become farmers or learn a trade in one of our industrial shops. But these, as remarked before, are not our objects with the Middle-schools. Young men who have passed three classes of the Middle-school, and wish to become teachers or catechists, receive in the fourth class preparatory instruction which enables them to enter special Seminaries. Those who wish to become teachers stay two years in a Teachers' Training-school, connected with the Theological Seminary. We do not like to use big words, otherwise we might term the latter school "our Gold Coast High School." But the object we aim at, is: to educate native ministers, able to take care of the congregations, to feed their flock with knowledge and understanding (Jer. 3, 15), and to promote the wisdom that is from above and is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and

without hypocrisy (James 3, 17). We long for the fulfilment of that aim, but are already thankful for the first-fruits from the tree of our school work. "Speramus meliora", we hope for better, is the motto of the African Steamship Company. It expresses our expectations also in this sphere of labour.

Another department in our work received its development between 1858—1868. Our friends are aware, that our missionary work is not limited to preaching and teaching alone. Our Committee think it not only right, but their bounden duty, to make our Christians from the Gentiles partakers of the social blessings, which Europeans abundantly derive from Christianity. For this purpose industrial establishments were opened at Christiansborg for joiners, wheelwrights, locksmiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and book-binders. Our industrial missionaries had to overcome many difficulties with their workshops. We are therefore thankful to state that, in this branch too, our mission has not laboured in vain. After many trials, the different establishments became self-supporting, and all these different trades tended to promote Christian diligence, honesty, and sobriety. These workshops have not only enabled the Europeans to build more salubrious and comfortable dwellings than those they first inhabited, but the natives also, following their examples, have improved upon their former style of domestic architecture. All the social changes, which this branch of our work brought to the Gold Coast, are uniformly appreciated and speak for themselves to every one who has eyes to see and sense enough to observe past and present.

We have to mention also the difficulties which the confusion of tongues creates in this part of the world, and not in a small degree in our districts, where five different languages are spoken: Gã or Akra, Tshi (Twi), Guan (of Kyerepoug, Date and Anum), Adangme and Ephe. Two of the chief vernacular tongues, Gã and Tshi, have been adopted and cultivated as the common medium of intercourse in church and school, and these have become written languages. The late Rev. J. Zimmermann finished the Gã translation of the Bible in 1865, and Rev. J. G. Christaller issued his excellent Tshi Old and New Testament a few years later. Besides, there are a great number of useful school books of every description: Dictionaries, Hymn-books, Prayer-books, etc., either translated or compiled by those two missionaries and others. We are greatly indebted to the Basel missionaries, but in particular to the Revs. John Zimmermann and



REV. J. G. WIDDMANN,
at Akropong F. 43- 1876.



REV. J. ZIMMERMANN,
on the Gold Coast 1830-1876.



REV. J. G. CHRISTALLER,
on the Gold Coast 1853-1868.

Christaller, for having taken great pains to cultivate our language to become written languages. We say with gratitude that as long as this world exists their names shall never be forgotten in the annals of the Gold Coast. We are also greatly indebted to the British and Foreign Bible Society, who have generously paid the expense of printing those translations.

And now the outward features, by which our progress during the last ten years has been characterized, ought to be indicated. In 1868 we were able to say that we had filled the regions of the Eastern province of the colony with the Gospel. Congregations had been gathered, schools established, native assistants educated, the Bible translated into two languages, other books for school and church published in the native tongues, work-shops opened, agriculture promoted. And as a decided progress, and a step in the right direction towards building up a native church, several of the faithful catechists were ordained as Pastors of congregations between 1868 and 1878. The report for 1879 says, "it was a day of joy and gladness, when our dear brethren, the Revs. A. W. Clerk, Ch. Reindorf, and Th. Opoku received this token of confidence and appreciation of faithful services by our Committee." Four years later Messrs. Koranteng, Nath. Date, Jer. Engmann and Ch. Quist were ordained. And we are thankful to the Lord, that he has blessed the labours of his servants the missionaries that up to the present year (1891) we have 18 Native Pastors in active service, two of whom have been educated and ordained in Basel, viz., Mr. D. Asante*) and Mr. N. Clerk. Our elder brother Mr. A. W. Clerk is under pension.

The area of our mission field has extended over one half of the Gold Coast colony. The country of Okwawu has been occupied in the north, Western Akem or Akem Kotoku in the west, and the eastern boundary is the Volta with some parts beyond it.

Statistics of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast on January 1, 1890 (and, in parentheses, 1894, to show the increase in 4 years).

The stations with their number of out-stations added in figures are:

In the Coast districts: Akra: Christiansborg 5 (6); Abokobi 15 (17); Nsabã in Fante-Agona 10 (14); Odumase in Krobo 7; Adã 5 (6).

*) Rev. D. Asante, who had been in Basel 1857—1862, died on Oct. 13, 1892, after faithful and valuable services. Chr.

In the Inland districts: Akuapem: Aburi 7; Akropong 12; Akem: Begoro 31 (46); Okwawu: Abetifi 6 (8); East of Volta: Anum 10 (14).

Total: Stations 10, out-stations 108 (137).

There are 35 (41) missionaries and 23 (25) missionary ladies, and 169 (193) native agents, employed in the different departments of the mission, viz., the Itinerary, the Pastoral, the Educational, the Medical, the Commercial and the Industrial departments.

The number of church members in the whole mission is 8,909 (12,074) of whom 3,662 (5,198) are communicants. We have 100 (110) schools with 2791 (3513) scholars (of whom 725 (880) are heathens), viz., 1 Theological Seminary, 1 Teachers' Seminary, 3 Middle (or Grammar) Schools, 4 Boarding-schools for boys, 3 Boarding-schools for girls, 83 (93) Day-schools and 5 Sunday-schools.

The loss sustained by our mission since 1828 to 1890 (1894) i. e. 62 (66) years are, 65 (68) missionaries and 33 (36) missionary ladies, total 98 (104) persons.

We have come so far with the history of the Basel Mission, and are now to take up that of the Wesleyan Mission, the next in age and rank.

Both missions were preceded by the establishment of the Danish and the English governmental schools in the country. Chaplains were sent out for each Government, and consequently schools were opened. The Dutch had also chaplains and schools, but no Evangelical Mission established.

W. J. Müller was the first Danish chaplain at Cape Coast from 1661—1670. The first Protestant missionary at Cape Coast was the Rev. Thomas Thompson, sent out in 1751 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He acted as chaplain until 1756, when ill health obliged him to retire. Philip Kwaku, one of the three youths he had sent to England for education, received orders and acted as chaplain from 1765 until his death, October 1816. He established a school, which was kept up by his successors. The result of his labours for 50 years was, that some of the natives trained in that school associated themselves for the acquisition of religious knowledge, as shall be seen hereafter. He was defamed to have relapsed into idolatry, as some charms or fetishes were found under his dying pillows and bed. Even if such were the case, we are quite certain, they were not placed there by himself, or by his orders, for it is a fact that, not only the native Christians, but even the Europeans as well, have often been thus treated by their heathen friends attending them as nurse or doctor.

“It was in the autumn of the year 1834 (writes Dr. J. Beecham) that the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society were induced to send a missionary on a visit of observation to the Gold

Coast. A few native youths, who had learned to read the English translation of the Bible in the excellent Government-school at Cape Coast Castle, became so interested by the contents of the sacred volume, that they agreed to meet at regular times for the purpose of reading it together, and of enquiring carefully into the nature and claims of the Christian religion. The name which this association assumed was that of "A Meeting or Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge"; and they adopted for their guidance the following rule, which is copied literally from the minutes of their proceedings: "That, as the word of God is the best rule a Christian ought to observe, it is herein avoided framing other rules to enforce good conduct; but that the Scriptures must be carefully studied, through which, by the help of the Holy Spirit and faith in Christ Jesus, our minds will be enlightened and find the way to eternal salvation.

"The formation of this most interesting Society or Meeting took place on the 1st of October 1831; and in the year 1833, Mr. William De Graft, one of the first who began to read the Scriptures privately in the spirit of prayer and inquiry, received at Dix Cove, where he was then residing, a request from his young friends at Cape Coast town that he would engage some suitable person, who might be proceeding to England, to purchase for their use a number of copies of the New Testament.

"Shortly after, the late excellent captain Potter, master of a merchant vessel from the port of Bristol, arrived at Dix Cove, to whom William De Graft applied as one likely to execute with promptness and care the commission for the purchase of the Scriptures. He was surprised at receiving such an application from a native young man, and became so greatly interested by the information which his questions elicited, that he was led to ask whether the instructions of a missionary would not be highly appreciated by those native inquirers after the true religion. De Graft replied in the affirmative, but appeared doubtful whether so high a privilege was attainable. Captain Potter next proceeded to Cape Coast, where he saw the members of the Meeting; and having consulted President Maclean, he returned to England, resolved to exert himself in order that, on his next voyage, he might, together with copies of the Scriptures, take out a Christian minister who should "preach the word" to those who were already united in seeking "the way to eternal salvation", and proclaim the Gospel of Christ to other portions of the heathenish native population of the Gold Coast.

“Immediately after his arrival at Bristol, captain Potter communicated to the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London his views as to the promising opening for missionary exertion in that part of Africa, and generously offered to take a missionary with him on his next voyage, who might make personal observation and inquiry upon the spot; and, should he conclude that the prospect was not such as to warrant his continuance for the purpose of commencing a mission, captain Potter engaged that he would bring him back to England without any expense to the Missionary Society. This noble offer met with acceptance on the part of the Missionary Committee; and the Rev. Joseph Dunwell was selected for the interesting service.

“This devoted missionary embarked with captain Potter at Bristol, on the 17th of October 1834

“On the 29th of December, the vessel anchored off the Dutch fort of Elmina. At this place, within sight of Cape Coast Castle, Mr. Dunwell wrote in his journal as follows: “What my feelings have been this day, I cannot describe. The place of my future residence is in view: it may prove the spot where I shall finish my earthly existence; and there the name of Jesus Christ may be honoured, or dishonoured, by me. But, in the strength of grace, I trust that, whether my days may be many, or soon numbered, they will be spent in the service of God. All things appear to me to sink into nothingness, compared with the great work of my Divine Lord and Master.

“While at anchor off Elmina, Mr. Dunwell wrote a letter to President Maclean, at Cape Coast Castle, respectfully informing him of his arrival on the coast, and stating the objects contemplated by the Wesleyan Missionary Committee, in sending him as a Missionary to that part of Africa. On his arrival a day or two afterwards at Cape Coast Castle, he met with a kind reception from the President, who invited him to remain at the castle until he could provide himself with a suitable residence; and expressed his opinion that there was a very favourable opening among the natives for missionary exertions.” (Dr. J. Beecham’s *Ashantee and the Gold Coast* pp. 259—272.)

The nucleus of a true church of Christ having been formed of a scripture-reading body by the Lord himself, who is the head of the church, Mr. Dunwell’s arrival was hailed with joy and gratitude. A small congregation of from forty to fifty members on trial was

speedily gathered, and the aspects of the new mission were of the most cheering character. Mr. Dunwell visited several places, and preached for the first time at Anomabo in March 1835; besides there were several doors wide open to receive the message of salvation, in short, the mission assumed a most promising appearance. He was attacked by fever after about six months energetic labour and expired about 9 o'clock in the evening of the 24th June 1835. The Wesleyan Committee at home, in announcing Mr. Dunwell's death, stated, "We are painfully affected by this dispensation, but not disheartened, cast down, but not destroyed. Our great Master buries his workman, but carries on his work. To Western Africa the people of England owe a debt, which must be paid at all hazards, and God will yet bless our persevering efforts to discharge, in some measure, the solemn obligations of humanity and religion."

For nearly fifteen months, the hopeful flock at Cape Coast had been left without a shepherd, yet being a tree of the Lord's own planting, the congregation increased, and the influence of Christianity was felt to a considerable distance inland. But on September 15, 1836, Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley arrived. He commenced his varied labours with zeal, undertook, without delay, the erection of a commodious building, including a chapel and school-rooms, and under his ministry the society continued to prosper. The Wesleyan Committee at home, to strengthen the hands of their energetic missionary, sent out Mr. and Mrs. Harrop on November 17, 1836. They arrived on Sunday January 15, 1837, and went in company of both Mr. and Mrs. Wrigley to the afternoon service, where they had a crowded congregation, so that Mr. Harrop was both surprised and gratified with the sight. But Mr. Wrigley was himself attacked with illness the following day, and confined to bed for some time. On Sunday, January 29, precisely a fortnight from the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Harrop, both were attacked with the seasoning fever, owing to the injurious exposure of themselves to the effects of the sun and damps. Well might Mr. Wrigley say: "Ah! how vain are all our earthly hopes, and how mysterious are his ways whose judgments are a great deep! The arrival of our friends, so highly calculated to cheer and encourage us in our arduous work, was the prelude to the experience of the severest afflictions." Mrs. Wrigley sank under the fatigue which she experienced, while attending with affectionate anxiety, by night and by day, to the wants and sufferings of her newly arrived friends. Mrs. Harrop died on Sunday

morning, February 5, 1837, after a residence of only three weeks; and both Mrs. Wrigley and Mr. Harrop died within a few minutes of each other, on the 8th of the same month, and their remains were interred at the same time. What tragical events! "How are we to account for all these losses of dear lives, at the great assize, if we remain unconverted!"

Mr. Wrigley was now the only surviving missionary on the Gold Coast, and nothing but the consolations of religion could have sustained him under an accumulation of losses so sudden and severe. Yet he went on with the work, visiting, preaching, school-teaching, journeying from place to place. He once more renews his application for help as follows, "I have again to urge the immediate reinforcement of the Mission. What is one single individual among so many? I hope, notwithstanding the sad news which these sheets communicate, that others will be found to fill up the ranks and in the spirit of one now slumbering alongside Harriet Newell in the Isle of France, — Sergeant, — come to this hell, if it be even to die here." In due course others were found, who freely and nobly offered themselves to be "baptized for the dead," in this part of the world. But before their arrival Mr. Wrigley was seized with the illness which proved fatal to him, but was graciously supported during his affliction; and he received the kindest attentions from the affectionate people to whom he had ministered with so much success. He died in Cape Coast town on November 16, 1837.

It was during Mr. Wrigley's ministry that Mr. William De Graft was appointed for Winnebah, where he happened to meet two Mulatto traders from Akra, Mr. Peter Mayer, and a friend of his. Those two Akra traders became so interested with the new religion, that they expressed the desire to become members of Christ's church. On their arrival at Akra, they hired a house and began to meet for private devotions. Their number increased gradually, and on Mr. Freeman's arrival they were visited and confirmed by him.

Twelve days before the death of Mr. Wrigley on the Gold Coast, Mr. and Mrs. Freeman embarked on board the Osborne, and arrived on January 3, 1838. Mrs. Freeman had not heard of the death of Mr. Wrigley until he arrived at Cape Coast; and when he entered the hallowed chamber where the good man met his fate, and where four of the servants of the Lord had so recently breathed their last, his mind for some time was depressed; but casting his burden upon the Lord, he entered upon his work with a cheerful spirit

that was truly admirable. Mr. Freeman being the fourth missionary and arriving on the 3rd January, the natives called him "Kwaku Anan". (Kwaku is the name for a male child born on Wednesday, and Anan the name for the fourth male child.) We say rightly that Mr. Freeman was providentially and specially sent by our Lord himself to the Gold Coast, because he was spared to labour nearly half a century, and deserves to be called by us "Father Freeman." But our climate had a contrary effect on Mrs. Freeman, who immediately after landing set about the female department of the mission work in the same spirit as her husband, arranging plans for future usefulness. But suddenly she was called to part with her dear partner on the 20th February, after a residence at Cape Coast of 48 days.

Under the energetic exertions of Mr. Freeman the mission at Cape Coast had been rising, when the prospect of a wide and effectual door opening for the preaching of the Gospel in Kumase, already reported to the late Mr. Wrigley, again reached Mr. Freeman. It was in the spring of 1839 that Mr. Freeman paid his first enterprising visit to the capital of Asante. He was cordially received by the king, and arrangements were made towards establishing the mission there. (See Missionary Notices for 1840.)

On the 20th November 1839, Mr. and Mrs. Mycock and Mr. Robert Brooking embarked for Cape Coast, where they arrived on January 13, 1840 and were heartily welcomed by the people and Mr. Freeman, who up to this time had been toiling alone.

During the year 1840 considerable interest was excited in England in favour of the Gold Coast Mission, occasioned by Mr. Freeman's visit to Kumase. In June, he and Mr. William De Graft, the native local preacher, arrived in England, when that feeling was greatly increased, and became universal. A special appeal was made to the friends of missions, and the noble sum of £ 5,000 was raised in a few months to enable the Committee considerably to augment the number of missionaries on the Gold Coast.

Mr. Freeman and the party appointed to accompany him to the Gold Coast embarked at Gravesend on the 10th December. In addition to Mr. De Graft, it consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, Mr. and Mrs. Hesk, Mr. and Mrs. Shipman, with Messrs. Watson, Walden, and Thackwray. This noble band of missionaries were favoured with a safe voyage to Africa, and landed at Cape Coast Castle on February 1, 1841. Their arrival increased the staff of

missionaries and wives on the Gold Coast to the number of twelve persons. But in March Mr. and Mrs. Mycock were obliged to return to England for their health, and in about six months after their arrival at Cape Coast four of them were numbered with the dead, and a fifth had to return home to save his life. The history of the Gospel Mission in Africa is a history of the ravages of death!

Mr. William Thackwray died at Anomabo, May 14, 1841, three months and three days after he had landed. Charles Walden was the second, on the 29th of July; Mrs. Freeman died on the 25th, and Mrs. Hesk on the 28th of August. Mr. Hesk returned home. Thus the mission party at Cape Coast was now reduced more than one half, but notwithstanding these heavy afflictions and mysterious bereavements, Mr. Freeman, early in November, in company with Mr. Brooking and the two Asante princes, Owusu Ansã and Kwantabisa, who had been educated in England, started for Kumase. They were favourably received by the king, a piece of land was granted by His Majesty, on which to erect suitable mission-premises; and the nucleus of a Christian church was speedily formed in the blood-dyed streets of the capital of the sanguinary kingdom of Asante. Mr. Freeman returned to the coast and left Mr. Brooking in charge of the mission. The Committee of the Wesleyan Missions felt it to be their imperative duty to send out three missionaries to fill up the ranks occasioned by deaths and returns. They were Messrs. William Allen, Henry J. Wyatt, and Thomas Rowland. The first arrived on the 27th January, and the two others on the 21th February. Thus the little missionary band, who still had been enabled to maintain their post, was strengthened, — strengthened, alas! but for a short time. Mr. Wyatt died on the 6th of April 1842, and Mr. Rowland, who was sent in Mai to join Mr. Brooking in Kumase, was attacked with illness on the journey. He was partially recovered as to awaken hopes of his entire restoration, but on the 10th of July 1842 he entered into the joy of his Lord, at Kumase. A reinforcement, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Watkins with Mr. George Chapman, arrived at Cape Coast on January 23, 1843. But the staff of standard-bearers on the Gold Coast was again reduced about this time by the death of Mr. Shipman and Mrs. Watkins. Mr. Shipman after a few weeks' residence at Cape Coast, proceeded to British Akra (James Town), early in 1844, to take charge of that important station, where he continued to labour to the time of his death. In addition to his other work, he

was employed in compiling a vocabulary of the Fante language, and had then completed a translation of the Commandments, the Lords' Prayer, and part of the Conference Catechism. He had also several native converts under a course of training, preparatory to their becoming native teachers, and subordinate agents in the mission. But in the midst of usefulness, this faithful and zealous herald of the cross was removed from earth to heaven, on February 22, 1843. We relate with deep sorrow the death of this energetic missionary, whose removal was a death-blow to the Wesleyan Mission. The fine institution he opened at Akra, where promising young men, from Cape Coast, Anomabo, and other places, were being trained for the ministry as well as for the Gold Coast Community, came to an end. Even the study of the vernacular was given up in consequence of his death. Mr. Watkins died at Cape Coast, on March 1, 1843, after a residence of only 39 days on the Gold Coast.

After the energetic labours of the Wesleyan Mission on the Gold Coast, from 1835 to the beginning of 1843, precisely eight years, their loss of able missionaries and wives of missionaries amounted to 14, and the result of their mission labours, according to the Gold Coast Almanack for 1843, is the following: 6 principal stations and 14 out-stations: Cape Coast: Rev. Thomas B. Freeman, with 6 native agents as local preachers, interpreters, leaders, and teachers, and Miss C. Waldron as school-mistress; Dominase: Rev. W. Allen, with two agents; British Akra: Rev. J. A. Shipman with 4 agents; Dixcove: Rev. John Watson with 2 agents; Kumase, Rev. R. Brooking; Badagry: Mr. William De Graft; and Anomabo under Mr. George Blankson with 6 agents. The number of members in Society was 690, and 360 scholars. We heartily congratulate our brethren for the success they have achieved within those 8 years, and join them to praise our Divine Lord for such blessing on the labours of His servants.

In the middle of October Mr. and Mrs. Annear, with Mr. Timothy J. Greaves and Mr. John Martin, embarked for the Gold Coast. They arrived on the 12th December. Mr. Annear had spent nearly a year and a half at Sierra Leone. On the 7th of February 1844 Mr. Benjamin Watkins, who after the death of his wife, took charge of the circuit and institution at Akra after the death of Mr. Shipman, was also removed by death. Mr. Brooking, sent out for the second time, after upwards of three years labour, and accompanied by

Mrs. Brooking, arrived on March 20, 1844. Mr. Chapman was at Kumase, and Mr. Greaves took charge of the Akra Circuit after the death of Mr. Watkins. In June, Mr. Freeman, who had been in labours more abundant, again left the Gold Coast on a temporary visit to England; but a few weeks after his departure Mr. Greaves died at Akra on July 14, 1844. Mr. B. Chapman was sent to the Gambia, where he arrived on March 19, 1845, and Mr. Allen returned to England, for a temporary change.

Mr. Freeman remained in England till May 1845. During his stay there, he was called upon to defend himself and the mission from one of the most unfounded and bitter attacks that was invented. But the Committee and the friends of the mission rejoiced that he came of this trial "more than conqueror" and that it had the effect of raising him and the mission still higher in the estimation of the friends of missions in general, and also of obtaining some additional supporters to the same hallowed cause.

On Mr. Freeman's return to the Gold Coast, he was accompanied by Mr. Henry Wharton, a man of colour, a native of Grenada in the West Indies. They embarked on May 17, 1845, and on the 23rd June they reached Cape Coast. In August Mr. George Chapman embarked for England with the hopes of returning to his interesting sphere of labour, but was sent to Southern Africa, and Mr. Wharton was appointed for Kumase.

On the 10th November, another little band of missionaries — Mr. and Mrs. Allen with Messrs. George Findley and Edward Addison and Mrs. Brooking embarked and landed at Cape Coast on the 30th December. But unfortunately Mr. Brooking had been compelled to leave the coast on account of ill health, so that the husband and wife missed each other on the passage. After a residence of only two months and ten days Mr. George Findley died, March 10, 1846, at Cape Coast town. Mr. and Mrs. Annear were compelled to leave the coast for England. In January 1847 the Gold Coast Mission received a re-inforcement by the arrival of Messrs. John Thomas, John Harrop, and Charles Hillard. On the 15th January 1848 Mr. and Mrs. Allen and John Martin were called to leave their interesting spheres of usefulness at Cape Coast, through failure of health. Mr. Martin had laboured more than four years, and Mr. Allen upwards of six years. Mr. Frederick Hart arrived at Cape Coast in March, but two excellent labourers, Messrs. Addison and Thomas, and also Mr. Harrop, were obliged to leave their spheres of labour.

The former was an intimate missionary brother to Mr. Schiedt of the Basel Mission. It was very delightful indeed to see these two heralds of the cross working in harmony for the common cause of Christ, the former at James Town, the latter at Christiansborg.

At the district meeting of 1850, Messrs. G. P. Brown, Joseph Dawson, Timothy Laing, and J. O. Ansa were received by the committee and recommended to the English conference of 1851 as assistant missionaries on trial. The report of the Wesleyan Mission for the year ending April 1850 was as follows:

The district, then called Cape Coast district, consisted of the following circuits: Cape Coast, Anomabo, Dominase, British Akra, Kumase, and Badagry. The following were the statistics for the period: 6 missionaries, 10 chapels and preaching-houses, 857 members, 946 scholars. The stations were as follows: In the Cape Coast circuit: Cape Coast, Dixcove, Sekundi (Sakunne), Benlah, Providence, Elmina, Abrobonko, Ekroful, Abakrampa, Dunkwa and Abakã. In the Anomabo circuit: Anomabo, Edwumakô, Abasa and Asafa. In the Dominase circuit: Dominase, Donase, Abuadze and Ayeredu. In the Akra circuit: British Akra, Winneba, Prampram and Ningo. In the Badagry circuit: Badagry and Abeokata. Mr. Freeman was still the General Superintendent of the mission. Every effort was made by him to let civilization go hand in hand with evangelization in the country. For the purpose of giving industrial training, a large garden was established at Benlah, which cost the Home Committee a great outlay annually. In his report about this branch of missionary labour in the year 1850, he remarks: The scholars in the industrial garden behave well, and are, many of them, of great promise. They present quite a new feature connected with the civilization of this country. The circumstances of a lad being able to read the scriptures, and at the same time able and willing to use with a practised hand the bill-hook, axe, and spade, and perform a fair day's work, is one which will tell above all others on the masses of the people in the great work of civilization.

From the year 1852 Methodism began to progress by rapid strides. Prior to this period, advance was rather slow, owing to the great barriers of paganism lying in its way. But the circumstances which happened in this year, in connection with the great fetish at Mankesim, resulting in exposure of fetish tricks, almost shattered the strongholds of paganism to their very foundations. (See Cruickshank's work, volume II chapter XI for details; also

extract from a letter of Mr. Freeman to Mr. Cruickshank appended to that volume.)

The words of the superintendent of the Anomabo circuit at that time embodied in his report to the general superintendent throw light on the general aspect of the mission during the period among the Fante tribes. "Great is the bloodless triumph which christianity has achieved over idolatry in this country in consequence of the recent exposure of the tricks connected with the worship of fetish. The confidence of the people here and in the neighbourhood has been very much shaken. The national gods of the Fantes, Nanamu, are now forsaken, and no one goes to their groves to consult them now. This could never have been accomplished by any human power, but the preaching of Christ crucified. The present state of the people is, that they now stand halting between two opinions. Our energies are therefore required to win them for Christ... In Asafa paganism stands tottering, and there are hopes of its downfall in some future day, and making way for the triumphant wheels of the gospel chariot."

The following statistics of 1853, the year immediately following that in which the great Fante fetish fell, will give an idea of the rapid manner the work of evangelization had prospered after the occurrences above referred to. The number of members, which was 857 just three years ago, ran up to 1124; scholars 1242, missionaries 9, chapels 13, preaching-houses 16.

The success of missionary work, however, was at this time being confined only to the coast. There had been no such revolutions for good, respecting fetish worship, in Asante, as had taken place on the coast. And even the few whose hearts were inclined to receive the gospel could not come forward for fear of their despotic king, who would surely have them butchered, should they depart from that religion (fetishism) to which himself was devoted. The Rev. T. Laing who was residing in Kumase in the year 1853 says in his report:

"The state of the work of God in Asante is rather discouraging at present, from the circumstance of the people being afraid to expose themselves to the ire of the king, whose frown is indeed death for people becoming christians. Many of the Asantes are wishful to embrace christianity, but they are afraid to come forward. The Asantes are not free people, they are fast bound in the chains of despotism, so much so, that no one dares to do what he

thinks proper in his eyes, how good soever the thing may be. They always do whatever the king sanctions, whether good or bad, so that, the king himself being a pagan still, they all remain pagans still."

About this time hostilities took place between the protected territories and Asante. The missionary, Rev. T. Laing, was shut up from all communications with the coast till the restoration of peace. He then was relieved by a catechist, Mr. Watts, the last of the society's servants in that hot-bed of cruel superstitions. This devoted man plodded on this uncougenial soil up to the war of 1863. Like his predecessor, he also was a prisoner at large for years till peace was made and he was removed. Since that time no footing has been gained by the mission in Kumase. All attempts at re-establishment were frustrated by the machinations of the wily despots, till the capture of Kumase in 1874, when the mission was again introduced into Adanse, Bekwae, and other chief towns, only to collapse after a few years' working, by the internal wars of the various tribes. To-day the thousands of Asante still grope in heathen darkness, still rejecting the healing beams of gospel light.

In Cape Coast a boarding department was opened, to which children from the various stations were drafted for training; the girls were placed under Miss Elizabeth Waldron according to an agreement between her and the mission. This very needful department was given up in the year 1853.

The staff of native ministers was being gradually increased. In 1852 Mr. James A. Solomon was recommended to the English conference as assistant missionary on probation, and in 1853 Edward Jonah Fynu and Edward Bickersteth were also recommended. The condition of the mission was one of steady progress from 1853. In 1856, the statistics showed 12 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 20 chapels, 16 preaching houses, 2053 members, 1439 scholars and 7420 attendants at public worship. Messrs. William C. Fynn, John Plange, Henry F. Morgue, and Peter W. Bernasko were added to the staff of native ministers during the year. Within the same year a deputation from the Home Committee, the Rev. Daniel West, arrived for the purpose of inquiring into the financial condition of the district, accompanied by the Rev. William West who was to supersede Mr. Freeman as General Superintendent. At the district meeting held on January 14th, 1857, Mr. Daniel West presided. During the short interval between the date of his landing and the

time of the holding of the district meeting, he had by his kindness and fidelity won the sympathy of all the brethren in the district as well as the people generally. The following is the testimony of the brethren concerning this godly man at the close of the district meeting. "The brethren cannot allow themselves to separate without recording their thanks to the committee for appointing a deputation to visit their district to inquire into the spiritual and financial state, and at the same time expressing their high sense of the qualifications of the Rev. Daniel West for the discharge of the duties of his important appointment. The kindness, faithfulness and ability which have characterised Mr. West's intercourse with the brethren both in public and private, have produced on their minds the most favourable impression, and the recollections of his visit, so far as he may have been personally concerned, will ever be of the most pleasing kind."

Mr. W. West became the chairman and General Superintendent from this year instead of Mr. Freeman who voluntarily retired. In the mysterious providence of the Almighty the beloved man, Rev. Daniel West, who was expected to set the work on the Gold Coast in a better light before the Wesleyan public in England, and thereby elicit more sympathy and support, died at Gambia on his way homewards. At the district meeting this year the name of Frederick France was added to the list of native missionaries.

The Home Committee had desired the European missionaries to acquire a knowledge of the native languages; but owing to their short turn of service on account of the climate, all attempts on their part to do so had proved fruitless. In 1858 the committee through Dr. Hoole wrote to the chairman of the district, recommending the necessity of translating the Scriptures into the vernacular. The following is the recorded reply of the district committee: "The brethren are fully alive to the necessity of a translation of the Scriptures into the Fante language; but as the missionaries of the Basel society have in hand such a translation into the Otyi language, the brethren are of opinion that the day is not far distant when they shall be able to avail themselves of the aid thus afforded, by making the necessary alteration to meet their case. The translation of a portion of the gospel of St. Matthew by brother Laing having been given into the hands of Mr. Hart on his leaving the district and Mr. Laing not having retained a copy of the same, the brethren are not in circumstances to form an opinion on the merits of the

same or of the success likely to attend his undertaking in such a work. So far as we are able to ascertain the number of those who speak Fante by a reference to the poll-tax returns, it is about 500,000; the number calling themselves Christians must be about 10,000; and possibly $\frac{1}{5}$ of these may be capable of reading English. At present the use of the Fante Scriptures would be very limited, but in the event of our adopting the plan of teaching in the native language in our schools in the interior, their use would be very greatly increased."

The above remarks explain why the work of translating the Scriptures into Fante was not taken up in time. It was, however, a great mistake. Had our missionaries fully recognised the importance of native literature, and encouraged such of the native ministers as were competent, Mr. Laing for instance, to undertake the work of translation, our Mission would have been more progressive, our converts more intelligent, and gospel truths much more diffused amongst the masses. Latterly this mistake was seen and efforts put forth to meet the want, but though something has been done, we are still left far behind in this very important and indispensable department of our work by this fundamental error.*)

Mr. William West returned to England on a furlough in 1860; and during his absence the office of the chairman was filled by the Rev. Henry Wharton. During the three following years the following missionaries arrived on the Coast: Messrs. Agur B. Gardiner, Alfred Taylor, George Davis and Christopher B. Sykes. These were immediately followed by Messrs. H. H. Richmond, James Cuthbert and George Robinson. Mr. West returned to the chairmanship with the three latter gentlemen, and was presiding at the district meeting held in January 14th, 1864.

Statistical Returns of the Wesleyan Methodists for 1890.

The Gold Coast district is divided into two sections: Cape Coast section and Akra section, with 7 circuits, viz., Cape Coast, Anomabo, Abora, Elmina, **) Winneba, Akra and Aburi.

*) Although it is an error, we hope it would be easily remedied, if our brethren of the Wesleyan Mission body, both Europeans and Natives, would be willing to meet the Basel Mission body for the purpose of effecting some alterations in our Tshi Bible to meet the common object of both Missions. — R.

**) A Roman Catholic Mission, of the African Missions of Lyons, has been established at Elmina. — Chr.

Chapels, 63; other preaching places, 224; European missionaries, 4; native ministers, 18; assistant missionaries, 22; catechists, 45; day-school teachers, 53; sabbath-school teachers, 170; local preachers, 319; full and accredited church members, 5,812; on trial members, 486; sabbath-schools, 34; sabbath-scholars, 2,908; day-schools, 35; day-scholars, 1,710; attendants on public worship, 18,216.

A Wesleyan mission exists also at Little Popo, the place to which the Akras repeatedly took refuge. In 1894 there was one (German) missionary with about 200 church members in 3 places, and about 200 scholars.

A brief history of the Bremen Evangelical Mission
on the Gold Coast, or rather, in the countries east of the Volta,
adjoining the Gold Coast.

The North German Missionary Society was founded in Hamburg in the year 1836, and the first missionaries of this society were sent out to the East Indies and New Zealand. On the 5th of May 1847, these four missionaries, viz, Messrs. L. Wolf, L. Bultmann, Jens Graff and Ch. Flato, landed at Cape Coast, with the view of selecting a suitable region on the West Coast for the operation of their missionary society. The Wesleyan missionaries then at Cape Coast very cordially received them; and shortly after their arrival, they received orders from their committee to begin the missionary work at Gaboon.

Mr. Wolf and Mr. Bultmann then embarked for Gaboon, leaving the other two missionaries behind them. Very unfortunately both missionaries were attacked with fever during their voyage. Mr. Wolf recovered, but Mr. Bultmann died on the 5th of June in King Glass Town in Gaboon; so Mr. Wolf was left alone. He went on, however, fearlessly seeking a region for missionary work. He might have succeeded in settling at Gaboon, had not the French commandant driven him from the place by force. Mr. Wolf consequently returned to Cape Coast, where he met Mr. J. Graff alone; because Mr. Flato had also been removed by death on the 14th of June.

The two surviving Hamburg missionaries therefore left Cape Coast for Christiansborg, and were joyfully welcomed by the Basel missionaries and the then Danish governor Mr. Schmidt. They were lodged in the Basel Mission House, very kindly treated by their missionary brethren, and waited for an opportunity to start their mission. During their stay in Christiansborg Mr. Wolf and Mr. Graff assisted occasionally in school-work and in preaching. And fortunately, one of the mission house school boys, Nyaukōmago, the son of the king of Peki, told the mission-

aries that his father Kwadsho Dei would be very glad to receive the white teachers in his country. Thus the land of Krepe (as the Europeans then called the country of the Ephe speaking people) was chosen for their mission work. Mr. Wolf then left for Peki, and was joyfully welcomed by the king and his people. He got a piece of land from the king and began at once to build a house for himself. But when proposing of coming down to Akra to fetch Mr. Graff, he received the sad news, that he also had died on the 11th November 1847. Thus from the 5th May to 11th November 1847, within 6 months, three missionaries had been called to their eternal rest!

Mr. Wolf had again to stand alone in the Krepe land, as once in the Gaboon, and that moreover with no connection with the coast except by the Basel missionaries. Yet he went on with his work in Christian fortitude without fear. The pity then was that he did not understand the language and was at the mercy of his interpreter, who very often deceived him. He wrote to Hamburg for a re-inforcement of the mission, but had to wait a long time before Mr. Groth and Mr. Quinius arrived at Akra in February 1849; and in March the following year Mr. Wolf got his partner Mrs. Wolf at a time when his health was broken and he was suffering from an attack of dropsy. In January 1851 not only Mr. and Mrs. Wolf were forced to leave this important sphere of labour, but also Mr. Groth and Mr. Quinius left for Europe in consequence of broken health. In the harbour of Hamburg, Mr. Wolf breathed his last to be for ever with his Lord. Thus ended the first period of the North German Mission in Western Africa.

In the year 1850—1851, the missionary society was translocated from Hamburg to Bremen. From that time an arrangement was made between the two committees of Basel and Bremen, that the former undertook voluntarily to supply the latter with missionaries for the field. The first two missionaries from Basel were Mr. W. Däuble and Mr. J. Menge; these accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Quinius to Peki in 1851. But on April 23, Mr. Menge died. Mr. Däuble, being convinced that the mission ought to start from the coast, wrote several letters to the committee about it, but they did not approve it. Mrs. Quinius falling sick, Mr. Quinius was compelled to leave Peki for Christiansborg for a change, and as no improvement ensued, they were forced to leave for Europe. Mr. Däuble had to wait at Christiansborg for a re-inforcement of the mission, when in January 1853 Mr. Plessing and Mr. Brutschin arrived. His first question to the new missionaries was, "Where shall we go? Where shall we begin now?" Their reply was, "to Peki again!" This

was very hard for Mr. Däuble, who was fully convinced that the mission ought to start from the coast. However, in obedience of faith, he brought his brethren to Peki. All the buildings of the late Mr. Wolf were in ruins; the roofs had been eaten up by the white ants, and so rain demolished every thing. New buildings were erected, and with joy they began their difficult work, which now showed signs of progress. Schools were opened, and the preaching of the glorious Gospel was listened to by the people.

But then suddenly, they received intelligence from the Basel missionaries at Akra, to quit their promising sphere for Akra as hastily as possible, because the Akwamus, old enemies of the Krepe people, had invited the Asantes to invade the land. They accordingly came to Christiansborg, reported the state of things to their committee, asked whether they might be allowed to start their mission at Keta, and awaited their reply. The Committee agreed to their request, and on September 3, 1853, Mr. Plessing and Mr. Däuble went to Keta and began the mission. In 1856 the station of Waya was founded among the Adaklu tribe; in 1857 Anyako was the next station, but being unhealthy, a new settlement, Ho, was in 1859 taken up as the principal station in the Krepe land. In 1869 the flourishing Ho station was destroyed by the Asantes, but was rebuilt in 1876. The Bremen missionary work, after 34 years' labour, assumed a joyful aspect and could show marked progress in 1881.

Ho in the Krepe land had 6 out-stations, including Waya, and Keta on the coast had 4, including Anyako. In 1890 a healthy mountain-station, 2300' above the sea, was built at Amedjophe. On Dec. 31, 1893, the 3 stations had 20 out-stations, 20 schools, 1247 church members, 591 scholars. The Gospel had been preached in 1893 at 313 places. The number of missionaries in Oct. 1894 was 18, ladies 10 (including 3 deaconesses), native assistants 37. The loss which the Bremen mission has sustained from 1847 up to 1894 is, 63 missionaries and missionary wives.

Whilst Keta and the Anglo tribe were deemed subject to the Danes and since 1850 to the English, the various Epe tribes in the interior were independent. But in October 1886, many of them placed themselves under the protection of the English, as other tribes had accepted the German flag. By the treaties of 1890 between England and Germany concerning their possessions and spheres of influence in several parts of Africa, only some parts of the Epe speaking tribes remained under the English, and the greater part are under the Germans. The Keta station with 4 out-stations and 277 Christians and 5 out-stations of Ho (especially those of Peki) with 474 Christians are in the English territory, Ho station with 6 out-stations and 289 Christians, Amedjophe with 4 out-

stations and 171 Christians and 1 out-station of Keta, Tove (with Demu and Lome), with 36 Christians are in the German territory.

Roman Catholic missions also were established at Keta in the English territory and (in 1892) at Little Popo (Adjido), Lome and Togo, with 6 priests and 8 lay-brethren in 1894, 185 scholars and 130 adults.

The Church of England, which now comes last, was rather contemporary with the Moravians; she began her work on the Gold Coast in the year 1751. The Rev. Thomas Thompson, as already remarked, was sent out by a section of the Church known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The missionaries sent out attempted the evangelization of the people, but the severity of the climate and the number of deaths among them, caused them to cease from their work for a time. It was through Mr. Thompson that Philip Kwaku was trained up, ordained and sent out in 1765. He laboured as chaplain till 1816, after which no permanent work was established. Yet these short-timed efforts at different dates left some seeds in good soil for future growth, and the self-sacrificing heroes of the Gospel left their foot-prints behind for others to find them after they had become victims to the terrible effects of the climate, as we have seen in the introduction of the history of the Wesleyans.

It was in 1879 that the Right Reverend Dr. Cheetham, Bishop of the diocese of Sierra-Leone, in which the Gold Coast is included, visited Akra. On his arrival, a number of leading natives, as, Messrs. J. O. Brown, Alex. Bruce, Thos. F. Bruce, Ph. C. Reindorf, John and Isaac Vanderpuye and others, waited on him, and pointed out the need of the establishment of the Church of England here.

Soon after this meeting, a young native clergyman, Reverend W. Johnson, was sent out here, who laboured zealously and earnestly for over three years. Illness caused him to resign his office and return to Sierra-Leone, where his remains were laid in his own native home and soil. After a short interval, during which the native members endeavoured by their service to keep the flame of spiritual life alive and the embers of the altar from dying out, another native missionary of Sierra-Leone, Rev. F. W. Smart, came to take up the work and gave his support for about one year.

Some time after this, Dr. Ingham, the present Bishop of Sierra-Leone, visited Akra, and with the help of the governor of the colony, Sir W. Brandford Griffith, a new plan for the reconstruction of the church of England Branch in Akra was discussed and settled.

so that the church was placed on a more self-supporting basis. The Rev. D. G. Williams, a native of Sierra-Leone, was licensed by the Bishop to the charge of it in 1886. Since that time stated services have been held in the District Commissioner's Court at Akra and at Christiansborg Castle on Sundays. In 1888 a change took place again, which caused an extension of this good work in the colony, and gave it a still more solid foundation. A colonial chaplain, Rev. Maxwell, a native of Sierra-Leone, had been officiating at Cape Coast in a church which had been built there between the years 1861 and 1863 by the war officers' and by private subscriptions. His retirement at this time was the means of transferring the Rev. D. G. Williams from Akra to Cape Coast as assistant chaplain and of bringing out a European, Rev. John H. Davies, M. A., as colonial chaplain of the Gold Coast, whose residence should be at Akra. This has been the means of conducting earnest and substantial work in Akra and Cape Coast, of extending the work by sowing the seed broadcast, by Gospel preachings and by good works of various kind, and especially by constant daily work among the surrounding heathen. The colony is large and teeming with souls. The missions already at work invite the aid of others to help them; and although Akra and Cape Coast are the only places where Church work is carried on, still by God's help, we trust that from these places labourers will go forth.

Statistics of the Anglican Church, Akra: communicants 60; Sunday-scholars 100; attendants on public worship 400. — Cape Coast: communicants 30; Sunday-scholars 330; attendants on public worship 450.

May the Lord, the head of His church, pour out more of His spirit on all the labourers engaged in the missions of all the denominations who are toiling for the salvation of the Gold Coast people! We call on all who are benefited, spiritually and temporally, by these missions, to support them by their godly lives as well as by their money. An object which all the missions are aiming at, is, that their congregations may become self-supporting. And we call particularly on the members and scholars of the Basel Mission to do more than what they have done hitherto: because for the purpose of getting a self-supporting church, our mission established the industrial departments.

And casting a glance at the vigorously carrying on of the missions still, after so many sacrifices of valuable lives, we find the excellent hymn of Bishop Heber thereby verified:

Can we, whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high,
 Can we to men benighted the lamp of life deny? —
 Salvation! O salvation! The joyful sound proclaim,
 Till each remotest nation has learnt Messiah's name.

CHAPTER XX.

The expedition under Chief Ankra to Bame 1829.

Elated by the late victories over the Asantes, the Akras could easily manage to organize an expedition to foreign countries, as they were reported to have done in former times. They were fully convinced that their enemies would bow to their military prowess.

Previous to the expedition there was in Otu Street in Dutch Akra a petty dealer called Dodu Kuma, who employed Akomea Kwame of the same place as a load-carrier to Peki, capital of Krepe. Some of his goods were sold at Ahodome, but finding no sufficient hands to convey all the cowries to Peki, he was obliged to leave some heads in charge of his landlord Edufo. Akomea Kwame was sent to bring the cowries over, which were, of course, delivered to him by the landlord: but on his way up to Peki, just reaching the top of Tshibu hill, he was overtaken by Edufo with his friend Duduvu. They all on a sudden fell upon Akomea, snatched the load from his hands, murdered him barbarously, and hid his body under a rock. For two days Akomea did not return home, hence Dodu despatched messengers to Ahodome to ask after him. Edufo told the messengers that he had three days before delivered up the cowries to Akomea and that he had returned.

When the two murderers Edufo and Duduvu were sharing the ill-gotten booty, a quarrel broke out between them. Prince Ado Kwadwo of Akwamu happened to be in town that day. He heard of the matter and informed his father Akoto what a hideous murder had been committed at Ahodome. The king thereupon sent his son Ado with linguist Gyensanom and a detachment of 100 men to Ahodome to require the chief Ado Kokroko of the place to search for the murderers. With the assistance of Adsheshi, an influential man of the place, the murderers were found out, arrested by the chief, and sent to Akwamu. They were judged and con-

denmed by the king, delivered up to Kwadwo Ntsbergema, and sent to Akra with the body of the deceased. Sentenced to death by king Taki, they were beheaded by the executioners Ashong Nketia and Kwaku Mensa. The linguist Gyensānom and his party, who escorted the criminals, were sent back to Akwamu with thanks.

A few months after the execution of the murderers, a dispute arose between two towns in Krepe about an elephant killed. A hunter by the name Akwabina Dadshawa of Adshokoi met an elephant in the bush, but could not shoot him; so the animal escaped towards Ahodome. A few minutes later he heard the firing of a musket in that direction. He soon after saw the same animal retreating to the old place, and shot him down.

The hunter who had fired first, and who was from Ahodome, came now to the spot and contended that he had been the one who killed the animal. But after a short time their friends appeared from both towns and shared the flesh. The Adshokois claimed the head for Akoto, king of Akwamu, whilst the people from Ahodome claimed it for Adsheshi. The quarrel was finally settled by each party obtaining a tusk. The Adshokois, discontented, reported at the next town, Kpalime-brofong, that one of them had killed an elephant with the intention to present the ivory to Akoto, but had been deprived of one tusk by a party from Ahodome, who had sworn to present it to Adsheshi instead of the king. The inhabitants suddenly rushed upon the Ahodomes, carried off their tusk, and then sent both to the king. They reported every thing connected with the ivory to the king, who upon inquiry found that the animal was not killed in the bush of Ahodome, despatched messengers to congratulate the Adshokois, and assured them that he was ready to fight the Ahodomes in case they dared to molest them. Adsheshi was in the meanwhile informed of what had happened, and immediately resorted to arms. With the assistance of the people of Kpalime he attacked Adshokoi and slew or captured great numbers. The king's messengers reached Adshokoi too late, however he was informed in time of the attack, and forthwith marched against the Ahodomes, when he blockaded the way to Boso. The following towns confederated against the king: Tshito, Onyerewase, Kwanta, Avengu, Patakrowase, Tshibu, Nketieso, Adāme and Agome; their principal chiefs were, Ado Horoko (Kokroko) of Ahodome, Adsheshi, and Adabo of Tshito. The next morning at 6 o'clock, Akoto despatched messengers to summon chief Dra and his captains Awukupō,

Nyame Dadshawa, and Kofi Akrashi of Kpalime to meet him, and request the Akra traders in town to pack up their goods to avoid being plundered by the warriors.

Akwabina Donu of Kpalime, having set out with his wife for Boso, was so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. He was beheaded and his head thrown into the town. The inhabitants being thus incited, the attack there and then began. It was most fearful! The Kpalime people were compelled to retreat: their town was captured, but no one touched anything belonging to the Akras. They retreated through Agodome to Kpalime-brɔ̄tong, hence the king retired to camp at Kpalime. Adsheshi had hired a large army from several towns to assist him against Akoto, and with them he attacked the king very hotly, but was driven back with loss to Bame; and there the king encamped. Having been re-inforced by a larger number of the Krepes, the Ahodomes repeated the attack on the following morning, which forced the king to march back to Kpalime, where he could neither retreat further to Akwamu, nor take the field against so numerous and powerful an army.

While Akoto was thus so perplexed as how to carry on the war with success against the Krepes, Adsheshi was very actively engaged in re-inforcing his army daily by other Krepé tribes. He got a large army from Avatime, Angula, etc., and could have succeeded in obtaining the whole Krepé forces, if Kwadsho Dei, the Krepé king, who was then in alliance with Akoto, could have been induced to withdraw from his allegiance. That would have certainly put an end to the Akwamus already at that time.

Now there was an Akra linguist Awere Boi in camp with Akoto, who advised him to ask the assistance of the Akras. He said, "You have recently joined the Akras against Asante, and being now in trouble, I am quite certain, my people could consent to render you assistance, if you would only send me first to the king, to prepare the way for your success." Awere Boi was commissioned to Akra, and being a linguist, he knew how to manage to obtain their consent. He went back to Akoto who was still in camp, and captain Aforo was then commissioned to Akra with 12 slaves and some money, as presents to king Taki and his chiefs. The message was thus delivered, "Since Akoto returned from Kata-mausu, his Krepé subjects had become unruly, and were trying to throw off their allegiance to him. The king therefore commissioned me to crave the assistance of king Taki and the Akras."

King Taki called a meeting of all his great chiefs, such as Akwete Krobo Saki, Akotia Owosika, Dodu Nyang, Ahuma, Dgwuona, etc., and they unanimously appointed chief Ankra of Dutch Town as commander-in-chief, and authorized him to organize an army in defence of Akoto. A Portuguese slaver being in the roads at that time, chief Ankra arranged with the captain, and obtained a large amount of goods, arms and ammunition, on credit, payable back in prisoners after the expedition. He notified the public that he was appointed by the king to organize an army in defence of king Akoto, and that whoever wished to join the expedition might come forward for any amount of goods on credit payable in prisoners after the campaign. Thus chief Ankra succeeded in organizing an army. Detachments of warriors from James Town to Adã, the River-side-people, Shai, Osudoku and Krobo were appointed by every chief to join the expedition. Chief Kwafum of Aburi, with a large number of the Akwapems, and chief Awua of Begoro in Akem with about 600 men also got arms and ammunition and joined. The Krobos alone absented themselves, although they were supplied with arms and ammunition when they came for them.

In the first week of July 1829 chief Ankra started from Akra with an army of 15,000 men, and with three iron one-pounder field-pieces, which were fired every morning and evening during their march to frighten the enemy. At Asutshuare the army was by order of Akoto who had sent two of his captains, ferried over Ofõ and Oketeku, and the linguist Kwã to escort the army to camp. They stayed one week in Akwamu and then marched through Anum and Boso, where the respective chiefs, Kumi and Kwadsho Nyakõ, grandly entertained them. They proceeded to Kpalime. Here they met with a grand reception; a salute was fired by the whole army, and chief Ankra swore in assurance to Akoto that he had been commissioned by king Taki to extricate him from any embarrassment. A three days merriment was kept by all, and after a week's stay in camp, the whole army was ordered to march on one Tuesday to encamp at Bame. On crossing the rivulet Amemere, the army was attacked by the Krepes, who could not keep their position and were forced to give way. Not knowing that the rivulet had been poisoned by the enemy, two Akem warriors fell dead on the spot from having drunk the water. Putting fire to Kpalime-bropong, the army encamped there as night was coming on. The march was not resumed in consequence of rain, till

Saturday next, when a second attack was made, but was repulsed with loss; they then encamped at Bame. On Monday next Akoto despatched messengers to inform the inhabitants of Tokokoi, Havé, Nyangmo, Amfoi, Avatime etc., that he had returned, and wished to know whether they were for war or for peace? Ambassadors with white flags, pieces of fire-wood (signifying submission to servitude), yams and plantains from each and all those people aforesaid came to assure that they were for peace. But, alas, it was the known Krepe strategy; early the next morning they made a severe attack; but six of them were captured by the Akras, sold to Akoto and slaughtered, as the owners did not choose to kill them. The army was again attacked, because the enemy could not engage openly. Enraged by these repeated attacks, the Akras pursued the enemy as far as Nketieso, and there the camp was fixed for three weeks, during which time several detachments of warriors were sent against the enemy's towns far and near. Prisoners and provisions were captured plentifully, and thereby the warriors obtained the necessaries of life daily. Nearly all the palm-trees in the country were felled to provide the army with wine.

Chief Ado Horoko of Ahodome, moved by the deplorable condition of the Krepes, despatched ambassadors to Ankra pleading his innocence in the war and desiring to know why Ankra, being an Akra, did not do justice by first investigating the cause of the war; that the Krepes had grown tired of the whole affair, and were longing for peace at the expense of Adsheshi, whom they had unanimously agreed to deliver up to Ankra, to purchase peace. The unfortunate Adsheshi was not aware of what was going on against him. The camp was therefore removed from Nketieso to Bame, where the Krepes were ordered to assemble. A very large and grand meeting was held on the plains of Bame, chief Ankra with the forces under him in one direction, king Akoto with his in the other, and all the Krepes who had engaged in the war, as well as the Ahodomes who had sheltered themselves in other countries and towns; men, women and children were all brought together in a very large mass. Chief Ankra thereupon required to know the real cause of the war. The linguist Kwā was ordered by the king to present the whole thing in the hearing of the assembly. After him the linguist of Adsheshi stood up and began to defend his master of the charge made by Kwā. He was assaulted, the assembly moved and at once seized Adsheshi, who was beheaded. Men, women, and children

of Ahodome, over 2000, were all plundered instantaneously. The Krepes, although well armed, did not show the least sign in defence of the unfortunate people, knowing already what was to take place, consequently every one was cooled down by the beating of several drums of the army. When order and silence had been completely restored, the Krepes were asked, whether they had any objections to raise about that cruel, unjustifiable and mean act of theirs? — an act contrary to the law of nations herein violated in the highest degree! They were so coward as to reply in the negative, and thus the campaign was brought to an end.

When the whole transaction was over, Akoto was trying to get possession of the head of Adsheshi, which Ankra positively opposed; the jawbone was, however, given to him; the skull was retained by Ankra as a trophy of the expedition. Most of the Krepes were inclined to throw off their allegiance to Akoto, and to enter into a new alliance with Akra; but Ankra objected to it, advised them to remain with their master on condition that Akoto should give up selling their children or offering them as sacrifices.

The Akras were very anxious to return home, when everything had been finished; but Akoto desired them to wait for the grand yam custom, which he intended to celebrate in camp. Before that took place, an incident happened there which nearly brought on a fight between the Akras and Akwamus. Some of the king's wives had bought several things from the Akras, who being very anxious to leave camp, set up demanding the wives very urgently. They even went into the women's quarters, where any man is on pain of death forbidden to enter. Hence they were beaten by the women's guard, who in return received several blows with stones: a fight then issued. But Akoto was prudent enough to check it very soon, and brought order again in the camp.

At last the grand yam feast came on, when Akoto very imprudently, but only to revenge himself for the skull of Adsheshi denied to him, publicly revealed the old skull of the late king Okai Koi, which one of his ancestors had got possession of during the war with the Akras in 1660. This foolish act of the king so irritated the Akras, that they marched off at once without taking friendly leave of the Akwamus and their king. In April 1830 the expedition reached home with an immense number of prisoners; several of them were presented by Ankra to all the chiefs and elders of every town that had sent a contingent to join the expedition.

It was the intention of Ankra, as he had planned already at Bame, to march against the Kroboꝛ on his way home, to punish them for perfidiously obtaining arms and ammunition, but not joining the expedition. He despatched two messengers, Messrs. Niezer and Otu, to warn them of it, and also informed king Taki of his intention to fight the Kroboꝛ before reaching home; but he was advised to desist from doing so, as the Kroboꝛ, being Danish subjects, would only involve them into trouble with the Danish Government. The amount for arms and ammunition obtained by them was paid back to Ankra by the Danish Government.

Chief Ado Horoko gave two of his own daughters as hostages to Ankra; both became his wives, and he got children by them.

CHAPTER XXI.

Peace made between Asante and the Protectorate, April 27, 1831. —
The prisoners ransomed back to Asante.

After the battle of Katamansu, the road to Asante was blockaded, and trade with them was entirely stopped. They greatly felt the want of salt, rum, tobacco, cloth, etc., yet they kept on without a good supply of these necessaries for one year; after which time they became compelled to ask for peace, but were unable to send ambassadors direct to the coast through fear of the Asens and Akems. Mr. Amisah, who seems to have been the Government native official detained in Kumase when the war broke out, was consulted concerning negotiations for peace. He seems to have advised the king to send him down to the coast to open communication for them. On his return back to Kumase, Princess Akyiawa, one of the captives, and two Asens accompanied him.

Several of the tributary states had, after the defeat at Katamansu, kept aloof, trying to throw off allegiance to the king, and the roads were blockaded.*) Oseꝛi Yaw had gone to Aseremaso to ask for divination from the priestess Siawā Petegyawa, the widow of Okomfo Anokye. The arrival of Akyiawa and Mr. Amisah to Kumase

*) This state of things was chiefly brought about by the "Kɔsaꝛkɔbi", a bad usage of confiscating or plundering parties who did not join a campaign.

was announced to the king, and he returned to the capital. A grand meeting was held for their reception and everything arranged for the negotiation of peace. The two Asens who accompanied Mr. Amisah were so imprudent as to sing against the king, and he was obliged to kill them.

On the 1st September 1827 the king's messengers, viz., linguist Okwakwa, Amankwa Kuma, Kwantabisa, Kankam Kyekyere, Afaaboo, princess Akyiawa, and Mr. Amisah arrived at Cape Coast to negotiate for peace, saying that the king of Asante found it was of no use fighting against white men and wished to make peace and be in future subservient to them. Envoys were sent from Cape Coast, and negotiations were entered into, a treaty was agreed upon, and drawn up in December 1827. Sir Neil Campbell was the governor at that time, and wished the allies and protected tribes to consent to terms of peace; but he found it impracticable to obtain their consent. It appears that, when those ambassadors were sent down to Akra, the kings and chiefs refused to accept their suing for peace, on the ground that the king of Asante should send one of his principal captains to represent him, with an indemnity, before a permanent peace could be made. The ambassadors had to return to Cape Coast, thence to Kumase. Princess Akyiawa, the royal prisoner of war, accompanied them.

On their return the second time, Governor Maclean was holding the reins of the government. The two royal hostages, Kwantabisa, the king's son, about 10 years old, and Owusu Ansã, son of the late Bonsu, about 9 years old, with 600 ounces of gold, were delivered by the king to Mr. Amisah, one of the envoys. He brought down the ambassadors, chief Okwakwa, Amankwa Kuma, Kwantabisa, Kankam Kyekyere, Afaaboo, princess Akyiawa, and the two princes with the 600 ounces of gold to Cape Coast. We are told that on the arrival of the ambassadors His Excellency Governor Maclean came down to Akra with them, and had first an interview with the chiefs of Akra. Notices had been previously served on the kings, chiefs and headmen who took part in the late battle, to come to Akra.

Queen Dokuwa, Agyemang, Apaw, captain Ofu representing king Akoto, Ado Dankwa, etc. had arrived at Akra. It is related that an incident happened at Akra which almost brought a fight between the Akems and the ambassadors and their people, who had come together at Akra. But the governor immediately interfered and

stopped it. It is further related that the governor had to order out some men-of-war to the roads of Akra to keep down any further disturbances. The Akras were said not to favour at all the negotiation for peace; however, they were pacified by large presents given them privately by the influential native merchants. A very grand meeting was held before James Fort, and the following treaty may have been read to them or a new one was made, of which no trace could be had. We are quite certain of that, as no names of the kings of Akra, Akem, Akwapem, and Akwamu, especially of the three last, who were also subjects of the king of Asante, are appended to the treaty.

Asante Treaty of Peace, April 27, 1831.

"We, the undersigned, namely: The Governor of Cape Coast Castle and British Settlements, on the part of His Majesty, the King of England; the Princess Akyiawa, and the Chief Okwakwa on the part of the King of Asante; Ageri, King of Cape Coast; Adoko, King of Fante; Amoenu, King of Anomabo; Tibo, King of Dankera; Owusu Oko, King of Tshuforo; Animiri, King of Wasa; Tibo Kuma, King of Asen; the Chiefs of Adwumakô and Asikuma, and the other Chiefs in alliance with the King of Great Britain, whose names are herewith appended — do consent to, and hereby ratify the following Treaty of Peace and of Free Commerce between ourselves and such other Chiefs as may hereafter adhere to it.

1) The King of Asante having deposited in Cape Coast Castle, in the presence of the above mentioned parties, the sum of 600 ounces of gold, and having delivered into the hands of the Governor two young men of the royal family of Asante, named Owusu Ansã and Owusu Kwantabisa, as security that he will keep peace with the said parties in all time coming, peace is hereby declared betwixt the said king of Asante and all and each of the parties aforesaid, to continue in all time coming. The above securities shall remain in Cape Coast for the space of 6 years from this date.

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

The paths shall be perfectly open and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic; and persons molesting them in any way whatever, or forcing them to purchase at any particular market, or influencing them by any unfair means whatever, shall be declared

guilty of infringing this treaty, and be liable to the severest punishment.

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

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

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

Signed in the Great Hall of Cape Coast Castle, this 27th day of April, 1831, by the parties to this Treaty, and sealed with the great seal of the Colony in their presence

(Signed) George Maclean, Governor.

(Their marks) Akyiawa, Princes of Asante. Okwakwa, Chief of Asante. Ageri, King of Cape Coast. Adoko, King of Fante. Amoenu, King of Anomabo. Abuku, Chief of Akumfi. Otu, Chief of Abora. Tibo, King of Asen. Kwadwo Tibo, King of Dankera. Gyebi, Asen Chief. Owusu Oko, King of Tshutoro. Apollonia Chiefs. Akinie, Chief of Agya.

A salute of twenty-one guns was fired at Cape Coast when the public proclamation of peace with Asante was made.

After the grand meeting of all the kings and chiefs with Governor Maclean at Akra, we are told they assembled in the same manner at Christiansborg on the following day. Another grand meeting it was; especially as there were then a good number of the Danish Government officials in the castle, who had been commissioned by the king of Denmark on purpose to organize a large regular Native force. Bearing in mind that war with the Asantes could not be done away with by a single engagement as that took place at Katamansu. The native soldiers had since their arrival been redoubled in number, and well drilled, the infantry as well as the artillery, and with the destructive weapons known at that time.

Sir N. Campbell had the same commission concerning a good

preparation against the Asantes; but as they had been beaten at Katamansu before his arrival, the immense preparations could not be put into use. — There were then in Christiansborg Castle, Governor Hein, Magnusen as the Secretary and Treasurer; Brock, book-keeper, captain Büen, adjutant Ahrenstorff, Messrs. Meisner and Schenon, artillery inspectors, and several others. The soldiers in their new uniforms paraded before the Castle of Christiansborg, to give reception to the Asante ambassadors and the kings and chiefs of the Protectorate. It was a very imposing sight to the Asantes. Another treaty was said to have been drawn and signed by princess Akyiawa of Asante, chief Okwakwa, Kwantabisa, Afaboo and Mr. Amisah; then a salute of five guns (some say 21) was fired to ratify the treaty of peace, and the ambassadors were dismissed with large and rich presents.

It is said that the Akras verbally added this to the treaty, that, if any Asante trader came to the coast with a wife, and any illegal intercourse happened between the wife and an Akra man, nine heads and thirty strings of cowries, equal to eight shillings now, was the damage to be paid by the offender, whilst on the contrary an Asante man who might be found guilty of such a crime must be sold into slavery.

The next important thing to be done was, how to bring the redeemed prisoners safe back to Kumase. Several of the prisoners were redeemed by the influential merchants on the coast, and to encourage the trade and friendship of the Asantes, they were sent back to the king free of charges. Among them were the following persons of the royal family: Aka Pusua, the king's wife; Akyiawa I, the princess who acted as ambassador in negotiating for peace; Kokōwa, Boatēn's wife; Akyiawa II; Odorowa, Gyēsi, with many others. To ensure their safety in passing through the Fante country, Mr. Richter played the following game. Kwadwo Tibo being the most influential king in the Fante country, Mr. Richter invited his mother, Ayā Dañkwa, to Christiansborg, to become a concubine of his. She ran down with all speed, and was allowed a house to live in and people to attend her. She imagined herself a friend of the old gentleman, while in reality she was kept there as security for the safety of the redeemed prisoners.

Meanwhile the ambassadors arrived at Cape Coast with the captives, who were escorted by 24 armed men of Mr. Richter, the renowned Pobi Asawa of Akra at their head. Governor Maclean,

after having gone through with the negotiation for peace with the Danish Government and the kings and chiefs of Akra, Akuapem, etc., summoned all the Fante kings and chiefs to Cape Coast Castle, on the arrival of the ambassadors with the ransomed captives. There were present Kwadwo Tibo, Tibo Kuma, Wasa Animiri, Kwame Basagyi, Boampong, and several others. But unfortunately an incident happened in Cape Coast, similar to the one which took place at Akra, only with some slight difference, here a quarrel only broke out between the Akems and the ambassadors, whilst at Cape Coast, stone and stick-fight occurred between some Wasa chiefs. The Governor immediately checked the disturbance, and ordered that 100 lashes should be given to each of the chiefs who allowed their people to fight. Boampong, feeling it a very disgraceful thing for a chief to undergo, stole away behind a house at Cape Coast town, and cut his own throat.

The Governor made the Fante kings and chiefs to understand that the Akras had given their full consent to the negotiation of peace, and then they signed the treaty of the 27th April 1831 in the great Hall of Cape Coast Castle. It appears that the meeting held by Governor Maclean with the kings and chiefs of Akra, Akuapem, Akem and Akwamu took place in the middle of June 1831; that at Cape Coast was previous.

After due preparations and with large presents from the Government and influential merchants of Fante, the ambassadors started from Cape Coast under escort of 24 soldiers from the castle, several Fante messengers and Pobi Asawa with his two dozen armed men of Mr. Richter, but the Governor did not sanction their carrying arms along with the soldiers, therefore they gave them loads, and kept their arms in the castle until they should have returned from Praso and then to get possession of the same. An obstacle which came on their way up to Praso at that time was, that an Asen man, Dankwa Tutu, had murdered one named Toku and consequently escaped into the bush of Asen which had made the road dangerous and unpassable. At Odraease the ambassadors and escort were detained for two weeks, for fear of Dankwa Tutu. The chiefs of Abora thereupon assembled at Nyankumase and swore to abide by the peace which had been made by the Government. King Otutu and his chiefs therefore appointed armed men, who escorted the whole body of men from the coast as far as to Manyamanso, the town of Gyeabri, and thence they returned to their quarters.

But the soldiers and Mr. Richter's men accompanied them to Praso, and returned to Cape Coast; the latter got their arms back from the governor and came home. Pobi Asawa with the messengers from Cape Coast alone had the charge of the ambassadors and redeemed prisoners to Kumase, and handed them to the king. Princess Akyiawa, on reaching Kumase, was said to have bought a slave whom she named: "Nkraifó ye mmoa, the Akras are fools", for sparing such a one as herself alive. Ayā Dankwa was after all sent back with large presents to her country.

The peace was kept for six years according to the treaty (others say, ten years), after which the 600 ounces of gold lodged in the castle of Cape Coast as security was sent back to king Kwaku Dua of Asante. The messengers who came for it were quite astonished not only that the amount was given back, but that it was in the same condition as given to the Government. — The two princes, Kwantabisa and Owusu Ansā, were sent to England, and received a good education under the idea, that they would one day become kings of Asante, but as sons and not nephews they got no claim on the stool of Asante.

CHAPTER XXII.

Agriculture with its implements in Adam's time.— Improvements in it by the Ancients.— How the former inhabitants on the Gold Coast acquired implements, and the fertility of the soil. Principal plants known before the arrival of Europeans.— New plants introduced and improvements made by Europeans.— Principal occupations of the inhabitants, and how not improved.— Different famines known in the country, provision and labour being dear.— Folly of the educated community in not following the example of the civilized nations.— What the Government should do to get the colony prosperous.

We read in the Holy Scriptures that our first parent Adam, when created, was ordered by God to subsist on the fruits of the trees of the garden of Eden, with the injunction: "to dress it and to keep it", i.e. to work. After his fall, he was expelled from that terrestrial Paradise, to till the ground from whence he was taken.

Scripture says nothing about the nature or the material of the first implements which Adam used for the purpose of digging the ground. We suppose that they were either made of some hard stone or hard wood. For until the invention of brass and iron by

Tubal-Cain, the first manufacturer of all sorts of utensils of brass and iron — probably the same who was called Vulcan, the God of smiths by the Romans — the Antediluvians must have used the rude instruments invented by Adam.

The prodigious length of life the Antediluvians enjoyed, must have been very favourable to the advancement of arts and science, especially agriculture, to which it behoved them to apply in a particular manner in order to procure their subsistence. It is probable, therefore, that even in their age, arts and sciences had made greater progress in many respects than now with us on the Gold Coast. No doubt, by the terrible catastrophe of the flood, many a science may have been lost, yet what was known to Noah and his children was transmitted to their posterity. For mankind continued in one body without being dispersed into different nations. Agriculture, arts and sciences must have necessarily advanced till the building of the tower of Babel. It is from this dispersion of mankind consequent upon the confusion of tongues that we must date the origin of savage nations. We find in history that the civilized ones founded kingdoms in which arts, sciences and agriculture flourished, whilst the rest led a savage wandering life.

To treat therefore of the cultivation of the aboriginal tribes on the Gold Coast, the question arises, what was the nature of their implements, and of what material were they made prior to the establishment of the Europeans? As necessity is the mother of invention (the absence of which is the sole cause of the unimproved state of agriculture, arts etc.), those aboriginal emigrants may have discovered the art of founding iron from the ores, and working it into rude implements of cultivation, handicraft, and warfare, as we still find with the aboriginal tribes in the interior. The following facts may throw some light on the subject. At Adanse Akrokyere, where some smiths seem to have resided, we hear that patterns of the implements then in use were carved in a rock. We know that inventors of some arts with all heathens of antiquity were often converted to a God or a fetish, hence the fetishes, Boná with the Tshis and Ayékoaye (Ligblè) with the Akras. On account of such smith-fetishes, a professor of that trade gives to his male child the name of "Nūmó", a Mandingo word, signifying smith.

From the Mandingos, who are naturally traders and travellers, smithery was transmitted to our people. The bellows used by the aboriginal people had the form of two clay smoking-pipes placed

side by side. A proof of the utility of some of their smithery is found by the following proverbial saying: "Sane le ótšò Teši-kpodši", which means, the case (palaver) has become the fish-hooks from Teshi. The smiths of the place in manufacturing fish-hooks used the common trade iron instead of the best native iron then in use, as they seem to have neglected to prepare the ores, when European iron bars were imported cheap. Those hooks often proved useless in fishery, hence the expression for any trial of a bad case.

As the soil all over the Gold Coast, even to the very sea-shore, is so wonderfully fertile, the productions obtained by means of these rude implements, twice in the year and with little exertion, richly compensated the farmer. The virgin soil moreover produced an abundance of trees with edible fruit, such as the fan-palm and date-palm, and several kinds of berries called by the natives: *ngko*, *kofu*, *anugui*, *anyenyeli*, *awongme* (*ofe*), *amumà*, *allangme*, *angmadà*, *gowa* etc., upon which they subsisted during the greater part of the year. The fruit of the fan-palm furnished the principal food in those days, and was thus prepared. When gathered home, they are first roasted on fire, and the peels are stripped off, the edible part is mixed with a bit of native flour prepared of roasted corn and forms a favourite article of food. Some of the berries, especially *angmadà*, undergo a process of brewing, and a beverage which served as liquor was obtained. The process of brewing corn and water into a kind of beer is called "*úmädä*" i.e. corn-beverage.

The wine extracted from the fan-palm they called "*adóka*", that from the date-palm "*akudono*", of the oil-palm "*tedä* (*teidä*)", in Tshi "*nsáfufu*". The origin of palm-wine is traditionally thus reported by the Western Echo (a local weekly paper edited at Cape Coast by Prince Brew of Dunkwa).

"When the Fantes were on their way from Takiman to the coast, their king had a celebrated hunter called *Ansä*, who used to go a hunting for him. As the Fantes had to encounter the former inhabitants of the land who opposed their settling amongst them, the king had *Ansä* to head the scouts whom he had to send from time to time. *Ansä* had a dog which accompanied him in hunting and scouting excursions.

"It happened that in one of his hunting excursions, he found a palm-tree which had been thrown down by an elephant, and a hole made in the trunk of the tree by his foot. It seems that the sagacious animal had long known the secret of tapping the palm-tree.

and had long enjoyed the delicious though intoxicating sap that it yielded. The hunter, perceiving some sap oozing freely from the orifice made by the elephant, was half inclined to taste, but fearing it might be poisonous gave some to his dog, who seemed to relish it greatly. Finding that his dog took a liking to this new liquor, he in the morning drank so freely of the sap of the palm-tree, that he got fairly intoxicated. He lay in a state of stupor for the whole day, in so much that the king and people wondered what had become of him, and gave him up for lost.

“When he was sufficiently recovered, he soon learned how to tap the tree and succeeded in getting one pot of palm-wine from the tree, which he took to the king. Ansã, before presenting the wine to the king, tasted of the wine first, as customary, to show that it was not poisonous.

“The king, having tasted of the wine, enjoyed it so much that he would not allow any one to partake of it besides himself; the consequence was, he got so drunk, that he did not recover from its effects till the next morning. The people, finding their king in such a helpless condition, thought he was poisoned. They immediately searched for the hunter, whom they (without asking him any questions) despatched, supposing that, as he was so celebrated and held such a high position among the people, that he wanted to poison the king and reign in his stead. As soon as the king was sufficiently recovered from the effects of the wine, the first thing he did was to call out “Ansã!” Having heard that Ansã was killed by some of his men in their mistaken zeal, he ordered those men to be decapitated. Ever since, the sap of the palm-tree received the name of Ansã which is corrupted to Nsã.”

Another account of the origin of palm-wine says that one chief Akoro Firampong of Abadwirem, a town in Adanse, had a hunter, Werempim Ampong, whose dog accompanied him to his farm, where he found a number of palm-trees thrown down by elephants, some of them split in two, and the sap oozing freely from the surface of the trees thus divided. His dog, on seeing the sap, licked some of it, became intoxicated and wild, and lay in a state of stupor for the whole day. The next day, Werempim Ampong went to the spot, made a hole in one of the trees, and having placed some broad leaf in the hole to receive the wine, he drank the same. The consequence was that he too got drunk, and then reported it to the chief Akoro Firampong. On the third day the chief accompanied the hunter, drank freely of the new liquor, and became drunk. On his recovery, he invited his friend Anti Kyei of Akorokyere to the spot, and both enjoyed the wine so freely, that Anti Kyei died

of it. A great alarm was made that the friends of the deceased resorted to arms to take revenge, upon which Akoro Firampong, to put a stop to much blood-shed, offered to kill himself. But before he committed the suicide, he ordered the drummer of his kettledrum to beat the following, which has become the general beating of kettledrums:

Werempim Ampong, wudi nsā mu akōtene,
Akoro Firampong, dammirifūa, due, due!
Anti Kyei, Firampong, dammirifūa gyegyēgye.

Many years afterwards, when rum was introduced in the country by the captain of some trading vessel, Mmoro, a brother of Kwagya, the principal fisherman of Mowure, was employed as a servant to the captain. It was through his means the captain effected the sale of the new liquor, and in contradistinction to palm-wine it was called Mmoro-nsā or "mmorōsā", that is, Mmoro's liquor.*)

The principal vegetables and plants cultivated by the former inhabitants, and upon which they subsisted, were: yams, batatas, cassada, maize, ñgmā (a kind of wheat very small and somewhat black), rice, and different kinds of beans. There seem to have been other kinds of roots used by them besides these, which are no more known to us, being out of use on account of not being brought to perfection by cultivation. Even the use of cassada was almost given up on account of its being narcotic. As traditionally reported, their fetish Sakumo promised to pass its urine on the root, so as to remove that power from it, which he did, and so it became good. We could hardly have convinced them at that time that it was not their fetish, but the constant and careful cultivation that brought the root to its present state. The narcotic substance in the cassada in its primitive stage is still with that root in the Bights, Gaboon, and such places.— Amanfi and Asabu were the chief cultivators of the soil. They were giants who paid more attention to it. The establishment of Europeans on the coast gave impetus to cultivation, and foreign plants, grains and fruit-trees were introduced into the country. A writer in the 16th century says, "Till now, the

*) The common explanation is, that the first part of the word "mrosā or mmōrōsā" is the same we find in "bōrōfere, abōrōbe, abōrōbeñ, bōrōtoa" and other things brought by the "bōrōfo", or Europeans, from "Abūrokyiri (in Gā Ablōširi)" = Europe. As in "abōrōnoma, the European bird = the domestic pigeon", the prefix "a" of "anoma, a bird" is transferred to the head of the compound, so the nasal prefix of "n-sā" was adapted to "b" in "m-bōrō-sā = mmōrōsā", which, therefore, means "the European liquor". Chr.

Portuguese are the only nation that attempted the improvement of the Negroes'. They did not confine themselves to their garrisons or trading factories, but formed considerable colonies on the coast. They attempted to instruct the natives in the better cultivation of their soil etc. They introduced different kinds of millet and corn, plantain and banana, orange and apple, etc. Although there is a tradition that plantain and banana were indigenous to the country, and that Dompim in Akem was the place where plantain and banana were found out. Defining the word "abrode", which is the Tshi name for plantain, we say "Abro ode" i.e. Abro's yam, as we find with the introduction of rum. It appears there were indigenous plantain and banana in the country before the arrival of Europeans, who may have also brought some other kinds of the same plant, and one Abro was the one who obtained some suckers from the European who first brought it.*)

The following seems, however, the true tradition of how the plantain is said to have been discovered.

A hunter at Dompim in Akem, feeling the cravings of hunger in one of his hunting excursions, happened to discover ripe fruits on the plantain trees, then called "ahabañtetredwa", i.e. broad-leaved tree. Hungry as he was, he tasted one of the ripe fruits, and then ate one or two of them. He brought home a bunch of the ripe ones and another bunch of the green ones, showed them to his fellow-hunters and his wife, and told them how delicious its taste was. The green ones were roasted on fire and very good to eat. He went out for more another time, which was no more roasted, but boiled in water and prepared into mpesi (mashed food), as they do with yam, hence the name "obooode", which means, yam substitute, or more plain, "obeboa-ode", i.e. coming to assist yam, now corrupted into "obörode".

After the Portuguese the Danish colonists, such as Meyer, Schönning, Truelsen, Grönberg, Balek, etc. trod in their footsteps. Their chief object was not only to instruct the natives in the better cultivation of the soil, but to improve cultivation so far as to supply European markets with produce from Africa like that obtained from the West Indies. After the abolition of the slave-trade, the Danish Government encouraged the cultivation of the vegetable productions

*) The word for "plantain" is "o-bröde" (only for many plantain-trees a plural form "abrode" is used) and the meaning is "the Europeans' yam".

gained in the West Indies. Plantations of coffee, cotton, etc. were made on the Kuku and Legong hills. Further on they bought several lands from the Akuapems and founded their own villages: Sesemi, Bebiase, Kponkpo, Abokobi, Akropong, Togbloku, etc. Besides coffee they introduced several vegetables unknown to the natives.

After the Danes, the Basel Mission stepped in to improve the natives in the cultivation of the soil, first by European lay missionaries sent out for that purpose. For the same object, partly to show the natives that there are christian negroes who cultivate lands, 24 members of the Moravian Congregation in Jamaica were brought to Akropong in 1843 at the expense of the Committee in Basel. Those emigrants also brought the coco (mankani) and the mango, mountain-pear, bread-nut, etc. into the country. The coco has proved since a valuable boon to the country against famine. The Rev. T. B. Freemann of the Wesleyan mission also did his best to improve the country by cultivation, having made beautiful gardens.

Fishery and hunting were their next occupations. Poisoned arrows were used by them for hunting purposes, and by that even elephants, buffaloes and any other animals, very plentiful in those days, were killed. The ivory as well as the skulls of the elephants were deposited in an enclosure of sticks at Dutch town, Labade, and Poni, which enclosure bears the name "Shugwumõna" to this day. "Shuqwu" means ivory, and "mõ" a fence or fort. (The place where criminals were executed and their heads or skulls deposited was called Oweremõnã i.e. revenging fence, now corrupted Aweremõnã.) The art of fishing in the sea, making nets and fishing canoes etc., seems to have been found out by the Fantes.

The first European settlers on the coast may have improved the nets, although it is not certain: but no new improvements have been made since then. If our people were not satisfied to live only from hand to mouth, great improvement might have been



Mr. Chr. Schønning,
the pioneer of civilization and Governor
from 1807—1817.

made already in fishery, large boats built and better nets made, which would certainly pay any trouble or expense therefrom. Our whole motto seems to be "As our great-grand-fathers did, so we must do".

The giant Kwagya of Mowure, who accompanied Amanfi from the sea, was the founder of the town Mowure, and being the first fisherman, he and his followers carried on that branch of industry. From him all the rest of the people on the Gold Coast acquired the knowledge of fishing in the sea. Dshangma, the founder of the town Ningo, was found by Lāsei of Nōdo to have contrived a means for fishing by placing a piece of a creeping plant across a rill of the lagoon Dshange. Placing himself so as not to be seen by the fish, when passing either from the rill to the lagoon and vice versa, the moment he saw the fish on that creeping plant he had laid into the water, he suddenly flung up the end of the plant he had in his hand, having previously fastened the other end to something. In this way he succeeded to throw off one or two fishes at a time. Thus we see that there were several means of catching fish from the sea and rivers till fishing nets of any kind were invented. It is very remarkable that the then principal occupations of our people, viz., agriculture, fishery and hunting, supply proofs that they had a certain knowledge of the creation transmitted to them by tradition. Fishermen keep Tuesday as their holiday, and as our holidays always fall on the day of the week on which one was born, so our fishermen had known by tradition that the sea came into existence on the third day of creation, which was Tuesday. The farmers also keep the same day as their holiday; yet in consideration of Adam coming into existence on the sixth day of creation, they called the earth "Asase Afia" i.e. coming into existence on Friday — Adam is named from the earth — hence Friday is another holiday for farmers.

The hunters' dance is called "Adam"; its song begins: "Adam kum mmoa a, mmoa wu, mmoa damfo", which means, when Adam kills animals, they die, being the friend of the animals. Is not this remarkable! How came our people to know this that Adam has the power to kill animals, before they could die, and is their friend?

As God rested on the seventh day after the creation, which was on Saturday, the sabbath of the Old Testament, God was considered to have come into existence on Saturday, hence "Nyañkopon Kwame" = God of the Saturday.

The next occupations of the former inhabitants were salt-boiling and gold-mining. The manner of obtaining salt seems to have been at first to boil the sea-water or the saltish water from the lagoons in earthen pots. They set 10 or 12 pots in two rows, which were cemented together with clay somewhat similar to a furnace. It was then supplied with firewood, and by that process of boiling salt was obtained. Copper boilers were introduced by Europeans, by which salt was obtained also by boiling the sea-water. All such process was tedious. The Portuguese seem to have invented salt-pits and pans, into which the salt-water of the lagoons was led through small drains to be evaporated by the scorching heat of the sun, leaving behind the salt to be gathered. Another process was by pans, which the natives called "takui". The ground all about the lagoons being stored with saltish and nitrous elements, a cut of about one foot deep, 12 feet long and 6 broad is as nicely prepared as to become water-proof. Water from the lagoons is carried into the pans, and within a few days salt is obtained by means of the scorching heat of the sun.

Thus the Portuguese commenced at Akra on the lagoon Kōle, and when the Akras were conquered by the Akwamus, the whole blame was laid on the Portuguese to say, Kōle was offended that such pits and pans had been dug on her.

From that time the Akras forbade the digging of such pits and pans on Kōle. They as well as those in Christiansborg entirely gave up that profitable trade and applied themselves to the trade in European goods.

All the other towns along the coast, where trade was not carried on with Europeans, applied themselves chiefly to salt-making. The trade known before the arrival of Europeans was that in salt, as the interior people could never live without that necessary article. Those who turned great attention to salt-making, acquired riches, and, if there were to be continual peace in the country, the people of the coast towns would be the wealthiest on the Gold Coast.

Gold was obtained from mines in Akem, Dankera, Tshuforo, Asen, Wasa, Asante and other inland countries. The gold of Akem was, and is to the present day, the purest and finest. People on the coast, especially in Fante, Elmina and Axim used to wash out gold on the sea-shore after the fall of heavy rains.

Earthenware of various kinds was manufactured, such as water-pots, cooking- and eating-vessels, smoking-pipes, etc.

The walls of their houses were either built with sticks and swish or solid clay, of a pyramidal form of 5 or 6 feet high, and thatched with sticks and grass. The houses looked like the present sheds of fetishes called "gbatshu" by the Akras, but *mútū* by the Adangmes. With no windows, but only a single opening, which could be closed by a kind of mats made of fan-palm leaves and called "kwɔ". No furniture whatever inside, but baskets made of the fan-palm, with lids in which clothing, precious beads, etc. were kept. The clothing of the poorer classes was "ɔbofu", the bark of a certain tree beaten soft; but the better classes used country cloths. There were weavers in those ancient days; but when Europeans arrived and cotton or linen goods were introduced, the weavers gave up their trade. (In Ningowa and some other towns the native weavers did so about 50 years ago.)

Iron founding was likewise given up; but the manufacture of earthenware and articles in gold was kept up and improved. It is a pity that our people gave up weaving and iron-founding; they might have continued to supply their own wants and improved in these branches of manufacture.

The principal occupations of the former inhabitants of the Gold Coast may be enumerated as follows: Agriculture, work in gold, iron, and earthenware, fishery, salt-boiling, gold-digging, and weaving. New occupations introduced by Europeans, are: brick-laying, carpentry, cooperage, trade, clerkship, gold-taking, soldiery, tailoring, shoe-making, wheel-wright's work, stewardship, cookery, canoeman-ship, schoolmastership or teaching, sea-shell picking.

Sea-shell picking was a very profitable occupation for women in those days, as all the forts and tanks built by Europeans on the coast were built with the lime prepared by burning those shells with fire-wood. The lime obtained from those shells was by far better than our present lime from Europe. If our people would keep to that occupation, there would be no necessity for ordering lime from Europe. We desire to have an easy life, to have Europeans to manufacture everything for us, and to send every penny in the country into foreign lands, which will only make us slaves for all time to come!

But our brethren will say: Are there not so many kinds of produce from the country, which bring thousands of pounds sterling back to us? Yes, there are, and many more may be obtained in future, if there are people to seek them out. But the better classes

among us, the educated community, have refrained from agriculture by which the riches of a country is developed. Is not agriculture the mother of civilization, the backbone of national wealth, and the type of the various branches of human industry which have subsequently sprung up in all the civilized world? If our people in being educated refrain from that particular work, is that civilization we aim at, sound? Can we speak of civilization when the real riches and resources of such a wonderfully rich country are buried in the ground? When the grass of thousands of acres of our grass-lands is consumed by fire every year and not yet by cattle? Supposing our government has got all native hands they require, the merchants also as many clerks as they want, and the missionaries too are well supplied; — what would become of the rest of our educated community? If no attention is paid to other branches of industry, will not the future of our educated community become miserable? Well dressed, fashionable, but with no occupation; corruption will increase, and instead of improving our country will retrograde most shamefully.

Let us consult on this subject the examples of the most civilized nations of ancient or modern times. The Israelites were all husbandmen and shepherds, driving their ploughs and watching their flocks. Gideon was threshing his corn when the angel told him he should deliver his people. Saul, though a king, was driving oxen when he received the news of the danger Jabesh Gilead was in. David was keeping sheep when Samuel sent for him to anoint him king. Elisha was called to be a prophet when he was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen of his father's before him. With the Greeks and Romans, we see everywhere in Homer, kings and princes living upon the fruits of their lands and their flocks, and working with their own hands. We see by Xenophon's *Oeconomics* that the Greeks had no way lessened their opinion of husbandry, when they were at the highest pitch of politeness. Whoever is acquainted with the life of Cato the Censor, cannot suspect him of a low way of thinking or of meanness of spirit, yea that great man, who had gone through all the offices in the commonwealth when it flourished most, who had governed provinces and commanded armies, that great orator, lawyer and politician, did not think it beneath him to write of the various ways of managing lands and vines, the method of building stables etc. The Carthaginians, Egyptians, Persians in the height of their power, had

overseers in every province to look after the tillage of the ground. The Egyptians had such a reverence for agriculture as even to adore the creatures that were of use for it. Neither are our modern most eminent and powerful politicians in Europe, such as Mr. Gladstone and Prince Bismarck, exempted from working hard with hands in their gardens. But enough has been proved, so we turn to our subject.

Our people, after the Europeans had established themselves in the country, did not carry on the traffic in slaves only, but most of them turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil. Yams, rice and corn were so plentiful that slave-ships were supplied with corn, in peaceful times 1000 stalks for 5 shillings, but in times of war 1000 stalks for one ounce of gold. From Asabu and the Fante countries about 100 canoes were daily laden with corn and yams, and potatoes at Mowure for Axim and Akra for sale.

Bosman says, rice grows in such prodigious plenty, that it is easy to load a ship with it, perfectly clean, for one penny or less the pound. If our farmers on the Gold Coast had continued with the cultivation of rice up to our time, would our merchants have to order rice from Europe?

After the conquest of the Akras by the Akwamus, cultivation was carried on close to the towns on account of incessant inroads and kidnappings by the latter. By and by those high forests and bushes which attracted so much rain in those days that the harvests were plentiful, were all felled for fuel and home consumption, and rain became scarce, hence scarcity of food prevailed in June and July every year. This forced the farmers to form small hamlets 2 or 3 miles distant from town, such as Ologobi, Tatarawa Kpatshakole, Sowotnom, Abrodnafa, Legong, Papao, Hatsho, Kwantanang, Ashikuma etc. The meaning of Ologobi and Sowotnom already shows how the farmers fared at the hands of the enemies. The former shows, they eluded the kidnappers and escaped home; the latter, their plantations could be made only by holding on their guns in defence. As they could not make their plantations more inland, the harvest in corn was never plentiful; cassada and beans, especially one called gobbegobbes (akwei), were the principal vegetables they planted. Along the whole coast such beans were prepared to a kind of food called abogoi, sold to children every morning. Hence they were obliged, during those days to buy corn from Fante, Agona, and the Volta towns. In doing this, several

women and men fell into the hands of man-stealers and robbers.

When the Akwamus had been conquered and expelled from Nyanawase to where they are now, the farmers extended their plantations some few miles inland. Yet they could not go farther till the Akwamu refugees had been sought for and reinstated in the bush. There were three noble women of Akwamu given as hostages in Akra, one was given in James Town, one in Asere, whose name was Opoma Tia, and one in Gbese. Kpâkpâ Asôanna, the head-chief of the Akuashong, got Opoma Tia, who, as appears, was kept as a wife by the chief. On account of that connection the Akwamu refugee Adsham Botwê, then residing at Amanforo, became known to the chief and was treated as a brother-in-law by Kpâkpâ, through whose advice the king and chiefs of Akra appointed Adsham Botwê as the overseer of the whole conquered land of the Akwamus.

Having been so favoured by the chiefs of Akra, to become the overseer of the land formerly belonging to his people, Adsham Botwê also called the following Akwamu refugees to his assistance viz., Adshama Otuḡkô, Otabi, Kwasi Adae, Kwasi Batam, and Panyin Anyankôe. These hunters assisted Adsham Botwê in the management of the whole land, and by degrees they managed to call in Atshia and Amoa, who had some connection with the royal family of Akwamu from Agona and Fante. Atshia founded afterwards the village which bears his name Atshiamang, and Amoa also that of Amoamang. These Akwamu fugitives, but with some blood-relations in Akra, encouraged the Akra farmers to extend their cultivation and villages more inland. At that time any piece of land an Akra farmer was able to cultivate was considered as his. But in course of time the fugitives, perceiving how careless the Akra chiefs were about land, and even what was their right by conquest, turned round and made themselves chiefs and owners of the whole land, and began collecting rents and selling back those pieces which had been cleared by the former planters and which were known as their property, either to their children or to other parties who offered large sums for them. A very considerable part of the rent was, however, given to the king. They, especially chief Amoa, went on selling the lands till he was warmly opposed by the brave farmers at the village of Opâ. Amoa impudently summoned them to the king and chiefs of Akra; which they accordingly obeyed, and at the court the Opâ farmers told in the audience of

Akra that the land was the conquered property of their forefathers, Amoá, being a fugitive whom they should consider as a captive of theirs, could never deprive them of their property. After this no piece was sold again.

But in consequence of the unsettled state of the country by the incessant kidnapping and plundering of the Obutus and Akuapems, the farmers were unable to cultivate the land as they should have done, until the robbers and plunderers of both places had been checked. Some even were killed, such as one hunter Nseni of Obutu, who was killed by the Labade hunter Kôte Amirim,*) and several others who shared the same fate from the Akra palm-wine carriers and the iron-hearted company known as "Odshofoi."

The palm-wine carriers formed a most powerful body in those days, as they defended the country from such robbers. Any serious case was at that time settled by them. If their oath had been sworn and the defendant showed a slight sign of contempt, they came in full number with about 100 or 200 pots of wine and broke them at the gate of the defendant. When the case was then looked into and settled, the defendant had to pay not only for the wine, but also for so many pots broken. A whole family must be sold to pay such cruel and foolish fine! — The farmers enjoyed peace only after General Amankwa Abunyawa had punished the Akuapems and Fantes in 1814.

Besides the slight general scarcity which prevailed in June and July every year, great famines were sometimes caused by war and scarcity of rain, or by locusts.

Famines which are still in the recollection of old people are those in the year 1809, which was brought about by the Asante invasion of Faute in 1807. Those in 1816, 1822, 1825, 1829, 1832 — all came on in consequence of war, at which times people could not properly attend to cultivation, or sometimes by insufficient rain. It was during those famines that many a Fante was sold for a few pounds weight of corn.

During such famines women and children were seen at Akra engaged every day in search of wild fruits and roots, — the fruits of the fan-palm, date-palm and all kinds of berries, very plentiful

*) A hunter's song composed by Kôte Amirim on this incident was: "Amirim, wosua woyi, Afutu Bereku wobisan', Kãnerebo?" i. e. Amirim is the exceptional, who being asked by an Afutu Bereku man: "What the matter is?"

in those days, such as *noko*, *kofu*, *amugui*, etc. The fruits of the fan-palm especially supplied ample food. Another resource against famine were the wild roots called *akpatsha*. They grew sometimes as big as the fist and resembled the sweet potatoes in form. You saw women and children early every morning strolling in the plains about a mile from the towns in search of *akpatsha*. When a woman found one, she joyfully began to sing, "Asaba titriku amāno, miná ona sí te oyoñ? Kolete, Kolema." There are two kinds of *akpatsha* — *wuñete* and *shanoto*. When they were brought home, they were divided among the boys and girls and eaten raw.

Those who had relations and friends at *Akuapem*, especially at *Berekuso*, went there in search of unripe plantains, which they dried in the sun or smoked in the kitchen, where a row of wooden pins was fixed on the wall three or four feet above the hearth. On those pins the plantains were dried by smoke, after which they were ground and prepared. It is related that mothers were often obliged to put some pebbles in the pot, pour out water on them and set them to boil only to keep their children quiet till something should turn up for them to eat. As fishes were very plentiful — a sign of the goodness of our heavenly Father towards His children — a herring often costing only one cowry, or 40 herrings one string, now nearly half a penny, and several leaves of plants served the purpose of cabbage etc., life was sustained.

On account of such scarcity of food in June and July every year, the Akra name their annual feast, *Hômowo* or *Hômoyiwomo*, which means, a hooting at hunger. Instead of giving thanks and praises to God for the blessing obtained, they hoot the hunger to shame it!

We come next to famines brought about by the locusts. Our old people speak of the locusts which had visited the Gold Coast for the first time in about 1740 and destroyed all vegetables, so that a very strong famine came and people were obliged to travel to *Ningo* and the *Volta* towns to buy corn.

This led to a terrible increase of panyarring and man-stealing. Many Akra women were sold. Some were fortunate to be redeemed by their relatives, but others were carried away and remained in captivity for life.

In the present century locusts have appeared three times.

In 1833, just when the second corn-harvest was ripening, they

visited us, but did not damage the crops much. It was the time our people became acquainted with them. They not knowing that they are a Divine judgment upon a nation (Ex. 10, 12—15; Ps. 105, 34, 35; Joel 1, 4—7; 2, 25—27) entertain the notion that there is a high mountain at Agu in Krepe, where the locusts dwell and are worshipped annually as a kind of fetish, and when the priest is offended by the people of Agu, he allows the locusts to come out from the mountain to destroy their produce.

In May 1838 the locusts again visited the Gold Coast just when the corn-fields were about shooting out blossoms. They were so numerous that the sun was hardly visible, and they destroyed every green leaf. Corn, yam, and cassada plantations were consumed by them as if a great conflagration had swept over the whole country. Every tree was seen leafless, the plantain trees, the grass on the plains were all eaten up. When they had been a few minutes in a plantation, you saw nothing but the naked soil without any plant on it. They marched first in a direct line along the Akuapem mountains towards Adshenkotoku, but fortunately a strong storm blew from the West, which kept them back from destroying the crops there. This providentially saved the crops in Adshenkotoku from being consumed by them, and a rich harvest was obtained from that part. Being thus retarded, they turned their course to Akuapem and to the coast, destroying all the cassada plantations. When that west wind had subsided, they resumed their march to Fante where they could not destroy much crop as the harvest was then ripe.

People were glad to have got rid of them, but alas, not very long after they had gone, the canker-worms came up, which are more destructive to plants and fruit-trees than the locusts themselves. These could not fly, hence the wind had no power on them, and they did more mischief; they were found everywhere too numerous to be destroyed. And they were so obstinate that no farmer could do anything in his power to prevent their coming to his plantation where some crops had been left. Whereto they are prevented to march, there they march to. See Prophet Joel 1, 2—7. In the first and second months of the year 1839 nobody knew where they went to.

In about 1842 the locusts appeared again in the country, but not so numerous and destructive as before; they kept flying only in the air till they were seen no more.

During all such times of trouble the people applied for aid to the fetishes; so numerous sacrifices were made in every town in all the country. As our people generally find fault with anything they fancy was the cause of such troubles, imagining such as offence to their fetishes, the inhabitants of Labade attributed the coming of the locusts to their chief having a superfluous number of fingers. The venerable king or chief was ordered to give up his services in the court of Lakpā, and his successor to act in his place.

People becoming aware of the famines brought about by the locusts, changed altogether the mode of planting cassada in their plantations. They hitherto had planted the cassada thinly in their bean plantations, now the farmers along the coast set upon making special large cassada plantations. Those in James Town and Dutch Town made large cassada plantations at Dshonya, which proved wonderfully fruitful, that others were encouraged to follow their example.

Besides, most of the Europeans and native merchants then on the coast made several gardens; we heard of Hansen, Bannerman, Henry Barnes*), Ankra, Richter, Holm, Svanikier, Truelson, Touning etc., who had nice gardens close to the towns; the native headmen also had their gardens.

Provisions were cheap in those days. A load of corn of 80 lbs. weight cost 15—25 strings of cowries, say about 3^d—6^d in our days. A loaf of bread of 1 lb. cost 9 cowries, of 2½ lbs. 25 cowries, whilst presently four of 1 lb. loaf cost 3^d. A big hen cost 5 strings, a cock 4 strings, and an ordinary chicken 2½ strings. As provision was cheap, so labour was cheap. A common labourer got 2—5 strings per day, a carpenter or bricklayer 1—3 heads of cowries per month; a soldier got 2½ heads of cowries per month, which being paid generally in goods, the workmen retailed those goods with good profit. The piece of iron bar which was the ordinary pay of a soldier was sold for 6 heads of cowries; the four yards of cloth (or 12 lines and 16 lines of country cloth, the

*) Mr. Barnes not only made a plantation or garden on the Shooter's Hill in 1835, put the first mango seed into the ground in June 23, 1843, which he may have obtained from our West-Indian Emigrants who came out that year; but he also made a carriage road from Auomabo to Akrotul, which took him 3 years to finish, being commenced on Thursday 5th November 1840 to Monday 20th November 1843. For which he spent £ 147 sterling. Hansen, Bannerman and Richter also made such roads from Akra to Christiansborg.

former cost 25 strings, the latter 30—50 strings), which was the monthly pay for a carpenter or bricklayer, was sold for 1 head and 10—25 str. Even when silver coins were used in paying labourers and things, as there were no shilling and six-pence pieces, the dollar was cut into four pieces, called quarter-moneys, which the employers and buyers even used to deceive the employé by cutting the pieces as they liked, until we were favoured by good Old England with these small coins.

But our people of the present age would say, the ancients were fools, we would never condescend to be paid thus! We think, we rather are the fools in our present age, and we shall remain fools until we understand what civilization means. If a farmer becomes rich by his trade, and instead of improving that trade by employing many hands and planting several plants, he takes that money and invests it in mercantile pursuits, a profession to which he is ignorant, is that civilization? A fisherman becoming rich by his trade ought to improve it by buying new boats, yea, if possible, ordering out any such thing in use in Europe; of course, if one man can't undertake to order out such a boat, let a number of such men form a sort of a company. But if instead of this he makes himself a trader and is not trained for such a profession, he must certainly fall. What is that? When all the educated community are too polished to become farmers and fishermen etc., but the whole body must become clerks and clerks alone, or traders, the consequence will be the dearness of provisions. The last 30 years have made a wonderful change in the prices of everything, as we have seen above; another 30 years again will make us miserable, that, to use the popular phrase, "we shall have to live on silver", that is, money will be cheaper than provision is. In illustration we give an instance of the state of provision in Krɔ̀bɔ̀. The Krɔ̀bɔ̀s are known to be the best and able farmers on the Gold Coast; all the inhabitants of about 40,000 in number are engaged in farming, viz., palm-oil making, which obliges them to have all their lands planted with palm-trees. Although they buy thousands of acres of land from the Akuapems, Akwamus, and Akemis, but these lands are so distant from towns that provisions there obtained can scarcely be conveyed to market, hence provisions are dearer in Krɔ̀bɔ̀ than even on the coast. If the whole population on the Gold Coast will only turn their attention to one trade and being clerks, the consequence will be just the same.

The rearing of cattle and poultry, which was introduced into the country by European farmers, so that bullocks, sheep, and turkeys etc. were plenty, is entirely neglected; the Adās alone keep to that trade and supply the coast with these necessaries. The grass in Keta is worse than any other else, but through industry there bullocks are obtained. We have every facility to become monied men, respectable men, if we only give up the false notion of civilization which we aim at, and turn to our rich soil, and work with our own hands! With regard to our educated men, we may say they do their best to earn their living; if those not employed, would turn their attention to other occupations, that so many hundreds of youths leaving school every year would not depend alone on being employed as clerks, then it will be well.

But our educated ladies not only refrain from hard working, they have also no desire for education. The only desire they have seems to be, "Let us learn to make our dresses as European ladies and to dress like them, but never trouble our minds much about books." (There are, however, some exceptions.) If our ladies have no desire for education and to be able to read for themselves as a lady's life is passed in the civilized world, neither are desirous to work, what would be the civilization we aim at? The prosperity of a family, the prosperity of a town, of a Christian Church and of a whole country depends on ladies. If they be better educated, if they be good Christians and are industrious! Indeed, we admit that some degree of civilization on the Gold Coast sprang from the Mulatto ladies and gentlemen, who were the children of the European big merchants and high officials once residing on the coast. They having been favoured by inheritance to become owners of large estates, would of course not do otherwise than live as such. The lower classes imitate them with the mistaken idea that to go in a European dress is to play the lady, and that, as soon as one puts on dress, she is to live as the rich ladies. But our ladies would ask, what kind of work are we required to do? We do needle work, trade on a small scale, and what else? We say, does that pay? Trade may pay, but can you keep your accounts as traders generally do? Go to Sierra Leone and Lagos, and you will find ladies doing what other people of their sex do; but on the Gold Coast you find the contrary. If we make our uneducated mass of girls and boys to understand education in that light, we become a stumbling-block on their way to civilization.

The Basel missionaries have introduced a mode for educated females up in the interior, that although one is so educated, she does not refrain from working in her husband's plantation, or do all manner of women's work during the week; yet you find them in their dresses on Sundays. If one from the interior comes to the coast, where she should do as she was in the habit of doing there up, you find her putting off dressing and go in the habits of the uneducated, only not to be laughed at by coast ladies, whilst we find the Sierra Leone and Lagos women of the lower classes put on their dresses and do all work that others do in their country. They keep to the principles which had been implanted in them, but not one of the Gold Coast ladies keeps to the principles in which she was trained.

This want of principles in us Africans, especially we Gold Coast Africans, that those who have got education in Europe look down on our own brethren who were educated in the country, is the sole cause of the unimproved state of the country. Such of us who are so providentially favoured, prefer to keep rather with the white men, who in reality will never take them as one of themselves; yet they ingratiate themselves into their society. But they may ask, where is a society suitable for our polishment, but that of the Europeans? Our brethren are too low to keep our society. We say, no! There are people, although educated in the country among the mass, who are respectable, behave respectably, who could be selected to form a society if we don't despise them. For the last 15 years the European residents on the Gold Coast have kept society with the natives, although not always beneficial for the country, but nowadays they have refrained entirely to keep with us. Is this no lesson for us that we should form different societies among ourselves? Let the better classes among us diffuse their better qualifications, their Christian and moral qualifications, into the rest, and then a change will certainly take place on the Gold Coast. It is better now, we suppose, in the Fante country, if all we hear is as reported. If there were such associations as Christian Young Men's Associations and the like, any undertaking for agriculture, education or Christianity could be easily carried out among us with success.

But, before we say anything about what our Colonial Government should do to get the colony prosperous, we must first take a short glance on the past state of the Gold Coast. Some two hun-

dred years ago, the Gold Coast was split into several parts under different native and European governments. After the Portuguese had left the coast, the Dutch had possessions and influence, the Danes and the English had theirs, the French and (for a short time) the Brandenburgs also had theirs. Such a small country of an area of 20,000 sq. m. had so many different masters of different nationalities and different laws; what a pity! But after the Danes and the Dutch also had gone, good old England has been left alone on the field. What all those governments might have done respectively for the improvement of the country and the amelioration of the different portions of the people under them, could now be effected more easily than before. And we are very glad and thankful that Providence has placed our country and people under Christian England. May it please the almighty God, whose children we too are, to bless and extend the empire of our most gracious sovereign Queen Victoria!

We are fully content to be under the sway of our most blessed sovereign, because, when we cast our glance on all the colonies under England, we see great improvement. Even in those colonies where our brethren had been dragged to as slaves, but were made free by England, great improvements have been made, while the mother country is behind her daughters. We however entertain all hopes that the true old English spirit and English blood is still running in the veins of the people of England, which inspires us with courage, that although we of the mother country are behind, yet our time is not far distant when we also shall be elevated from our degradation. We therefore look to England, we look to the English people, but principally to our colonial government to help us on. The Basel Mission, if we be allowed the expression — the divinely-sent mission for the improvement of our country — the mission that does not only teach and preach the glorious gospel, but educate the people nearly in every branch of industry, and for that purpose have opened several industrial establishments at Christiansborg for joiners, wheel-wrights, lock-smiths, black-smiths, shoemakers, etc., has done and is still doing its part for the country. We expect our colonial government will now come forward to do its part. We live in the best period of the Gold Coast, because war, which hinders the advancement and improvement of a nation, is no more to be heard of in the country since the power of Asante has been broken into pieces by the British army under

Lord Wolseley. And therefore any undertaking for the improvement of the country can easily be carried out with success.

We bring this to the notice of our colonial government that a few years after the battle of Katamansu (Dodowa) in 1826, the Danish government introduced industry into the government school, that the scholars must not depend only on becoming soldiers, but should be taught properly in fishery, agriculture, etc. It appears that that kind governor Henrick G. Lind, who introduced that plan and for that purpose brought out his whole family and several immigrants, was forced to return to Europe on account of ill-health in 1831, Jan. 20, and his successor allowed that scheme to fall off. It is, therefore, high time for our English colonial government to do something for the present and the coming generation. Either to co-operate with the painstaking and frugal Basel lay missionaries, by allowing our mission a certain sum annually for teaching industry. If that were the case, our mission would then enlarge their establishments to employ more hands than at present. Or, that our colonial government should undertake to build such workshops and send out the best West-Indian artisans to superintend those establishments, if they would have it independent of our mission.

Above all this, the most important thing needful in the colony is, roads! What? we may have and already have wheelwrights, but where are the roads? If our colonial government even would at once undertake to open industrial establishments, but no good cart-roads, it would be a mistake. Hence, we want roads, say, for the present, three good cart-roads for Akra, of at least 30 miles each, as a trial. By these the provisions which are so plentiful in the plantations, could be conveyed to the coast very cheap, and the produce for the merchants the same. Firewood for home consumption is presently too dear, lbs. 50 weight for one shilling; it will also become cheap. Our joiners and wheelwrights as well as our architects will be supplied with all materials for their work, and then our money will remain in the colony for the colony's own prosperity. Otherwise the future of our colony as to its advancement, improvement, and prosperity is doubtful. We humbly suggest to our colonial government chapter XVIII, pp. 249—264 in the "Sketch of the Forestry of West Africa" by his Excellency Alfred Moloney C. M. G., a book written by one of our governors!

CHAPTER XXIII.

The causes that led to the first*) civil war between Kumase and D̄waben.
Battle and retreat of Boaten to Akem 1832.

As the capture of Kumase by general Lord Wolseley and Sir John H. Glover resulted in a civil war between Kumase and D̄waben in the year 1876, just so the defeat of the Asantes at Katamansu led to a civil war between these two kingdoms in 1832.

Boaten, the king of D̄waben, was a great favourite of the late king Osei Bonsu during the time of his reign. Osei Yaw, who succeeded Bonsu, was envious of the favors shown to Boaten when the king was alive. The old ill-feeling was cherished even on his accession to the stool, and became stronger after their inglorious retreat from the coast, during which Boaten had managed to secure the golden stool from being captured on the field of battle. The envious captains of Asante increased this ill-will by putting an unfavourable construction upon the conduct of Boaten in this matter. They even charged him with having retained the public treasure lost in the campaign, insinuating that, as he had managed to secure the golden stool, the public chest carried with it must likewise be in his possession.

Yaw Osekyere of Nsuta, one of the principal captains over the left flank of the van, fell in the battle of Katamansu. On their arrival to Asante the following persons, Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi on one part, and M̄fo and Okwāwe D̄kono on the other part, were competing for the stool of Nsuta. Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi with most of the inhabitants of Nsuta applied to Boaten to settle the dispute and to place one of them on the stool.

But their rivals, M̄fo and Okwāwe applied to the king at Kumase. When that became known to Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi, they requested Boaten to ask the king that a fetish oath should be administered whether their lives would be safe if they appeared in Kumase. To which the king replied that there was no necessity of taking any fetish, as he had nothing personally against them. Boaten, to appease their minds, ordered his brother Kofi Boaten to take fetish with his clients. Although the king of D̄wa-

*) The D̄wabens speak of three or more civil wars which had taken place between them and the Kumases prior to this. But this one is the first one known on the coast.

ben may have the right to settle any case of Nsuta, yet as the king of Kumase had the right over both states, he invited Boaten to appear in Kumase to settle the case there; which he accordingly did and brought his clients to Kumase.

A grand court was held in which Māfo stated all the secrets he knew of Oŵeredu and Okwaŵe, how they had been in the habit of murdering the king's people passing through Nsuta to Salaga and taken their property. The king's servants thus murdered secretly were said to be about 80 persons. As there was no evidence in their defence, they were condemned and the king appointed one of his nominees to the stool of Nsuta, but ordered Boaten's clients to be ironed with all their relatives, 60 persons in number. The case being thus settled, the king went to Bereman, thence he commissioned Oteng with about 1000 men to kill those unfortunate persons at dead of night. The king of Dŵaben, hearing of this heinous act, returned home in a rage. Some believed that those 60 persons had committed suicide, when their two chiefs, Oŵeredu Kwatia and Berifi were condemned by the king to be beheaded.

Knowing what ill-treatment he had given to Boaten, the king sent several presents to pacify him, which of course, he indignantly received, and after one year, he could feel at ease to go to Kumase again. A few months after this the following case happened.

Yaw Odabo, alias Kotiaku, a subject to the prince of Dŵaben, so resembled the prince, that one could scarcely tell one from the other. They looked like twin brothers; hence Boaten took him for a companion. He loved him so tenderly that he shared every thing equally with him. That state of companionship continued uninterrupted even after the prince became king of Dŵaben.

One day Kotiaku had to spend a good part of the night in the parlour of Boaten in conversing with him. But on his retiring home he stole into the king's harem and committed rape on three of his most beloved wives. "It is a very long time since I had the favour of being seen by my lord the king, said Osewa Kramo, I wish therefore to call for a light to see your face, before you take leave of me." The light was forthwith brought in, and to her great surprise she found that it was Kotiaku, but not the king. "Akuamua Bēnā!" was the loud cry she made. "What was the matter?" asked one of the wives. Being told that it was Kotiaku — "Was it he who was with me too?" she also asked. The third wife then said, "It must have been Kotiaku who was with me

too." A great alarm was consequently made in the women's yard, and the king was apprized of what had happened.

The big kettledrum was beaten, and the whole D̄waben assembled in the king's house. The unpleasant story was told, and express messengers were dispatched to Kumase the same night to inform the king. Meanwhile the unfortunate Kotiaku had effected his escape also to Kumase, where he was apprehended. The king of D̄waben insisted upon his being delivered up with his family and relatives, his mother Akuwa Friyie, his sister Of̄ewa, and his wife Otrewa and child, to be punished with death. According to the law of Asante, the offender alone is to be punished, but not with his family. The king knew that Boaten had the same right as himself to make a demand as the national law prescribes; yet Boaten would not have it so, but claimed the offender with his whole family. The king insisted that the offender alone must suffer for the crime committed, and not the innocent parties. Messengers were dispatched to and fro, urging the delivery of Kotiaku and his people to be punished. But the king was positive against the demand of Boaten, who consequently said, "Let the king exchange D̄waben with Kotiaku and his parties." Hence he determined never to go up to Kumase.

After three years had elapsed, Kwantabisa, general of the van, was commissioned with seven of his chiefs to D̄waben to bring Boaten to Kumase, in order to settle the case which had been pending so long. Thus he addressed the court of Aknamua: "In olden times" said he, "it was said, a dispute arose between Aknamua and his uncle, the king, which lasted for four years unsettled. I have got the same commission to-day, to invite you to your uncle, to see his face, that matters may peaceably be settled." To which Boaten replied: "The idea of the king wishing me to come over to him! Does he believe I have forgotten the case with the inhabitants of Nsuta? Was there ever a similar case, since the world was created? Is not Nsuta's case vividly in my mind? I have become wiser by that, and therefore I will not go to Kumase! If the king really means peace, he would never have killed all those friends of mine at Kumase. For we say, if a neighbour has gone astray, he is recalled home by the tune of the horn blown by another neighbour. And as such is not the case, neither shall I attend the call, nor be forced to go by one like yourself. I am a man, but not a coward to be thus treated." Kwantabisa was

outrageously disgraced and insulted. Kofi Boaten, the king's brother, even attempted to kill him. He was pelted with stones, hooted at, and with shame sent back to Kumase. On reaching the capital he applied a leaf of a tree to his mouth — an indication of the very abusive words he had been subjected to. Upon such occasions, the king must swear first to the commissioner before he gives utterance to those hard sayings, else he might be punished with death. Being prudent enough and knowing the consequences of uttering all those hard expressions, Kwantabisa only touched the better parts of them. The king was enraged, and ordered Kotiaku with all his parties to be sent to D̄waben. "Should I allow this little fellow to insult me so much?" was what the king asked his chiefs. To which they replied: "We might do something but for the mat-shrubs" (a large species of Bromeliaceae planted between Kumase and D̄waben by order of An̄kye, by whose magic virtue the power of Asante was established; they are as a memorial that Kumase should never take up arms against D̄waben). The king replied: "Were people not sleeping on mats in Kumase, when those Bromeliaceae had not been planted by An̄kye?"

Two weeks afterwards, Boaten sent two messengers to Kumase; but the king did not allow them to speak and barbarously killed them. This act was very shocking to the Kumase people. Two other messengers were again sent to Kumase eight days after that, who shared the same fate. Others have the opinion that the chiefs of Kumase were rather annoyed at Boaten's demand.

The king thereupon distributed arms and ammunition to his captains, commanded them to start on one Monday, so as to fight the D̄wabens on Krudopa-Oku, the most sacred day of the Asantes, which falls on Wednesdays. Among the captains who swore to the king was one Adu Brade, the son of one of the late kings, who said: "If I mean by this expedition to drink from a spring, but not from a pool, I forfeit the oath of Kor̄omante." On reaching Abankuro, having Buraso before them, the troops met two messengers from Boaten. They said: "Akuamua wishes to know why a force is marching against D̄waben to-day? For such a thing has never been heard of since the creation (meaning by creation, the founding of the kingdom of Asante). The troops must march back to Kumase with us to settle the case there." Not agreeing to their request, the troops seized them, put them in irons and sent them by an escort to Kumase. The king ordered them also

to be killed. Then the troops marched on a few miles and encamped on that Tuesday so as to get to Dŵaben in time to fight on the following day. Early on the morning of the following day, being Krudopa-Oku, Boaten assembled all his chiefs and told them, "Had Berebere not come, no trouble would have come; for it was Odabo (Kotiaku) who had offended me, that all these troubles are upon me now; I wish therefore that the offender and his people must beforehand be made away with!" Thus saying, every one of them was beheaded and the little child of Yaw Odabo, who was hanging on his mother's breast, was snatched from her and drowned in the river Owaram.

A few minutes after the execution of Odabo and his relations, the king ordered the inhabitants of the town, men, women and children to quit the place; only the armed men should form an ambuscade about the town, to see what the enemy would do when there, whether they came to settle the case pending or to fight. The enemy, however, upon entering the town forthwith fired at a bullock, — thereupon Okra Deheg and Gyesaw, who had painted their bodies with white clay, were commissioned by the king and chief Yeboa Kgre to inquire thus: "Were you not aware how the world was created (meaning the founding of the Asante kingdom)? Where have you kept the saying of Anokyes, that an army from Kumase is upon Dŵaben?" "Know, it is a bullock that was shot", was the reply. Pao, a dog was also fired at. The men in white clay ran forward and inquired: "Akuamua wishes to know, where you have kept the sayings of Anokye, that guns are being fired upon Dŵaben to-day?" They again replied, "It is a dog that was shot." A few yards on, the troops found the dead bodies of Odabo and his relations lying about. There and then a heavy fire was opened on the Dŵabens. The first captain who fell on the Kumase side was Adu Brade. His head was cut off, and brought to Boaten, who ordered it to be burnt. The Asantes were forced to retreat as far as Ekyereso.

During the heat of action, one of the captains of Boaten blew himself up with powder. His dead body was thought to be that of Boaten, therefore it was conveyed to Kumase. An old woman who was captured was called by the king, who said to her: "You old grey-haired woman, who should have given better counsel to your king, never did so! He that pretended to do wonders lies here now!" "Nana", said she, "it is not Akwasi who lies here

now!" The king asked: "Who is he then?" She replied, "I do not know who it is; but it is not Akwasi." "Where is Akwasi then?" the king asked. The woman replied, "Akwasi has walked away." "Where to?" was the king's last question. The woman answered, "I do not know; it may be to another country." Okye, a captain of 1000 men, by the king's order carried the dead body back to the troops at D̄waben, with these words, "You fellows, come! get away with your Boaten" and with other abusive words too, he left the body to them and returned to Kumase.

Boaten had proposed to blow the royal family and himself up with powder when his ammunition had run short; but Yeboa K̄ore and the chiefs had opposed it. They said to him, as long as God had spared them, they should not do any injury to their persons, but go to some other country and prepare against the Asantes. He replied, "That would have been possible, if I had not destroyed all my personal effects. Seeing I have broken my large drums, burnt all my clothes, and have even scattered about all my gold-dust!" The chiefs again replied, "So long as the Asantes could not annihilate us, we must not destroy ourselves. We had better march on to Akem and surrender ourselves up to queen Dokuwa, and fight the Asantes when we have gained footing there." The king agreed to what chief Yeboa K̄ore and others proposed, and they started. Chief Yeboa K̄ore stayed behind as if preparing to start, but made his way to the river Pimkyim and there committed suicide with about 60 persons of his blood. It was the body of chief Yeboa K̄ore that was conveyed to Kumase. This suicide was said to have been brought on by Boaten's powder having run short. He was unable to supply the chief with any when asked for.

Boaten had given an imperative command to captain Kwabena Ńketia, the husband of his sister Boatema, who had the charge of the royal family, as well as the women and children of D̄waben, to shoot down his sisters and all of the royal blood, the moment he heard that he had blown himself up with powder. Pursuant to that order, Ńketia, on hearing the blasting of gun-powder during the heat of action, thought it was the king who did it, and immediately shot down Boatema his own wife, and then the whole body of women and children dispersed, so that most fell into the hands of the enemy. At that very moment, a cry was raised, "The Asantes are clearing off, the enemy is retreating!" Being frightened by that, Ńketia was benumbed and could no more shoot

any one more, however he shot himself. Their orphans Sapomma and Samong II. were brought to Akem by Boaten, and there the latter died.

The enemy left the battle-field for a time, and the king was anxiously awaiting the arrival of chief Yeboa with his people. But when the sad news reached him, he also determined to commit suicide. His captain Apententia prudently advised him to desist from doing so till they had reached Praso, where no enemy could discover their remains to dishonour them. By this the king was cooled and they resumed their march towards Akem. The Agogos and Amantras under chief Amoakō attacked the king at Pētērensā, but he scattered them to the winds. Continuing his march, he slept half way and on the following day reached Duafrasuom. His messengers were dispatched to Dokuwa to inform her of what had befallen him, what his uncle Osgi Yaw had done to him, that he had now no bed to sleep on, no pewter-basins to use, in short no royal effects at all with him, and was wishing therefore to come over to her.

Meanwhile the troops had been ordered to march back to Kumase. Two of the royal blood of Boaten, Sapong and Sapomma, a son and a daughter of his sister Afrakuma I.; with the state properties, the royal stool, and his own sons: Agyei Twum (who afterwards became king of Dwabēn, known as Asafō Agyei), Yaw Kyere, Okyere Panyin, Agyei Sunkwa, and Apea Dankwa (who also was made chief of Dwabēn), with many others, were taken prisoners in the conflict and were brought to Kumase. The young princes were given in charge of Kwadwo Duawā, chief of the eunuchs. The elder was about six years old, the younger only four. At the reception of the troops those poor captives were carried on shoulders while saluting the king and his assembly. The younger boy, on seeing the assembly, said to the elder one: "Behold the large state umbrella of our grand-father, his castle, oh dear, here he is!" When brought before the king, the little one said to his bearer, "Let me down to go to my grandpapa!" Both were put down, and the king took them on his laps. "Nana", said the little boy, "I feel hungry indeed, for when the grand yam-feast came on yesterday (the poor innocent boy thought it was a yam-custom), guns were fired, we ate nothing at all." "All right, you shall eat soon", answered the king. After the reception of the troops they were brought home, and richly served, but the elder couldn't eat

much. They were kindly treated by the king for some time; but at length the king assembled his chiefs and said to them, "My grandchildren must be dispatched on account of Adu Brade; they must be dispatched." The chiefs then remarked, "As they are little children, they should be spared for a memorial to the world. According to the sayings of Anokye these youngsters should be spared." The king insisted upon their being killed on account of Adu Brade, who fell in the engagement. The chiefs opposed their being killed, "We were strongly forbidden by Anokye never to imbrue our hands in the blood of D̄wabens." The king said: "I know how to manage that their blood be not shed." The poor little things were smothered in a large wooden trough and buried!

Boaten's messengers were kindly received in Akem by queen Dokuwa. On their return, Dokuwa sent everything necessary for Boaten to Duafrasuom. The D̄waben royal family consisted of Boaten, his mother Osewa, sister Afrakuma I. with a child, and brother Koti Boaten. These with their people and the whole of D̄waben were cordially received by Dokuwa, her sons king Ata and Obiwom, and all their people. After their reception, presents were lavished on them, and a site was granted them to build their towns and villages on.

A few days after his arrival, Boaten dispatched three ambassadors, Kwabena Puntua, Gyinnadu and Mogyabeng, with his compliments to the Danish governor Bröck, the British governor Maclean, and the kings, chiefs and principal men of Akra, Fante, Dankera, Akwamu and Akuapem. The ambassadors had to swear the oath of allegiance on the fetish given them by those kings and chiefs.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of Boaten's residence at Akem.— His being recalled to Asante.— The atrocious request of having his cousins and some captains put to death, before he consented to return.

The ambassadors returned to Akem after having executed the commission given them. From all the principal merchants, Messrs. Ridley, Richter, Hansen, Bannerman, Fry, etc., as well as kings, chiefs, and principal men, large presents were sent with their compliments and sympathy to Boaten. The message sent by Kwadwo

Tibo was, "At Asante I was your subject, but having come to this country, you have become my brother. I deeply sympathize with you, bid you welcome, wish you success in your battles. Having come I receive you with embraces, to live in peace with each other, that the wicked man alone may stay in his country, that in course of time should he, Osei, think of any invasion, we stand together against him." After these negotiations, the merchants opened commerce with the D̄wabens at Akem.

During the stay of the D̄wabens at Akem there was no peace between them and the Asantes. Whenever they met they fought, either with sticks, knives or guns. The king of D̄waben organized an expedition under Opoku Sak̄oree against the Boem people and obtained a great number of prisoners, besides quantities of ivory and other spoil. He sent some of the prisoners as presents to the principal men on the coast, and sold a good many of them for his personal expenses. Those prisoners of war were captured chiefly from Boem, because the expedition to Afid̄wase and Asok̄ore proved a failure by the presence of an Asante army met there. For after the expulsion of Boaten from D̄waben, Osei Yaw ordered the Karakye and Namonsi people, who were tributary to Boaten, to throw off allegiance to their former master and to come under him. As they were not willing to do so, general Nubeng was ordered to march against them. At Bankoro Wiawoso the general received intelligence, that the D̄waben expedition from Akem against Afid̄wase and Asok̄ore was marching there. Unexpectedly Opoku Sak̄oree met the Asante army. A sharp contest ensued, in which the D̄wabens and Akems were defeated.

The general now marched to Karakye. Many of the people were taken prisoners; the rest fled across the river Oti. The grove and cave of Odente were plundered and desecrated. Elated by this brilliant success, the general was passing the day in merriment and dance, when suddenly an army of Bagyam people appeared and attacked the unsuspecting party. The general and several influential men and people were slain on the spot. This forced the Asante army which had gone to plunder to return in haste and drive the Bagyams back. 3000 captives were taken from Karakye and Bagyam.

The defeat of the expedition and the destruction of the Karakye and Bagyam people was reported to Boaten, and he forthwith sent a large supply of ammunition by a captain of Atipini to Karakye

to support them against the Asantes. But being weakened by the late battles, the Karakyes did not venture to take the field against their enemy.

Skirmishes continued between the D̄wabens and Asantes for a long time, which disturbed the peace of the country as well as trade. At last the following ambassadors were dispatched from Kumase: Akoa Yaw, Barefi, Osēi Bedikw̄a, Ata Kunku (bearer of the gold stool), Etuahene (bearer of the gold calabash), Amankwa Kuma, Kankam Akyekyere, Boakye Mpamkye, chief Kwakwa and Okra Boadu. Boaten appointed envoys with linguist Oduro Akotēdwan at their head and presented the state of things to the chiefs of Akra, who also apprized the Danish governor Mörck, the British governor Maclean and commandant Fry. A grand meeting was held at "Tunyea" (now "Victoriaborg") on the 27th May 1835, and peace was brought about between Asante and D̄wabēn. A total eclipse of the sun was visible that day. The Asante ambassadors prudently gave every chance to Oduro Akotēdwan to win the case in order that Boaten might be easily persuaded to return. Oduro accordingly won the case, that the verdict was given in Boaten's favour, for which a linguist cane was presented to him by the officials. The eclipse made it necessary to put off the court till the following day.

There was no true and permanent peace between Ata, Obiwom, and Boaten when the latter was at Akem. He appeared to be like a tiger in a cage, though his influence and munificence were so great that several persons attached themselves to him. Besides being an Asante prince, he was magnificent in state embellishment, in short, he was superior in every respect to Ata and Obiwom. From him they acquired the art of ruling in the Tshi style. Yet for all that, they not only envied him, but intrigued with ladies of his harem. Obiwom had an illegal intercourse with one of the wives of Kofi Boaten, whereof an incident happened one day, which nearly brought on war between them, had not Ata very prudently put a stop to it. Kofi Boaten, the brother of the king, was informed of that intrigue with one of his wives. The woman not confessing the truth, the offended husband watched and detected them, and she was ordered to be apprehended and beheaded. Effecting her escape she was pursued by her husband. "Ata, gye me e! Ata, gye me e! Ata, gye me e!" i. e. have me rescued, Ata! have me rescued, Ata! The poor woman fell on a fetish at the entrance of

the house, the enraged husband fell upon and beheaded her. Ata not knowing the cause of it, was greatly offended at such an insult; consequently a stone and stick fight broke out between the Akems and D̄wabeus. Boaten, being away from town at the river Berem for amusement, was informed of it. The D̄wabeus were forced to retreat, but on seeing their king, who had been called to stop the outrage, they drove the Akems from Kyebi, when he said, "Whereto?" King Ado Dankwa of Akropong was informed of that riot in Kyebi. He dispatched his principal linguists, Aye Kuma and Apenteng, to Akem. These assisted Kofi Abrantee, chief of Kukurantumi. The case was investigated, and Obiwom was found guilty. He was fined 70 peredwans, equal to £81. Osewa, mother of Boaten, nearly ordered the D̄wabeus to resort to arms, when that riot took place. On account of that with other things, Boaten never talked to her over a whole year. His chiefs managed with difficulty to reconcile them.

Another deplorable incident happened thus. One Ofosu Atimu, a servant of king Ata, offended his master by some misconduct towards the queen mother. He was ordered to be beheaded, but effected his escape to the coast, where he sought protection from the government. One day Ofosu happened to be found in the house of Boaten's basket-carriers. The king, informed of this by his people, immediately sent information to Ata; but instead of sending his own people for Ofosu's apprehension, Ata sent a flask of rum to the king's basket-carriers to catch him, which, of course, Boaten opposed, saying: "A refugee never catches another refugee"; should his people do that, it will reach the coast that he had brought Asante cruel acts to Akem, and was teaching people the same. If Ata would not send for Ofosu's apprehension, neither should his people do it. At last Ofosu made his way to the coast. A court was held about that case. The Akems tried to find Boaten guilty; but he did not submit to that decision. Through such cases the D̄wabeus began to think of their country, and were longing to return. On account of such disturbances of the public peace, a detachment of one dozen soldiers of the Danish and English government were stationed at Kyebi for every six months, when a fresh detachment was sent to relieve it. Thus it continued the whole time the D̄wabeus were at Akem.

Boaten had several times laid his request before the Danish and British governors as well as the king and chiefs of Akra to allow

him to visit the coast, but had been positively refused. He tried at least to be allowed to see Akra; but even that was denied him. The reason why he was not allowed, we could not make out. Some say, the Akras thought: "Blood is never wanting in the head of a horsefly." Being an Asante king, formerly an enemy, he might design some sorts of mischief against them, if he were permitted to visit the coast or stay permanently in the Protectorate. Others were of opinion that it was through Kwaku Dua's representations to the principal merchants on the coast that he was not allowed to stay in the Protectorate, but was forced to return. Through all these hindrances it came to his mind to return if possible. Besides this, his mother and sister Afrakuma I. instigated him to go back.

In the year 1839 Rev. A. Riis of the Basel mission on the Gold Coast arrived in Akem and did his best to begin a mission among the D̄wabens and Akems; but neither Boaten nor Ata supported him. However Boaten sent a number of D̄waben youths to the coast to be trained as musical band performers; but for a school and the preaching of the gospel he did not show any interest.

Boaten, not allowed to visit the coast, received message after message from the Danish and British governors, urging him to go back. Prince Kwaku Dua had been made king of Asante, after the demise of Osei Yaw, and was dispatching ambassadors after ambassadors to the governors of Christiansborg and Cape Coast, king Taki I, Ata, Kwadwo Tibo, Tibo Kuma, and all the chiefs in the Protectorate, to induce Boaten to return to D̄waben. The first ambassadors were Osei Dankyere, Yaw Kōkō and Barefi. They brought 60 peredwans equal to £487 (some say 300 peredwans were sent first), to Boaten with this message: "Boaten is the principal man who has to place Kwaku Dua on the stool. Unless Boaten returns, no one can perform the ceremony connected with the coronation." The amount sent is said to have been divided between Boaten, Sapong, head chief of the Oyoko family, Agyei, chief of Asafo, and Agyei Bohem, captain over the body-guard.

One of the ambassadors, Barefi, had a confidential commission to Boaten alone. On his arrival Boaten tried to behead him. Barefi, knowing what he had to expect at Boaten's hand, said, the king has determined to send out 1000 messengers to recall you home; if you kill me, another will come until you desist. In reply

to the request of Kwaku Dua by Barefi, Boaten requested the king to return all the property and men captured from Dankera, Asen, Akem, Akuapem, etc. to the respective owners before he would agree to go back. The king, in answer to this request, sent back Barefi to say, that it was impossible for him to return those things and people. For neither did he know where those objects were, nor was he the party who took possession of them. Their forefathers had captured those things, and as they were dead, he could not make out where they were to be found. He should therefore let by-gones be by-gones, but try to come back. Boaten replied: "I am plunged in debts; how can I leave my creditors behind me and go to D̄waben? If the king desires me to return, I ought to receive sufficient money to defray my expenses before I go back." Barefi returned the third time with 800 peredwans to say, "Where one like Akuamoa is, no pecuniary embarrassment could befall him; he may, however, accept 800 peredwans, and on reaching Kumase anything more he desires will be given him." Mr. John Magnusen, a Danish native soldier, was ordered by governor Giede to go to Akem and settle any account between Boaten and Dokuwa. In his presence the account was made, and Boaten was found indebted to the amount of 16 peredwans, which he forthwith paid to her. The principal ambassadors sent by the king of Asante were Ahenkuro Sei, Owusu Agyemang and linguist Boadu. They announced their arrival at Akem to the Danish and English governments, and had to stay more than one year to collect the D̄wabens who were trading all about the Protectorate, before Boaten was able to start.

Boaten's last request by Barefi was, that his cousins Aberedwase Opoku and Nerebehi Poku and their families should be killed before he would agree to go back. But their troops should be spared for himself.

Kwaku Dua replied to this wicked request, that he would not raise any objection to it, provided he would send his own people to do it, he would not do it himself. Having obtained the consent of the king, Boaten, under false pretences, represented the case to the Danish and English governors and king Taki, that he was ready to go back, but that some ambassadors should be sent by the governors and Taki to accompany his men to Kumase to settle a dispute pending between himself and some parties there before he would go back.

Not knowing the real object of Boaten, two soldiers, Christian Yelstrup and Henrick Engmann, with one Ņkudsheĩ, were appointed by the Danish governor. A soldier by name Ņtifro was also appointed by the British governor, Taki appointed his linguist Dshang of Akra, to go with Boaten's messengers to Kumase.

Aberedwase Opoku and Nerebehi Poku were cousins to Boaten. The mother of the former, Agyei Badu, was the youngest sister of Osewa, Boaten's mother, but elder cousin to Boaten; and the grandfather of Nerebehi Poku was one of the kings of Dwabeni, in whose reign a civil war broke out between himself and subjects, consequently he abdicated the stool and resided in a village till he died. He had therefore a claim on the stool of Dwabeni as well as Aberedwase Poku, who by the right of succession would have the first claim to the stool, as being elder cousin to Boaten; but it was denied to him on account of his being the son of a younger sister to Osewa; yet he was made a captain of high rank by Boaten.

A misunderstanding between the king and his cousins was created thus. After Kwantabisa had failed in his commission to bring Boaten to Kumase, and consequently the first messengers of Boaten had been beheaded at Kumase, he ordered his people to prepare bullets; and Aberedwase Poku, not knowing anything about it, one evening came to see his cousin, but was denied admittance, as both Aberedwase and Nerebehi envied his power and sided with the king of Asante in hopes of obtaining the stool. Aberedwase Poku became very uneasy at not being admitted into the king's house; hence he quitted Dwabeni that same night, in spite of the expostulations of Nerebehi, and sought refuge at Kumase. Next morning three messengers arrived at Nerebehi's, enquiring for him. They were asked by Nerebehi, why such a treatment as that was given to one like Aberedwase Poku even at the king's house? And on that account he was frightened and quitted Dwabeni! The messengers were going to pursue him, but Nerebehi advised them to go back, as by that time Aberedwase Poku had reached Kumase, where, of course, they could not dare to apprehend him nor do any injury to his person. He said: "For my part I would advise you to go back to Dwabeni, give my compliments to the king and ask why Aberedwase Opoku was denied admittance into his house? That on that account he was frightened and escaped to seek protection at the stool of Twum and Antwi.

I advise that the case pending between my cousin and the king should be amicably settled, otherwise, I will be neutral, neither for heaven nor for earth." The messengers reported to Boaten what Nerebehi had said; and when the civil war broke out between D̄waben and Kumase, neither of the cousins took part in it, hence Boaten desired to kill them and their families before he would return.

Others are of opinion that those cousins of Boaten left D̄waben the same night when Yaw Odabo was detected. They went to Kumase with the view of siding with the king so as to claim the stool for them, as the king did in the Nsuta's case. As cousins of Boaten it was their bounden duty to support him in a case such as that, but never to leave him alone.

The three soldiers and king Taki's linguist acting as ambassadors arrived at Akem. Boaten appointed Kwabena Puntua, Gyimadu, linguist Damansafo, Asare Panyin, Mogyaben, and a party of 50 armed men to execute that atrocious commission at Kumase. Puntua and his company announced their approach, and a grand meeting was held at Kumase for their reception. Which being done, they got their quarters at Ntuom. The king sent presents of every known eatable thing and gold-dust to them on the following day, after which the whole Asante nation was ordered by the king to send in their presents. They got a large supply of provisions and gold.

As it was the great yam feast, Aberedwase Poku with his whole family as well as Nerebehi Poku were in Kumase. Prince Owusu Dome was ordered by the king to invite the ambassadors and Aberedwase Poku to his house to enjoy palm-wine and other drink. At the party they were told that Akuamua was expected soon, therefore they must be placed in irons for a time, till he came, when any case pending between both parties should be settled. To which Aberedwase Poku replied, "Akuamua may come at any time, I have nothing serious with him!" Nerebehi Poku responded, "Why should you continue talking for being required to be put in irons? Stretch out your hands to be manacled!" He did so, yet none of the D̄wabens could take hold of the hand, but all kept up weeping! There were more than 400 men of the king's basket-carriers and a set of the king's bearers who allow their hair to grow long and hang over their faces, who had surrounded the house to prevent any one from escaping. Aberedwase Poku was

first handcuffed, then Nerebehi Poku said: "We are never warned by the earth, else what happened once in one country might come to pass in another, for I am the grandson of T̄wum and Ant̄wi (ancestors of D̄waben and Kumase kings). I, who neither gold nor silver handcuff could ever be used for my arrest, must now submit to an iron hand-cuff even in Kumase?" After being handcuffed, they were removed to a house engaged for that purpose. Their wives and children were immediately seized and handcuffed. Among them was Boatema, a sister, and Kwasi Gyenti, a nephew. They were told, as royal personages, they should not be kept in that state in which they were, in Kumase. To avoid their being seen by people, it would be advisable and most convenient to remove them to a village, until Akuamua's arrival. All to decoy them to the spot of execution. A few yards beyond Nsuben, Puntua and his party (the soldiers excepted) overtook them. The sign of blockading the road by tying up the grass on the way-sides — three knots towards the city and three towards the villages — was now performed, and Puntua ordered his men to murder the whole party. The poor women uttered heart-rending cries, lamenting their sad fate, how they were honourably born and must now perish so miserably! The number of inoffending men, women and children, butchered on that day, was above seventy persons. Some speak of only ten. General terror prevailed. One of the intended victims effected his escape and reported what had befallen them to the people of Nerebehi. The king, not aware that the sad news had reached those people at their village, sent two messengers to bring them over to Kumase. The messengers, being cunning, perceived a change in the movements of the people and returned quietly, without them, to the capital. They were ridiculed as cowards for not bringing them over, and two other messengers were sent. The villagers betrayed no ill-feeling, but supplied the messengers with food and drink, and then killed them. They bought plenty of drink, made a large dinner, ate and got drunk, and began to dance lamenting the fate awaiting them! They dug a large pit in which they packed all their children, covered them with straw from their houses, and set it on fire. A mother danced about for some time, and then said, "Dispatch me quickly, for by this time my children are waiting and weeping for me." Then she was shot down. A father, after dancing for a good while, exclaimed, "My time is up, I must be gone!" and then shot himself. Thus they continued the

whole day and night, till most of them were killed. The king, hearing of this, dispatched armed men to interfere, but it was too late. They found a large heap of dead bodies, about six feet high, their clothes burnt, baskets and guns smashed. Such and other articles were brought to Kumase.

This hideous wholesale destruction of human beings did not move the wicked heart of Puntua. A little girl of the royal family, who had escaped, was drowned by him in the river Oda. The king pleaded urgently in her behalf, but in vain. The body of the poor girl was brought to land and buried by order of the king. The heads of Aberedwase Poku and Nerebehi Poku were brought to Boaten. He insisted upon hanging the skulls on his big drums, though his mother protested. It is said that during the night both the skulls dropped down. Besides those unfortunate victims, the following principal men and captains of Asante were also killed by Boaten's order: Lamte, Obuadaban, Bantama Aparaku, Ausere Tepã, Yaw Dã, Oteng and Kwãso Odabo. All these were beheaded, and some relics of theirs were sent to Boaten at Akem.

"The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty!" Ps. 74, 20. May our Heavenly Father hasten the time, that error and superstition flee, and Christianity prevail!

CHAPTER XXV.

Boaten on the way back to Dwabên, and his death. — The arrival at Kumase of his mother Osewa and the Dwabêns. — The rebuilding of Dwabên.—Trade with Asante revived, and full peace restored. 1839—1842.

Boaten had at last obtained what he wished. He therefore sent messengers to the coast to inform the Danish and British governors, the king and chiefs, that he was about to leave Akem for Dwabên. Presents were again lavished on him. One day he took leave of Kyebi with all his men, women and children, and the band playing before him. He had reached Sãman and wanted to pass through Gyadam to take leave of Agyemang, when Ata sent message that he intended to fight with the latter, wherefore Boaten should not go there. Boaten replied, "That would never do! I have taken refuge with both of you, when Dwabên was destroyed by the Asantes, and just taken leave of the place of my refuge; should that place too be destroyed? What would people say of me?"

He therefore sent the royal lace of precious beads to put on the neck of Ata, entreating him never to step from the place he was occupying, till the next day, when he would come over himself to hear what complaints he had to make against Agyemang. (The royal necklace of precious beads is the emblem of the king's power to stop war or to reconcile hostile parties.) Ata took off the necklace from his neck, and the messengers brought it back to Boaten. He blessed his stars for having got such an opportunity of obtaining some fine to gratify his people with. For such a misconduct one is liable to the fine of 32 peredwans, equal to £ 259.4 sh. sterling. The following day Boaten marched to Sinno, looked into the case, and found Ata guilty. He fined him 12 peredwans and two sheep, and Ata went back to Kyebi with shame.

Boaten was preparing to visit Agyemang and to take leave of him, when one day, enjoying himself in the street with a certain game (antwè), he fell into a swoon all of a sudden. His medical men did what was in their power to get him awake, but to no purpose; he was dead; it was in the year 1839. People reported that he poisoned himself; and that may be true, because he said plainly to the native Danish soldier, who was sent to urge on his leaving Akem, that he knew how to put an end to his life. He said, he would never see Kumase alive. The real cause of his death was from a case in his own family. When at Kyebi, his daughter Sēwa Ñkrañ was given in marriage to one of the principal European merchants at Akra. Kwabena Puntua, his confidential captain, but also the husband of Afrakuma I., had the charge of Sēwa Ñkrañ to the coast. During their travelling an illegal intercourse passed between them. When this was known afterwards to Afrakuma, she determined to have Sēwa beheaded, which Boaten opposed, as she was his favourite daughter. Afrakuma told the king, "Was it not on account of a similar case you fought with the Asantes, which brought all these troubles upon us, and yet you deny my rights?"— The best of his servants and captains, men like Puntua and others, shot themselves. A grave was dug and well prepared, a bedstead was placed inside, and his remains were laid on it until they could be conveyed to Dwabèn. A grand but bloody custom was made for him. After three months they started with the intention to pass through Gyadam to see Agyemang; but being advised, they went directly to Mampong, where they were received by Agyemang and his people with presents and expres-

sions of condolence. Their march continued to Okwawu, where they rested for a time and were about to resume their journey, when his brother Kofi Boaten also died in 1840.

Osewa, mother of Boaten, sent to Gyesei, captain of the right wing of D̄wabɛn, who also was of the royal family, and told him: "Gyesei, let me obtain blood to wash the remains of my son Kofi Boaten, before he be buried." Upon which he asked: "Do you mean myself?" She replied: "Yes, you Gyesei!" "Who has ever wrought such a thing in the world?" was the stern question of Gyesei. She ordered him to be apprehended, and he was beheaded. That atrocity was reported to Gyesei's sons by the lad who accompanied him to Osewa's. They flew to arms, gave a shout, and were marching to attack Osewa, when they were met by the horn-blowers and stopped. Baffled in their attempt, Gyesei's sons retired to their quarters and about 30 persons in number blew themselves up with powder. The rest of them, half went in company of the D̄wabɛns, the other half retired to Akem and Akuapem and resided there permanently. It was reported that Gyesei was killed on suspicion of having caused Kofi Boaten's death.

After this hideous act of Osewa at Okwawu, she sent information of the death of Kofi Boaten, and Gyesei being sacrificed for him, to Kwaku Dua. He was grieved to hear what had been done to Gyesei and therefore asked, "Who was beheaded? Gyesei? it is horrible! Why should Gyesei be killed to bury Boaten? I deeply sympathize with Osewa's losses, but she should not have killed Gyesei! Who would bury a son with a brother's blood?" Osewa assumed the government when Kofi Boaten died. In November 1841 Osewa and the D̄wabɛns reached Kumase, and a very grand reception was given to them at the capital, where Akwanno swore at the meeting, "We went out as men with horns, but have returned as women. Should any one venture to take advantage of that, to deal with us contrary to the known policy by which we should be treated, what once happened may be brought to pass again!" They got numerous presents from the king and subjects, and had the sympathy of everybody. All their property and people captured during the late civil war were restored to them. The king rendered them great assistance in rebuilding their town in a much more splendid style than the old one, and so peace was established. The rebuilding commenced in January 1842, during which time the Rev. T. B. Freeman of the Wesleyan Mission had

the opportunity of visiting Kumase and D̄waben with the glorious gospel of peace.

Osewa determined to claim back Ad̄akwa from the government of Kokofu, Apea Gyei, to become king of D̄waben, as there was then no male issue from her to assume the government. But as in olden times the inhabitants of Dadease had given themselves over to the prince of Kokofu and 32 pered̄wans had been paid on their behalf, Osewa's demand was not complied with. She died after a reign of four years and a half, and was succeeded by her daughter Afrakuma I. —

After public proclamation of peace between Asante and the Protectorate had been made, the merchants on the coast, both in Fante and Akra, took upon themselves not only to redeem at their own expense the prisoners taken at Dodowa, whom they sent free of charge to the king, but they also sent special messengers with large and valuable presents to him, and thereby trade was encouraged, so that Asante traders came to the coast by hundreds. But in consequence of the civil war between Kumase and D̄waben in 1832, which resulted in Boaten escaping to Akem, who continued the same hostilities against the Asante traders to the coast by murdering several of them, the trade was again suspended for a length of time. The merchants represented the state of trade to the English and Danish government at Cape Coast and Christiansborg. When the meeting of both representatives of Asante and D̄waben had been called at Tunyeau (Victoriaborg), peace was made and trade began to flourish.

Governor Maclean was reported also to have brought some of the prisoners himself to Kumase and given them back to the king, and a good understanding was arrived at upon his visit. — Roads were opened, trade with the coast revived and flourished. The merchants on the coast got such a sale of their goods for pure gold and ivory, that a single house could ship by one vessel from one to four thousand ounces of gold per trip.

Thus Messrs. Hutton, Swanzy, Ridley, Bammerman, Richter, Hansen etc. grew very rich during those days. Akras, who were long before that the brokers to the merchants in the slave-traffic, turned their course to more legitimate trade, and therefore travelled to and resided at Akem, Asante, Krepe, etc., whence they brought many slaves for domestic services and made their country more populous.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The expedition under chief Kwatei Kodsho to Nyive. — The war for independence of the Krepes from the yoke of Akwamu. January 1831—1833.

The cause that led to the organization of a second expedition to Krepe was a fight between two Krepe towns, Nyive and Atikpoi. Nyive means an elephant-forest, Atikpoi a stump. Chief Gugu of Nyive hired Oku, the king of Agotime, to assist him against Ofori, chief of Atikpoi. The latter, having obtained informations that king Oku had been hired to assist the Nyives against him, came directly with 8 armed men and his own daughter, desiring Oku to remain neutral, as it was a case between the two chiefs alone. Ofori said, "I have been informed that your assistance has been asked by the Nyives to fight against us; but so long as thou, the old elephant, wilt engage in the fight, we are unable to carry on war against you. In my days Atikpoi should never be ruined. I offer myself to be sacrificed, and the 8 men sold to brush my blood from your hands, and my daughter married by you." King Oku thereupon assembled all the chiefs and captains of the three Agotime towns, and submitted to them the request of chief Ofori. They replied that, since the Nyives had requested their assistance and obtained a definite promise, it was impossible to change it, fight they must.

Chief Ofori had to return home with his daughter and the eight men, and told his people the result of his mission. They immediately set to work by fortifying their town with ramparts made of big trees and loopholed, to prevent being overrun by the enemy in case of a failure. The day to fight was appointed, and the Atikpois were attacked; but they defended themselves so gallantly that the Nyives had to flee, leaving the Agotims alone on the field with immense loss of lives. King Oku thereupon proposed a retreat to Gbli, chief captain in command of the army, who in reply swore, that if he should retreat to Nyitoi, the king's appellation "an elephant" must be changed to that of an antelope of the lowest species. They therefore remained in the camp, when Ofori, though knowing the discomfiture of his enemy, yet ran among them with 16 heads of cowries and some sheep, earnestly negotiating for peace. By Gbli's refusal to remove the camp, the request of Ofori proved a failure the second time. A second engagement took place,

the Agotims got the day, and the Atikpois became tributary to them. The Nyives, who fled, were impeached as cowards, and promised to pacify the Agotims. For which Gugu gave his daughter to Oku to be married, but not choosing to do so he gave her to his brother Nāte Ńgo, and so brought everything to a close.

But after all, the children obtained from that marriage, as well as the mother fled to Nyive, and their people refused to send them back, and for that account war was declared by the Agotims against them to claim the children back.

Chief Gugu therefore confederated with the following towns: Shia, Krunu, Kpaleve, Tove, Atshave, Agu, Azavi, Azahū, and Atigbe, and was chiefly supported by the chiefs Krunū and Namote.

The Agotims, being friends of the Akwamus, became obliged to ask their assistance, and captain Akonno Kuma was appointed. The Nyives were engaged and defeated, but before prisoners would surrender themselves, Akoto maliciously called the captain with his force back to Akwamu, and greatly disappointed his friends.

Nate Ńgo, the king of Agotime, was obliged to dispatch messengers, with his own son and daughter and the state-linguist-cane which was embroidered all over with precious blue beads, to Akra, very earnestly asking the assistance of chief Kwatei Kodsho with the promise that any amount of money he required to organize an army should be advanced by himself and paid at Agotime, as the battle had been fought already, and what he required was an Akra army to get them to surrender. Chief Kwatei, anticipating short and easy work there, thoughtlessly gave his consent, and then submitted the case to king Taki and his chiefs. A meeting was held at Sakumo-Tshoishi. The king and elders advised Kwatei to consult first his quarter's people, and after obtaining their consent, they also would consider to supply him with additional warriors to join the expedition. But expecting easy work at Krepe, and himself commanding a large part of the warriors of James and Dutch towns, he foolishly objected to the proposal of the king and elders, and told them, he could muster an army himself of his own quarter's people and slaves, if they were not inclined to assist him. Captain Kotei of the Audacious Band now got up and swore that since he was captain of the Audacious Band of Asèrè, he would certainly join the expedition with his company, provided chief Kwatei would only provide for the warriors, as himself had not the means. The chief agreed to do his best, and the meeting broke off.

The king and chiefs appointed armed men to join the expedition, Sekō Agbōlemē and Botwē Akplehe with one dozen men from Abora quarter. Chief Krōbōsaki appointed Ayi Dadekpoti and Ashong Katai with 8 armed men; chief Dodu Nyang also sent Krōte, Oto Tshuru and Okanta with 60 men, Kōme from Teshi with 20 men. — These with 300 of Kwatei's own people, and 350 of the Audacious Band of Asērē under the captains Kotēi, Mensā Commodore and Ayiku comprised the whole of his force, viz., about 1000 men. Captain Kwate Lai commanded the force of Kwatei. Chief Kwafum with some warriors of Akuapem also joined the expedition.

After due preparations, chief Kwatei Kodsho ordered the expedition to march on the first week of January. He had one iron one-pounder field-piece with him, which was fired every morning and evening during the campaign. At Dofō they had to wait till Akoto, king of Akwamu, had given them leave to cross, because he knew nothing about the expedition. Besides he was not willing to allow any of his captains to join Kwatei, till the following presents had been sent to him: 40 heads of cowries, rum, sheep and cloth for the king himself; for Akōnno Kuma, 16 heads, one sheep, an anker of rum and a piece of cloth; the same for Ofēi Kiti. Akoto then appointed 4 captains, Dabara (Nabla) with 300 armed men, Ofō with 30, Kwabena Afadi with 20, and Boakye with 28 men; 378 in all. The camp was removed from Dofō to Manyakoi (Banyakoi), 4 days after to Abotia, where he spent 2 weeks, thence to Sōkōde for four days, and then met the Akwamu force at Ho. The whole force being then concentrated, they marched through Ntakra, Hwadshoe, and Sukpe to Adāmē. Here the Agotime force joined the expedition. King Natē Ngō and his chiefs, Kanga of Sukpe, Mensa Osa of Kpotōi received 22 $\frac{1}{5}$ kegs of powder and four hundred lead-bars as ammunition brought for them. The whole force, the Akras, Akwamus and Agotims, numbered 4 to 5000 men. On one Saturday they fell in line towards Nyive; but when crossing the rivulet Hezo they were furiously attacked by the enemy, and kept on fighting from morning to dusk without definite success. The enemy was engaged the following Sunday, but with the same result, because the site selected by the enemy for defence was bushy. The attack was repeated on Monday again, and by noon the expedition had run short of ammunition. Neither the Akras nor the Akwamus nor the Agotims could supply any. A sup-

ply of ammunition was asked, but nothing came forth. In their perplexity they fell on 3 large kegs carried by Kwatei's people, but, to their surprise, they were only filled with chains. Nothing more could be done, but to retreat, which gave advantage to the enemy to chase them, till they reached Agotime, fortunately with few wounded.

For three weeks no ammunition nor subsistence was obtainable, hence a demand was made for the latter, and 16 heads were given by Kwatei to the whole army. Scarcity of provision prevailed to the highest degree. Captain Odoi of Labade, who was trading there, and had been used as a linguist by Nāte Ńgō, was commissioned to get subsistence from the king for the army. 200 heads were sent, 5000 men to share that! To maintain themselves at their own expense, everybody set up trade, some came to Akra for goods, and for fully two years nothing was done. They celebrated three Hōmōwos (yearly feasts) there in camp. At last by the advice of the captains Kotēi, Mensā Commodore and Ayiku, chief Kwatei despatched messengers to his sister Dākōwa at Akra to send him a good supply of arms and ammunition, which having been received, the first thing done was, to ask the assistance of king Akoto himself, who, greedy as he was, demanded a large amount of ammunition and money to be forwarded to him. All he required was sent, and he forthwith marched to assist Kwatei. The people of Sōkōde disputed the passage he had to make to Nyive; they were engaged for three successive days and defeated. Kwatei then informed Akoto that he was coming to clear the enemy off the way; when at noon the same day, some fugitives from Ho, who were coming in that direction to find shelter for their wives and children, suddenly fell among them, and were captured. The Akras caught about 20, Kwatei's people got 30, and the other warriors caught a good number of prisoners. Kwatei resumed his march. At Ho he found Akoto, who had defeated the enemy and caught many prisoners. However he was envious of the few prisoners caught by Kwatei etc. on their march to Ho. He said, they were victims of his last battle and he had a right to claim them for himself. He forced others, and they delivered their prisoners to him, but Kwatei not, and those turned out at last to be the whole plunder he obtained by the expedition.

After a rest of 3 months at Ho, the whole army fell in line towards Nyive. Akoto assumed the command of the main force,

Kwatei the right wing, and captain Akonno the left. They had their quarters at Ntakra, on Sunday at Hwadshoe, Monday at Tokokoe, and on Tuesday they attacked, and defeated the army of the confederate towns, captured Nyive and encamped there. On Sunday, after being in camp for 6 days, they were suddenly and furiously attacked by the enemy, and with great loss driven back to Yiviefe. The enemy kept up fighting the whole day, 80 of the Akras were wounded, and still more of the Akwamus; yet they quartered in the field that night. The following day being Monday they marched back to camp, and on Wednesday six ambassadors arrived with white flags, pieces of firewood, yams, etc. and asked for peace. Nothing more remained than to summon chief Gugu and his confederates to surrender. Chief Kwatei appointed 12 messengers, Akoto also 12 and the Agotims 12, who should carry on the commission. But, whether through Akoto's or his captains' unwillingness, nobody knew, the messengers deferred going every day. The scarcity of provision was intense, hence Kwadsho Dei, the commander-in-chief of the Krepe forces under Akoto, submitted a request to captain Nabla of Akwamu to arrange how the warriors should be provided with food. The only reply was, "They must buy provision themselves from Mansai (Matshei) and Lume; the king would not do it." Although Dei was not satisfied with the reply, yet he submitted and ordered the warriors to buy food from those places. Mabere, a first class slave-thief of the king, stole a fetish sheep from Mansai. Complaint was made against him by the owners, and to satisfy them, the remaining ear of Mabere was cut off, as punishment for the theft committed. (One of his ears had been cut off some time before that for a similar case.)

Akoto did not wish to allow Kwatei to have the glory and reward of the expedition, therefore he acted very indifferently in forcing the enemy to surrender. He had been in camp a whole year, whilst Kwatei three years, and moreover the warriors were suffering from hunger.

At last, Edshanyi, the son of Kwadsho Dei, was attacked with illness, and the father, finding no proper means in camp to cure the disease, asked the king to let him go home, to get the son cured in Peki, but was flatly forbidden to leave the camp, although there was nothing to do. He therefore one day ordered his camp to be removed in spite of the king's objections, and left with the Krepe forces under him. Akoto, having at last found a plausible

excuse, told Kwatei that he should celebrate the yearly grand yam-feast and that he must go to Akwamu, that Kwatei should accompany him to Bame, where he might manage to capture some poor people for his trouble. Very reluctantly Kwatei agreed, and the whole camp was removed to Bame; but there was nothing to plunder. Having played the last game, Kwatei indignantly told the king that the Akras never live upon plunder, but upon legitimate trade, he must therefore depend upon it, that, should he live to reach Akra, not a single glass of rum, a shot of powder, cloth or any article for trade would be seen in Akwamu. At Ahodome they parted, Akoto to Akwamu, and he to Abotia, where from grief he was attacked with fever. On reaching Dofu he removed the remains of his son who died there, and then crossed the Volta to Ningo. At Teshi he stayed 3 days on account of his illness getting serious. His captains did their very best to get him home. At Labade he commissioned captain Kotei to march with the army to Akra to fire a salute, he himself would come on during the night. Abora Saki was carried in a basket to represent him, when the salute was fired. Arrived half way between Labade and Christiansborg, he breathed his last in August 1833. Akoto might have rejoiced at having disappointed Kwatei from obtaining a glorious triumph and a large number of prisoners by the expedition. But he did not calculate that he had thereby weakened his own influence on his Krepe subjects, who were only seeking for an occasion to revolt, but could not do so yet from fear of the Akras who might be called any moment by Akoto to assist in crushing them down. Neither would God Almighty, to whom all the nations upon earth belong, suffer such a barbarous, cruel and bloody kingdom to exist any longer upon the earth.

It is shocking to the civilized world to hear of the deplorable and wretched condition to which the Krepes were reduced by the Akwamus, since their being driven by the Akras in 1734 to settle in the Krepe land. They lived upon war and plunder ever since their kingdom was established at the foot of the Akem Peak. From 5—600 slaves were sold to European slave-dealers by the king every month during the sixteenth century. They carried on the same policy beyond the Volta, even in their dilapidated state. Many a town was devastated by repeated inroads, kidnappings, extortions, and the like. Many a parent was bereft of all children either by war or extortion. Whole districts were depopulated,

whole tribes were thinned out by paying yearly tribute or defraying the expense of law-suits. Boys and girls were sold into slavery, only to furnish the king with luxuries. For a few pounds of fish, an Akwamu resident in a Krepe town would sell a boy or a girl only to furnish himself a breakfast. Poor and harmless persons were sold like fowl and sheep! In 1822—23, when Yaw Osekyere, an Asante general commissioned by Osei, assisted the Akwamus against the Krepes, they captured thousands of inoffending Krepes, so that a slave boy or girl of 10 years was sold for 25 strings of cowries, and an adult for one head and 25 strings. They locked up thousands of the captives in houses and set fire to them because there was no market for them. On account of all these disasters they composed this poem: "Heretivio, miato nyō, miang kuḡ gbḡ" i. e. "Ye stars, your portion is excellent, for when your mother (the moon) dies, she revives." Hence it is obvious that the Krepes were always on their watch to throw off their allegiance to the king.

Chief Kwadsho Dei of Peki, the bull-dog of Akoto, had had long experience with his masters and studied them so well that he could be used by Providence to extricate himself and his people from the cruel yoke of Akwamu, and at last the opportunity had arrived for him to quit the camp in Nyive once for ever. Messengers were dispatched after him to force him back to camp; every demonstration was exercised by oaths sworn on him; yet he did not listen. The king thereupon sent him 12 large ripe ears of corn with the message, that, should he persist in disobeying his orders, a single grain of the ears would be charged a head of cowries (1 shilling) as a fine. The reply to that was, "The 12 ears of corn are fastened on the muzzles of muskets at Bame, you must come for them." A very insulting message! It was incomprehensible why Akoto should ask Dei to return to camp, and why he did not march direct to Akwamu to celebrate the feast, on account of which he left Nyive. He may have calculated that, since chief Kwatei had been sent home empty-handed, there was a chance of getting prisoners for himself from the conquered Nyives. And his bull-dog Dei had revolted! It would have been more prudent on the part of the king, to overlook that disobedience of Dei, than to think of humbling him by a fight; but Providence would have it so!

During those days Peki was in a flourishing condition, there were several influential chiefs and captains, and several rich men. Among

whom were: Amon, a captain being carried in a basket, had 500 warriors of his own; Grātō likewise 500, Takō 400, Lābi 500 etc. These combined together and strengthened the hands of Dēi, promising to support him to the uttermost of their power. The whole Peki force met Akoto at Bame and drove him back to Abotia. Kwadsho Dēi did not choose to pursue him, but returned in triumph to Peki. Indignant at such treatment from his own subject, Akoto retired to Waya, and set about collecting an army, because his way to Akwamu had been blockaded by Kwadsho Dēi. When consulting his chiefs as to which tribe they might apply for assistance, Nabla advised him to call for the Akras. He said, "They are the bravest men I ever knew. An Akra man, when attacked suddenly, leaves his cartridge-belt in camp and runs forward to discharge his musket before returning to get the belt on." Akomō Kuma's opinion was, that the Angulas were the bravest people known. "An Angula man", he said, "would, after discharging his gun, lay it down and run among the enemy to drag out a prisoner." The Akwamus could not, after the ill-treatment Akoto had recently given to chief Kwatei, think of applying for help to the Akras, so they unanimously agreed to ask the Angulas, their old allies.

A large army of Angulas arrived, and the king was exceedingly glad. The night after their arrival they were put to the test by the firing of several guns near their camp. Their clumsy and confused mode of falling in, proved what sort of warriors they were. The Akwamus told them, however, that "the king was only practising an enchantment." With such an enormous army, Akoto marched again to Bame, where Kwadsho Dēi met him. After a terrible contest the latter was driven back to Peki. The king did not choose to attack the town, but encamped at Afalime, having Peki on the east, himself between that and Akwamu, facing the enemy. He gained another victory at Afalime, captured Peki and encamped there. Dēi retreated to Tshōhō (Sōhai) with the view of fleeing to Pekipong. But chief Sōhai Koto kept him back, saying: "You have irritated the big black ants, and do you mean to flee now to Pekipong? I shall never allow you to go. Let us, Krepes, join together and fight at the peril of life for our freedom." The chiefs then collected their children, and charged Okumko, an Akra trader residing there, to bring them to king Taki and his chiefs in order to back them, by encouraging traders to bring more arms and ammunition to Krepe. Okumko got a present of a slave

for going as an ambassador to Akra. A large supply of arms and ammunition were carried to Krepe for sale.

All the Krepe tribes were summoned to unite in defence of their fatherland. At Sôhai, Kwadsho Dêi got their consent to support him. Anum and Boso threw off their allegiance to Akoto. While such preparations were being made, the Akwamus spent their time in merriment in all the towns of Peki. Every preparation necessary having been made, the whole Krepe army was divided into three main bodies: the center under Kwadsho Dêi, the left wing under Nyākô and Kuni of Boso and Anum, Ahodome and the other Krepes formed the right wing. Thus they marched to Agatei and thence towards Peki. The advance-guard met a party of the Akwamus with a fetish priest practising an enchantment by the rivulet Amêmère on the main road to Kpaleme. They fired at them, the priest was killed and his head brought to Dêi; the rest fled, and reported it to the king who encamped at Abâse. The Akwamus fell in, and met the Krepes at Blengo, and the battle began. After two days' fighting the Akwamus fell back to Dshogbati. Here none was willing to give in. It became very critical indeed. Both sides had sustained heavy losses, but the Angulas had suffered most, because they had not taken the necessary precautions. It was a drawn battle, and the armies separated.

Those four influential captains of Dêi fell with all their men. His son Nutshô and a great many of his chiefs also were among the slain. After three days, hunters were sent out as scouts. They found to their surprise that the Akwamus had retired, leaving behind several guns and a vast amount of baggage. All were plundered by the Krepes. King Akoto fled to Anansê, and there parted with the Angulas with grief and shame. He took his quarters at Anyensu, feeling ashamed to go back to Akwamu. Kwadsho Dêi after the battle stayed for some time at Tshadome, before he returned to Peki. For a remuneration to the Angulas, who had suffered so much loss, Akoto ordered them to plunder Asutware on their way home. (All that time the Asutwares were living on the other side of the Volta.) The Danish governor of Christiansborg, being informed of this, immediately dispatched soldiers, and removed them to the western bank of the river. The Angulas, on arriving, found that all the inhabitants of Asutware had crossed the river Volta, and that the Krôbôs, Shais and Osudukus had been ordered by the governor to encamp thereabout, so that the Angulas

dared not cross the river. Seeing an army encamped, they abstained from crossing, and shamefully returned to their country. The Asutwāres have ever since remained on the western side. At that time already the Mlanfis joined the Angulas against Krepe. By this war the Krepes declared their independence, and Kwadsho Dei became their king. Providence did not allow Kwatei Kodsho to plunder the poor Krepes, nor Akoto to rule them any longer!

CHAPTER XXVII.

The causes that led to the irritated expedition by governor Mörck against the Krōbōs.—Ado Dankwa throwing off his allegiance to the Danish government, and his death. 1835—1838.

The kings of Akuapem, who for several years tried in vain by inroads and kidnapping to subdue the Akras, were more successful with the Krōbōs and Shais, who are their neighbours and depend on them for lands to cultivate. They established their influence fully on those mild tribes by the well known astute policy, and by protection offered during their troubles with the Asantes. Being harmless farmers, whose object from time immemorial was the cultivation of the soil and not war, they for that very reason lost the sympathy of their brother tribe, the Akras. Hence they became tributary to the Akuapem kings, whose influence and law ruled in the country, so that they were not only liable to heavy fines and extortions, but also kidnapping and murder, when a single Krōbō was found in the bush. The Krōbōs themselves were first rate kidnappers, and murdered travellers not only to get their goods but their skulls for the annual festival of the national fetishes Kotokro and Nādu.

For that reason, the Krōbōs who were trying to extend their plantations far into the bush, constructed sheds with two openings, one in front and one behind. They formed but small villages — a man and his family in the dense primeval forest, not large ones as the Akras. Sometimes, when there was but a single man in the hamlet, he would, while taking his meal, drop morsels of food on the ground at different places round a single dish, as if many persons had been eating. An Akuapem hunter happening to pass and seeing the several marks on the ground was sure to think there were several persons in the village. The Krōbō, when spoken to, of course, did not understand, but pointed to the marks on the

ground as if to say, his friends had just dined and were close by, he could call them back if desired. Stepping into the shed as if to go for his friends, the Krɔ̀bɔ̀ effected his escape through the aperture behind and disappeared.

King Ado Dankwa, who had promised general Amankwa to be punctual in paying the annual tribute to the king of Asante, once found it impossible to make up the full amount in money or in men. Hence he was forced to pawn his nephew Adum to the Asante taxmaster Owusu Afriyie with the promise to redeem him as soon as possible. Adum was brought to Kumase, and there he became so independent and highminded as to fall in love with one of the king's nieces; she became pregnant and brought trouble upon him. Ado Dankwa was obliged to redeem his nephew as hastily as possible, because he had by that misconduct incurred the displeasure of the king. Unable to extricate himself, Ado resolved to kidnap the poor innocent Krɔ̀bɔ̀s to pay the tribute. To carry out that mean object, he sent to Krɔ̀bɔ̀ to open a new market for pots, pretending that the Akuapems were then in great need of that earthen ware. He sent about 14 heads of cowries as a bait to the market of Kwayefo; the Krɔ̀bɔ̀ women brought down plenty of pottery from the town to the market. The Akuapems, who were concealed in the bush, captured 77 of the women (some say 170). Ado now paid the king of Asante with 70 of these and sold the rest for his own use.

This cruel and treacherous deed so enraged the Krɔ̀bɔ̀s that they threw off their allegiance to king Ado. The resident Akuapems in Krɔ̀bɔ̀ were ill-treated, the king's oath and tribute abrogated. A very short time after that, a Krɔ̀bɔ̀ hunter by name Madshite Petshi happened to kill some antelopes in the forest. In pursuing other animals, some Akuapem hunters came to the spot in his absence and took all the animals he had killed. Petshi, on another occasion, found some antelopes which had been killed by some Akuapem hunters; he not only took the flesh, but shot and killed one of them and cut off his head. This aggravated the matter. Ado Dankwa would have marched against the Krɔ̀bɔ̀s when that outrage was committed; but there was no peace between him and his subjects in consequence of heavy fines inflicted on them.

Governor Frederick Sigfred Mörck assumed the command of the Danish settlements, and the chaplain Rev. Tørsleff having arrived, the Rev. A. Riis of the Basel Mission, who was acting then as

chaplain in the Castle, resigned that post for direct missionary work. His heart having always drawn him towards the interior, especially to Akropong, he went there now, accompanied by Mr. Grönberg, Rev. Törsleff, Mr. Lutterodt and Mr. Shannon, who introduced him to king Ado Dankwa. After having obtained a piece of land from the king, and a site selected for a mission-station, the two gentlemen returned to Christiansborg. The king having ordered his chiefs to build a house for the missionary and a few boys given for a school, the governor was informed of it. His excellency thereupon went in company of Messrs. Törsleff and Grönberg on a visit to Mr. Riis and also to show himself to the king as the new governor of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast. On his arrival at Akropong, all the chiefs and captains of Akuapem came there to pay their respects and to fire a salute. They did so, the chief of Shai also came and fired, but the Kröbös, although they had been informed of the governor's arrival, hesitated to come up to Akropong. Ado may have told the governor, what sort of subjects the Kröbös were under him. They had in the meanwhile sent information to express their regret at not being able to come up, but that his excellency might come down to them, and they would do all honour to him. The governor, not knowing the state of things between the king and his subjects the Kröbös, was greatly annoyed at such an insult, and determined to go down to see what sort of people the Kröbös were, and to punish them for that insult. But he may have been advised by the king not to go alone, but that he would accompany him; hence the expedition.

The governor then sent a dispatch by an express bearer to Mr. Bröck, the secretary, authorizing him to send up 25 soldiers, arms and ammunition, rum, provisions etc., to distribute arms and ammunition among all the Danish subjects from Christiansborg to Ningo etc., to ask Mr. Richter for people to bring the field-pieces, and to ask Mr. Lutterodt, Mr. Svanikier and the other merchants for people to carry arms and ammunition up to Akropong; the government labourers should be armed to come up, and their wives should carry provisions. Mr. Bröck promptly executed the orders of the governor and dispatched 24 soldiers under the command of sergeant Henrick Mahn. On the arrival at Akropong, arms and ammunition were given to the king for his chiefs and warriors. King Nötei Ababio and chief Nötei Nyantshi of Christiansborg with their forces marched to Akropong, and joined Ado Dankwa

with his forces. They marched down with the governor to Kröbo and encamped at the foot of the Kröbo mountain. Chief Anyetei Kokoranyã of Labade, and Ofori Shadsho, the chief of Teshi, arrived in camp with their troops, and reinforcements arrived daily from the coast towns as well as from Shai, Osudoku, Asu-tshare etc.

The governor sent sergeant Christian Yelstrup and private Reinhold, the kings and chiefs appointed their linguists to go in company of the sergeant up to the mountain and call down the Kröbo chiefs to give an explanation of their late message. There were then two chiefs — Muala Okumsorö (Tshakite Laila) for the eastern, and Adawura (Kwaw Dake) for the western Kröbo, with the following principal men: Madshite, Tete Besi, Lawei, Kweesi Apekö, Adowe Tete, Tete Anno, Odonko Azu, Nã Odu, Tei Mapoyu, Abusu, Ologo Patu, Tei Boloku etc. On the return of the sergeant and company they brought down Odonko Azu and Ologo Patu with a flag of truce, 12 pieces of firewood, they were negotiating for peace. The governor accepted their offer for peace on condition that all the chiefs should come down to camp and settle the case there. But they were afraid to come down, and made vain promises to the governor every day. To force the chiefs to come down, the governor may have suggested stopping their fetching of water from Okwei, but not fighting them. But when they came for water, they were attacked by the Akuapems. The Kröbos fell back as far as Susi; but the Kröbo division facing the force of Ningö did not choose to fight them, but the Akuapems alone. Hence that division attacked the latter in the rear and forced the Akuapems to retreat with heavy loss. With the exception of the Shais none were engaged by the Kröbos. Ado, being pressed by his warriors for a supply of powder and shot, applied for the same to the governor. But he peremptorily declined, saying: "Who ordered you to fight? You have acted contrary to my orders!" In that plight Ado gave three of his sons to the Akuapems to sell them for ammunition; but they refused to do so. They said to the king, "You fine us heavily, but cannot supply us with ammunition in time of war!" Ado Dankwa, stung by the threefold disgrace of defeat by the Kröbos, discontent of his people, and displeasure of the governor, ordered the removal of his camp and marched back to Akuapem with all the warriors, having left the governor and the Akra army on the field.

The chiefs of Krøbø hesitated still to come down after the fighting with the Akuapems, and wearied out the patience of the governor, who ordered at last some rockets and one or two bombs to be sent into the town, which so frightened them that they came down precipitately. The case was adjusted; they were found guilty of disobedience, and fined for the sum of 1500 heads of cowries. The whole fine not being paid forthwith, the chiefs were brought to Christiansborg. Mr. Richter, becoming security, paid the amount, and they were set free.

The principal chiefs of Akuapem, Kwafum, Apagya Kofi, and Asiedu, said to the king while on their way back to Akuapem, that the Danish government was deceitful, weak, and unreliable. They preferred throwing off their allegiance and declaring in favour of the English. The king, of course, agreed to this, and when the governor on his way back from Krøbø passed through Akuapem, he was hooted in every town. Rev. Mr. Riis, who accompanied his excellency on the expedition, remained at Akropong, while the governor, and his staff, among whom was Mr. Grönberg, came to Christiansborg. Ado Dankwa and his chiefs were ordered to appear before his excellency in the castle of Christiansborg to show cause why they left him on the field of battle. The king and chiefs had not attended as yet the summons of the governor, when a serious case happened in the king's family.

It was the general custom that whenever a person died suddenly and there was any suspicion of his having been killed by poison or other foul means, the body was carried by two men in a basket, which was believed to knock at the criminal. The one so knocked had to shoot himself or was beheaded by the king; his remains were thrown away and not buried. The relatives of the condemned criminal could not stand that disgrace and had to pay large sums before they were allowed to bury the body.

Kwasi Adae got ill, poisoned as it was believed, by Aniampan, and was carried to Latę to be treated by a doctor. He died at Latę, after having told the people to carry his body home again, as he would knock at the one who had poisoned him. They did so, and the body knocked at Aniampan, who according to the custom, must either shoot himself or be beheaded. The king, not to lose two persons at once from the family, proposed to pay any amount to the brothers of the deceased, but they refused to accept anything saying, that justice must be done. The Akuapems were

enraged at that injustice of the king, and demanded that Aniam-pam should be delivered up to be punished. At last the governor was informed what was going on at Akropong, and forthwith sent two soldiers to bring down Aniam-pam and the brothers of the deceased to Christiansborg to settle the case himself. The Akuapems had meanwhile determined to dispute the passage the soldiers would make to effect the escape of the criminal. They therefore laid an ambush in the forest between Mamfè and Amangkrom; Nfogyo, Kwaku and Awuku, brothers of the deceased, were among them. On reaching the spot, the prisoner was apprehended, killed and cut into pieces, which pieces all the towns of Akuapem with the exception of Akropong shared. The soldiers reported this outrage to the governor, who immediately sent a detachment of soldiers under sergeant Christian Briandt and brought down all the chiefs — Kwafum, Apagya Kofi of Adukrom, and Asiedu of Late etc. to Christiansborg. The case was adjusted and the chiefs were fined for the sum of 1500 heads of cowries, £ 75 sterling now, which they paid chiefly with firewood to prepare lime for the repairing of the castle.

As already agreed upon, Kwafum, the old fox, reminded the king to throw off the allegiance to the Danish government. Thereupon the king and chiefs and their retainers started for the coast as to attend the governor's call, and on reaching Berekuso, they made their way towards Akra. The old fox had meanwhile reported to the governor what were the intentions of the chiefs — they were only leading on the king to Akra to desert him! His excellency, however, sent Mr. Grönberg and Mr. Lutterodt to intercept their escape to the English jurisdiction. They were met at Kwabenyan by the two gentlemen, who used every remonstrance to bring them to Christiansborg, but failed. They arrived at Akra, fired a salute to the commandant, Mr. Hanson, and declared in favour of the English.

Old Kwafum was brought to Christiansborg during the night of their arrival, had an interview with his excellency, arranged everything with him, and went back to Akra.

A grand meeting was convened the next day before James' Fort between the English officials and their allies, and the governor and the Danish allies. They agreed to lay the matter before the home authorities and be directed by their advice. Kwafum had meanwhile introduced Adum to his excellency, and Adum was assured

to be made king of Akuapem. The king and chiefs of James Town and Dutch Town had made several promises to Ado that they would support his case to the last, and had obtained large presents from him.

The home authorities decided, that the Akuapems must remain with their former masters. Governor Mörek then publicly proclaimed Adum king of Akuapem, but Ado an outlaw, and had a salute fired upon it. Chief Atiemo of Akropong also deserted Ado and came to Christiansborg. A new silver stool was made for Adum, and the Akuapems were sent home, having been authorized to fight Ado, should he dare to come up to the mountains.

The chiefs of Akra, who had assured poor Ado, could not do much for him. They sent a detachment under chief Ayi Kōkōsaki, the English also sent a few dozen militia under the adjutant Sam. Bannerman to escort the king as far as Kwabenyan, where they left him and his few loyalists who were people of Aburi Atwēasin, Odawu, part of Abiriw, and his relatives at Kwabenyan.

The chiefs of Akuapem, Kwafum, Kofi Kra, who had succeeded Atiemo, Apagya Kofi and Asiedu, sent expressly to inform Ado that he might freely return to Akropong. To test their veracity he might send up one of his blood to take fetish oath together that no harm would befall him. Owusu Akem was thereupon appointed by his uncle to go up with the loyalists and take the oath of Kyenku with the chiefs at Obosomase. He accordingly marched to the place, and the fetish Kyenku was administered to both himself and the chiefs, and peace was made. On their return to Aburi, a few armed men of Owusu apprehending an attack, concealed themselves in the bush between Obosomase and Afwērese. Seeing two women with loads — which they were carrying back to Aburi from Tutu, where they had harboured them in consequence of the disturbed state of Aburi — and accompanied by a young man with a gun, the men in the ambushade supposed the enemy was coming to attack them, fired at the young man and wounded him. They rushed out to cut his head off, but the young man fired and killed two of them. The women escaped back to Obosomase. Adum and Kwafum, who were on their way back to Tutu, on being told what had happened, marched after Owusu and his force. But Owusu had no intention to fight after peace had been made. He did not stop to give them battle, but came to Damfa with about 300 warriors, where a few soldiers with an Eng-

lish officer were sent to assist him against the Akuapems. But none came to Damfa, nor could they march up to attack them. Hence Owusu retired to Kwabenyan. Shortly after this, one Ashong Patabubu (Agbo) at the head of a number of men from Nsaki and Berekuso, among whom were Kwāme Akrompi and Tshoku, laid an ambush by the main road at Ayai-Ngumangmasha on the Opoku hill. They caught three Akropong women, among whom was Akua Badua, wife of Owusu Akem, and brought them to Berekuso. Some believe that they were sent by order of chief Kwāfum. The lion-hearted Owusu, on hearing at Kwabenyan what had been done, marched directly to the place, just when Ashong and his company were delivering the message of that mean act. He attacked the town, killed seven persons, viz. Kwāme Botwe, brother of Ashong Patabubu, Akotoa, Kwadsho Mensā, Mānu Kwaw, Koemi and Gyang with her child behind her, and rescued his wife and people. All Akuapem fled to arms and encamped at Berekuso to fight Owusu at the place; but they were prohibited from doing so by the governor of Christiansborg — the place being in the jurisdiction of the Dutch government. All these things so afflicted the old king that he put an end to his life by poison. It was the hand of God for betraying the late king Safrotwe!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Return of Owusu Akem back to Akuapem.—Disturbances there about the royal stool.—Adum's incarceration and appeal for redress on the coast. Death of Owusu Akem.—Disturbances on the coast in consequence of Owusu's death.—King Adum and chief Sabā's deportation to Denmark. — Danish possessions on the Gold Coast ceded to the English government. 1839—1850.

In consequence of the late disturbances, the farmers at Kwabenyan were displeased and told Owusu that they had settled there to work, not to wage war, they had better move on! Kpokpoase and the neighbouring villages became their abode, and many a one was reduced to bitter want. Those who could no longer endure it, went home one by one, while numbers were dying daily from grief and misery.

At last Owusu determined to go home with the rest of the people. He marched up to Abiriw unmolested. As the only nephew,

who protected and supported the late king, he had in his possession the stool of the kingdom. Adum, knowing that the silver stool presented to him by the Danish government had no value whatever according to the notion and custom of the country, claimed the original from Owusu, which of course he refused, alleging, that Adum had forfeited it by deserting the late king in his troubles. The governor, in order to restore peace in the country, went up to Akropong with a few dozen soldiers, held a meeting with all the chiefs and principal men of Akuapem, and forced Owusu to give up the stool to Adum, and a salute was fired upon this. It was expected that the king should stay in the capital, but he, being disliked by the people of Akropong, took his abode at Tutu, and as it were, neglected his duty as king towards his people. Nor did he support the missionaries by sending boys to school, as the late king and Owusu had done. The governor hearing of that, sent Mr. Jørgen Sonne, a coloured man, with a few soldiers to force Adum to stay in Akropong. He met the king at Aburi, brought him over to Akropong, and gave the government instruction, that, should he leave the place again, he must know he had forfeited the stool.

While the king was residing in the capital, one Amoakō — his own retainer, who wore the royal feathered cap — had illegal intercourse with Atoa, the king's own wife. Amoakō was arrested by the king and put in irons to be punished with death. Upon which, Owusu (for what reason was not known) had the king himself arrested and put in irons. The West Indians, hearing that, came over, took him to the mission station and kept him at Mr. Hall's house. This sad news reached Adum's relatives in Tutu. They dispatched Nkroma, the king's brother-in-law, of Christiansborg the same night to Akropong and brought him to Tutu. Adum hastened down to Christiansborg and reported the conduct of Owusu to his excellency governor Carstensen and the king and chiefs of the same. In conjunction with the chiefs the governor dispatched messengers up to Akropong, inviting Owusu to come down to explain that conduct of his. The chiefs of Akuapem seemed displeased with the act and did not accompany Owusu; so he came with his own people. The governor, instead of taking such a serious matter on hand by holding a grand court, either in the castle or before the fort, to investigate the matter, allowed the king, chiefs and the mob of Christiansborg, who were enraged at that

conduct of Owusu's, to settle the case. The native court was, on December 2nd 1844, held at the corner of the castle, and both plaintiff and defendant with their people were present. Owusu was indignant at this proceeding, as he had not been called down to the coast by the people alone, but by the governor. When threatened with being put in irons, as he had done to the king, he ordered one Asā Yaw to tell his people, who were prepared, as it seems, to open fire on the assembly. They did so at once. Amo, a relative of Mr. Bannerman, and one Odonko Mensā were killed and several men and women wounded. The party who fired took him up on their shoulders and hastily quitted the town. The infuriated people flew to arms and pursued them, which resulted in the loss of many lives. Owusu himself and his two brothers were among the slain.

Two sons of Owusu were by the chiefs given in charge to Sabā Akem, an influential headman of Christiansborg; but without their knowledge he cruelly killed them in the town, while all others delivered the Akuapems caught to the governor, by whom they were kindly treated and sent home. When he heard of that wicked murder, he ordered Sabā and the chiefs to appear in the castle; but all escaped to the bush. By investigation the governor found out that it was Sabā alone who had killed the boys. Adum was apprehended and imprisoned. His excellency seemed to have overlooked the matter for a time, as Sabā was not to be found in town. At last he returned to town, which being known, Lieutenant Svedstrup with half a dozen soldiers was ordered to apprehend him. At dead of night, there was a knock at his door, and upon opening the same, he was caught, taken to the castle, and imprisoned. His people armed to attack the governor, when landing from a French man-of-war then in the roads. His excellency had the commander and some officers of the ship in his company. A gross insult to a governor in company with foreign officers! Mr. Richter and Mr. Lutterodt had to run from their houses to the beach and drive the mob away, before the party could land. The officers and some of the marines also landed. They marched with the soldiers in the fort to the town and burnt down the house of Sabā and some other houses in his quarters, after having bombarded the house.

Governor Carstensen reported what had taken place to the authorities in Denmark, and Commodore Kling of H. M. S. Oernen

was dispatched to the Gold Coast to investigate the matter. A grand court was held, and both Adum and Sabā were judged, found guilty, and shipped to Denmark in July 1846. As an interpreter for the prisoners Mr. Jōrgen Sonne was appointed to accompany them to Denmark. Asā, the younger brother of Adum, would have been appointed to succeed his brother, but on account of the late disturbances, Kwadade was unanimously chosen to succeed Adum. Koti Kra, the chief of Akropong, who had all the state property in his possession during the disturbance, took upon himself to restore to Kwaku Dua, the king of Asante, a trophy of a large valuable state-umbrella captured in 1826. This being known, Kofi Kra was arrested by the king and chiefs of Akuapem and was sent to the governor at Christiansborg. He was imprisoned, and there committed suicide by hanging himself. A few months afterwards his excellency repaired to Denmark, and at home he may have had the opportunity of presenting the state of affairs on the Gold Coast to the authorities.—

A few months before his excellency governor Carstensen left the coast on leave of absence, a very grave riot took place at Akra between the people of James Town and Dutch Town on the 6th of September 1846.

Two men, one named Akoi of Otu Street, Dutch Town, and the other Mensā — who in consequence of the riot was nick-named Obōmang i.e. the ruiner of a town, and also Qdebaē i.e. originator of the riot — also of Gbese quarter (who was at that time residing in James Town at Amanfū quarter with a certain branch of his mother's family), were the originators of that riot.

Akoi had a cousin of Mensā's for wife, and it being the Hōmōwō-Sunday on which the people generally mourn their family bereavements during the past 12 months, Mensā happened to meet Akoi in his mother's family house at Akotiakogware, quarrelling with the household people on account of his wife. Very prudently on the part of Mensā, as people are far from being sober on that Sunday, he pacified Akoi, and gave him a bottle of rum just to satisfy him. The offer was accepted and Akoi having drunk the rum with the people then present, he left the house.

After Mensā had completed the Hōmōwō compliments to his mother and family, and had had a little chat with them, he also left in return to James Town en route the main street. On reaching the corner of the stone-building occupied by the Evans family,

he found Akoi leaning on the wall waylaying him. Mensā, of course, did not apprehend the evil intentions of Akoi, accosted him, and was passing, when Akoi seized him by the cloth and said, "Now, my friend, I have been waiting for you here a long while, and you were long indeed in turning up, we are met, let us finish the bargain as man and man ought to do!" Mensā replied that he did not know what he meant, upon which Akoi pushed him and a struggle ensued. Then and there appeared one Adote Osiaboḡ of Otu street at the head of a dancing band known as chief Ankra's Kete. Adote ordered his followers to beat Mensā to death. The onset was furious on the unfortunate Mensā. Other people passing the street from James Town ran up to Amanfū quarter and informed Mensā's friends of what was going on. They rushed to the scene and drove Adote and his party away. Nobody in Dutch Town was aware of the conflict, and as it was Hōmḡwḡ-Sunday, several men had got drunk. And when Adote and his party were running away, the Amanfū people pursued them armed with all kind of weapons, and alarmed many people of Asere quarter, breaking into houses and rooms, and murdered several people in cold blood.

The Asere people turned up at once, mustered more people than the pursuers, but they were soon scattered by the well-armed body of James Town. The people of the other two quarters — Abora and Gbese — would have armed, but considering that Mensā, on whose account the Amanfū people were fighting, belonged to them, they did not interfere. Hence the people of Otu street and those of Asere quarter alone were invaded by the James Town people, and several men were killed on both sides. Men and women were shut up in their houses till dusk, at which time the people of James Town set fire to a house in Otu street, which burnt the greater part of Dutch Town. This roused the indignation of the other two quarters. Captain Mensā Maclean (who was made captain instead of Kodsho Ababio when he was elected king of James Town) put himself at the head of his company in Gbese, marched to the field, and shut up the James Town people from running into or out of the town for water, provisions and firewood.

The influential people of James Town, who boldly appeared on the scene, were the late old Bruce and the late Mr. Charles Bannerman. Both had blood connection in Asere quarter. The mother of the former and the grandmother of the latter (that is the mother

of old Bannerman) were noble ladies with large connection in that quarter. The old Bannerman was absent in Europe, and had left his large trading business in charge of his son Charles, who knowing his father's connection in Asere, and having ample means at his disposal to bring about peace, offered large indemnity to the people of Dutch Town for the loss they had sustained. But they, determined only to fight, declined this offer. There was moreover no commandant either in Dutch Fort nor in James Fort, which state of things obliged governor Edward P. A. Carstensen of Christiansborg to interfere by stationing some dozen soldiers from the garrison of Christiansborg at Akra to prevent the outbreak of civil war.

Upon the following considerations, king Taki I. and his great chiefs resolved to have the matter amicably settled, viz. that king Kodsho Ababio of James Town belonged to Gbese and was the former captain over the company which had seized upon James Town — that all the influential people of James Town were their brethren and relatives — and that Mr. Charles Bannerman also was offering large indemnity for their losses, besides the Danish governor's interfering for peace. They consequently raised the siege of James Town.

A grand court was held by King Taki, his great chiefs, the Akuashong and Anōbua (the influential men of a town) with kings and chiefs from several Gā towns. The case was investigated and Akoi was found guilty. Akoi was drowned in the sea. This was the ancient capital punishment of the Akras. Beheading criminals is what they imitated from the T̄wi people. Mr. Charles Bannerman's offer was accepted, and Adote Osiabog, escaping with his life, had to pay a large portion of the expenses incurred in the investigation in the shape of a fine. —

At governor Carstensen's departure for Europe governor Schmid assumed the administration.

In December 1847 another disturbance took place at Shai. One Ot̄wet̄werebo had been killed by order of Odoi Ansā on a suspicion of having poisoned some one. Ansā was arrested by the soldiers sent by the governor, but was taken by force from the soldiers on their way to Christiansborg. For this offence an expedition was immediately organized by the governor to Shai. The soldiers under Lieutenant Larsen burnt down the town Mlā, arrested the chiefs of Shai and brought them to Christiansborg where they were punished.

Such repeated revolts, insults, and disobedience in the settlements of the Danish government may have induced the authorities in Denmark to give up their costly yet beloved settlements on the Gold Coast after nearly two centuries' occupation.

We must speak briefly of the benefits conferred on this colony by the Danish government.

Since the fort in Osu was built in 1659, and especially since the African Trading Company in Copenhagen surrendered their charter to the crown of Denmark during the reign of Frederick III. of Denmark and Norway, great attention was paid to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the natives. Several good governors and officials were sent out, and most had died; several pious pastors and European colonists were sent out, who did their best for the improvement of the people. Monthly stipends were paid to the kings, chiefs, and linguists in every town, besides Christmas presents, Sunday's liquor, etc., to all of them. No revenue whatever was collected, but every second year a ship sent out with goods, chiefly Danish iron-bars, rum, cloth, guns, cowries and cash, etc., for government expenditure. In return the ships were only ballasted with sand!! Their headquarter Christiansborg was so improved and enriched that it became the first town of great importance on the whole Gold Coast. Artificers of every description necessary during that age for Africa were only sought after and employed from Christiansborg. In short, whatsoever things were necessary for the comfort, improvement and elevation of a people were bestowed by the Danish government.

But after such a sacrifice of so many precious lives and money, apparently with little result, the king of Denmark was obliged to make overtures to the English government for the purchase of the settlements on the Gold Coast. The sum of £10,000 was paid by the English government, and in 1850 the Danish possessions, chiefly the forts, Christiansborg Castle in Osu, Augustenborg in Teshi, Fredensborg in Ningo, Kongensteen in Adã and Prindsenstein in Keta, were ceded to the English government.

Governor Carstensen, having arrived from Denmark by an English vessel, put up at Mr. Bannerman's house that evening, and forwarded the dispatch to governor Schmid in the castle of Christiansborg. The following day his excellency came in person to the castle and held council with the officials, Mr. Schmid, Mr. Schöning, and Mr. Larsen. The chiefs of Christiansborg, Labade, and

Teshi were summoned to the castle, and were told that his majesty the king of Denmark had ceded his possessions on the Gold Coast to the English government, and that the chiefs and their subjects would now come under the protection of the English, who would also take their interests at heart as the Danes had done. They asked a few days' permission to lay the matter before their people and to return an answer after that. They returned after three days to say, they as well as their people would accept the English. A grand meeting of all the merchants and principal men was held, when governor Winniett, Mr. Bannerman, commandant Schomerus of Creve Cœur, Dr. Dolce, Revs. Freeman and Wharton, captain Simms, Charles, James, and Edmund Bannerman, and several gentlemen were present, and settled the transfer. The chiefs asked, "Who would be the governor?" "Mr. Bannerman will be commandant", was the reply of governor Winniett. They were greatly pleased with the appointment, as they knew Mr. Bannerman was a generous and kind-hearted gentleman, and after a present of one puncheon of rum by governor Winniett the meeting broke up.

On the 6th March 1850, the 1st West India regiment under Lieutenant Stocks marched to the castle, the Danish flag was lowered and the Union Jack was hoisted up. After that the Danish soldiers under Lieutenant Larsen marched out from the castle amid showers of tears. The educated community and all the right-minded and grateful parties were in tears, while the rest were rejoicing! They had been told, English vessels will henceforth lay anchor in the roads at Christiansborg, and they will trade in paltry articles, provision etc. with the vessels. Governor Schmid took his quarters at Miss Nicolina Bröch's, Mr. Schönning at the Redoubt, and Mr. Larsen at Mr. Bürgesen's. The government furniture and old guns of the soldiers and some other things were sold at public auction. Governors Carstensen and Schmid, and Mr. Larsen repaired to Europe, but Mr. Schönning died a few days after from grief.

Some of the people composed this poem at that time:—

Bròfò eba ē, Bròfò eba ē, Ñlèšì Bròfò eba, wòṅsumò,
 Bròfò ete ē, Bròfò ete ē, Daù Bròfò ete, wòṅsumò,
 Wòṅsumò gbá, wòṅsumò gbà, wòṅsumò.

"White men have come, English white men have come, we like it,
 White men have gone, Danish white men have gone, we like it,
 Surely we like, surely we like it."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Administration of justice according to English law.—Its effect upon the people.—Imposition of a poll-tax.—Mode which the government should have adopted in collecting it.—Conspiracy among the people to refuse paying the tax.—Governor Hill's patience with the folly of the people.— Bombardment of Christiansborg, Labade, and Teshi by H. M. S. "Scourge", commodore John Adams.—Peace made and the rebuilding of Christiansborg. 1851—1856.

No native gentleman could better have occupied the most responsible post as a commandant for a people, who nearly two hundred years had been under the jurisdiction of a foreign nation, than the late James Bannerman, Esq., of Akra. He was known by all the natives on the Gold Coast as one of the three principal merchants, and highly distinguished by generosity and peaceful disposition, so that Sir Winniett found it very easy to introduce him to the people as the English commandant for the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast. We may attribute the easy transfer of the people to the English solely to Mr. Bannerman's policy in having prepared their minds before the arrival of Sir Winniett. Nevertheless, the administration of justice according to the laws of England involved some serious difficulties. The first thing which offended the people was the law against cruel treatment of wives. In all cases of cruel treatment the wives had now the option of leaving their husbands, whilst under the Danish government liberty was given to the native laws and customs in such matters. The second offence in the notion of the people was about ill-treatment of pawus and domestic slaves, when sometimes those people were made free. Another offence was, that no stipends were allowed by the English. These and other things had already begun to act upon the minds of the general public; yet there was no sign of public discontent.

A few weeks after the assumption of the English government, a very grave case, unheard of on the Gold Coast, took place at Ningo in April 1850. Shang, a respectable headman of the place, was accused of having poisoned a person by enchantment. The chief and elders of the place, without reporting the case to the authorities, actually roasted the man alive. Besides this, there were several charges against the chief and people for breach of the peace. The chief and the elders were brought to Christiansborg; the case was investigated, and the elders were sentenced to imprisonment

with hard labour at Cape Coast castle. There several men among them succumbed through hardship and died.

In October a similar crime committed at Adā was reported to the government. Otumfoɔ and several other chiefs were summoned to appear, but they refused to obey and assaulted the bailiffs. On the 20th October Governor Winniett distributed ammunition of war to the West India regiment consisting of 100 men; captain Ade and some chiefs with their forces got their share, and an expedition was marched by the governor himself to Adā. The rebels asked for peace, were fined, and the offenders were deported to Cape Coast Castle and imprisoned.

It was thought, when the English became possessed of the Danish settlements, that it would facilitate the introduction of custom duties, which would more than defray the expenses of government; but the Dutch government, whose settlements were dovetailed between the different English stations, having declined to impose similar duties, it was found necessary to abandon the project. Governor Winniett died on 4th December 1850, without seeing the completion of this his favourite scheme. The company of 1st West India regiment was sent back to Sierra-Leone, Governor Major Hill assumed the administration and the Gold Coast corps was instituted. His excellency, acting upon the recommendation of Lord Grey, who took a most warm interest in the advancement of the natives and made himself thoroughly acquainted with our condition, thought he could raise a revenue in the country, capable of defraying the expenses of the administration. The Fantes, the old allies of the English, may have then become alive to the necessity of contributing to the support of the government (it was even said afterwards that a single lady in Cape Coast alone suggested the idea), but our people here at Akra had not the remotest idea of supporting yet.

King Kodsho Ababio of James Town, king Nɔtɛi Ababio of Christiansborg, king Kwadade of Akuapem, king Ata Panyin of Akem Abuakwa, king Agyemang of Akem Kotoku, king Kwadsho Dɛi of Krepe, and the chiefs from Labade to Adā and Krɔbɔ were all summoned to Christiansborg and had a grand meeting with governor Hill and commandant Bannerman. The necessity of contributing towards the administration of the government was suggested to them. They begged leave to retire for a few minutes to deliberate, which his excellency might have allowed; but captain

Ade, an influential relative of Mr. Bannerman, stood and said, "I agree to contribute to the support of the English administration." The kings and chiefs then were forced to second the captain and the poll-tax of 15 strings of cowries, now three pence, but then six pence per head, was fixed. The customary presents of rum etc. were given, and the meeting adjourned; the kings and chiefs returned to their respective countries.

The government might in this case have taken a census of the whole population, and then fixed the yearly sum to be paid on the king or chief of a district or town respectively, holding him responsible, and appointing agents to receive the tax collected by the chief for the government. That would have certainly saved the trouble and all inconveniences connected with the business. Not doing so, the government simply constituted the following districts, without knowing the exact number of the people: the Akra district, Adangme district, Akuapem and Akem districts, and employed respectful native agents to collect the poll-tax. The first collection in 1851 was quietly and cheerfully given, yet some complained they had pawned their sons and daughters in paying it.

In 1850 Mr. J. Bannerman was appointed governor of Cape Coast. During his administration the far-famed fetish Nananum of whole Fante was found to be nothing but a set of impostors having concealed themselves in the grove, who were over two centuries held as gods who used to descend from heaven into the grove to reveal hidden things. Mr. Sam. Bannerman, the commandant at Winneba, assumed the command in the absence of his father. The old gentleman, we may so say, exercised a sort of moderation in administering justice, knowing how leniently the Danish government was in exercising the administration on those natives in times past; but the new commandant went to the very letter of the English law.

A case happened in Krɔbɔ between Zota Kakpo and Akokopa on one part, and chief Ologo Patu on the other part. Complaint was laid in the castle by the two former against Ologo. He refused to obey the summons and insulted the bailiffs and constables. An expedition under Mr. Bannerman was sent against the recusant chief. The Krɔbɔ chiefs had to meet the commandant at Asabi and to bring Ologo Patu with them. The case was investigated, and Ologo was arrested and sent handcuffed to the coast. Having paid a fine of 3000 heads of cowries he was released.

On the arrival of Major Hill in October 1851, Mr. Bannerman returned to Christiansborg as commandant, at which time the second collection of the poll-tax was to take place.

In the first week of January 1854, the acting governor Cruickshank arrived from Cape Coast, and after the customary salute had been fired by the young men of the different bands of Christiansborg, the grandees of the town paid their respects to his excellency on the next day. They were told by the governor that it was time to begin with the poll-tax again. They asked for a few days to consult about it and his excellency repaired to Cape Coast to be informed by Mr. Bannerman when the raising of the tax was to begin.

As the grandees had promised the governor, Mr. Bannerman, after a few days, sent for them to come to the castle to know what reply they had to give. They, knowing what they were about, hesitated in going to the castle, but assembled outside, requesting Mr. Bannerman rather to come to them. They were told at once to appear personally before Mr. Bannerman and to show cause why they should not come inside. They left the summons on the spot and retired to town. It was impossible for the commandant to overlook such an insult. He went out with the few soldiers to arrest the grandees, but none was found, save one, who even upon being arrested was rescued by his people. Mr. Bannerman therefore called the Akuashong and the native merchants to the castle and told them to advise the grandees to obey the summons on Saturday next.

But the grandees left the town and resided at Labade. Neither the Akuashong nor the native merchants could induce them to return. Hence this misconduct of the grandees towards the government was reported by Mr. Bannerman to the acting governor Cruickshank at Cape Coast. He therefore returned to Christiansborg in February. Meanwhile a night meeting of all the Akua-shongs of Christiansborg, Labade and Teshi etc. had been convened at Kpeshinā i. e. at the mouth of the lagoon Kpeshi, between Labade and Teshi on the 12th January, and there they swore, not to let the grandees go to the fort nor pay any tax, even if the government should fight with them, and to make war with any party breaking the agreement. Previous to the taking of this oath chief Owu of Christiansborg, then employed in the capacity of the government interpreter, did not take part in this meeting; his brother

Anang was required to take the first oath in the name of Owu. To this he objected, saying, he had not consulted his brother, and would therefore not do it. One Saki of Christiansborg then took the oath, the other headmen of the Akuashongs seconded him, and the meeting broke up. However, the headmen of Christiansborg were told by those of the other towns, that if they listened to tales of their coloured masters and mistresses to infringe the agreement, they would be made pads by which the castle of Christiansborg would be carried into the sea.

On Saturday the 14th January over 3000 armed men of Christiansborg, Labade, Teshi, Ningowa etc. assembled at Klotemushi, immediately under the loaded cannons and rockets of the castle. The educated native community, some Basel missionaries of Christiansborg, viz. Revs. John Stanger, C. W. Locher, John Zimmermann and August Steinhauser, a deputation from king Taki of Akra and Kwāme Mienya, an influential man of Cape Coast, assembled in a group of their own to try whether they could make peace. Mr. Julius Briandt of Christiansborg was the interpreter for the educated community. Badu Asonko, the powerful linguist of the infuriated people, addressed the assembly to the effect, that they would not serve the English government any longer, nor pay the poll-tax. Alimo, another powerful linguist of king Taki, replied that they might refuse paying the tax, but not throw off their allegiance to the British government. Badu Asonko was obliged to retract that part of his speech as to their throwing off allegiance to the English government.

A second grand meeting of the armed men was held a few days after this at Teiashi in the valley between Christiansborg and Labade — where they would be safer from the actions of the cannons, than in the site selected the previous day.

Here Messrs. J. Richter and H. Svanikier most vividly pointed out to the chiefs of Christiansborg the danger of fighting the government, advising them never to mind what the other townspeople said, that Christiansborg might not be destroyed. A stir was made by some ruffians when they perceived the chiefs of Christiansborg were on the point of giving in, upon which the whole assembly, amounting to over 4000 men, at once took up arms to attack the merchants. Failing a second time with their negotiation for peace, the educated community of Christiansborg reported the state of things to King Taki. He summoned the armed men to meet him

at Okaishi near Dutch Town. Over 4000 armed men assembled there, but with no good result; so they all marched back through Christiansborg to Labade. Fires from the loaded cannons and rockets could have been easily opened upon them when passing by the fort; yet the government exercised patience with their folly. They were, however, warned never to come again to Christiansborg so armed.

After such an insult to the British flag the garrison was strengthened with munition, provision and soldiers, and Mr. Cruickshank, witnessing all these, deliberating as to march out against the rebels. Another rush into Christiansborg was made to capture chief Owu; but he had escaped to Akra. Like mere boys, they first sang to welcome the British government, and now composed this poem against them:

Wɔapoma apɔm antum' antow,
 Wɔapoma apɔm antum' antow.
 Abɔfofo akotwa ikontompo ma Abibifo yi tow.
 Etow no, yemmã õ; mpanyimfo, yemmã õ,
 Wónkose Obroni mmã qmmera!

Cannon they have loaded, but couldn't fire,

Cannon they have loaded, but couldn't fire.

Whitemen dishonestly imposed poll-tax on the blacks.

The poll-tax we will never pay, the grandees never deliver up,

Go tell the white man to come out!

The pity at that time was, that both the king, chief (manklalo) and linguist of Christiansborg had died before the row took place, and the people were ruled by the grandees, otherwise all these disturbances might have easily been settled. The principal grandees then were, Omãbo Okoi, Adotei Twi, Sewa Kwawushi; these three had the care of the stools of the king, manklalo, and Alata chief; Badu Asoñko, the powerful linguist, Noi Dshetri, Aduko, Sewa Kõma, Tete Gbodo, Sabã Ogang; Noete Otututshẽ, Ashong Amãkoi, Nge Sekang, Koi fio, Abete, Koi Ashong; Adom Agbo, Kodsho Baka, Odoi Ati, Otuato, Awule Fenin etc. The king of Labade was Akomɔ, and Togbo Tekõ Asere was the manklalo. However prince Frederick Dowuona, the heir to the stool of Christiansborg, who had been educated by the Danish government in Copenhagen, was called to town from his village at Shantshe. He could have done something towards peace, but as not yet on the stool, was powerless. He voluntarily offered to go to the castle

to settle the case, but the grandees opposed it. Old Adotgi Twi of Christiansborg advised the other grandees to be careful and never to let others make fool of them; he was fined for that and hooted.

At last Mr. Cruickshank determined to march out and attack the rebels and was making the necessary preparations, when his excellency governor Hill arrived, and made another attempt to settle the case amicably. He sent for the native merchants, Messrs. William Lutterodt, John Richter, Hans Svanikier, Lebrecht Hesse, Robert Richter, Julius Briandt, Vald. Magnusen, Philipp Lutterodt, Neils Holm, Joseph Fleischer etc. to appear in the castle. They were commissioned to bring about peace between the government and the rebels; but their mission failed. All the mulatto ladies went on their own account to the governor to intercede for peace. His excellency was willing to overlook the insult given to the British government, if the rebels would lay down their arms and come back to town. This was communicated to them by the ladies, who urgently begged them to yield and thus to prevent the destruction of town, property, and lives. But their efforts were fruitless. Seeing the rebels march towards the town again, the governor gave order to attack them the moment they approached within gunshot.

Unfortunately while preparing to carry out this order, adjutant Hill and two soldiers were killed and three others wounded by an explosion of gunpowder.

The governor now determined to fight the rebels and therefore commissioned Mr. Cruickshank to Akuapem and Akem to obtain assistance from Kwadade, Ata, and Agyemang (at least so the people said about his commission). The three kings were not willing to render any assistance to the government, as they knew it was on account of the poll-tax. They dispatched messengers, however, in company of Mr. Cruickshank, to assist the government in making peace. Both the commissioner and the Akuapem and Akem delegates arrived on the 4th March. On the 6th a meeting was held at Labade, at which Mr. Cruickshank, the educated community of Christiansborg with the Basel missionaries and the Rev. Wharton of the Wesleyan mission in Akra, king Taki in person, and the Twi delegates were present. Through their means the desired peace was made, to the effect, that the rebels must pay 2000 heads of cowries, and the native merchants secured the fine by pledging their gold watches, guards, and jewels to the government; three

guns were fired to ratify the peace. Captain Bird was appointed commandant and Mr. Bannerman retired to Akra on Thursday the 9th March. Chief Kwāme Mienya and Mr. G. Amissah, both of Cape Coast, who had done their best to effect peace, but had only been insulted by linguist Badu Asoñko with these words, "What an earthen pot had failed to cook, a calabash pot could never have done it", brought our case so far and returned home. When the following poem was composed in the Fante country.

Osufoo, gyaeeō, Osufoo, gyaeeō!

Dammirifūa mu nni ade! Osufoo, gyaee!

Discontinue, O people of Christiansborg,

For in condolence there is no riches.

Everybody must come to the conclusion, that after the recent disturbances had been put down, the wished-for peace would continue, although the turbulent spirit had not sufficiently cooled down. Parties summoned to court were not always willing to appear, yet every well-disposed person expected that things would right themselves.

Some months had passed, and the public peace had not been disturbed, when Captain Bird, in taking a walk on the main road to Akra, in the afternoon of Sunday the 27th August, met some people rolling a puncheon of rum from Akra to Christiansborg. The rum had been bought by one Lāte and was seized by Captain Bird as smuggled, as no permit or duty had been paid on it. Whether Lāte smuggled intentionally or through ignorance, we are unable to say.

The report of this confiscation was brought to town; the people rushed out to get it back by force from the soldiers. A fist and stone-fight ensued. The people got possession of the puncheon and drove the soldiers into the castle. Captain Bird ordered the soldiers to man the batteries and was on the point of firing upon the rebels, but they dispersed. Lieutenant Brownell went out at the head of 16 soldiers, and met no resistance whatever. Lieutenant Duke and 50 men arrived from Cape Coast castle on Monday, the 4th September, which made the garrison now to consist of captain Bird, lieutenants Brownell and Duke, and ensign Clarke of the Gold Coast corps with 120 rank and file. Lieutenant Brownell, who had arrived on purpose, set about collecting the poll-tax.

On Wednesday, the 30th of August, Messrs. W. Lutterodt, J. Richter and people paid theirs. We would say, they started in the

right direction, which might induce others to follow, but it should have been previous to that row. The grandees and Aknashong, already excited, heard that some of the native merchants had paid the tax. They posted guards to intercept any taxes carried to the castle, and deliver them to the Aknashong. We say firstly, that the Aknashong had no right whatever to interfere or to seize government property. But in the second place, we should ask, "What were the terms of the peace made by governor Hill? Was the peace made only to lay down the arms or how? And lastly, how did Lieutenant Brownell set about collecting the tax? Was there a meeting held between himself and the chiefs before he began to collect?" We should think, the grandees as being in the "Protectorate" and British subjects ought to have submitted the case to Lieutenant Brownell for explanation; but they thought that the recent peace meant abolishing the poll-tax. With that idea, they and the Aknashong assembled and had the native merchants summoned before them to show cause why they should pay the tax abolished.

The merchants were fined for a puncheon of rum and strictly charged never to pay anything again. On Thursday the 31st August the people went so far as to stop the provisions going over to the castle. Lieutenant Brownell and other officials and soldiers were nearly killed by the stones thrown at them when interfering. One Kwaku was killed by a stone thrown at him from the castle during the fight.

The government now determined to chastise the rebels and made the necessary preparations. The Basel missionaries then on the coast. Revs. J. Stanger, C. W. Locher, J. Zimmermann, and Aug. Steinhauser, who had rendered every assistance in their power to effect peace since the row took place, but had failed, were invited by the government to remove to the castle in case of any emergency; but as missionaries sent out to preach the gospel, they were thankful for the offer, but preferred to be neutral. The native merchants of the town, perceiving the preparation of the government, and hearing a rumor that the town would be bombarded, went to the castle to ascertain the truth of it.

Captain Bird plainly answered them in the affirmative, but as to time or date, that was indefinite. Some of the town's-people began to remove their property to Akra, Labade etc., but most could not believe it and delayed removing their things. The Basel mission-

aries, having declared neutral, knew they were safe, and therefore did not remove anything. H. M. S. "Scourge", Commodore John Adams, appeared on the roads of Akra at 5 p. m. on Monday the 11th September. The people had not the slightest idea that it could interfere with their intended siege of the castle. The Labades and Teshis had assured those in Christiansborg that they would bring a good number of ladders to climb the castle.

At last the day for action was appointed by government, which fortunately the people got to know of, although indirectly from one of the white officials. The bombardment was to take place on Wednesday the 13th September. It was the Hōmōwō Wednesday, when the people assembled in the towns are generally drunk; but now they kept sober, awaiting the action.

On the 12th September the gunner Lieutenant (now Rear Admiral) Hunt Grubbe from the Scourge volunteered with two other jack-tars to instruct the garrison of Christiansborg Castle in the art of constructing defence in view of the bombardment. On the morning of the 13th September, the memorable day for us people of Christiansborg town, the powerful John Bull, whom our people had challenged as "having loaded cannon but not being able to fire them", got up after his long patience. The Scourge weighed anchor and made for Labade. A very wise plan that was! By that strategy the forces of Labade and Teshi etc. were detached at once from joining the force of Christiansborg to effect their intended siege of the castle.

At 7 a. m. Bump! Bump! Bump! the Scourge attacked at the time the first ceremony of Lakpā was being performed among the initiated worshippers. It is on that day generally every year that over 5 to 6000 heathens — men, women, boys and girls — assemble in the afternoon to play the most shameful dance in which all men and women are allowed by Lakpā to embrace each other publicly! A few minutes after the Scourge commenced with the attack on Labade, the garrison began to pour into the town showers of shells. The people then took up arms, but could not get a point to make any attack; so the hunters and the sharpshooters ensconced themselves in the stone buildings close to the castle, where they were able to pick off the gunners at 30 yards from their hiding-place. Most of the armed men concealed themselves in the quarries near the town. The women and children had escaped to the fields. At noon of that day the fire of the

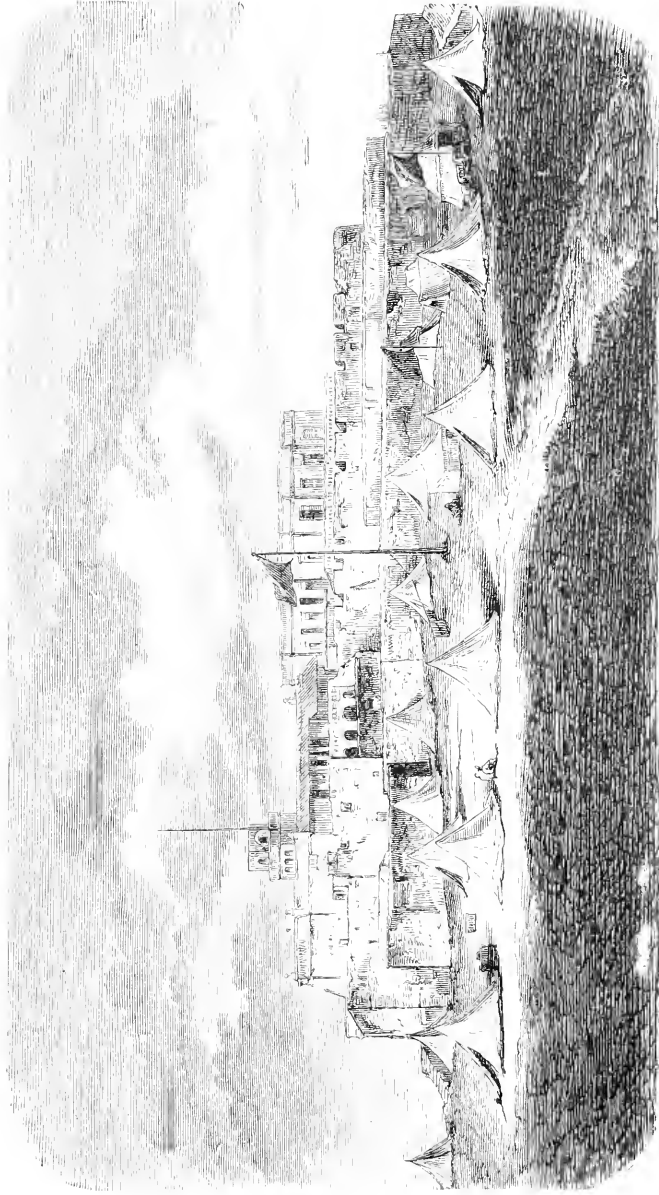
garrison was actually silenced by the muskets of the hunters. No gunner nor soldier could attempt to load the guns or fire his rifle. The Scourge was at that time bombarding Teshi. Unfortunately the halyards of the flag had been cut by a shot of the hunters, so the "Scourge" could not be signalled to their aid. At the risk of his own life Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe with the aid of his jack-tars succeeded in repairing the damage, and it was during this operation that the lieutenant was wounded. At 5 p. m. the "Scourge" was signalled to come to the assistance of the fort, which she did in the most efficient manner and began to bombard those buildings in which the hunters had ensconced themselves, and the town at large. Every fire from the people was instantly silenced. The shells were called "obata" i. e. half measure pot. Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe and his two tars succeeded in effecting such arrangements during the night of the 13th that the gunners were rendered comparatively safe. The armed men of the town were on their watch about the town since the bombardment commenced, to fight the soldiers when they would be marched out, although the firing from the fort continued daily on the town to the 14th and 15th. On the 15th the "Scourge" went to Cape Coast for more munition of war and provision (at least so the people thought). This gave them an opportunity to think of storming the castle. King Taki, hearing of their intentions, opposed it, advising them rather to leave the town and to encamp in the field to watch the movements of the government, for he had heard a rumour that the Fantes would be called to assist the government. Through that advice all the armed men quitted their hiding-places for the field, and on the following day it was reported that the soldiers had come out of the garrison and were plundering the houses. They were forthwith attacked and driven back to the garrison with one killed on each side and some wounded. On the 17th the Scourge returned from Cape Coast and again bombarded the town. Lieutenant Poko and 40 men of the Gold Coast corps landed from the Scourge. On the 19th she threw supplies into the fort, and then went off to burn Labade and Teshi—the latter was burnt to the ground, the former not affected. The ignorant people tried to fire their muskets into the "Scourge", a very foolish idea! Some Fante armed men came under commandant Sam. Bannerman, but they ran away the very night of their arrival from Akra. It was through king Taki's persuasions that the people at large gave up the town and removed to the

bush, having suffered a loss of only five men and two women, including the poor blind Erick Engmann and his daughter, also half blind, who was leading the father to the fort for protection. At Labade 6 were killed, but none at Teshi, and few wounded. Whilst the garrison had a loss of 7 killed and 23 wounded, including among the latter Captain (now Major General) Henry Bird and Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe. (We quote this from an English news-paper — "The number of killed and wounded on our side sufficiently proves the obstinate attack made by the natives, who are by no means to be despised as foes.")

The soldiers now freely entered every house, plundered everything, and pulled down several stone buildings which stood close to the castle. The two houses of the Basel mission sustained several breaches from the shells, which made way for the people to plunder nearly all they had. Several manuscripts written by the Rev. Zimmermann were lost. Being thus treated by both white and black, they removed to the Wesleyan mission house at Akra, and after a few day's stay, Mr. Zimmermann removed to Abokobi with his family and the students under him, and established there a permanent mission station.

Governor Hill then arrived with some men-of-war to pursue the people in the bush with the marines; but king Taki interceded, and so that project was abandoned, and peace concluded. Every chief engaged in the fight had to give a son or nephew as hostage to the government, which they did. The mission houses were repaired, and Messrs. Stanger and Locher re-occupied them. The people of Christiansborg, who had been assured of assistance by the Labades, Teshis, etc., were greatly disappointed. Their whole property, consisting of several beautiful stone buildings, twenty-two of which were supposed to be worth from £400 to £3000 each, money, jewels, goods, furniture, besides their influence and glory, and their influential men and people were lost in the bargain, and themselves dispersed in the country! Oh, that we were wiser in time, that we did not kick against the pricks! Should not others take warning by us! King Taki, after he had made peace between the English government and the people of Christiansborg, was gathered to his fathers on Friday the 20th March 1856, after a peaceful and glorious reign of 31 years, having acceded in 1825, after the battle at Cape Coast.

It was through the Basel missionaries, who not only reoccupied



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their houses first, but also rendered every possible assistance to the people, that they were encouraged to return from the bush and rebuild the town. Rev. T. B. Freeman, then employed in the capacity of commandant, also contributed greatly to the success of recalling the people back to town.

Rule, supremely rule, Britannia, rule
Thy acquired colony on the Gold Coast!
Protected from the tyrant and the slaver
By blood of thy noble sons shed on fields,
Besides thousands and thousands of pounds.
Destined by Heaven to have the rule,
Godly, justly, fatherly, therefore, rule.
For years and years ago hadst thou to spend
And nothing, or at least not much to gain,
Because the Danes and the Dutch
Had each their government on the Gold Coast.
The foes by land and sea hast thou vanquished;
Two inner and dangerous foes exist:
Ignorance and funeral custom.
The policy to allow ignorance
To exist, and then to rule, rule at ease,
Is never the spirit of Britannia.
By thee no nation ever was paralyzed.
'Tis mission's duty the gospel to preach,
The government's, classical education.
One word, and the funeral custom will die,
And all will sing, "Rule, Britannia, rule!"
Superstition will then flee far away,
And Christianity will rule supreme!

Appendix A.

Lists of European Governors on the Gold Coast.

1. Lists of the Governors of the Netherlands' Possessions from 1638 to 1872, showing their name, rank or title, and their time of being in office.

Abbreviations: Dir. gen. = Director general; Gov. = Governor; Pres. = President; C. = Commander; a. i. = ad interim; Lt. Col. = Lieutenant Colonel; r. = returned home; d. = died.

Names	Rank	of their being in office			Remarks	
		years	months	days		
N. Van Iperen	Dir. gen.	9	17	1638 Oct. 1	1639 Jul. 18	
A. J. Montfort	"	1	5	19		
J. Ruyghaver	"	4	11	12		
J. Van der Well	"	4	3	22		
H. Doedens	"	2	2			
A. Cocq	Gov.	9	4			
J. Ruyghaver	Dir. gen.	4	10	9		
J. Valkenburg	"	3	3	20		
C. Van Housen	"	2	11	11		
D. Wilré	"	8	16			
J. Valkenburg	"	4	5	11		
H. Van Ongerdonk	Gov.	1	6	10		
D. Wilré	Dir. gen.	6	4			
J. Root	"	1	3	1		
A. Meermans	"	3	6	13		
D. Verhoutert	"	3	4	6		
T. Ernsthuis	"	1	11	14		
N. Sweerts	"	5	6	14		
J. Smits	"	4	1	24		
J. Staphorst	"	2	2	15		
J. Van Sevenhuysen	"	5	11	24		
W. de la Palma	"	3	5	3		
P. Nuyts	"	2	11	5		
H. Van Weesel	Gov.	10	4			
A. Schoonheidt	Dir. gen.	1	8	2		
H. Haring	"	5	1	26		
A. E. Robberts	"	1	9	29		
W. Bullier	"	4	6	5		
A. Houtman	"	8	2			
M. de Kraane	Gov.	6	14	1723 May 28	1723 Dec. 14	
P. Valkenier	Dir. gen.	3	2	24	1723 Dec. 14	1727 Mar. 10 r.
R. Norri	"	2	11	25	1727 Mar. 11	1730 Mar. 5 r.
Jan Pranger	"	4	6	1730 Mar. 6	1734 Mar. 12	r.
Ant. Van Overbeck	"	1	11	20	1734 Mar. 13	1736 Feb. 21 d.
M. Francis Des Bordes	"	3	5	3	1736 Oct. 15	1740 Mar. 16 d.
Francis Barbrins	Gov.	11	20	1740 Mar. 17	1741 Mar. 7 d.	

Names	Rank	years	months		of their being in office		Remarks
			days				
J. Baron de Petersen	Dir. gen.	6	1	8	1741 Mar. 8	1747 Apr. 10	r.
Jan Van Voorst	"	7	3	3	1747 Apr. 11	1754 Jul. 14	r.
N. M. V. Nood-de-Gieterre	"	1	3	10	1754 Jul. 14	1755 Oct. 24	d.
Roelof Ulzen	Gov.	2	2	22	1755 Oct. 25	1758 Jan. 16	d.
Mr. L. J. Van Tets	Dir. gen.	1	1	28	1758 Jan. 16	1759 Mar. 12	d.
Mr. J. P. T. Huydecooper	"		6	17	1759 Mar. 13	1760 Oct. 1	promoted
David Pieter Erasmi	"	2	9	8	1760 Oct. 2	1763 Jul. 10	d.
Henrick Walmbek	Gov.	1	1	20	1763 Jul. 11	1764 Aug. 31	d.
Mr. J. P. T. Huydecooper	"	2	9	6	1764 Sept. 1	1767 Jun. 7	d.
Pieter Woortman	Gov. gen.	2		1	1767 Jun. 8	1769 Jun. 9	prom.
	Dir. gen.	10	10	1	1769 Jun. 10	1780 Apr. 11	d.
Jacobus Van der Puye	Gov.		7	20	1780 May 10	1780 Dec. 30	d.
Pieter Volkmar	Dir. gen.	3	2	10	1780 Dec. 30	1784 Mar. 12	d.
G. Servis Gallé	Gov. gen.		10	29	1784 Mar. 15	1785 Feb. 14	superseded
Adolph Thierens	Dir. gen.	1	3	12	1785 Feb. 14	1786 May 26	d.
G. Servis Gallé	Gov. gen.	1	2	22	1786 Jun. 2	1787 Aug. 24	relieved
Mr. L. Van Bergen vander Gryp	Pres.	2	6	8	1787 Sept. 8	1790 Mar. 18	rel.
Jacobus De Veer	Dir. gen.	4	1	19	1790 Mar. 19	1794 May 25	r.
Mr. L. Van Bergen vander Gryp	Pres.		8	10	1794 May 26	1795 Jan. 10	d.
Otto Arnoldus Duim	Gov.	1	4	24	1795 Jan. 10	1796 Jun. 3	d.
G. H. Van Hamel	"	1	8	17	1796 Aug. 10	1798 May 1	d.
Cornelius L. Bartels	Gov. gen.	5	11	10	1798 May 8	1804 Apr. 28	d.
J. de Roever	Pres.	1	1	17	1804 Apr. 29	1805 Jun. 15	r.
Pieter Linthorst	Gov. gen.	2	1	5	1805 Jun. 16	1807 Jul. 21	d.
J. P. Hoogenboom	Pres.	1		15	1807 Jul. 22	1808 Aug. 11	horribly murdered
J. F. Koning	"	1	6	13			
A. De Veer	Com. gen.	6		6			
H. W. Daendels	Gov. gen.	2	1	21			
F. Ch. E. Oldenburg	Pres.	1	8	19			
J. Oosthout	Pres. com.	1	6	17			
F. F. L. U. Last	Com. a. i.	1	5	15			
L. J. Timmink	"		3	25			
W. Poolman	Lt. Col. C.	1		8			
J. H. A. Mourve	Com. a. i.		7	11			
J. D. C. Pagenstecher	"			8			
F. F. L. U. Last	"	1	10	10			
J. C. Vander Breggen Paauw	"	1	10	22			
F. F. L. U. Last	Lt. Col. C.	4	6	13			
J. T. J. Cremer	Com. a. i.		1				
E. D. L. Van Ingen	"		8	16			
M. Swarte	"		1	14			
C. E. Lans	Lt. Col. C.	3	6	21			
H. J. Tonneboeyer	Com. a. i.		10	26		1837 Oct. 28	killed by Ahantas
A. Van der Eb	"		9	7			
H. Bosch	Lt. Col. Gov.	1	7	2			
A. Van der Eb	"						was in office 1843

2. List of the Governors of the Danish Establishments on the Gold Coast from the year 1698 to 1850,

with the dates of decease, return to Europe, or being superseded.

Erik Tyllemann	1698, died	Joachim Otto	1770 June 13, d.
Erik Oehlsen	1698, d.	Johan D. Fröhlich	1772 June 15, d.
Johan Traane	1703 Aug. 31, d.	Niels A. Aarestrup	1777 June 24, r.
Hartvig Meyer	1704 Apr. 23, d.	Conrad Hemsén	1780 Dec. 2, d.
Peter Swerdrup	1705 June 6, d.	Jens Kjøge	1788 Mar. 31, r.
Peter Peterson	1706 May 6, d.	Johan Kipnasse	1789 Oct. 23, r.
Erik Lygaard	1711 Aug. 17, d.	Andreas Biörn	1793 Jan. 25, r.
Frantz Roye	1717 Nov. 26, d.	And. Hammer	1793 June 30, r.
Knud Röst	1720 Aug. 30, d.	Bendt Olrich	1793 Aug. 3, d.
Peter Ostrup	1722 Jan. 24, d.	Fr. Chr. v. Hagen Baron	1795 Aug. 17, d.
David Heron	1723 Jan. 22, d.	Johan P. D. Wrisberg	1799 Dec. 31, r.
Niels F. Ostrup	1723 Oct. 30, d.	Johan D. Anholm	1802 Oct. 1, r.
Chr. Syndermann	1724 Apr. 30, d.	Johan P. D. Wrisberg	1807 Apr. 15, r.
Hendrik von Sulm	1727 March 1, r.	Chr. Schiønning	1817 Mar. 1, d.
Fred Pahl	1727 Sept. 18, d.	Johan E. Richter	1817 Oct. 5, d.
And. Willumsen	1728 Dec. 24, d.	J. Reiersen	1819 May 15, d.
Andr. Waeroc	1735 Aug. 12, r.	Chr. Svanekjaer	1821 Jan. 1, s.
Severin Schüldeup	1736 June 14, d.	Peter S. Steffens	1821 Sept. 10, d.
Enewold Borris	1740 June 20, d.	Mathias Thønning	1823 Dec. 23, r.
Peter Forngesen	1743 May 26, d.	Johan Ch. von Richelieu	1825 Mar. 16, r.
Chr. Dorph	1744 Feb. 3, d.	Niels Bröch	1827 Sept. 30, s.
Jörgen Bilsen	1745 Mar. 13, d.	Jens P. Findt	1828 Aug. 1, r.
Thomas Brock	1745 Mar. 23, d.	Henrich G. Lind	1831 Jan. 20, r.
F. Wilder	1745 Apr. 23, d.	Ludvig v. Hein	1831 Oct. 21, d.
A. F. Hackenborg	1746 June 21, r.	Helmuth v. Ahrenstorff	1831 Dec. 4, d.
Foost Platfus	1751 Feb. 21, r.	Niels Bröch	1833 March 1, s.
Magnus Litzow	1751 March 8, d.	Henrich G. Lind	1833 July 21, d.
Magnus Hacksen	1752 July 21, d.	Niels Bröch	1834 Dec. 2, s.
Carl Engmann	1757 Mar. 10, r.	Frederick S. Mörek	1839 Mar. 18, d.
Christian Fessen	1762 Feb. 14, r.	Hans A. Giede	1839 Aug. 18, d.
Carl Resch	1766 Oct. 20, r.	Lucas Dall	1842 May 24, r.
Chr. Tyehsen	1768 Jan. 11, d.	Bernhardt C. Wilkens	1842 Aug. 26, d.
Frantz Kyhberg	1769 July 2, r.	Ed. J. A. Carstensen	1850 in April r.
Gerhardt F. Wrisberg	1770 June 1, r.	R. E. Schmid	1850 in April r.

3. List of the Governors of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast from the date of the formation of the late African Company of Merchants (1750, see above p. 122.) to the present time (1895).

Names	Rank	Date of appointment	Remarks
Thomas Melvil	Gov.-in-chief	1751.June 23	died
William Tynemwell	"	1756.Jan. 23	"
Charles Bell	ad interim	1756.Feb. 17	superseded
Nassau Senior	Gov.-in-chief	1757 Oct. 15	"
Charles Bell	"	1761 May 10	resigned
William Mutter	"	1763 Aug. 15	"
John Hippersley	"	1766 Mar. 1	died
Gilbert Petrie	"	1766 Aug. 11	resigned
John Grosse	"	1769 Apr. 21	died
David Mill	"	1770 Aug. 11	superseded
Richard Miles	ad interim	1777 Jan. 20	"
John Roberts	Gov.-in-chief	1780 Mar. 25	died
J. B. Weuves	"	1781 May 26	superseded
Richard Miles	"	1782 Apr. 29	return. to Europe
James Morgue	"	1784 Jan. 29	superseded
Thomas Price	"	1787 Jan. 24	died
Thomas Norris	"	1787 Apr. 27	resigned
William Fielde	"	1789.June 20	superseded
John Gordon	ad interim	1791 Nov. 15	"
A. Dalzell	Gov.-in-chief	1792 Mar. 30	ret. to Eur. on leave of abs.
Jacob Mould	"	1798 Dec. 16	superseded
John Gordon	ad interim	1799 Jan. 4	"
A. Dalzell	Gov.-in-Chief	1800 Apr. 28	resigned
Jacob Mould	"	1802 Sep. 30	superseded
Colonel G. Torrane	"	1805 Feb. 8	died
E. W. White	"	1807 Dec. 4	ret. to Europe
Joseph Dawson	ad interim	1816 Apr. 21	superseded
John Hope Smith	Gov.-in-chief.	1817 Jan. 12	ret. to Europe
Brig. Gen. Sir Chs. McCarthy	"	1822 Mar. 27	returned to Sierra Leone
Major Chisholm	Commandant	1822 May 17	superseded
Brig. Gen. Sir Chs. McCarthy	Gov.-in-chief	1822 Nov. 28	killed in action
Major Chisholm	"	1824 Jan. 21	died
Major Purdon	Commandant	1824 July 1	ret. to Europe
Major Gen. Chas. Turner	Gov.-in-chief	1825 Mar. 22	returned to Sierra Leone
M. Sen. Sir Neil Campbell	"	1825 Apr. 7	"
Captain Ricketts	Commandant	1826 Nov. 15	superseded
Lieut. Colonel Lumley	Lieut. Gov.	1827 Oct. 15	returned to Sierra Leone
Captain Hingston	Commandant	1828 Mar. 10	"
Major Ricketts	"	1828 May 18	"
John Jackson	President	1828.June 30	superseded
Captain G. Maclean	President	1830 Feb. 19	ret. to Eur. on leave of abs.
William Topp	ad interim	1836.June 26	superseded

Names	Rank	Date of service	Remarks
Captain Maclean	President	1838—44	superseded
Commander H. W. Hill (R.N.)	Lieut. Gov.	1844 & 45	
James Lilly	"	1845	
Comm. Will Winniett (R. N.)	"	1846—49	
J. C. Fitzpatrick	"	1849 & 50	
Sir William Winniett	Gov.	1850	died 1850 Dec. 4.
James Bannerman	Lieut. Gov.	1850 & 51	
Major Stephen John Hill	Gov.	1851—53	
J. C. Fitzpatrick	Lieut. Gov.	1853 & 54	
Brodie G. Cruickshank	"	1853	
Major Stephen John Hill	Gov.	1854	
Henry Connor	Acting Gov.	1855	
Sir Benj. Chilly Campbell Pine	Gov.	1857 & 58	
Major Henry Bird	Acting Gov.	1858	
Edward Bullock Andrews	Gov.	1860—62	
William A. Ross	Acting Gov.	1862	
Richard Pine	(Lieut.) Gov	1862—65	
William Hackett	Lieut. Gov.	1864	
Major Rokeby S. W. Jones	"	1865	died
W. E. Mockler	"	1865	
Lieut. Col. Edward Conran	"	1865—67	
Colonel S. W. Blackall	Gov.-in-chief	1866	
Herbert Taylor Ussher	Administrator	1867 & 68	
Sir A. E. Kennedy	Gov.-in-chief	1868	
W. H. Simpson	Acting Adm.	1868	
Herbert Taylor Ussher	Administrator	1869—71	
Charles Spencer Salmon		1871	
John Pope Hennesey	Gov.-in-chief	1872	
Herbert Taylor Ussher	Administrator	1872	
Col. R. W. Harley	"	1872 & 73	
W. R. Keate	Gov.-in-chief	1873	
George Berkley	"	1873	
Col. Sir Garnet Wolseley	Administrator	1873 & 74	
Lieut. Col. Maxwell	"	1874	
Charles C. Lees	"	1874	
Col. Johnston	"	1874	
Capt. George C. Strahan	Gov.-in-chief	1874	
Sir Sanford Freeling	"	1876	
Herbert Taylor Ussher	"	1879	died 1880 Dec. 1.
William B. Griffith	"	1880	
Sir Samuel Rowe	"	1881	
G. A. C. Young	"	1884	died
William Brandford Griffith	"	1885	
Col. F. B. P. White	"	1887	
Sir William B. Griffith	Gov.-in-chief	1887, 90, 92, 94	
J. M. Hodgson	Acting Gov.	1889, 91, 93	
W. E. Maxwell	Gov.	1895	

Appendix B. Kings and the Royal Family of Asante.

Nr	Names of Kings	Period	Sisters' Nieces	Sisters' husbands	Nephews	Nieces
		About				
1	Kwabia Anwamfi (Ahw.)	1600—1630 (?)	—	—	—	—
2	Oti Akenten	1631—1662	—	—	—	—
3	Obiri Yehoa Mawu	1663—1697	Mam	Owusu Panini	Osee Tutu	Nyakô Kosiama
4	Osee Tutu	1700—1730	Nyakô Kosiama	Aduamensâ or Adu Gyamfi	Opoku Ware	Ñketeawa Tim Abamu
5	Opoku Ware	1731—1749	Ñketeawa Tim Abamu	Apeboso Apaw	Kwisi Boadum	Akua Afriyie
6	Kwisi Boadum	1750—1770	Akua Afriyie	Owusu Afriyie	Osee Kwadwo	Aberafi Ya
7	Osee Kwadwo	1770—1781	Aberafi Ya Kwadu Yindom niece	Mampon Asungyima Mampon Sato I. Adu Twum	Osee Kwame Panyin Opoku Kwame Opoku Fofie Asokore Mampon (Owusu Ansâ)	Kwadu Yindom Anna Seewa Ya Odifie Akua Kru
8	Osee Kwame Panyin	1781—1799	Anna Seewa	Apeboso Apaw	Osee Du Osee Yaw Akoto	Afua Sapon
9	Opoku Fofie	1799 60 days			Kyenkye Hene Kwame Kusi	
10	Osee Asibe, Bonsu	1800—1824		Boakye Yam Kumã	Kwaku Dua Kwame Boatun	
11	Osee Yaw Akoto	1824—1837				
12	Kwaku Dua I	1838—1868	Afua Sapon	Owusu Gyamedna	Osee Kwadwo	Afua Kobiri Ya Afere († 1883)
			Afua Kobiri niece	Kofi Nti	Kwabena Nini Kofi Karikari Owusu Mensâ (Bonsu)	Ya Kyã Akua Afriyie
			Ya Atere niece	Abergekese Kamkam	Kwame Nantwi	Akua Afriyie Akwasiwa Odee
				Asabi Boakye	Yaw Twereboanna Kwame Boatun Kwaku ñkroma Akwasi Badu Kwaku Dukô	Ya Kwadu Akwasiwa Bereuya Afua Sapon
13	Kofi Karikari	1868—1874	Ya Kyã	Akwasi Gyammibi (Afriyie)	Kwabena Kyeretwie Kwaku Dua Kumã Agyeman Perempe Agyeman Badu	Akua Afriyie Akua Iakôma
14	Mensâ Bonsu	1874—1883				
15	Kwaku Dua II	1884, 6 weeks	Kwadu Somprẽm Takyiaw	—		
16	Agyeman (Dua) Perẽmpẽ	1888—1895	Akua Fokuo (?)	Kwabena Awua		Akua Afriyie (?)

Appendix C.

The Leaders or Influential Men and Officers

engaged in the battle at Dodowa or Akantamansu on the part of the Natives of the Protectorate and of the Asantes.

1. List, showing the town, name, rank, and band or division of the influential men who fought against the Asantes at Katamansu.

Rem. The names denoting office are purposely given without a capital letter. Where no higher office is mentioned, the word captain may be supplied.

1. **Akra**, Dutch Town.

Abia Taki I. king paramount; Akwete Kroboſaki, Akotia Owoshika, Dodu Nyān, chiefs; Ashare, linguist.

Anaŋ Patu, Kofi Abrā, grandees or counselors; Ankra, Kwatei Kodsho, Tete Tshurn, influential grandees; Amon nyemi Koi, Ahenkwā Soro, Sako Ayi, Asere Oku, Mensa Akotokro, Nyān Abodiamo, Dshaū, Oto Diū, Otam, grandees.

Adade Akwa, Pobi Asawa, Tete Koi, Tete Okodsheatuo, Noete Opangoro, Ankou, Okai Awna, Kwate Koi, Nikoi Tshurn, Kodsho Saul, Late Koi, Abumā, Koi Moni, Mensa Brebre, Ayi Kokoſaki, Ati, Dodu Dongo, head-men.*)

Anaŋ Osei³, Kofi Ahene⁵, Ashon Mankata⁶, Anaŋ Osipeanyā³, Otutu², Mensa Amasu², Tete², Akwete Omununkum¹, Ayi Kakai¹, Mensa³, Okai³, Amasa Osekō³, Ayikuma³, Kwatelai³, Owu⁴, Kotei⁴, Mensa Commodore⁴, Ayiku⁴, Lamtei⁴, Korantshi⁸, Otu⁸, captains.

2. **Akra**, James Town (Eñleshi).

Ahōma, king; Amane, chief (mañkralo); Akwete, linguist.

Ato, Kpakpo Barema, Sempe Mensa; — Adshiñ Owuakoa, Adama Pataku, Kwashi Kodsho, Amā Odebreku Ashare, grandees.

Ayikoi, Afarā Kakabā and 6 others (n. n.), head-men;

Mensa², Kofi², Akoi², Kpakpo⁵, Klote nyemi Mensa⁵, Akwete Otuakote⁵.

3. **Akra**, Christiansborg (Osí).

Notei Downonā, king; Tete Ashon, chief (mañkralo), Fote, Alata chief; Koi Boadu, linguist.

*) By "head-man" (or chieftain) we mean a member of the "akua-shong" or the assembly of the principal head-men of the quarters of the town; see page 118. — The "captains" have the numbers of their "asafo" (band or company or division) added to their names, cf. page 120, viz., ¹ Asokonfo (not Asonkofo), ² Apagyafu, ³ Akomfode, ⁴ Amferefo, ⁵ Atuafu, ⁶ Ntiafo, ⁷ Kyiriamimfo, ⁸ Ohwammirifo; — ¹⁰ Apesemakāfo; —¹² Ankobeafu; —¹³ Ohyiwufu (death-encountering band); ¹⁴ Fanteakwa.

Akwete Agbedeko, Nøe Dwetri, Adukoi, Nøtei Koroko, Omābo Nøete, Ofem, Abøse Kwao, Nøete Koranteñ, Lāye, Adom, Atakora Tøte, Adenkum, Kwamena Kuma, Akøko, Agboba, Bosā, Anum, Adu Hammer, grandees.

Kwate Okai, Nøtei Warakataka, Yaw Miafo, Ashoi Akwadshansā, Nøete Olo, Nāku, Koi Ohūsogro, Omābo Okoi, Lamtei Nukpa, Amantara Adote, Sēwa Kōma, Sabā Akem, Adotei Twi, Nøe Osorō, Tei Badu, Kodsho Saul, Tøte Kutēi, Nøtei Susuanfaso, Nøete Odua, Nøete Kasakokrodo, Apo, Koi Fio, Nzø, Sēwa Kwaoshi, Kodsho Baka, Odoi Ati, headmen.

Abiashi³, Māte Akøto³, Akwete Asoa³, Lamte⁵, Nā⁵, Tøte Commodore⁵, Nøtei Nyantshi⁴, Nøitei Mintimirim⁴, Obodai⁷, Saka Ankam⁷, Otuafø⁷, Sabā Bonsu⁷, Kwamena Adam⁷, captains.

4. **Akra**, Labade (Lā).

Saki, king; Adsha, chief; Bøi Osekere, linguist.

Ashrif Tiekø, Odāte Twītwi Akwa, Okpoti Omumunkum, Ako Nam. Okpoti Kwātshe. Akwete Dadeadu, Akuete Ntshère. Bøi Osokrono, Dshāni Ako Osøkø, Odøtei Operekø, Amoa Okromansā, Awua, Sai Kodsho, Ashiakoi Densu, Botwø Asakara, Sodsha Oblim, Tøte Fantshe, grandees.

Ala Køkø, Ayi Anāfo, Anāñ Apiakai, Lāte Odankwa, Tøte Tekpo. Sodsha Kwaw Osorø, Mahāma Kofi, Togbo Abøbrense, Koi Wom'oye, Togbo Danso, Koi Fio, Obodai Agbove, Odøtei Ofosu, Anyetei Sewansāñ, Togbo Tekøasere, Adu Opete, Anyetei Ateñsua, head men. Māle Osokorono⁷, Owuo Opetentum, Akwete Asoa, Gbaghe Osramañ¹, Akuete, Botwø Sareso¹, captains.

5. **Akra**, Tesli.

Ofori Shādsho, king; Kru Diñ, chief; Ablø Adshei, linguist.

Akposø, Brebo, Okañ Kape, Sowa Hūti, Sowa Kopa, Akwete Sum, Sowa Obransemyeode, Adshete Boapem, Dshāni, Afutu, Odai Sā, Bøi Bøi, Ashai Akøto, Sowa Adeñkum, grandees.

Panto Ampim, Bøi Owusu, Koi Mensā, Koi Tia, Tøte Anai, Mensā Kumā, Mensā Otshirifenam, Ayiku, Antø, Lāye Osøkø, Sowa Adu, head-men.

Lāye³, Bøi Bøi³, Okai Botwø³, Abete Kuma⁴, Tosu Okromansā⁴, Mensā Kuma⁴, Sowa Omumunkum¹, Botwø Akposøi, Kølø Sāso, captains.

6. **Akra**, Ningowa (Nuñowa).

Okre, king; Bølabi, chief (mankralø); Bøte Adshetri, linguist.

Okai (Akai), Akoi, Bøtei, Bøkete Tshetshenyā, Koi Kuma, Bøkete Kwuankra, grandees. — Bøtei Agbetekø⁷, Otu⁷, Bøtelabi⁷, captains.

7. **Akra, Tɛma.**

Labi Shishiabo, king; Adshiete Obredshumā, chief (mankralo); Ashite Kwaku T̄wē, linguist.

Tete Nam, Nate Holu, Ashikoī Nukpa, Akroñ Adra, Late Otru, Osabu, Ashite Kwadshobo, Okoto, Tete Tshuru, grandees.

Ashite Nukpa¹, Adshei Katakiti¹, Tete Bediakō⁷.

8—14. **Adangme.**

8. Kpoñ (Poni).

Saki, king; Nɔteī Bediakō, chief (mankralo); Tete Akem, chief; Tete Otu, Tei Tokli, linguists.

Nɔteī Nuamono, Nɔe Adsheize, Nɔteī Owuadom, Nɔe Osōnō, Nɔe, Akpem Dadeakō, Kwadsho, grandees.

Akpem Agbeyivō¹, Obobi¹, Nɔteī Konu⁷, Osabu Agamō⁷.

9. Prampram (Gbugbrā).

Tete Waka, king; Natei, chief (mankralo); Numo Fiesu, linguist.

Nāte Okukruboo, Nāte Okōdsheboo, Osa Aniam, Abe Nukpa, Abe Gbekē, Kpabi Ablokutu, Tshawe Okro, Padi Adu, grandees.

Kwamli Kuma, Mensā Nam, Nate Adoa, Nate Atifiyedeñ, Otu Abli, Tete Ofli, Nagēite, Nāte Kleñmeti, Aye Okrakō, Tei Gbagbladshā, Māte Adi, Tete Tshwādabai, head-men.

Doku Mansro⁷, Lāte⁷, Osabu Fiesu⁷, Tete Osrāmañ⁷, Tete Tshwākō¹, Tei, Māmā Ohōyedeñ, Awure¹.

10. Ningo (Nūño).

Tei Doku, king; Kao Atiapa, chief (mankralo); Apetepetsli, linguist.

Shantshe Amāno, Afum Okanfrā, Māno Ohōyefe, Blebo Okitatshi Odiakōsem, Otshwi Titriku, Duamo Tutuani, Shañ Mrōnsā, Tete Woretshwam, Okru Bonsu, Tete Otsheremaku, grandees.

Bonsu Obghyeñ³, Boakōafo³, Nā Adu Bamfiro¹, Tete Okōdsheatuo¹, Koite Agbadshi⁵, Gbli Adshowu⁵, Mensā Togbo⁵.

11. Adā.

Adshohū Kitikri, king; Akude Kuntū, chief (mankralo); Anno, linguist.

Osabu Totime, Amēdehoho, Tete Gā, Nā Woñkāwose, 3 others n. u., grandees. — Osrāmañ¹, Saki³, Otumfoe⁵, captains.

12. Agrave.

Adsbakoro¹, Avonokadshi¹, captains.

13. Sukpe.

Tshitshikra¹, Gbedshuro¹, Hosu¹.

14. Mlati.

Toṣu, chief (mankralo).

15. **Krobo**, Yilo.

Osibe, king; Tete Osorō, linguist; Obu⁷, captain.

16. **Krobo**, Manya.

Muala Okumrō, king.

17. **Asutshware**.

Bole, king; Kwaku, chief (mankralo); Nyakote, linguist.

Tei Odetsbi³, captain.

18. **Osudoku**.

Otu Adshina, king; Dshabakō, chief and captain; Nyākō Geli, linguist.

Krako, Lawē Gbetō, Māte Aba, Māte Akplatshe, Māte Kaka, Tete

Kpokploto, Nā Akra, Tekute, grandees.

Kplada⁷, captain.

19. **Shai**.

Nagāi, king; Tei Dshabene, chief (mankralo); Osabute Okōmfā, linguist.

Okōmfā Badu, Nāteñwa, Otu, Omli, Abobi, Ankam, Esi, Atekpō, grandees.

Mahāmā Apekō⁴, Aboano Sisimienu³, Akrofi⁷, captains.

20. **Akuapem**.

Akropong: Ado Dankwa, king; Apenteñ, Aye Kumā, linguists.

Obirikorane, linguist for the Danish government.

Body-guard. Kwabena Ntiñ, chief captain; Opāre Kwadwo, Kwasi

Adae, Bampo, captains of the Apešmakāfo¹⁰ (p. 120); Osāe Kwa-

bena, chief stool-bearer.

Van. Ofee Hene, chief captain, mankralo.

Amanokrom: Mensā, chief captain.

Aburi: Kwāfum, chief captain; Ofee Dankwa, captain.

Afwerease: Opāre Tomfo. — Berekuso: Fāfo, captain.

Right Wing. Awukugua: Opese, chief captain.

Abouse: Anobi, captain.

Adukrom: Apagya Kofi, influential captain.

Apirede:

Odawu: Asiedu. — Abiriw: Aboagye, Budu, captains.

Left Wing. Date, Ahenease: Asiedu Kōkō, chief captain. Otu, Akoi.

Kubease: Agyemrā I. — Manfē: Agyekum. — Mampōu: Pobi Kumā.

Tutu: Animpōñ. — Obosomase: Adotia.

21. **Akem Abuakwa**.

Kyebi: Dokuwa, queen; Ampōforo, prince; Bosompem, linguist.

Body-guard. Kwabeñ: Apenteñ¹⁰, chief captain.

Kyebi: Dwā Tenteñ¹⁰, Ofosu Hene, Apea Dwā, Boapea Nkrañ¹⁰, Ofori

Tiri¹². — Kwantanañ: Amoakō¹².

Van. Kukurantumi: Kofi Aberantee², chief captain.

Apapam: Apagya Fori². — Tafò: Abuo. — Asuom: Ofosuhene Apenteñ.
— (Akem) Akropong: Nifā.

Right flank of the Van. Wankyì: Obeñ¹³, chief captain.

Asāmañ: Amāwia¹³. — Abommosu: Asare Dua¹³ — Kade: Ofosupem¹³. — Ogyadam (Bremso): Kwakye Kyēame¹³. — Aduasā: Oti-boa¹³. — Otumi: Amaue¹³.

Right Wing. Asiakwa: Gyeke, chief captain.

Akyēase: Ata Kwadwo. — Asafò: Anyāi. — Nsutam: Okomfo Danso.
— Akakom: Adu Amoa. — Anyinasii: Aboagye. — Apapatia: Oheneba Amaniñ.

Left Wing. Begoro: Awua¹⁴, chief captain.

Otwēreso: Ohene Kwā¹⁴. — Apinamañ: Odame¹⁴. — Apedwa: Obeñ Ayekwa¹⁴. — Osimno: Kwaniri Akem¹³. — Fankyeneko: Apori Yaw¹³. — Dwēnease: Kwaw Sika¹³. — Abompe: Odakwa Boñ¹³.
— Banso: Kwaku Kumā¹³. — Opame: Ayim Yaw¹³.

22. Akem Kotoku.

Gyadam: Agyemañ, king; Tete Ason, linguist.

Body-guard. Gyakari, Adu Kōkō, captains.

Van. Soadru: Kwāgye Ampaw, chief captain.

Aseni: Dompere, Asante Ami. — Dā: Gyimā Yeboa, Adu Kwaku.

Right Wing. Dā: Apenteñ, chief captain.

Bankame: Ata. — Ofōase: Kwakye Fram, captains.

Left Wing. Bogyeseañwo: Asimeñ, chief captain.

Abāase: Efo. — Mmogso: Tete.

Rear. Mañso: Opōñ. — Dā: Boapea Nyame, Okēñi.

23. Akwamu.

Akwam': Akoto Yirifi Ampasaki, king; Qdee Kwaku, linguist.

Body-guard. Anown, chief captain; Kwabena Afadi¹², Oheneba Qfee¹² Dodu Kwaw¹², Kwadwo Yeboa¹². Kwadakō, stool-bearer; Asare Mansō, adantafo, Kwāme Ansā, basket-carrier.

Van. Dabara, Abosi, chief captains; Mante Kwadwo, Ohñakwaw.

Peki: Kwadwo Dee, chief captain.

Akwam': Asiedu Kwaku, Nyākō, Boakye, captains.

Right Wing. Senkye: Sreku, chief captain.

Kotropēe: Bamforo. — Akrade: Kwaw Akora. — Adome: Apea Kwasi.

— Pese: Kwaku Nyampon. — Apāso: Adu Akwara. — Apatifi: Sēkyei. — Gyakiti: Mamfē.

Left Wing. Akwam': Akomno Kuma (deputed Budu), chief (mankralo).

Atimpoku: Budu. — Agyina: Kofi Kuma. — Agyeboñ: Kwaw Tia.

— Anum: Kumi I. — Pōm: Akowua. — Akwam': Amēdi, Ansā Pram.

Rear. Akwan': Kwabena Mani, chief captain; Adipa, Oheneba Kete-ku, captains; Ofee, Kwā, Kronyo, captains and linguists.

Boso: Boso Nyākō, captain, linguist.

24. **Dankera**: Kwadwo Tibo, king.

25. **Asen**: Otibo Kumā, Gyebi, kings.

26. **Tshuforo**: Owusu Kōkō, king.

27. **Asikuma**: Aboagye, Kwasi Amankwā, chiefs.

28. **Agonā**: Nsabā: Kwamena Asamanin, king.

Nyākrom: Ata Kōkō. — Soaduru: Ayite. — Asafo: Asokō, chief capt.

29. **Cape Coast** (Guā): Bāni, Kwabena Manfoi, chief captains.

30. **Winneba** (Simpā): Ayerebi, king.

31. **Obutu**: Otu, chief; Ni Nsaki, Agyampofu, captains.

2. List of the names of the Generals and Captains who fought under the King of Asante at Katamansu.

Remark. The different bands or hosts (asafo) instituted by the kings of Asante are more than thirty; most of them are mentioned on page 119. In the following list we add "h = host" to such names which in the original list are often put instead of the name of the town; it is then not clear whether the home of those men is Kumase or some other place. The word "captain" may be supplied to all names to which no other title is added. The names of places have larger letters.

Asante, Kumase: Osee Yaw Akoto, Sraman-esi-adum, king.

Bantama: Awua, general, Koronti host.

Asafo: Dēe Kra, chief captain, Akwamu host.

Kumase: Sampane, chief captain, Adum host.

Body-guard.

Kumase: Opoku Fredefrede, chief captain. Owusu Para.

Asikesu: Osee Kwaku, chief captain.

Pampaso: Ntim. Fante (h): Yaw Dā. Ananta (h): Apea.

Ŋkonsoñ (h): Abu, prince Peremū; Adu See Tshatsha, linguist.

Oti Panyin, Kankam Paton, linguists: Kwaku Dua, captain.

Hyiawu (h): Yaw Panyin, Kankam. Samāhene: Ofosu Kra, treasurer.

Asampōn: Okra So.

Nsurobifo (h): Asamoā Wewewe. Akomfode (h): Adu Kwame.

Atanehene: Atakrobi, Owusu Dome.

Akyemfo: Owusu Ansā; Anumsafo (h): Ogyoben, shield-bearers.

Nkoñwasofo: Yaw Dabanka (Kokoroko), stool-bearer.

Kukruba: Osee, carriers' captain.

Atufua: Bosommuru Bōman, chief captain: Asante, Okra Kwāten.

Apesemakā (h): Kwantanān: Amoakō. Oten Akwasi.

(Asante) Apagya (h): Osee; Anamarekō (h): Osee Kōfo.

Ankōbea (h): Amankwā Abunyawa.

Van. Kumase: Owusu Kwantabisa, general.

Agona: Gyedu Kumanini. — Antoahene: Boakye Atansā. — Asareso:

Kwadwowa. — Asamañ: Obugyei. — Makom: Akosā. — Okyirikrom: Gyoku. — Abooso: prince Gyekye. — Asinua: Kukuwa. —

Bāmañ: Bēkōe. — Bōmañ: Yaw Akotia. — Yayāse: Owusu Yaw.

— Abenkyirem: Gyamara. *Advance guard.* Kumase: Dankesewa.

Left flank of the Van. Nsuta: Yaw Sekyere, Akrofrom: ? — Ntonso: ? — Kuntraase: Antwi, Akokofe, Barimpa, chief captains.

Left Wing. Kumawu: Odabo, general.

Abodom: Yaw Kuma. — Fumesua: Osee. — Hima: Afum. — Oti-

krom: Agyei Boahyeñ. — Kwāso: Adabo. — Apromaase: Fosu. —

Bōmañ: Adu Brade. — Tafo: Agyiñ Firempōñ. — Asienmpōñ:

Kwasi Anofi. — Akylene-krom: Adu Kwaku. — Kwāmañ: Moama.

— Amoafō: Osee. — Oduunase: Gyañ Mereku. — Abarakaso: Kofi.

Right flank of the Van. Dwaben: Boaten, king and general.

Domakwae: Ewi Asumoa; Hyiawu (h?): Okyere Panyin; Abefirem:

Anpoti Poku, body-guard captains. — Apemso: Sapoñ, Mmoręntoę

captain. — Behenease: Gyęsi, Anow, captain. — Edwapoñ: Dinkyene.

Pianyinaase: Kwanim.

Abhyęnfo (h): Kanyaraase: Okyere; Awiom: Pipim; Adęnkyemara-

raso: Opoñ Wareg; Ahenkuro: Apea; Adweso: Borobe; Esereso:

Otomfo; Mampontęñ: Kagya Panyin; Asāmañ: Kwaw; Nyama;

Pampaso: Koba Adobe.

Right Wing. Mampōñ: Atakora Kwame, general.

Alidwāase: Oduā. — Osee Kwame, gyaasefo (body-guard's) captain. —

Gyamaase: Agyam Boaten. — Pataase: Kwame Panyin.

Apesemakā (h): Asōkyē: — Akomfode (h): Krampo; — Apagya (h):

Akwasi Adae; — Nsurogyafo (h): Kwabena Kuma. — Damenda:

Kwabena Dam; — Benim: Kwaku Ketewa.

Akoññwasofo (stool-bearers): Obonjandwēñ.

Hausafo: Fetwāfo. — Adwira: Yaw Pampani.

Nkoransa: Owusu Ansā: Ofęso: Gyañ Firempōñ; (Asante) Adweso:

Okyere Adabrabewa, chief captains.

Asōtwē: Kwadwowa Borobe. — Bomwere: Okāe.

Rear. Akyęmpim: Adu See Kra, general.

Dumakwae: Nsuase Poku, linguist. — Akumantu: Baahene, chief.

Hāwa: Opāwa. — Asem: Tebi. — (Asante) Akropōñ: Adu Ansere.

Additions and Corrections.

Rem. Owing to the great distance between the dwelling-places of the first and second reviser, the latter had not the whole of the manuscript before him, but got it in portions which he sent the same distance back to the printer, as likewise the corrected proof-sheets. Some additions which ought to have been inserted each in its place, came to light behindhand and are now given here together with corrections of misprints etc., especially with a view to a subsequent new work or edition. The pages are given in fat figures, the lines (40 on a page) are counted from above.

P. 1. under the last line: "Asante", which was meant as a mark for the book-binder, is superfluous.

10, line 32 (*to* on the coast with *add*) his sister Agbā Lale Adenao and
12, 23 *read* Zege (*for* Yege).

22, 25 *dele* fully successful or. 28 *read* gave over (the head of Okai Koi) to the Akwamus (*for* took with them).

24, Chapter III, line 4 *enlarge the superscription as it is on p. XII.*

25, 33 *read* Gbaga (*for* Ngmaka).

33, 26 *r.* Akem (*f.* Atshem). 36, 26 Bote-Annō.

43, Chap. IV, superscription, *add* Gyakari *after* Ntim.

47, 3, Amofo, Pompong. — l. 39 Bekwae; 54, 9 Bekwae.

53, 7; 55, 22 and 56, 5 Ntim Gyakari.

55, 16 "Dabi m'bedu Adunku m'eda, on the day I reach Adunku I shall sleep soundly." And while Ntim Gyakari was thus engaged in singing and dancing, the 300 old women whose noses he had purposely cut off with a cruel and hellish view of composing a nasal choir, were also singing through their noses: "Obensua ba Ntim ē, f̄wē merē yēahū ō!" — which means: "Just observe what we suffer, Obensua's son, Ntim!"

70, 9, 11; 77, 19 *read* cousin (*for* brother).

73, 19 Lānimo be we . . . l. 29 Akwamus.

74, 7: the Akems' supremacy.

78, 7 and 85, 3 Adwumankō — *perhaps better* Adwumakō.

120, 5 Asokōfō (*f.* Asoṅkofo).

125, 4—15 *read thus*: 1. There are four different kinds of neck-laces made of the young light-green shoots of palm-leaves or fibres, which are called "kōmi" by the Akras. Such a lace, when worn at the neck, is a symbol of a solemn vow of dedication and devotedness of one's life entirely to the service of a certain national fetish, or a symbol of being doomed to be sacrificed in the burial of a high personage.

a. Gā-kōmi is made of a thread-like creeping plant called nyanyara by the natives, and is rubbed all over with white clay.

b. Lakpā-kōmi is made of the young light-green shoots of the oil-palm-leaves and is dyed red. When a bride is to be sought for a new

priest of Lākpa, this symbol is used. When placed on the neck of any Camwood-girl of any town whatever, she is dedicated, even if betrothed already, to become the priest's wife.

c. Adañme-kōmi is made of a kind of twine made of the fibres of the young light-green leaves of a species of palm called "adobe".

d. Akyere-mmerenkusonono is made of the green leaves of the oil-palm, and is folded into an equilateral triangle, having the adjoining sides formed into three knots. When placed on one's neck, it is a symbol of being doomed for a sacrifice in the burial of a high personage.

128, 40 *read* Fandraka (*for* Jandraka).

144, 36 scarcity of provisions.

144, 40; **145**, 1 (*for* But though . . .) *read*: Becoming aware of how deceitfully they were dealt by the Akuapems, they stood united against their common foe.

155, 16 *insert*: Private Jonas Reindorf was also severely wounded on the head by a club. The assailants, however, were unable to carry the prisoner Paspō away in triumph, the soldiers being assisted by those from the castle in securing the prisoners back to their cell.

166, 9 the stool. — **167**, 34 Fiti. — **177**, 38 Odede

178, 7—38 should be thus joined to **183**, 6: either a slave or pawn to the rich men in the country. Yet they were at that time etc.

279 (Foot-note). We insert the following on Local Improvements, recorded in the Gold Coast Almanack for the year 1844, in behalf of the late Mr. Henry Barnes.

"In the year 1843 two important improvements have been completed, which merit especial notice. The most prominent of these is the foundation of a carriage road from Anomabo to the village of Akroful, a distance of ten miles. This most laborious and useful work has just been completed, after three years' incessant labour, entirely by the enterprise and perseverance, and at the sole expense of Mr. Henry Barnes, merchant in Anomabo. His object in commencing this laborious task was to enable him to transport to the coast the magnificent timber with which the interior of the country abounds, upon carriages constructed for the purpose, he having been the first person to engage in the timber-trade (as a regular business) in this country, which he did so long ago as the year 1830. It is to be hoped that he will derive adequate pecuniary advantages from the facilities of transport afforded by this road; but, as the public generally will derive infinitely greater benefit from it than he can do as an individual, it is also to be hoped that the Local Government will speedily be in a position to repay to him at least some portion of the actual expenses incurred.

"The other improvement referred to is the construction of an elegant and durable stone bridge of two arches, thrown over the brook which separates the District of Cape Coast from that of Anomabo. For the completion of this most useful work the public are also in a great measure indebted to the public spirit and active enterprise of Mr. Barnes. For, though the actual expenses incurred were borne by the Govern-

ment, yet Mr. Barnes gave, gratuitously, his valuable superintendence during the progress of the work, — without which it is not probable that it could have been completed. It is to be hoped that the Cape Coast Almanack for 1845 will record the completion of the carriage-road from Cape Coast to Anomabo."

284. We gratefully remark under this chapter that our Colonial Government are now becoming alive to some of the most important wants of the Colony, and have begun to encourage agriculture by having established a Botanical Garden at Aburi, in which have been planted a great many marketable plants and seeds of every description from the Royal Gardens, Kew; Botanical Station, Lagos; Botanical Gardens, Jamaica and Trinidad; Botanical Station, British Guinea etc. And we are highly thankful to his Excellency Sir William Brandford Griffith, Governor and Commander-in-chief of the Gold Coast Colony, who takes special interest in agriculture and encourages the natives thereto. We need not remark that the next important step is Roads! Roads!

In Appendix B, the list of the Kings and Royal Family of Asante, the names are given closer to the Tshi way of writing. — A letter from Christiansborg, 10 June 1895, remarks that Yā Afere, the second niece of Kwaku Dua I., would have come into power, when Afua Kobi (her elder sister) and her son King Mensā Bonsu were deposed in 1883; but she died during those days: hence Yā Kyēā, the daughter of Afua Kobi, succeeded in conspiring with the chief of Bekwae to make war against Kokofu etc. and so placed her son Kwaku Dua II on the stool, whereby Yā Afere's son Twēreboannā, who had the nearer right to the stool, was set aside.

List of Illustrations.

- Portraits: C. C. Reindorf, frontispiece; Mr. Richter, p. 212; A. Riis, p. 225; J. G. Widmann, J. Zimmermann, J. G. Christaller facing p. 230, Governor Schömming, p. 269.
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 Christiansborg Castle 1862 — facing p. 340.



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