

Rev. Carl Christian Reindorf

THE 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

REV. CARL CHRISTIAN REINDORF

NATIVE PASTOR OF THE BASEL MISSION
EVANGELICAL MISSION SOCIETY
CHRISTIANSBORG, GOLD COAST

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
by
DR C. E. REINDORF, O.B.E., M.D., B.S.

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DEDICATION

By

C. J. REINDORF, F.R S.A.

Repeated enquiries having been made from all parts of the Gold Coast Colony and from all classes of the community for copies of the "History of the Gold Coast and Asante" by my late father, the Rev. C. C Reindorf, which is out of print, it has been found necessary to publish a second Edition. The usefulness of this work especially to those who desire to acquaint themselves with the traditions and customs of this country as well as with the authentic records of events within recent times, cannot be gainsaid Nor is the fact denied that the book is regarded as an authority in our Law Courts where Judges are oftentimes called upon to decide on matters having particular reference to our customs an usages—the only use to which it has been put officially

It was the ardent desire of my late father to have the history revised, but owing to ill-health in the latter part of his life this wish could not be gratified

The matter in the first Edition has not undergone any radical change with the exception of a few alterations here and there which have been found necessary, and corrections of the dates

To the loving memory of my late father, the Rev C C Reindorf, this Edition is dedicated

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 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 Klote at Christiansborg, if I had not been born a mulatto and become a Christian. My worthy grandmother Okako 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 Krobo 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, &c., 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 Osu 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 work into 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 Nurnberg, 1675; Fr. Römer, a Danish merchant in Christiansborg from 1735-43, published at Copenhagen, 1769; Dr. P E. Isert, Copenhagen, 1788; H. C. Monrad, a Danish Chaplain in Christiansborg from 1805 to 1809, 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, devided 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 Coasts 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 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.

An 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.

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BIOGRAPHY OF
REV. CARL CHRISTIAN REINDORF

By

DR. C. E. REINDORF, O.B.E., M.D., B.S.,
DURHAM

FOREWORD

To write anything like a complete Biography of my late father, Rev. Carl Christian Reindorf, Pastor of the Basel Evangelical Missionary Society, is to review the religious, political and social History of the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast Colony, West Africa, during the nineteenth century.

For our present purpose, however, I shall narrate the many incidents of his life as noted down by himself a few years before his lamented death, which occurred at Christiansborg, Accra, on the first day of July, 1917, at the ripe age of 83.

That Carl Christian Reindorf was one of the most remarkable men produced by the African Race, there can be no doubt whatever. His many-sided activities, his religious zeal and evangelising ardour in the reclaiming of his countrymen from the darkness of superstition and fetishism to the light of the Gospel and civilization, his military exploits and quasi-medical skill, his political acumen and genuine patriotism, and above all, his patient industry as the Author of the "History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti", all these qualities stamp him at once as a man of genius and one of the most intellectual sons of the Gold Coast. He was eminently a self-made man and, considering that he never had a University education like Rev. Philip Quacoo, B.A., Oxford, of the S.P.G., in the early part of the eighteenth century, and was never sent to Europe or any seat of learning for his training, it may be said of him as was said of another great man that "he was Janus of literature and Bolingbroke in the Senate", and as far as his life was concerned with its kaleidoscopic incidents, we may compare him with Perrault of whom Andrew Lang says· "He was born irregular; an architect without professional training; a man of letters by inclination, and a mortal by some kind of accident."

As I have said this sketch is not intended to be a critical biography of the author; it is simply a "moving picture of great

events thrown on the screen, lest we forget". In this light I may be pardoned if I seem to be uncritically eulogistic.

All men have their failings and weak points as human beings; and as Dr. Johnson says: "Men of the greatest geniuses are often modest and dare not venture in public; they certainly know their faults in worse things and even their best things they are not fond of; because the idea of what they ought to be is far above what they are." His life story as a Church worker reads like a romance at this distance of time in Missionary enterprise. When the time comes for his critical biography to be written, the lights and shades of his character will be better delineated, it will then be time to leave the verdict to posterity.

Viewed from the standpoint of a hard-working pastor of the Church, his many activities as a teacher, catechist and pastor through whom many were led unto salvation, his literary works, as a translator and composer of hymns in the Ga Hymn Book, as the Author of the "History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti", and in absence of qualified doctors, acting as a native surgeon and physician for white and black alike, the healing of various people in the various native wars and, above all, his being a member of the Bible Revision Committee even in his advanced age, all these single him out in his character as a model of an unassuming and modest Church-worker, a true Christian, a patriot and a philanthropist.

I.

EARLY PART OF HIS LIFE

Carl Christian Reindorf was born on the 31st May, 1834, at Prampram near Great Ningo, some twenty miles eastward of Accra, the capital of the Gold Coast Colony (the headquarters of the Government was then at Cape Coast) during the presidency of McLean. His grandfather was Reindorf Hackenburg, born in 1765, of Danish extraction, and his father was Carl Hackenburg Reindorf, born in 1806 on the 30th November, who subsequently married Miss Anowah Amah Ashon Cudjoe

of Kuorkor Adjiman family of "Apiade", a sub-division of Asere quarter, Accra. He had two sisters, Elizabeth Reindorf and Anna Angelia Reindorf. The latter, as will appear subsequently, was married to an English gentleman called Ridley, a merchant, who carried on business at Prampram. As evidence of the gross superstition reigning at that time in spite of the existence of the Christian religion, and the father being a Christian, young Carl was made the adopted child of a fetish called Digbla or Ligbla, so as to preserve his life. He got away to Accra, however, pretty early in life from this den of superstition His father was a factor to Ridley at Prampram at the time. It is to be noted that Fort Vernon was built by the English at Prampram in the 18th century, so that Prampram, then a port of considerable importance, was directly under James Town, Accra, politically as well as socially, and did not form part of the Danish Protectorate extending from Christiansborg to Quittah on the littoral and including the whole of Akwapim, Krobo and Krepe to the North, at that time. His parents, in the course of their business, had to leave Prampram for Krepe to barter raw products for manufactured goods Consequently he was sent down to his grandmother, Amarkai of Gbese, Accra, at the age of six This was in 1840 On his father's return, however, from Krepe, he was sent for, and taken to Christiansborg in order to attend school in the Castle in 1842 at the age of eight He was baptised by Rev Theophilus Jorgensen, the Danish Pastor in the Castle, on the 7th April, 1844, when he was about ten years old He was baptised with several other mulatto boys. He was confirmed on the 26th September, 1852, with some other candidates. After having attended the Danish School for four years, he left, together with his elder brother Carl (senior), to attend the Basel Mission School then newly opened. Rev. Zimmermann of the Basel Evangelical Mission had arrived as a missionary and tutor. He had started a school where he taught Ga language but young Carl did not quite like the school in Ga, so he left and went away to Wokumagbe, some twelve miles from Great Ningo as you go towards the Volta, and there started trading. He used to trade as far as the Awuna country. However, as it was thought he had not completed his

education, his parents sent for him and he returned and continued his schooling in the same Basel Mission School. At that time there was a High School established where catechists can be trained for missionary work. To this school he was sent. In 1854, the year in which Christiansborg was bombarded by the English, the Mission under Rev. Zimmermann, where young Carl Reindorf was being trained, was temporarily removed to Accra. They next went to Abokobi from Accra and started clearing the bush to build a Mission House. This checked his educational career to some extent. The scholars asked to be allowed to leave the school so as to take up secular employment elsewhere. This suggestion did not lend itself as a good one to Rev. Zimmermann. But they were, however, reluctantly let out of the school to be employed as catechists in January, 1855. Young Carl Reindorf was first appointed as a catechist to start the Mission work at a Teshi village called Damfa, South-East of Ayimensah, where he laboured for some time

The period of his work in the Mission covered a space of 50 years, and the following is a résumé of his religious activities

He started, as we have seen, his missionary work at Damfa in 1855. His pupils, in the school which he started, used to assist their parents in their farms, and to encourage them, he used to assist them in their farm work and, during the day, he read and explained portions of the Bible to them. Gradually some of them started reading the Ga Books.

II.

WORK AT ABOKOBI

He was transferred to that young Mission from Damfa. He made that place his headquarters when he travelled far and wide to the outlying villages proclaiming the Gospel. There were many conversions. The catechumen applied for and received baptism. Rev. Steinhauser was then the Missionary in charge of the district. It was in this year, 1856, that Reindorf composed the Ga Hymn No. 259: "Lelen ake Yehowa ke hedsole ko be

kwra" and it gave him much enthusiasm in the compilation of the Ga Hymn Book. Rev. Steinhauser used to send him to Odumase, Krobo District, on behalf of the Mission, to the then Chief of the place called Odonkor Azzu. It was due to his frequenting Krobo that the Chief gave three of his sons, viz.: Nyako (the father of the present Honourable Konor Mate Kole), Agwai and Laweh for training by the Mission. They were baptised and had schooling. They used to come to Abokobi to spend their Christmas season and gradually the Mission struck root at Odumase also. In the year 1857, he prolonged his visit at Odumase and it was there that Hymn No. 343 was also composed ("Kpakpa be zugba ne no", &c.).

He returned to Abokobi a little after this and, as Rev. Steinhauser had then been transferred to Christiansborg, he was appointed his successor to supervise the Church there. It was during this year that the great Teshi Fetish Priest Mohenu was converted. He gave him lessons, was baptised and subsequently became a staunch evangelist and a minister of the Gospel.

Reindorf was promoted a full catechist in the same year. He married on the 8th January, 1856, Miss Ayikai Mansah Djebi, a member of the Jarsi of the Ga Manche's Stool on her mother's side and on the father's side, a member of Owule Mona, also a sub-division of Asere quarter, from whom he had eleven children.

In the year 1858, a war broke out between the Gas and the Krobos. This is commonly called 'Addady Ta' or 'Krobo Ta'. It was Reindorf's duty, as a prominent member of Ashanti Blohum Jarsi, to enlist. He, therefore, with the permission of the Mission, took with him the Abokobi Christians and they went together with the Christiansborg division. In so far as Ologo Patu, the Chief of Western Krobo, who provoked the war, was made a prisoner of war at the outset of the hostilities, there was no fighting and a peace was concluded Reindorf was in 1859 transferred to Krobo to carry on the Mission there. He was received very gladly, but on one occasion a curious thing happened which nearly marred the whole of his good relations with the converts. Mrs. Reindorf, being an Accra woman who knew how to make 'kankey', was asked by the husband to make him some

'Abolo' (native baked bread). Unfortunately, he was not aware that it was contrary to the custom of the Krobos to indulge in the use of this particular kankey because it was alleged that Nadu, their chief fetish, disliked baked leavened bread. Whilst the bread was being prepared, the Krobos got the wind of the abomination. They therefore came in a body thoroughly enraged and heaped quite a lot of abuse on his poor wife, but by a Providential intervention and the fact that the people were told the police would come for their arrest, they did no harm and went quietly back to their respective homes.

III.

WORK AS A TEACHER IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, AKROPONG

His next field of labour was at Akropong in the Akwapim District in November, 1860. He went as an Assistant Teacher in the Theological Seminary under the Principalship of Reverends Auer (afterwards Bishop of Cape Palmas) and Hermisch. Isaac Addo was appointed Assistant Teacher at the same time. Some of their pupils, who were afterwards ordained as ministers, were Engmann, Opoku and Koranteng (the father of Ex-Omanhene Ofori Kuma II). In 1862 he temporarily retired and went to his land near Aburi, which he had named 'Hebron' where he built. He made a coffee plantation and farmed. Not long after this, he received a letter from Rev. Locher, the Basel Missionary at Christiansborg, to the effect that the Mission had appointed him to establish at Teshi. There was no Mission House there at the time, consequently he lodged with one Adjaye Kotorkor, the father of Daniel Abblorh (afterwards ordained and since deceased). The Chief of Teshi at that time was Adjaye Okpong. Reindorf met the townsmen and their chief on several occasions with the object of being given pupils for training, but without success. He used to preach at his residence on Sunday mornings and in the afternoons he engaged in open air preaching. At this stage, since the work did not prosper, it was long before he was

transferred back to Christiansborg to assist Rev. Schrenk with Church work. In 1864 he was sent back to Teshi, where he started afresh, but still no success attended his efforts at conversion, though he redoubled his energy. He used to go to the Teshi villages on preaching campaign. During these tours, he visited a Teshi village called Sasabi. There he met a relative of his by the name of Bortey Kpetenkple. He gave him one boy, Samuel Dsane, for training; being the only boy and, in order to induce him to get more, he was asked by Rev. Adlinger to secure him further number of boys whom he would like to pay the wages of 6d. per month. Dsane succeeded in getting two other boys. During that time Abblorh's brother, named Akpor Oserkreh, who, at that time, was already a married man with his wife and children, tried his best to learn how to read the Ga.

IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BASEL MISSION MIDDLE TRAINING SCHOOL

About this time the need was felt for a higher grade of school, and Rev Aldinger, who had then established a Middle School, was made the first Inspector and Teacher. But since the mission work at Teshi was not so satisfactory, Reindorf was transferred again to Christiansborg to assist the teaching staff, then made up of Kotei, Elias Ofori, Frederick Palm and Noah Agwai, as Assistant Native Teachers.

In 1865 Reindorf's father died on the 18th of December, at the age of 59

In 1866 a war broke out between the Addahs and Awunas. The Addahs invited the Gas to assist them. The Christiansborg people, being a portion of the Gas, had to go also. The Head Chief of Christiansborg approached late Thomas Svanikier to supervise Ashanti Blohum people to the war. The Mankralo of this quarter at that time was Tetteh Wuruku. The elders of the quarter called on Reindorf too to go on the expedition with them. He applied to the Mission for leave to join, which was readily

granted and, as the assistant Captain, he went to the expense of buying 15 flint lock guns with 15 kegs of gunpowder and shots, pouches, extra shots and a quantity of foodstuffs. The whole of his workmen at 'Hebron' agreed to go with him. The expedition started in March, 1866, and arrived at a place called Kenya, an hour's trekking from Mlefi; Svanikier in the meantime fell ill, so had to abandon the enterprise, leaving his people in Reindorf's charge. As the Mlefis had sided with the Awunas, the expedition left Kenya and arrived at Mlefi on the 17th March. The Mlefis having got the wind of the march of the expedition on their town quitted and crossed the Volta encamping with the Awunas at Adidome. Captain Humphrey, the English leader of the expedition, with his West Indian troops, had arrived in the meantime. In view of the fact that the Mlefis had crossed over in all their canoes to the Awuna Bank of the Volta, the Captain selected and despatched some Addahs to attempt to bring the canoes back. In this enterprise a skirmish ensued with the result that a good many of the Addahs were killed and many wounded. Captain Otumfuoo was killed in this action, and the late William Narh Ocansey was severely wounded Dr. Davies, the Army Surgeon, a native of Sierra Leone, who accompanied the West Indian troops, attended the wounded, extracted bullets and dressed their wounds. In this work, Reindorf acted as an Assistant and Dresser. As Captain Humphrey's orders were not faithfully obeyed or carried out by the Chief, he had to return with his troops, together with Dr. Davies. In a subsequent fight which ensued after their departure wherein the Gas and the Addahs engaged the Awunas, the burden of extracting bullets and dressing wounds fell to the lot of Reindorf and, in this, he did his work admirably and saved many lives By the Grace of GOD, he came out of the war unscathed and, on his return, he rejoined his Mission as a soldier of Christ. Owing to increase in the number of students, it was found necessary to build two schools for the Mission, the Boarding and the Middle Schools. The granting of land for the building of this Institution was made feasible through his instrumentality. He approached the Ashanti quarter people for land, which was duly granted. The

Principal of the Middle School at that time was Rev. Zerweck and Rev. Weiss was the Boarding School Principal. Reindorf was the Head Teacher at the Middle School, whilst the late David Kotei was the Principal Teacher of the Boarding School. Owing to some unfortunate misunderstanding, Reindorf in 1869 was within an ace of resigning the work, but the matter having been amicably settled, he continued. A little while after this, he was made an Assistant to the Rev. Zerweck in superintending the Church at Christiansborg The principal work then consisted in holding class meetings for both male and female Christians, he further instituted house to house morning prayers among the Christians. Some time after this, he was made a presbyter along with Engmann and John Anum

In 1870 a war broke out again between the Gas and Awunas —"Akwamu war of 1869 to 1870"—and it became necessary for an expedition to be sent Under Reindorf's leadership all able-bodied Christiansborg Christians formed themselves into a Company and followed the Chief of Osu (Christiansborg) to the war. He preached morning and evening, besides Sundays. He further took the opportunity of teaching many how to read and write Ga. The expedition started on the 19th June, 1870, and encamped at Doffor on the Eastern side of the Volta Governor Ussher of Christiansborg, Accra, and Governor John Glover of Lagos, joined the expedition and, arriving with a light draught man-o'-war, thew shelled and bombarded the town of Doffor. On the arrival of this distinguished Company, Reindorf ordered his Company of Christians to welcome them with the following hymn composed by him in the vernacular to the tune of *"God save the King"*. The Governors and their suites were very much pleased. The literal translation (with no attempt at rhyming) is as follows

1. Comrades and countrymen
   Your guns and flints prepare
   We are the race of the Gas
   Lo the men that were seen
   at Katamanso war,
   Fought with gladness.

2. *Men's time has now arrived*
Arise, arise, and fight;
E'en unto death:
For weal or woe we stand
Our backs we'll never turn
As at Katamanso
Our foes we'll rout.

3. Our father's God we pray
Help, oh help thine children;
Behold our race:
Thou hearest our holy noise,
If victory thou givest us
In thine name do we win,
We praise thee, Lord!

About this time Reindorf received the following letter at Battoh from His Excellency Governor Ussher·

"Battoh, 25th June, 1870.

Mr. C. Reindorf, Assuchary.

Sir,

Please to communicate and act with the kings and Mr. Bannerman and Domprey They will give you every information and such assistance, as I can give, will not be wanting. Try and get your people to act together as you have now a chance which you will never again get for some time The steamer must return to Lagos by the 30th therefore she cannot come up again. But as Doffor is cleared out, you having nothing to fear behind you. You have only the Akwamus and their Asante allies to deal with which with your large army and good resources will be easy.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
(SGD) H. T. Ussher.
Administrator."

In view of the contents of this letter, and after finishing there, the attack was made on the Akwamus. There were many gun-shot wounds, and over 300 of Accras wounded were treated by Reindorf. He extracted over 300 gun-shots from the patients, in which work he was assisted by William Hesse, who carried a calabash behind him into which he dropped as many bullets as were extracted. In consequence of this heavy work, his feet got so swollen and sore that he was obliged to get into hammock, in perambulating the camp, engaged in this work of mercy. On their return home, he again rejoined the Mission. Rev. Schrenk now appealed to him to go and continue the Mission work at Labadi. In consequence, he joined Rev. Schrenk and applied to the then Chief Marley Achem for a piece of land for the site of a chapel This was granted. The place was named 'Emaus'. The work of erecting the building was put in Reindorf's hands. He hired working men from Accra, who started the work, but, as a portion of Labadi people would not allow the building to be erected, nor permit his workmen to take water from their reservoir, he was obliged to send for water, which was conveyed in barrels from Christiansborg, and then the foundation was laid, but it was discontinued the next morning Part of the Labadians, who were opposed to the erection of the chapel in their town, pulled the foundation wall down and carried the stones elsewhere from the spot. The Klolo Fetish Priest by the name of Boye-Fio thereupon took action against Chief Marley Achem at the Supreme Court, Accra, to show cause why he gave the land to the Mission, as it belonged to him; but Boye-Fio lost his case, and the land was vested in the Mission, and the Mission, in consequence of this action, was able to complete the chapel without further molestation.

In 1872, on the 13th October, Reindorf was, after a conference of ministers, ordained as a full Minister of the Church. He took as text of his sermon on the occasion, Acts ix, 6. After this event, he was appointed Minister for Mayera, a village of some seventeen miles North-West of Accra. It was whilst there that the Glover-Coomassie War of 1873 took place. His people thought he would join the expedition, as on previous occasions,

and so did Captain Glover, who knew him. But he could not go; he, therefore, appointed one Emmanuel Teiko in his place, and Rev. Schall sent him for the subsistence of the Christians—the sum of £34.

V.

WORK AT MAYERA

Owing to the difficulty felt in getting boys for his school at Mayera, he had to get 12 boys from Accra for a start, but, in order still to attract more boys, he personally underwent the expense of these boys—their clothing, school fees with Boarding and Lodging—from his own pocket and he named the school the *'Decoying School'*. He worked hard and founded class and prayer meetings for both, men and women. They attended service every Sunday morning and, on Saturdays, every person had to go for water and get firewood ready for the Sabbath, as no work was tolerated. All the streets in town and the houses were swept clean, Sundays were observed with great joy. This regimen was strictly observed and the people acquiesced in the new order of things with much zest. One Stephen Kwajo, who had been made Presbyter, used to be allowed to preach in the outlying villages and, being so successful in getting seven catechumen and ten boys at Kwashimang, Reindorf decided to put him in charge there and paid him a small monthly salary. Stephen Kwajo was so successful that he was able, in a short time, to erect a chapel with the assistance of the converts, and also a teacher's residence. On completion of the chapel, Reindorf begged the Missionaries for a harmonium for the Church, which was granted. As an appreciation of their good work and perseverance, they had the Harmonium free of cost. He appointed Abraham Tchwintor and Paul Odartei as Local Preachers, who journeyed about and preached in the villages under salary from his own pocket. Eventually, the Mission accepted them as workers in the Mission field and they were appointed evangelists. An old fetish man called Akoto Badoo, who was converted through their preaching, brought his

fetish and charms to them, and these were burnt. He was christened and took the name Abraham. In his turn, by his instrumentality, two fetish priests and one medicine man were converted and baptised. He used to preach throughout the outlying villages until he reached Obutu where, subsequently, a Mission was founded, and Rev. Saba was placed in charge. He travelled with him from Obutu, preaching until they reached Asafu and Kwanyaku and went throughout Simpah (Winnebah). At that time no one had gone to those parts on evangelising mission. By the grace of GOD, branches of the Mission were gradually established throughout those districts. For sixteen consecutive days they travelled and were preaching at all times and on all occasions until Abraham Akoto Badoo became hoarse and took seriously ill on his return to Mayera, but by the grace of GOD he recovered. As Reindorf used to travel extensively and, moreover, in consequence of the frequent illness of his children, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the native system of herbal treatment, he trained Badoo and others in the art. On one occasion one of the Missionaries was ill with dysentery or, as known by the natives, '*Ajowah*'. He sent Badoo to Christiansborg and he diagnosed the disease at first sight, and told the Missionary that it was dysentery or '*Ajowah*', but he would not believe him. On the white Missionary's return to Akropong whence he originally came, he found that Badoo was correct in his diagnosis. He sent for him subsequently and Badoo went to Akropong and succeeded in curing the Missionary of his ailment. He treated several whitemen who had this disease; they were brought to Mayera to be cured. Even the Bremen Mission from Quittah heard of this specific for dysentery and used to send for it in case any of them had an attack of the disease. His popularity grew apace as a native doctor, and several sick persons came to him to be cured. But observing that his practice was very much interfering with his evangelistic work, in addition to Badoo he trained one Samuel Obli and Daniel Ofori in the healing art so that henceforth he was able to carry on his work uninterruptedly and with perseverance. Reindorf was in charge at Mayera for ten years. He was transferred to Christiansborg in 1872. He worked with energy

and holy zeal for a further period of ten years and the Mission prospered exceedingly and grew in strength, number and grace. In 1883 on the 8th January of that year he celebrated his silver wedding. Many were glad to witness this and, in consequence, he had several valuable presents and mementos. He started the Accra or Ga Mission which prospered for some time but, failing health, consequent upon strenuous devotion, compelled him in 1893 to retire from active service. He went in retirement to his village at 'Hebron' for complete rest. He engaged in farming as a hobby but his restless activity found expression in his devoting time to mission work at Adenkrebi, not far from his village, and Rev. Seeger placed the mission there in his charge. When Reindorf was informed of the work of the revision of the entire Bible in Ga being contemplated, he undertook voluntarily to be a member of the Revision Committee consisting of Rev. Saba, Rev. Richter. They were engaged on the work of the revision for eight years and four months and in the year 1912 the complete revised edition of the Bible in Ga was published. On the 12th June, 1906, he completed the fiftieth year of his connection with the Mission and there was a thanksgiving service to which many of the native pastors were invited and attended with gladness and great joy and many presents were given to him in recognition of his past valuable services. In 1907 he left his village 'Hebron' and came home back to Christiansborg to end his days in a quiet retirement. His chief work during this period was the organisation of the Church, the revision of his monumental work, the "History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti" and other smaller works.

He celebrated his eighty-third birthday on the 31st May, 1917 His physical powers were now very much abated and, on the first day of July, 1917, the Lord took him away into His bosom. *Requiescat in pace.* He was buried at the Basel Mission Cemetery, Christiansborg. At the Funeral Service held on this occasion, the following Ministers gave an address Reverends Zürcher, Engmann, Quartey, Richter, Ofei, and Wentum.

CHAPTER 1.

A short description of the Gold Coast. The Kingdom of Guinea. Expeditions sent by Pharaoh Necho and the Carthaginians. F. Romer's reference to the Kingdom of Benin. Traditional accounts of emigration to this Coast. Different tribes, supposed to have been the aboriginal races on the Coast, and their Conquest. B.C. 600-570. A D 1400-1700

The name of Africa is derived from a Punic word, signifying, according to Bochart, 'ears of corn' Our subject is the Gold Coast, situated on the Western part of this great continent, which is called Guinea, and divided into two parts, Upper and Lower Guinea.

The Gold Coast is that portion of Upper Guinea which is bounded on the East by the River Volta The Western border extends from a point 20 miles to the eastward of the mouth of the River Asini on a meridian of W. long. 3°10′ (G) and farther inland 2°50′ or in the Tanno Valley, to a parallel of N. Lat. 6°20′. From thence the line of demarcation between Asante and the Gold Coast Protectorate bends east and south-east to the River Ofe near the town of Terebuom, follows that river down to its confluence with the Pra, and then ascends this river to the parallel of N. lat. 6°30′, from whence it at one time nearly followed that parallel to the River Volta. The boundary on the South is the Sea with a shore line of about 250 miles.

The Protectorate has an approximate area of 20,000 square miles, and a population of over a million

Ancient authors have asserted that Guinea was a mighty kingdom, whose princes had subdued numerous countries, uniting them into one powerful realm. This account is contradicted by other authorities who assert that no traces of such a kingdom had survived, and it appears that if a great united realm had ever existed, it had been divided into several independent states shortly before the arrival of the Portuguese.

The Phoenicians are supposed to have been the first strangers that visited the Gold Coast. Pharaoh Necho, King of Egypt, after

taking Sidom and subduing Phoenicia and Palestine, employed Phoenician mariners to circumnavigate Africa, which object they successfully accomplished about 600 B.C.

Thirty or forty years later the Carthaginians, who were the commercial rivals of the Egyptians, undoubtedly explored a great part of the Western Coast of Afrika; possibly they settled there; but with the caution characteristic of the commercial spirit, they concealed their discoveries from other nations. One important document has come down to us, which gives an account of the expedition of Hanno, the Carthaginian, who sailed with 60 ships of 50 Oars each and a body of men and women numbering 30,000 with stores and provisions. The object was to colonise and establish garrisons on the Western Coast of Africa; and Hanno appears to have visited the Gold Coast They caught two women covered with hair who defended themselves with such ferocity that it was found necessary to kill them. Their skins were taken to Carthage, and there is little room to doubt that they were Gorillas

The explorers saw a lofty fire, which appeared to touch the stars, but next day they discovered that the flame had arisen from a mountain, which they called the 'Chariot of the Gods'; and undoubtedly the flames arose from the annual burnings of the dried grass on the Coast during the Harmattan season. F. Romer, a Danish resident of Christiansborg in about the middle of the 18th century, states that the Gold Coast was a part of the great western division of the great territory of the Emperor of Benin, which extended from Benin up to the River Gambia, and was governed by kings appointed by the Emperor. Such a large empire could only be established and ruled by a great king like one of the Pharaohs; and there was doubtless a way for trade between Egypt and the Gold Coast The beautiful mosaic beads known as aggray beads, chiefly found on the Gold Coast, must have been brought from Egypt.

The insignia of the kings of Akra were like those used in Benin, and most of their religious ceremonies, e.g. killing the sacrificial animals with sharp stones instead of knives, in order to avoid defiling them, were also used in Akra.

It is necessary to glance at the traditional accounts existing

of the natives of the Gold Coast which appear to confirm Romer's statements. The first is the fact that the kings of Lagos were formerly appointed at Benin; the second is the existence of the following tradition which is generally believed by the natives. The ancestors of the tribes of Akra, Late, Obutu and Mowure are said to have immigrated from the sea, arriving on the Coast tribe after tribe. The Akra King Ayi Kushi and his son Ayite with their subjects, the tribe of Tungmawe, now Abora, had with them a prince with a few body guard, who had the commission to rule over the Twis (Akan) in the interior. The two princes, the Akra and Akyem sovereigns, each sent one man to spy out the land. They had to run a race, and he who first discovered the land was to claim pre-eminence for his king. The rival runners started, and the Akra man seeing that his opponent was outstripping him, pretended that a thorn had run into his foot, and asked the Twi man to lend him a knife to remove it. He replied: "How came a thorn on this rock?" When, however, he stooped to get him the knife, the Akra man took hold of his shoulders and jumped over him, exclaiming. "I first saw God!" and both men were then and there turned into the twin rocks known as Akwete and Akwete on the rock Tumo on the beach behind the Basel Mission Factory at Ussher Town or Dutch Akra.

The tribe of Gbese arrived first with two powerful priests, Amugi and Anyai These people took possession of the sites now occupied by Ussher and James Towns' population. King Ayi Kushi and his tribe of Tungmawe with the Obutus and the Ningowas followed. Wyete, the King of Obutu, although one of the last to arrive, was so covered with gold ornaments that he dazzled the people so much that it was proposed by the Akras that he should be king of all the immigrants. When he refused to accept the honour, the Akras seized one arm so violently, while his own people held the other, that one of them was plucked off, and the king prudently retired into the sea. The numerous tribe known as the Aseres then wanted to be the ruling power; and that so offended King Ayi Kushi that he also retired into the sea, but before doing so, he handed his sword to Prince Ayite, who at his father's request marched with all the Akras, Obutus,

and the Twi prince to Ayawaso, and 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 Akyem prince went to the interior to be ruler of the people there.

The ancestors of Mowure also are said to have risen from the sea in great numbers, so that someone having seen such a host of people coming out of the water, gave a great cry, which caused those who had not landed to remain in the water and became rocks.

The founder of Asabu, tradition states, was Amanfi, a giant, who, with his sister, accompanied by Kwagya, also a giant, are said to have come from the sea with a great number of followers. During their five days journey inland they were observed by a hunter, who, on seeing such a large body of men, clapped his hands and exclaimed· "How numerous!"

At this the line of people emerging from the sea, was suddenly separated from the others, and became petrified and transformed into different shapes and postures, which may be seen in the clear water extending to some distance.

The two giants, Amanfi's sister and their followers journeyed on together till they reached Iron Hill and descended to the road that leads to the base of another hill called Aberewa 'mfo. Here they parted, and Amanfi and his sister taking the road that leads to Akotakua, made for the interior, finally settling in Asabu. Kwagya, the other giant, followed the road leading to the beach, until he reached the brow of a promontory now known as Mowure, and finding the place suitable for fishing, he and his men halted. They, at once, set about clearing away the bush, finishing the work in six days. The above traditions appear to be mere folklore, but there may be truth in them. Being illiterates the people could not put their deeds in writing; and 'coming from the sea' is easily explained by the common phrase in daily use by workers: 'Ete nson'—he comes from the sea. Hence the immigrants may have come in big canoes or ships to this Coast.

The tradition of immigration from the sea exists also among the Twis, the Adanses and the Tafos in Akyem, and the Asantes say to this day, that certain people among them have ancestors

who came from the sea. Another instance endorsing Romer's statement is that of a prince of Akim coming from the sea in company with the Akras, which strengthens the belief that the Emperor of Benin appointed princes to rule his subjects in this part of his realm. The last instance we shall cite is the peculiar dress worn by the Chief Priest of Akra. A close examination of his official garb leads to the conviction that this worship must have had a foreign origin. There is no African nation or tribe which has advanced so far in their religious views as the Akras, and it is reasonable to believe that the Jewish ceremonies of worship that exist have been either introduced by or imitated from people who first came to this Coast. If that is not the reason, it may be accounted for by the presence of the Portuguese Catholics, who founded several churches on this Coast, and whose religion, after their expulsion, may have been corrupted by fetishism of the people.

Having pursued this subject so far, we arrive at another tradition, which says that the Akras and Adangbes emigrated together from Tetetutu, or, as some say from Same, in the East, between two large rivers After crossing the Volta, they dispersed over the country, the Krobos stayed on the Krobo mountain, the Shais on another, but the Akras reached the Coast and formed their settlements When the Akras and Ningowas were marching together in one body, it happened one night that the former hastily started and left their dough behind them, from which they were given their surname 'Masi', i.e. those who have left their dough, and the Ningowas, who were left behind, were called by the former 'Woloi', i e. sleepers.

The aboriginal race all along the sea coast and inland were nearly all of the Guan, Kyerepong, Le and Ahanta tribes, speaking different dialects of the Ahanta, Obutu, Kyerepong, Late and Kpeshi languages. They seem to have extended from Asini down to Tema, thence to the Volta where were situated the districts of the Les, speaking Adangme, the mother dialect of the Ga. In the interior were the Akan or Twi and Fante tribes who more probably, "when the Moslem invasion of Western Europe was stemmed, and the Christians reassorted their superiority in Sapin,

were driven by the Moors from Central Africa into the low-lying countries between the Kong mountains and the river Pra". Hence arose the tradition of the Fantes in reference to their emigration to the Coast, that they separated from the other emigrants and were called 'Ofatewfo', i.e. that part that separated from the main body. The emigrants from the interior, after crossing the river Pra, travelled along it to the Coast, and after subduing the aborigines or driving them along the Coast, they settled in the country between Sima (Chama) and Dwomma along the sea coast as well as in the interior. The Dankeras and Tshuforos cross the Pra, leaving the Ahanta and Guan aborigines on the South from Sima to Asini, and on the East from Dwomma to Langma or Cook's loaf.

The Fantes on arriving from Takiman, to settle among the former inhabitants of the land, encountered great opposition from the Asebus. They were looked upon as intruders, and the Asebus did all they could to make their stay there as unpleasant as possible. Their Chief, Amamfi, would try the sharpness of his billhook on the body of any Abora he chanced to meet; but they soon gave proof that they strongly objected to such treatment. Fighting soon followed, and several battles took place. The Asebus though inferior in numbers, were, through the great strength of their Chief Amamfi, always the conquerors, but the Aboras determined to make one more supreme effort to subdue the enemy. They asked their highest fetish Nananom what sacrifice they should offer to secure success, and by his advice they buried a certain creeping plant called by the Akras 'Akpatrokpo' in a pot near the enemy's town. The result was that all the warriors of Amanfi and Asabu, as well as the Chiefs themselves, were laid up by an attack of guinea worm. The Aboras then gave battle to the Asabus. Ofisadu, nephew of Asabu, and Captain of their Forces, was ordered to attack the enemy; and Amanfi and Asabu were too ill to lead their people. They soon realized the likelihood of their defeat; and on approaching the scene of action, and witnessing the retreat of their men; and, in addition, feeling the probability of their own capture, they retreated into the sea. The Aboras then took possession of the country. The retreat into

the sea may be understood to mean that they emigrated to some other place.

When the Gold Coast was under the Emperor of Benin and governed by kings appointed by him, peace prevailed throughout the country; but after the arrival of the Portuguese and the immigration of Tshi tribes, this happy condition terminated.

According to Bosman, at the end of the seventeenth century there were eleven powerful states on the Coast, besides those in the interior: they were Axim, Ante or Ahanta, Adom, Gabi, Kommani, Afutu, Saba (Asabu), Fante, Akron or Gomoa, Agona, and Akwamu.

The kingdom of Akra had already been destroyed by the Akwamus, which reduced the number to 11. Although as already stated the Guan and Ahanta tribes extended from Asini to Tema, the Le people reached from Mount Langma to the Volta; and the Akras appear to have driven some of those tribes to the Akuapem mountains and beyond the River Volta. What the Lates say about having 30 towns, and that the Kyerepongs had 50 towns, may have been true at the time. Thus we see that the tribes of Late Anum, Nkonya 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.

The coast and the inland part of the Eastern Province, i.e. from Mount Cook's loaf (Langma) to the Volta, have been the seats of powerful kingdoms, and there have been similar states in the Western Province. They included the kingdom of Akra, Obutu, Le or Ningo or Adangme, whose king had the title of Ladingcour or Lanimo (see Bosman, page 327), of Shuoyi near Sasabi, and several other states.

CHAPTER II.

Definition of Ga; its boundary; the first powerful kingdom formed by the Akras on the Coast. The first three kings. Akwamu, the first Akan refugee, and the formation of his state and power. The Portuguese and other Europeans form settlements on the Gold Coast for the purposes of the slave-trade The expedition to Aharamata by King Mankpong Okai. The tyrannical reigns of Queen Dode Akabi and her son Okai Koi, whose reign caused the destruction of the Kingdom of Akra by the Akwamus. 1500-1660.

'Ga' is the name particularly applied to the people and country bounded on the east by the lagoon Tshemu near Tema, west by the river Sakumo fio, south by the sea, and north by the Akwapem mountains. It is, however, generally applied to the people and land from the Cook's loaf or Langma to the Volta. The seven towns forming Akra proper are: 1. Ga, English or James Town (British Akra); 2. Kinka or Ussher Town (Dutch Akra); 3. Osu or Christiansborg (Danish Akra); 4. La or Labade, 5. Teshi; 6. Ningowa or Little Ningo; 7. Tema The Ga-Adangme coast towns are: Kpong or Poni; Gbugbla or Prampram; Nungo or Ningo, and Adda. The inland Adangme towns are: Shai, Krobo, Osudoku and Asutsuare.

The reduplication of Ga is Gaga, which is the name of the big black ants which bite severely and are dangerous to the white ants. The natives call themselves Loeiabii Loei is the Ga term for another species of dark brown ants, which wander about in great swarms and invade houses, killing and devouring every living thing they meet. These ants are called '*nkrang*' by the Twis and Fantes. When the Portuguese came to this part of the Coast they may have brought with them Fante servants, who told them the place was called Nkran; and not being able to pronounce the word properly, called it Akra. The aborigines were easily subdued by this powerful wandering tribe. Fourteen big towns are said to have existed inland of Ussher Town, one as large as our present James Town and Ussher Town multiplied by four, of at least 40 to 50,000 inhabitants.

There was a large town known as Shuoyi, and several other towns near Sasabi. In short, the whole extent of the kingdom is

said to have reached as far down as Aharamata north of Little Popo on the east and to Akan near Obutu on the west.

We have obtained a few names of the first kings of Akra and a few scanty notes about them. The first king was Ayi Kushi, who came from the sea. The next was Ayite, who established the capital at Okaikoi near Ayawaso. The third was Nikoi Malai or Nikoilai, and the fourth Mankpong Okai, surnamed Owura Mankpong; all we know about him is, that he used to ride on a carriage which proves that the Portuguese had settled there, perhaps about 1483, because they took possession of Elmina and built the Castle St. George de Elmina in 1481. The following incident occurred during Mankpong Okai's reign, and is related by Romer. Two princes in the interior fell in love with the same woman. They agreed that she should choose one of them. She did so and the rejected lover one night carried her off. They travelled together for six weeks until they arrived at Okaikoi and took refuge with the King of Akra. The name of the lover was Akwamu which afterwards became the name of his tribe and kingdom. He became a servant of the King, had two children, a son and a daughter, and in the course of time he obtained a piece of land from the King; and built his own village four miles away. When he was departing, he left the son with King Mankpong Okai to be educated. Akwamu, being a Twi prince with a talent for ruling, easily managed to collect a good number of fugitive followers, so that after fifty years had gone by, he formed a small state at the foot of Akyem peak (Nyanawase), but was still under the King of Akra

King Mankpong Okai appears to have married the Obutu princess Dode Akabi who seems to have been a grand-daughter of King Wyete. She was the mother of Okaikoi, who was named after her royal family name—Koi; but being the son of King Okai, he took the full name Okaikoi, as the ancient Akras used to name their children, the father's name preceding the son's, similar to the Jewish fashion of naming their children

Our connection with Europe seems to have begun a little earlier than the reign of King Mankpong. After the lapse of 2,000 years from the supposed Carthaginian settlement on the

Western Coast of Africa, 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 was rebuilt by the Portuguese in 1481. Colonel Ellis in his interesting history of the Gold Coast deals very ably with the question. Prince Henry of Portugal, an enthusiastic navigator, was the first to direct attention to the West Coast of Africa; and constantly urged his explorers to bring home some of the natives in order to have them educated, christined and then returned to their country so that they might advance trade relations with the people. Gonzales Baldeza in 1442, returning from Africa after a voyage of two years, brought home ten slaves and some gold dust. Prince Henry presented the negroes to Pope Martin V, who afterwards conferred on Portugal the right of possession and sovereignty over all the country that might be discovered between Cape Bojador (South of the Canary Islands) and the East Indies. After the death of Prince Henry, King *John II*, dispatched in 1481 Don Diego d'Asambuja, with a force of 700 men, to the Gold Coast. He landed at Elmina and in spite of opposition built the Castle of St. George.

The account taken from the Portuguese historian, De Faria, of the reply made by the native King Kwamena Ansa, of Fetu, then the most powerful state in Fante, is extremely interesting "He was", he said, "fully sensible of the high honour done him by the King of Portugal, and had always endeavoured to deserve his friendship by dealing justly with his people, and assisting them to obtain cargo for their ships. The whitemen who had been there before had been poorly dressed and easily satisfied with the articles the natives had given them, and so far from desiring to stop there, they had always been most anxious to get away as soon as possible; but now there was a wonderful change. A number of richly attired whitemen, persons of rank, under the guidance of a Commander who claims his descent from the God who made day and night asked permission to build houses and remain in the country. But how could they live in such a poor place, when they would find none of the things to which they were accustomed. Moreover, disputes would arise, there-

fore it would be better to remain on the same terms as before, by which their mutual interests would be preserved."

This wise and truly diplomatic speech quite disconcerted Don Diego d'Asambuja, who finding an adequate reply too difficult, resorted to threats; and in spite of friction and fighting the fort was built and the settlement made. After the Portuguese had abandoned the country, the Dutch arrived. They built Fort Nassau at Mowure and also settled in other places. The English so far back as the time of Edward IV had proposed establishing themselves in these regions, but were afraid of infringing the rights of the Portuguese granted by the Pope. A few English adventurers in the latter part of Edward IV's reign traded to the Coast, but the support given by the Portuguese and Dutch Governments to their subjects placed them at a great disadvantage. James I gave them some assistance and a fort was built in the year 1624 at Koromante

Cape Coast Castle was built in the year 1652 by the Swedes. Six years later it was taken by Heinrich Karloff, a Swede in the employ of the Danish Company. The Danes built the forts Fredericksborg, near Cape Coast, and Christiansborg, near Osu, in 1659, as well as others at Anamabo and Takoradi. 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 Schnid, the successor of Karloff, surrendered the Castle of Cabo Corso (Cape Coast Castle), and also those of Anamabo and Osu to the Dutch in 1659.

The natives of Fetu (Afutu) besieged Cape Coast Castle and took it in 1660; but the Swedes recaptured it and kept possession till 1663, when the Fetus again took it by surprise and treachery. The English, Danes and Dutch respectively, tried to acquire it by negotiations, but all their efforts failed. On the 2nd May, 1663, the Fetus voluntarily surrendered it to the Dutch. It had been one year in their possession when it was attacked by Admiral Sir Robert Holmes by land and sea and taken on May 3rd, 1664. The British have since kept possession of Cape Coast Castle although the illustrious Dutch Admiral de Ruyter tried with 13 men-of-war to take it in 1665.

James Fort at Akra was built by the British 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 in addition, Denmark, Brandenbourg and Sweden, France, with the sole object of obtaining from our kings and chiefs the superfluous population and captives made in war as slaves for the cultivation of the American plantations and other purposes. From Appolonia down to Keta (Quittah) we find about 35 forts built by them, most of which are now in ruins.

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 cannon on the hill on which St. Jago was afterwards built, and compelled the place to surrender. The Portuguese were finally expelled by the Dutch from the Gold Coast in 1642. "The Portuguese served the purpose of setting dogs to spring the game in order that it might be seized by others", said Bosman. When the Portuguese had been expelled, the Dutch, English, and Danes took possession of their forts and built new ones. The Dutch had 16, the English 14, and the Danes 5; but the Danes ceded theirs to the English in 1850, and the Dutch did the same in 1868 and 1872, so that now over the whole coast line of 250 miles, the Union Jack waves supremely. In 1685 the Danes sold to the British Fort Fredericksborg, which was named by them Fort Royal, now called Fort Victoria.

The old kingdom of Akra extended on the coast to Aharamata, north of Aneho, Togoland. The chiefs there, being tributary subjects to King Mankpong Okai, sent him annually tributes and presents; and, in addition, they often asked the Akras to unite with them against their enemies; and therefore when, in the future, the Akra power was broken, they sought an asylum there Being their allies the Akras traded with them by bartering Euro-

pean goods from the Portuguese for Ivory, aggray beads, &c.

After the death of King Okai, Dode Akabi, an intelligent and masculine woman and Princess of Obutu, took possession of the king's property, usurped the government, knowing that after her death, the young Prince Okaikoi might aspire to the throne. Dode Akabi ruled both the Akras and Obutus with a rod of iron. She invented the Akra face-cut marks, although some people are of opinion that the first Akra immigrants had such marks on their faces. She also commanded the men not to use the abusive expression 'bulu' or brute to a wife, on pain of death. Her other injunctions were very foolish and cruel, such as to capture a live tiger or lion for her. Many lives were lost in efforts made to carry out her orders. In giving the order to build her palace, she stipulated that it should not be thatched with grass but with clay. She also commanded the young men in her dominions to do away with all the old and elderly men. This wicked order was executed except in one family where the father's life was spared. When Dode Akabi was urging her people to build the palace and to use swish strings in thatching it, no one knew how to carry out the order. The old man whose life had been saved advised his sons to ask for a sample of the old swish strings used when the palace of her predecessor was thatched so as to imitate it. When this request was made, she knew at once that one of the old men was alive, and ordered the people to tell her the truth. When she was told, she ordered the old man to be brought to her; and he made such a clear demonstration to her that she abandoned her idea of roofing a grass house without the natural materials. This was the origin of constituting seven elders as councillors to advise kings und chiefs in every town.

Dode Akabi's death is said to have happened through an order she gave to sink a well in the hill known as Akabikenke (Akabi's hill). The people had no proper tools and were compelled to sink a well some hundred feet deep. Their rigid taskmasters were very hard upon them, in fact, like the European taskmasters; and at last, the poor, oppressed and afflicted people conspired the life of the Queen. In order to carry out their plot, it was announced that water was discovered, but a man was at the bottom

of the well who forbade them to dig any further. The angry Queen with her women retinue rushed to the spot, arrogantly demanding who the man was who dared to impede her work? "He is at the bottom of the well", was the reply. In a great rage she ordered them to lower her down to see the man who ventured to oppose her will. She was lowered accordingly, and when she had reached the bottom, the people shouted: "In future that is your abode!" In a moment a multitude of stones, sticks and rubbish was thrown into the well to fill it up. All the workmen engaged, as well as those from the town, carried stones and earth and threw them in; and those coming late threw stones in heaps all around the well being quite full. Thus ended the cruel and wicked reign of Dode Akabi, which is still remembered by two proverbs: "Twine should be twisted according to the ancient samples"; and "Never cut your hair like that of Tete when your head is not the same shape."

This referred to the queen who was not of the royal blood of Akra and should not have assumed the supreme power. The method employed to kill her has since been connected with religious ceremonies. Whenever an epidemic, war, death or other calamity is impending, a small hole is dug in the ground in which a cat or some cruel beast is placed. The people in whose behalf the sacrifice is made, have to pick up three stones each, wheeling simultaneously each stone around the head, and then throw them in the hole. After which the animal is buried, while those concerned who are standing or sitting near the hole say: "The wicked one is being buried."

Prince Okaikoi was very young when his mother was buried alive; and, on coming of age he desired to know who his mother was, but no one dared to tell him. Hence the Akras say: "No one knows who begat Okaikoi." At last an old woman told him all the story of his mother's death. When he therefore ascended the stool, he governed with the greatest severity. In his day, the Akwamus, Akuapems and Obutus were under him; and as he was a tyrant imitating his mother, so his sons Tete Antie, Ayi Fufoo, Tete Ablo, Ayai, Ashangmo, Okai were also tyrants imitating him. They often murdered the sons of the Chiefs and



Cape Coast town and castle

took possession of the newly married wives of the people, ordered their subjects to climb trees and then shot at them with arrows, and when they stabbed any one with a dagger, wiped the blood off on the victim's body, saying: "You have defiled my weapon."

The worst among the sons were Tete Ablo and Ayai and the only mild one was Tete; and the King used to say to him: "My son, do what you like and show your dignity whilst I am alive; when I am dead your time to reign is past." The mother of this Tete was from Shai; his younger brother paid a visit there, behaved very haughtily, and had improper intercourse with a married woman, whose husband dashed out the offender's brains with an axe. When the report of his son's death reached Akra, Okaikoi led an army against the Shais. The King of Shuoi objected to Okaikoi marching to Shai in person; and, after persuading him to return home, led the troops himself and chastised the murderers.

On account of the cruelties of the king and his wife Kuoko Adshemang, kept their son Nikoite at home till he reached manhood. Nikoite often asked his father to be allowed to show himself; or, at least to accompany his father on his visit to the capital, but was always refused. At last, at his earnest and repeated request, his father consented, and he went to Court with him, and was instructed to keep close to his father. One day, the youth escorted by his father's retinue, went out of the Court to urinate; and when he had done so, Prince Tete Ablo shot him dead with an arrow, to the horror of his attendants. The father showed the dead body of his son to the king and reported the cruel deed of the prince. The reply was. "Never mind, your wife will get you another son before she is too old."

To punish Okaikoi for all his wicked deeds, the chiefs conspired to advise him to have the Akwamu prince, then staying at his Court, circumcised, because as the king was well aware, uncircumcised people were strictly forbidden by the great fetish to attend his Court. On the other hand they knew that circumcised persons were never allowed to ascend the stool of Akwamu. Prince Odei gladly underwent the operation because several Akra

princes had done the same that year. No sooner had the Akwamu prince submitted to the ceremony, than the great Chief Nikoilai informed the Akwamus of the occurrence. At about this time a son of the King of Labade came to the capital and stayed some time with the young princes, sons of the king. While they were amusing themselves with shooting arrows, one belonging to the Prince of Labade went straight into the king's harem. The prince wanted to go there to find it; but the others dissuaded him. He persisted and entered the harem, was caught by the eunuchs, brought before the king, and, by his order, was at once beheaded. This shocking news was brought to the King of Labade, who quietly submitted to the outrage, and attended the yearly festival of Okaikoi in the usual way. But when the time for celebrating the festival of Labade arrived, Okaikoi 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 had determined 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 remained at Ladoku, and the rest at Nyedueshi.

The Akras disgusted with their cruel king, began to plot together to get rid of him; and advised the Akwamus not to pay him the usual tribute. They naturally wanted to know how it was to be done, and were told that as Okaikoi had circumcised Prince Odei, who should have been your future king, you have a good reason for rebellion; and if you revolt we will help you. The Akwamus invited Prince Odei to the capital; and there, when washing, he was perceived to be circumcised; and on that discovery, they refused to pay the tribute At this time the King of Akwamu died, and Prince Odei was not allowed to succeed him. He repeatedly made the foolish demand to Okaikoi that his foreskin should be restored to him. He then threatened to attack the Akras if his impossible demand was not granted; but the Akras being twenty times stronger than Odei treated his demands with contempt. Ansa Sasraku, who appears to have succeeded to the stool denied to Odei, persisted in making the demand, and Okaikoi assembled his generals and chiefs and

great chief to plunder them.

At that time European arms were very rare; each great chief possessing but one gun and ten rounds; the other men using bows and arrows and spears. The Akwamus had only bows and spears. They had, however, hired the Agonas and Akrons (Gomoas) in the Fante country; promising them each a box of gold-dust that was never paid. War was declared and the field taken; but the great Chief Nikokai, father of the murdered Nikoite, arranged with the majority of the warriors of Okaikoi to fire without bullets. This was done at several engagements, but being discovered, they deserted the king, placed at their head Prince Ashangmo, nephew of the king, and marched to Mlefi. After several combats with the rest of his warriors and bodyguard, Okaikoi was driven from his capital to Nyantrabi; there his son Tete said to him, with emotion: "Father, this is what I always told you must happen. If all your people were here, I should not have to fight alone." His few remaining followers advised the king to put an end to his life rather than submit to be disgraced. Okaikoi therefore painted his face and front with white clay and his back with charcoal, mounted his royal stool and asked: "My people, do you wish me to commit suicide?"

The warriors all replied: "Yes, we won't have any king to govern us."

The unhappy king then prayed that no glory should ever follow any action of his subjects who had deserted him; and then shot himself dead. He fell flat upon his face, and so the glory departed from the Aseres, and we may add from the whole of Akra, as since that event which occurred on the 20th of June, 1660, hardly any action or military exploit for or against Europeans has been fully appreciated. It appears that the defeated Akras, when pressed by the Akwamus, they gave over the head of Okaikoi to them, expecting thus to be left at peace.

The Akras attributed their defeat by the Akwamus to the action of the Portuguese in converting the lagoon Kole into a saltpit, a profanation which provoked the vengeance of the fetishes upon them.

A few words about the qualities of the Akras will be of interest.

Naturally the Akras are mild and inoffensive and at the same time unconquerable, independent, and difficult to govern. Wherever an Akra man goes, he is not only respected on account of his national prestige, but also for his personal abilities and qualities, being able to endure any hardship and privation. From the beginning, when not corrupted by the Tshi people, they were strict observers of their religious rites, which appear to resemble to Jewish, but are now corrupted by fetishism; and, in addition, they were also forbidden to have anything to do with human blood. We said a Jewish form of religion, and try to prove it by citing a few facts.

A week after the birth of a child, a kind of baptism is celebrated, when the father chooses the man of best character among his friends to bring the child from the room to the yard, when he throws a few drops of water on the roof of the principal room in the family compound, which returns to him in small drops, and these he throws thrice on the child and names it. Children are named after their grandfathers, grandmothers, or fathers. The circumcision which all boys of from 6 to 10 years of age are to undergo, admits them to the Courts of the principal fetishes; an uncircumcised person, even if a king, is never allowed to step into the yard of the fetish, but has to remain outside when performing any ceremony. Neither are any persons having a superfluity of members or menstruous women admitted within.

At the yearly harvest feast, called Homowo, the door posts or walls are painted with red clay, as was done by the Israelites at their Passover; and at this time all family differences must be peacefully settled. The government of the Akras is patriarchal, and the ruler is styled Lomo or Priest. Lomo is now slightly corrupted for Lumo, i.e. a king or governor.

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

CHAPTER III.

King Ashangmo's defence of the country against the Akwamus. His being repulsed with the Akras to Aneho and Tetetutu; and his wars with Dahomeans and Angulas. New settlements and towns formed on the Coast by the Akras and emigrants from Dankera, Osudoku, Angula, and Fra. 1660-1680.

The majority of the warriors of Akra with their King Ashangmo at their head, hearing at Mlefi of the death of Okaikoi, returned home, engaged the Akwamus, and drove them to Fante. The poem composed by them was as follows:

The death which killed Okaikoi Adu had no eyes (i.e. is inglorious). The death which killed Ansa Aku had eyes (is glorious). We are pressing forward to gore! Ashangmo and his army continued fighting the Akwamus for 20 years, but could not re-establish his power over them. The treachery of his generals, who aspired to the kingship, was a source of discord and exposed the country to the attacks of the Akwamus. This compelled Ashangmo in the year 1680 to retreat to Aneho, Togoland, with all the Akras from Labade down to Ningo. The people of Lakple in Angula were at that time at Prampram; they also fled to that place. It was during that general movement that King Anno of Tema or Kpeshi composed the following lines, after his brother Annokoi who had removed to Obutu.

Kpeshi Anno mitere wo e, Kpeshi Anno mitere wo
Labioko Atsemfo e, Kpeshi Anno mitere wo
Ya nyeyaa lo, ba nyebaa lo, Kpeshi Anno mitere wo.

Kpeshi Anno is starting tomorrow.
Labioko Akemfo, Kpeshi Anno is starting off tomorrow.
Are you for starting or staying?
Kpeshi Anno is starting tomorrow.

The main body separated from Ashangmo's men and emigrated back to Tetetutu, while he and his people marched towards Aneho, Togoland. When the Angulas 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, when informed of what had happened, sent an overwhelming army to attack Ashangmo's in his capital. Ashangmo, hearing of this, concealed his small force in the bush behind the River Momo and allowed the enemy to pass toward the Volta in pursuit of him. Then he proceeded to cut a deep trench between the two rivers Gbaga and Momo and the sea, and shut Dahomean army in. He then boldly attacked them on their returning from the Volta and gained a complete victory. He sent one of the prisoners back with one of his eyes and ears plucked out to report the disaster his army had met with to the king. Akpo was astonished at such a signal defeat inflicted by a fugitive and was obliged to make advances to Ashangmo. He therefore invited him to the capital, Abome, and made him First General of his Forces. Ashangmo, cunningly gave his sister Ayifo in marriage to the king, and through her means escaped all the plots formed either by the king or his generals against the life of the victorious Akra King, and at last retired to his capital in safety.

The successors of King Ashangmo kept up continual war with the Angulas, who were known to Bosman as the Kotos, a name still applied to them.

During the period when two kings were ruling the kingdom of Akwamu, the Akras in Popo asked the help of the old king, and the Angulas that of the young one. The Akwamus cunningly assisted the weaker in order that neither should be destroyed. Sometimes both sides were supported by Akwamu warriors. In the year 1700, the King of Popo surprised the Angulas and drove them from their country. But as Akonno took a greater interest in the Angulas, he reinstated them in their country. Akonno was King of Akwamu in 1702.

One of the kings of Popo was Ofori, who appears to have been the father of King Obli. He was very brave, feared and respected by all the neighbouring kings.

The King of Ofra once rebelled against the King of Dahome, whose tributary chief he was, and not only threw off his allegiance to him, but, in addition, killed a Dutch factor Holwert.

King Ofori, who was 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 the victory Ofori was asked not to return until he had defeated the Whydas. He marched against them and encamped in their country, waiting for a supply of ammunition from the King of Dahome to be sent with a good convoy. The Whydas attacked this convoy with a strong force and captured all the powder. Ofori being destitute of ammunition was obliged to retreat home. The Angulas had prepared to attack Ofori when he gave battle to the Whydas. Hearing of their intentions, he attacked them, although by this time the Angulas had made alliances with other tribes and were stronger than he. They gave Ofori a warm reception and killed many of his men. Enraged at this loss, he rushed furiously 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 Angulas, always attacking them in their weakest condition, which policy he pursued so long that he drove them out of the country."

In 1672 the English came to Akra, obtained a piece of land and built James Fort.

The English asked for the piece of land from Odote and his brother Tete Kpeshi, although the site selected was the sacred grove of their fetish Oyeni; but the brothers gave up the land on condition that they should have access to the spot to offer their annual sacrifices; and the fort was built.

The forts of the Dutch, English and Danes at Akra, during the 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 Aseres and Aboras, who came down to the Coast to join the people living there, the following names still live in the memory of the people: Saku Olenge, Akotia Owosika, Oshamra, Ayikai Osiahene, Osu Kwatei, Anyama Seni, Amantiele Akele, &c. Ayikai Osiahene with his people settled

near James Fort and founded Akangmadshe and Mereku, i.e. Bereku quarter. Adote Ni Ashare and Tete Kpeshi with their people removed from their site beyond the lagoon and settled by the fort, and their 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 Elmina to be protected: Afrifa, Korankyi, Amo Panyin, Amo Kuma, Kwaw Nsia, Korama and Nsiawa, with several others. Some of them returned to Dankera when peace was made. Korama seems to have been a nearest relation to 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 Dutch officer who was shortly after appointed Commandant of the Dutch Fort Crevecoeur and brought down both Otu and his people to Akra.

The Priest of Nai being then the chief on the Coast, to whom a monthly sum 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 wealth and enlarged their quarter very rapidly with the refugees from Dankera, Akwamu, Akyem, and Akuapem. Bobiko, a relative of Korama, mother to Otu, then at Akyem, heard of the prosperity of the Dankeras, and sent her son Amo Nakawa to Akra to ascertain the truth. Satisfied with the condition of his relatives, Bobiko and her people were by their advice induced to join them at Akra.

But an incident took place while Amo Nakawa was on the Coast. His wife Ahwanyabea of Akwamu went on a visit to her parents, where the King Akonno tried to seduce her, and being defeated in his object, in revenge applied a burning tobacco pipe

to the back of her infant child Dako. The child was brought to Akra with the whole family of Amo Nakawa, when the sad case was told him by his wife. He thereupon made a solemn vow to revenge himself one day on the King of Akwamu for his cruelty to his wife and child. Henceforth Amo Nakawa became the zealous chief among the ambassadors of Akra when negotiating with the Kings of Akyem, whose relation he was. He prevailed on the Obutus and Agonas to throw off their allegiance to the King of Akwamu while Akonno 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, who were called Alatas, a Fante name for people of Lagos, Yoruba, &c Thus we have Kinka or Dutch Alata, English Alata, and Osu or Danish Alata. These Alatas in each town formed their own district in connection with the town's people, and were aknowledged as citizens of the place by joining the established band of the town Thus the headman of the English Alatas was one Osho or Odso, surnamed Wetse, i e. housefather, who, being very intelligent and powerful by his connection with the English, grew very rich, had possession of numerous slaves, besides the Alatas, and having been in the country since the English established themselves in 1672, became the King of James Town. He had been instructed in the Twi style of managing a state, and had a stool made and consecrated to him by Chief Oto Brafo of Kinka (Dutch Akra).

The people of Osudua or Christiansborg also emigrated in company with the different Adangme tribes from Same in the East, and crossing the Volta, they settled with the main body on Osudoku hill. Before their emigration to this place there was a family of one Tete Manyoi and his brother Tete Bo and his sister Dede Mosa from Dutch Akra settled here, before the Portuguese arrival. The family fetishes of Tete Manyoi are Leniogbe, i.e a fetish of the Les, and Nyankumle, which claims superiority of Osu. The former is a piece of round white stone, now lying neglected at the West corner of the old Basel Mission Chapel.

After the time when the Danes had come to this Coast, an

accident occurred which caused a certain family to emigrate to Osuyokpo near Shai, thence to Osuko 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 Les or Agotims, 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 fighting with the Osudokus, and that one Chief, named Noete, came to ask King Okaikoi to help them fight the enemy.

Another tradition is: An Otufo custom being performed by a woman named Namole for her daughter at Osudoku some precious beads were borrowed. One was dropped and a fowl picked it up and swallowed it without being noticed. When the beads were returned the loss was noticed and the owners refused to receive the others The borrowers offered to replace it or even to pay seven persons for the single bead, according to the prevailing law, yet the owners refused and a quarrel arose Namole and her brother Noete Doku with their people travelled to Osuko, and met there a hunter of King Odoi Akyem of Labade, named Kadi, who took them to the king They asked the king's arbitration in the matter, but being busy in settling a dispute between the Akwamus and the people of Berekuso, he had no time to give to the case The bead lost was at last found in the gizzard when killed on the day when the family of Noete and Namole quitted Osudoku for Christiansborg.

The town of Osu increased rapidly by people running from Dutch Akra, Labade, and several other places to reside there as labourers to the Danish Government It consists of three quarters, Kinkawe, Ashanti, and Alata

The people of La were originally a part of the numerous tribe who seem to have been the first settlers on this Coast, known as the Les The people of Gbese in Dutch Akra, the Lates in Akuapem, the Lakples who removed from Prampram to Angula, the inhabitants of Poni, known as the Agotimes, as well as the former inhabitants of Osu, were all of the same tribe.

The by-name of La is Bonne, they are said to have come to that part of the world with the Akras from Bonny. They

emigrated from the interior in consequence of war. Staying together for some time, the Akras left for Lanma. The La people entered into alliance with the Akwamus, which in King Okaikoi's time was avenged by cutting off the head of the young Prince of La. Once, detaching the people of Gbese, the brother tribe of La, from joining in their yearly feast, Okaikoi attached the Labades with great slaughter The Gbese, however, went between the hostile parties, and brought about peace. The Akwamus who were allies of the defeated, came too late when peace had been made. The Akras disliking the alliance between the Labades and Akwamus, sent a party of men to waylay the Akwamu queen who was killed on her way to the feast of the Labades. As the assassination was perpetrated near to their town, they were accused of the crime and were attacked by the Akwamus and suffered great loss. To keep up their friendship in spite of the war, the Labades wisely had recourse to a prophecy that Lakpa had predicted the utter destruction of the Akwamus by an unknown power, unless they obtained an absolving ablution from him By using that means they were again united. The Twis, declared war against the Labades after this, on which the Akwamus were defeated and driven beyond the Volta, the Labades pursuing them had to stay several years at Krobo, intermarried amongst themselves and then removed to Adshimanti on the Akuapem hills. They heard that the Akwamus had returned to their country and were preparing to fight them, but the fetish Lakpa objected to their doing so, and peace was maintained By their connection with the Akwamus the Labades acquired much of the Twi character, hence it was said the Labades are Twis

At Podoku the Labades felt a great need of good water and salt, therefore they commissioned their powerful hunter Sowa to survey the country in search of both. Sowa met the Ningowas on the lagoon Kpeshi, who were busily occupied in making salt. He asked for water to drink, and when shown where the calabash pots containing it were placed, Sowa not only drank all he wanted, but broke all the pots to the great astonishment of the working men and women there. This outrage was said to have brought on war between Labade and Ningowa. There is another

should be cut off, to bring peace again, because they were the chief cause of war between them. They tied up their own priest, and brought him to the Ningowas. The deluded people of Ningowa readily consented to the proposal, when they saw Sowa with his hands pinioned behind him. Lawe was called upon and required to consent to have only one hand cut off to preserve the people from death by thirst.

The priest addressed the whole assembly: "Children, do you mean to cut off my hand, the hand that draws the bow to save you? Do you mean to ruin yourselves by cutting off my hand which defends you, children?"

Without delay the Labades who had made the proposal and therefore ought to have cut off their huntsman's hand first, overpowered the old man, and his hand was cut off in presence of the whole assembly. After this he assembled the whole of his family and relatives at Bobowe, gave them a song, and marched to the sea at their head, where, tradition says, he prayed, and the sea divided, and he and all his followers entered and disappeared.

The Labades did not cut off the hand of Sowa, but instead attacked and defeated the Ningowas with great slaughter.

Their King, Afote Okre, was forced to ask Adshete Ashabara of Tema for help. General Ashite was sent to Tema to negotiate with them; and the lagoon Sakumo was pledged. Noete Yeboa Afriyie, the chief of Osu, who was related to the Ningowas, prepared to assist them. A second engagement took place, when King Noete was forbidden by the Governor of Christiansborg to fight on behalf of the Ningowas. He was so enraged that he blew himself and his people up with powder. The Temas were too weak to do much, and they were completely defeated and driven from the country to Tong (Aneho, Togoland).

After peace had been made, the Labades removed from Podoku and permanently settled and built the town of La.

Their friendship was cemented by two marriages. Afote married Odole, the daughter of Odoi Akyem, and he gave his daughter Apole in marriage to the latter. The lagoon Kpeshi was given as a wedding gift to Apole, whose descendants in Labade have the right to the lagoon; but Odole got no issue in Ningowa.

beads to him; but he being a relative of Old Ngmashi privately advised him to quit the town before he marched there. Ngmashi did so and encamped at Ledshokuku, and so the war ended. The chief was then old and his son Tshie conducted the whole affair, and ordered a removal to a small fishing cottage belonging to Fante fishermen. Thus the town of Teshi was built.

About the year 1730, Obodai Nyonmo with seven captains, his family and fetish 'Egumaga', his royal stool and a large amount of property, consisting chiefly of precious beads, started on horse back to obtain assistance from the King of Akra against his enemies. The ancient power of the Akra emigrants in Popo seemed to have become less. Hence Obodai did not trouble himself to ask assistance from them, but went directly to Akra. He lavished, on his march, presents of slaves and precious beads on every chief in alliance with Akra, so as to obtain their assistance. But unfortunately for him, he arrived when the Akras were engaged in a fierce contest with the Akwamus. At Labade he was advised by the king to remain there and be accompanied to Akra.

Obodai was cordially welcomed by the King of Akra and promised that when the war with Akwamu was over he should have the desired assistance He joined the king in expelling the Akwamus, but the king deferred the carrying out of his promise, and Obodai made up his mind to remain there permanently.

He removed from Akra to Christiansborg where the site was given to him and his people, upon which a pleasant quarter was built. Obodai became a favourite of the Danish governor then in command; his people, left behind at Aneho, Togoland, heard of his staying permanently, and sailed in a trading vessel to Akra. They were detained by the King of James Town; Obodai tried to bring them over to Christiansborg, but failed. As Labade was Obodai's first residence, he married one Suoko there, whose children were his successors.

After the death of Obodai Nyonmo, his son Sodsha Duamoro, an intelligent and brave younger brother of Togbo and Sai Nyanta, was made his successor.

Sodsha removed to his mother's native town Labade, where he was invested with the dignity of chief or mankralo, which

had become vacant by Ngmashi's removal to Teshi. By this policy the Labades bound over the Anehos to their side for ever.

The Anehos would have remained in Christiansborg if the disturbance already described had not occurred; and, as if their destiny had been fixed there, they came back at least in part. A sister or cousin of Chief Sodsha Duamoro, Nywenywerewa, lived with the 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, to where they removed and permanently settled. The stool was left at Labade which obliged the chief to spend the yearly festivals there. Thus these poor emigrants had three abodes, a part at James Town, the greater number at Christiansborg, and the rest, with the stool at Labade. If they had been united in one place it would have been better for them and those into whose community they had entered. It was chiefly through these separate abodes that the Aneho 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 La, yet their influence is not as fully felt and admitted as formerly. When they became more enlightened, civilized and christianised, a change for the better will occur.

We have hitherto traced the origin of the Ga tribe, taking it for granted that both the Ga 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 related.

Same, a country situated between two rivers, Efa and Kpola, near the Niger, is supposed to have been the former seat of the Adangme tribes. The hostility of neighbouring tribes caused them to quit the place; leaving Oyo on the North and Dahome on the South, they travelled between two powerful kingdoms, and being joined by other tribes, carried all before them and settled at Hwatshi. They soon resumed their march to Tuwo, attacking several tribes on their way, till they arrived at the plain of Togologo near Lolovo. Here they began to separate. Akroye,

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sister of Manya, the king of the Krobo people, settled at Lashibi island. Her husband, the King of La, left for the Coast, but Manya left the Tagologo plain, and being followed by the rest of the emigrants, came to the foot of the mountain. Akromuase, being sent by Manya to survey the mountain, was satisfied and the king and his people settled there. The first town built by Manya was Manya, after which Dodshe and Dom were erected.

Having no king but every tribe its own priest or headman, there was no difficulty in separating. A portion stayed at Hwatshi and Tuwo, others went South and settled at Hume, and to different places, Nowayo, Angula, Ada, and Akra. The portion which went to *Lolovo,* who were afterwards called *Ada,* seems to have had four principal men at their head, viz.: Adi, Longmo, Tekpe, and Dangme, and Tshayi was the priest over them.

Manya is said to have expostulated with the priest Tshayi asking him why he separated from him, but it was useless.

At the crossing of the Volta, a small stream at the time, a large crocodile lying across the water formed a kind of bridge. One Apagbe is said to have been the first priest, with him on his back the crocodile dived to the bottom of the river and was seen no more. His son Tshayi succeeded in the priesthood. The commands left by Apagbe in reference to the crocodile fetish 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.

CHAPTER IV.

Emigration and settlement of the Twi tribes in the interior. Awirade Basa and his first kingdom in Adanse Dankera, the first powerful state among the Twi tribes, and the wars of Owusu Bore The formation of the Kingdom of Amanse known as the Kingdom of Asante Its invasion by Ntim Gyakari and the destruction of the Kingdom of Dankera by Osei Tutu. About 1500-1700.

Adanse was the first seat of the Akan nation, there God, according to tradition, first began the creation of the world. They were the most enlightened tribe among the Twi nation

from whom the others acquired knowledge and wisdom. Awirade Basa established his power over the other emigrants. His powerful linguist was Okwawe Nfrafo, through whose abilities he gained his power. As the power of the Adanse kings was gained by enlightenment and by the fame of their fetish Bona at Akrokyere, and not by war, it did not last long, and they were conquered by the Dankeras.

Dankera was the district of which Bosman says: "This country, formerly confined to a small compass of land and containing but few 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 Asante and Akim."

Their tributary countries then were Wasa, Enkase, and Tshuforo. By trade and plunder they grew rich and powerful. They became so arrogant that they looked with contempt on other nations, esteeming them as slaves, and on this account they were disliked.

Nothing is known of the two first kings of Dankera; 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 Owusu's time, and after the funeral, the latter demanded from the estate two twin brothers with their 300 retainers as his share. Asiedu Apenteng, the successor, refused to comply, and war broke out. Floats were made by the Dankera army to cross the Pra. During the heat of action, the Tshuforos removed the floats, and when the Dankeras in falling back did not find them they were defeated, and the original ivory stool (throne) was drowned and lost. Owusu was so troubled by the loss, that he slept on palm leaves.

Asiedu Apenteng was killed in the war and Ofosuhene Apenteng succeeded. He was compelled to retreat from Tshuforo Atoam to Ahuren. This tribe wandered to different places, owing to the incessant invasions of the Asantes, till they finally settled in the Akyem country, with the name of Akyem Kotoku. The warlike Owusu Bore again declared war against Ansa Sasraku of Tshuforo proper, and defeated him. Ansa was obliged to flee

for shelter to Asamankesse. Owusu being bent on war found fault with Oburum Ankame I, King of Safwi, for not assisting him against Ansa. He invaded his country, defeated him, and carried off large quantities of gold in barrels to Dankera.

Abrimoro, king of Parama, was also conquered by Owusu, and fled to Wasa where he settled. The fourth king of Dankyera was Akafo, whose surname was Abiaka, which means 'there is one more yet'. He instituted the kwadwom, a song expressive of sorrow or the heroism of the ancients, sung in a dramatic manner by a number of virgins specially trained for the purpose.

Dankera Kyei was the fifth king. He made a harem for kings, brought all his wives there, and placed eunuchs and guards about them. He also increased the number of fan and horsetail bearers.

Amoako Ata I succeeded. He made two gold stools and twelve gold-headed state canes for linguists.

After the death of Amoako Ata I, Asare or Boa Pomsem ascended to the stool of Dankera. He invented the tambourine, a skin stretched over the upper opening of a large calabash, which sounds, when beaten, pomsem, pomsem.

We now turn to another district, Amanse, which had acquired power, of which Bosman says: "All the neighbouring nations had been taught to fear Dankyera, except Asiante and Akim." The district of Amanse included these principal towns, viz.: Asumenya Santemanso, Dwabenman, Booman, Adwampong, Bekwae, Amaafo, Pompong, Adumai, Asaneso, Danyaase, Adankranya, Amoagya, and Ahuren. The first king of this district, Kwabia Ahwamfi, resided at Asumenya Santemanso. In his day gold was not known, iron was the only currency. Oti Akenteng succeeded. He made war with the King of Kwadane at the place where Kumase was afterwards built, and took Dareboo. The people of Amanse had the opportunity of seeing that place and wished to remove there, but they were told that it belonged to King Kwaku Dompo, the King of Tafo. Oti Akenteng was succeeded by Obiri Yeboa Manwu. He removed first to Kokofu, negotiated with King Kwaku Dompo, and obtaining his consent, he and his chiefs emigrated there. As King Obiri Yeboa had

travalled back towards the North into the district of Kwabire and settled between Makom, Tafo and Odomara, he was obliged to enter into friendly relations with the kings of those places. He therefore sent friendly messages to the kings there. Akosa of Makom and Kwisi of Odomara. The boundaries between these three kings were shown him, and he then prepared a site for his town. Under a tree known as Okum near Odenkyem-manasso or Crocodile pool, close to the town of Akosa, he founded the capital, and named it Okum-ase, i.e. under the Okum tree. The capital having been founded, the headmen of the Oyokos, chiefly the Okoonas, a family to which the king belonged, viz.: Duabodee of Kanyarase, Kagya Panyin of Mamponten, Kwaw Panyin of Faobaware, Antwi of Sawua, and Nyama of Suman, built towns around the capital.

Now the confederate kings or chiefs of Amanse were obliged to emigrate to the capital. Adakwa Yiadom of Dwabenma removed and settled near Boama Kokoboate, the King of Pianyirase, and founded Dwaben. This combination of kings protected the frontier against any invasion of Dankyeras.

When Obiri Yeboa was at Kokofu, his niece Manu was married to Chief Owusu Panyin of Aberenkese, but without issue.

After a long time, the fame of the fetish Otutu in Berekuso reached them, and messengers were sent to Ansa Sasraku, the King of Akwamu, to request that some medicine might be obtained from the fetish for the only niece of Yeboa. The medicine was obtained and a boy was born, to whom the name of the fetish Tutu or Otutu was given. This prince became the illustrious Osei Tutu of Asante.

The connection between Dankyera and Asante is traceable to the fact that Osei Tutu, the grand-nephew of King Obiri Yeboa, was employed as a shield-bearer of Boa Pomsem. This shows a tributary connection, as it is the custom that all tributary kings should have their nephews in the king's service as horsetail, fan and shield-bearers. It is certain, at all events, that the Dankyera king was superior to the Asante king in power and glory; and, in addition, Osei Tutu may have been sent there to study the politics of the Dankyeras.

Akoabena Bensua, the only niece of Boa Pomsem, had no children, and the far-famed fetish priest, Okomfo Anokye, was invited to Dankyera by the king, to use his magic powers in her favour. Anokye predicted that he could bring about the birth of a single son, but that this prince would ruin the Dankyera kingdom. The rejoinder was that the Dankyera army numbered 300,000 men, that if the future prince wasted the whole property of the realm and if one-third of the army were lost, he could hold his own with two-thirds; and Anokye must do his best to get a male child born. This strengthens what the Asantes say about Ntim being the son of Prince Osei Tutu. Twi princesses are generally known to be loose characters, especially as Akoabena and her brother were very desirous of having a nephew as his successor.

Prince Osei Tutu privately administered the fetish Ekumasua to Akoabena, with the understanding that in future she must never be known to her husband but to himself. When this was arranged, she was soon known to be with child, and then she advised Tutu to escape from Dankyera as swiftly as possible, because her husband was pressing her to confession. He escaped with two servants and was pursued by armed men. The river Ofe was so flooded that they were unable to cross it, and one of the men hanged himself on seeing the pursuers, but Tutu and the other man concealed themselves. The Ofe subsiding the next day, and the pursuers having returned home, Tutu and his servant crossed and reached Kumase safely.

His grand-uncle, Obiri Yeboa, advised him to seek refuge at Akwamu Ansa, hearing of the arrival of a good looking Asante prince, invited him to his house. Tutu's bold and majestic appearance in addition to his personal beauty, so gained Ansa's love, that he then and there made him his male-consort. It is fashionable with the Twi kings for any woman to whom they take a fancy to become the king's wife When the fancy is to a male person, a connection is formed of tender love, esteem 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

mastering the politics of the two principal powers then existing, Dankyera and Akwamu.

Akoabena Bensua was in time delivered of a male child who was named Ntim. While Tutu was staying at Akwamu, his grand-uncle Obiri Yeboa was hard at work acquiring greater influence over the numerous tribes among whom he had made his capital. He had a boundary dispute with Kwisi, the King of Odomara, which brought on a war in which Obiri Yeboa was killed. The sudden death of the king obliged the Asante nobles to recall their fugitive prince. Ansa, to protect him, sent 700 men under Anum Asamoa to conduct him home. The Anums did not return home to Akwamu, but became the Adums in Kumase. A piece of skin from the elbow of an elephant and the head of a king-fisher Osei Tutu worked into a crown on his way to Kumase. It is said that he bartered some of his people with the Danish Government for ammunition, but he afterwards redeemed them.

At the head of the 700 armed Anums and his curious crown he appeared at Kumase and was proclaimed King of Asante. A new era followed in the history of Asante. The royal stool of the kingdom was constructed by Okomfo Anokye who had come to Kumase from Dankyera, where he had made the acquaintance of Osei Tutu. Osei prepared to avenge his grand-uncle's death, declared war against the Odomara Kwisi, whom he conquered. The runaways escaped to Awosu, where the king of the place enquired the cause of the fight and all other particulars

The next King Osei Tutu made war upon was Makom Akosa whom he defeated and killed, making his nephew Aduamensa successor. Osei Tutu formed a close friendship with this man, and gave him his niece Kwisiamoa in marriage, and Opoku Ware was born.

Osafo Akotong, the King of Tafo, seeing all these troubles brought about by foreigners, gave orders to blow a horn signifying "Get away from the place, You Osei Tutu." But the threatened man instead of complying, declared war against Osafo, whom he utterly defeated and captured his big drums, kettle drum (tympanum), gold guitar and other things besides a district of 100 towns. After this signal victory King Osei fell ill and

appeared to be dying, when he was advised by Okomfo Anokye to appease Osafo for the evil he had inflicted on him. The latter agreed on condition that he should take an oath never to kill any member of his family. This being done, Osei Tutu recovered.

The next war was declared against King Wiafe Akenteng of Ofeso. He was also conquered. Thus the whole district formerly belonging to the Odomaras, Atshumas and Kwabiris and other places became the property of Osei Tutu. The policy adopted by the king was the naturalization of the people of the conquered provinces giving them all due rights of citizens. This law was to be observed by all his successors on pain of death. Whoever dared to tell his son: "these people were from such or such a place, conquered and transplanted to this or that town" was sure to pay for it with his life. Neither were such persons allowed to say where they came from. Looking on persons as real citizens, any rank or honour was conferred upon them according to merit. This united the people and made them very powerful, and confirms Bosman's words: "Except Asante and Akim, who are even stronger than Dankyera at the time of Ntim."

Ntim Gyakari, the youthful son of Osei Tutu, ascended the stool of Dankyera after the death of his uncle Asare Pomsem. Berebere, one of Ntim's wives, who had been married three years without issue, asked the cause of it from her fetish Bona at Akrokyere in Adanse. The oracle answered "She must come herself and she will conceive." Ntim therefore granted permission and ordered Obeng Antwi, nephew of Bonsra, to conduct her with 300 armed men to the place. Forty days were spent at Akrokyere to carry out all the required ceremonies; but Berebere said she wished to go to Bonsra. She stayed there another forty days. The king then became uneasy and ordered his nephew and Berebere to return home. To his great surprise she was in the family way by his nephew. Her words were like a thunderclap to the old king. "Alas, my nephew", he said, "Thou hast ruined us."

He called for two of his chiefs and told them the sad story. Three messengers were at once despatched to Dankyera to inform Ntim through the linguist Safe und the Queen Mother Bensua,

of the folly committed by Antwi at Adanse. Safe was commanded to go to Adanse with the messengers, with directions to bring back Berebere alive, but the offender Antwi and his relatives were to be killed. Thirty-two persons were slaughtered that day at Ayewase, including Obeng Antwi and his parents. Queen Abuwa, on hearing by-standers said against Antwi for bringing calamity on the country, said: "Had Berebere not come, no trouble would have come." Those present said: "Nobody is to blame, but Antwi who killed himself." King Bonsra and his chief are reported to have emigrated to Akyem. Of thirty-two towns only a few were left in Adanse. Berebere was brought to Dankyera and was put on a block, and Ntim satisfied with the Andanses who stayed, ordered Safe to thank saying: "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, becoming jealous of the rapidly growing power of Osei Tutu and of the influence he had gained over the Adanses, sent three ambassadors, a shield-bearer, sword-bearer, and a court-crier, with a large brass pan to Kumase, with the following message: "The King of Asante and his chiefs must fill up the brass pan with pure gold, and must each send the favourite among his wifes and their mothers to Dankyera to become his wives, and, in addition, their wives must supply his wives with 'mposai', i.e. dry fibres of the plantain tree, to use during their monthly courses."

Osei Tutu summoned all his great chiefs to appear before him at the capital, and a great assembly was held at Apebooso. There were present Adakwa, Adakwa Yiadom, Nsuta Agyin, Tweneboa Kodia, Maniampong, Amankwatia Panyin, General of the Koronti force, Asafo Awere, General of the Akwamu force, with the captains of the body-guards.

The Dankyera ambassadors reported their insulting message, and the reply to it was blows given first by Yiadom and then the other chiefs. The brass pan was filled with stones instead of gold and the ambassadors returned bleeding from injuries and without the brass pan: it was kept as a trophy in Kumase. Such foolish conduct on the part of Ntim is hardly credible. Ntim

devoted three months to prepare his attack against the Asantes. He made an alliance with the Dutch Government which supplied him with arms and ammunition, two cannon, and some grenades and iron mails. He also persuaded Ofori Korobong, King of Dampong, a powerful sovereign, who had been jealous of the prosperity of Dankyera, to unite with him against Osei Tutu. The Dampong royal family were of the same stock of the Agona family group with the Dankyeras. Dampong is said to have been so large, that no big bird could fly through it without falling to the ground.

Ntim's generals were Kwame Tebi, who commanded the Van; Kwado Wiafe, the right wing, Kwaku Butwakwa, the left wing, Kwasi Pipira, the rear; and Asamia Tia, the bodyguard. But the most powerful chief of Ntim, Boa Kropa, is said to have refused to join, on account of a quarrel between them. The chief demanded satisfaction from Ntim for his illegal connection with one of his wives Ntim replied: "I discharge my stool into your gun." The king's allies were Wasa, Safwi, Bekwae, Safwi Ahwieao, Tshuforo and others. A large bundle of a certain plant was placed on the path the warriors had to match over, which being cut to pieces by their feet, Ntim was satisfied with the number of his men, and ordered the others to return home. King Osei Tutu after shamefully insulting and beating King Ntim's ambassadors began at once with the assistance of his chiefs, to prepare for the enemy's invasion The king sent to the Coast to buy arms and ammunition in large quantities. Bosman said. "The Dankyeras being foolish enough to help him, allowed his subjects to pass with it through their country unmolested, although they knew very well it was designed for their destruction." Okomfo Anokye also was actively engaged in offering sacrifices and preparing war medicines against his old enemies. Tradition says, that one of the princes, Anim Kokobo, and the king himself, then not on the stool, took away some of his wives.

Okomfo Anokye ordered search to be made for a certain plant which grew only in Dwaben, where the Asantes found it. From this plant sacred water was prepared to wash with, and others to drink. The one wo drank the last medicine was to be

a victim in the impending war to ensure success. After his fall, Ntim would be slain and his kingdom destroyed. Tweneboa Kodia was the only great chief who dared to accept the medicine, offering his life for the good of his country, on condition that none of his offsprings should be subject to the executioner's knife, whatever crime he might commit, when the Asante empire was established.

The commanders of the Asante army were as follows: Korontirihene, Amankwatia Payin; Akwamuhene; Asafo Awere; Akyempemhene; Saben Odiawuo, Safe and Okra Pomsem; and Gyasehene, Saman Nantwi. These were under the control of the hing. Adontenfo, the centre force. Makomhene, Akosa Yiram; Eduabenhene, Aduenim Pim; Antoahene, Sakoree Date; Kwamohene, Adom Payin, Agonahene, Okomfo Anokye; Asenuahene, Obiri Asamoa; Asamanhene; Gyima, the Konafohene; Saresohene; Karikari, Abenkyimhene; Aboosohene, Gyekye Payin. Nifafo, the right wing. Mamponhene, Boaten Nantuo, Adenkranyahene; Adansehene, Adu Bonsra, Ofesohene, Wiafe Akenten, or Dwamara Akenten, Beposohene, Dwesohene, Dako Pim; Asotwehene, Kwahene Yamoa; Bonwerehene, Bobie; Odumasehene, Obodum; Abrakasohene, Asenso; Nkoransahene, Bafo Pim Benkumfo, the left wing Asumenyahene, Gyebi Kankanfu; Tafohene, Asafo Akenten, Kumawuhene, Tweneboa Kodia; Abodomhene, Ansreponi; Asakyirihene, Odabo, Koetihene, Amoaye; Mimanhene; Asenhene, Agyensam; Atabubuhene, Amoako; Apomasehene, Asensohene, Amoako (?); Kwasohene, Ofosu Pim, Agyemsam, King of Koyia in Asen, was at Kumase as the result of their great defeat by the Dankyeras in 1697. He joined the army, the Asantes never undertaking any war unless an Asen is with them. King Ansa Sasraku of Akwamu sent General Gyarantwi with a force to help the Asantes. Osei Tutu with his army of 60,000 men encamped at Adunku. When Ntim heard of this he was eager to hasten his army to attack them. He played and sang the whole night "I shall sleep soundly on the day I arrive at 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 fingers and thumbs on both hands amputated except one finger.

The great army of King Ntim reached Adunku and gave battle to the Asantes, who kept the enemy at bay three days before they were obliged to retreat. Some assert that the war continued for two years; but sanguinary combats were fought at Abooten, Putuagya, and Feyiase. Ntim's van of 1,000 picked men in iron mails, with the drummer of the Kwantempong (a small drum placed in the armpit when beaten) at its head, did much injury to the Asantes in every fight. The chiefs asked Anokye to account for it. But he told them to hold on until he could have Ntim by magic. Anokye had predicted that Ntim was to fall at Feyiase, where, after three days' fight, Tweneboa Kodia fell, which was the predicted sign of victory.

Asiama Tia and Safe surrendered to the Asantes. Asiama Tia was fighting very bravely, when someone asked him. "Why do you trouble yourself so much for one like Ntim, who has just beheaded your nephew, his aide-de-camp, and when your wife is among his wives in the harem?"

The cause of the nephew's beheading was, that once when the Dankyeras were victorious, the king painted his right arm with white clay; and his aide-de-camp, sharing his joy, painted his arm, as the king had done, who resented it so much that he ordered him to be beheaded

Asiama rushed to the camp and found the report was true. Asiama and other chiefs deserted Ntim, the result being that the Dankyeras were completely conquered.

Ntim was found sitting with one of his wives playing a certain game, both of them having shackled their feet in golden fetters, and Adakwa Yiadom came upon them suddenly and attacked him with his sword; the first stroke fell on the gold bracelets he wore on his wrist, which was taken by Akosa of Edwampong and given to Adakwa. The stroke was repeated; the king was killed and his head cut off. The estimate of the killed was said to be about 100,000 besides the loss of 30,000 Akyems who came to their assistance. The King Ofori Korobon was lost with all his bodyguard. The Asantes spent fifteen days

plundering Dankyera, and took thousands of prisoners and much gold. Gyamaase, the Chief of Wono, placed the king on the stool.

Among the slain on the Asante side was Obiri Yeboa's son Osaben Odiawuo, Tweneboa Kodia and Nsuase Poku. Safe succeeded the latter, while Asiama Tia was disgracefully killed. They had sworn not to take his life; in spite of that promise a hole was made in the ground in which he was placed, his arms were pinioned behind him and people were ordered to go to privy upon him. The Asantes justified this abominable treatment of their prisoner by saying that in spite of victory against by his deserting Ntim, that he ought as a general to have done his duty to his king and nation, and settled any difference between the king and himself at home, but not to have acted treacherously as he had done.

The cannon captured are now a trophy at Kumase. Many advantages were derived from this conquest, one being the monthly paynote of the Dutch Government to the king for Elmina Castle, which became a perquisite to the victor till 1872, when St. George d'Elmina and the other Dutch possessions were handed over to the English. Dankyera became a tributary state, Ohuagyewa, a lame princess, was placed on the throne by the victor. The debt incurred by Ntim in war material was paid to the Dutch by Osei Tutu, and amounted to 1,000 peregwans.

Okomfo Anokye was richly paid for his good services. The king gave him 300 slaves, 100 peregwans, and a large gold ring for his arm; he made him a leading chief with seven horns, one big drum, a state umbrella and four gold hilted swords, and made commander of the van of the army. He also received from Maniampon 100 slaves and 30 peregwans; Okyere Brofo, the successor of Tweneboa Kodia, gave 100 slaves and 20 peregwans, and Nsantefu did the same. But Adakwa Yiadom refused to give Okomfo Anokye anything, for which a curse was pronounced against him, that no success should attend anything he attempted, when not acting in conjunction with Kumase, but when acting with them, he should win glory. Out of the numerous slaves given, the priest formed the district of Agona in Asante.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Kingdoms of Akwamu and Akyem. The flourishing state of the Akras on the Coast. Oduro Tibo's war with Nyako Kwaku. War declared by Osei Tutu against Akyem, and his death. Akonno's invasion of Akra and the neighbouring tribes. About 1530-1730

Having dealt with the history of the Asante kingdom from the beginning to the reign of Osei Tutu, who elevated it to its highest point, we shall in this Chapter take up two other Twi tribes, viz.: the Akwamu and Akyem kingdoms. Prince Akwamu, after living with the kings of Akra, obtained a piece of land, upon which he founded his town and state at the Akyem Peak (Nyanaw-ase). Akwamu, being a native of either Tshuforo or Adanse, who having already founded his own state before the arrival of Ansa Sasraku, both being Twi princes, they may have both united in forming the kingdom of Akwamu, the name giving the first place to the first settler It was the policy of the Twi emigrants to extend their power by conquering and absorbing the aboriginal race on the sea coast. Akwamu was very small at first, at which time the Guan tribes of Agona on the West, the Bereku and Annum tribes on the South, and the Guan tribes of Akwapem on the East, were all under the King of Akra. It is stated that in every yearly grand feast of the Akra King, the chiefs of Obutu and Akwamu were his hammock carriers, or, at any rate, chiefs over them. The Akwamu Prince Odei was in the king's service, as Osei Tutu had been in that of Owusu Bore. Yet these princes of tributary states sent as horsetail- and shield-bearers to the capital, and to study politics generally became a danger to the kingdom. Osei Tutu destroyed the kingdom of Dankyera; Kwadwo Tibo was similarly employed in Kumase and caused its destruction. Odei at Okaikoi's court also brought about the ruin of the Akra kingdom.

With the usual ability of the Twi princes for gaining power, the kings of Akwamu easily managed by war and plunder to extend their dominion over the surrounding tribes. About 1530 and again in 1680, after expelling the Akras from the country and usurping their territory, they became the third, if not the second, most powerful kingdom on the Gold Coast. 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 natives unter their power are miserably tormented with daily plundering or 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 return for the liberty given to us by his predecessors to build on his dominions, yet he horribly plagued us, and so unreasonably, that if he did but fancy anyone of us had injured him, he was sure to oblige us all three to give satisfaction, by shutting the passes so closely, that not as much as a single merchant (native) could get to us.

The kingdom was despotic, and the king and nobles are so rich in gold and slaves, that I am of opinion, this country alone possesses greater treasures than all those kings we hitherto described on the Gold Coast taken together."

Akyem, a name given to the country by the Asantes from being supplied by them with salt. "Akyem", says Bosman, "was already strong when Dankyera increased in power." The aboriginal races seem to have been of the Fomana and Kamana tribes. Oku Panyin of the Aberetufo was King of Otapupuase. Kotoko, King of Begoro, over the Kamana tribe, which is supposed to be the parent tribe of the Akwamu people When the government of this people was established at the Akyem-Peak, most of their towns were unter the King of Akwamu, until the Adanse people beg to emigrate there, at which time they were known as a powerful kingdom.

The emigration of the chiefs of Adanse to Akyem began at a remote period, and still continues. These emigrants and their people were recalled by Osei Tutu to Adanse; but Kutukrunku and his people refused to return. On the arrival (in Adanse) of Amo Yao and Asare Kofi with Okumanini Gyamfi of Ahamaso, Danso of Akokoase and Gyenin of Nkwantanan, they were made to pay 100 peregwans and swear allegiance; the government of Adanse was transferred from Amo Yao to Asare Kofi of Fomana.

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We will now cast a glance at the vanquished kingdom of Akra. About twenty years after the kingdom of Akra had been

subjected and nearly all the inhabitants on the sea coast had emigrated, the remaining Akras in addition to 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, the Gomoas and Agonas, with Akras as brokers, is said by Bosman to have equalled that of the whole Gold Coast put together.

The first King of Akra on the coast was Ni Ayi. The influential chief was Ama Kuma. The Akwamus were the lords and masters of the land. Their King Akonno being jealous of the prosperity of the Akras, sought an opportunity to fight them.

During the reigns of the three or four kings who preceded Akonno, the Akwamus had monopolised the coast trade; the Akyems were not allowed to buy goods direct from the coast; neither could they purchase arms and ammunition. Fighting, manstealing and plunder prevailed 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, not being paid what they had been promised, paid themselves by kidnapping them. Worse still, the Akwamus carried on the same practice among themselves. Meeting another from his own place on the coast, he would, very often, entice him to the forest and sell him.

The merchants then resident at Akra, Danish, English, or Dutch, used every means they could to ship off from five to six hundred slaves a month. The Akras as brokers for the merchants grew rich by that nefarious traffic. The Akwamus became envious of their good fortune and began to take measures to crush them. The people of Akrong and Agona were on friendly terms with the Akras, and carried on the trade principally at Akra, so that the Akwamus feared to declare war, as they dreaded being attacked on the rear while fighting the Akras in front. At this time a new war broke out between the Agonas and Gomoas.

Nyako Ako, King of Agona, whenever he had a son, ordered travellers and traders from Gomoa Asen to be waylaid and beheaded. When the heads were brought to him, he showed them

to his infant son, and said: "These are thy toys, grow up and play with them."

Ako continued this practice for a long time, until Kwaw Ehura Aku, King of Gomoa Asen, indignant at the repeated murder of his people, turned to King Oduro Tibo of Asen Fufu to protect them from the outrages of Nyako Ako. The price demanded for the service was paid down, the united forces under Kusa Adu marched against Nyako, whose army was said to be 32,000 men. Nyako was defeated, his army dispersed, and the king, with one wife, fled into the bush. Kusa Adu, who now became an influential captain over Kwaw Ehura Aku's army, was originally a carrier of palm wine, and a native of Besabew in Abora. Living in the capital, he became rich, and on the death of the king, he was made King of Gomoa.

During this time, Nyako had an Akwamu for his friend, who made him presents of sheep and other things on every yam-custom. This man once brought his son with him to court, and when there the young man committed a criminal act with one of the king's wives. He was arrested to be beheaded according to the law of the country. The father pleaded for his son's life, saying that he was only a foolish boy; and offered to pay any sum asked for to save his life. At last the king agreed to accept a fine of 60 peregwans, which the father borrowed from friends and paid over, and was promised the release of his son the next day. Early in the next morning, the king's drums were heard beating in a way that is only done when someone has just been executed. "What is the matter? Who has been executed?" enquired the unhappy father and other people. A man arrived from the palace and informed the man that his son was the victim. Weeping bitter tears the father entered the palace and found his dead son. Accompanied by the man who witnessed the payment of the fine, he asked Nyako why he had killed his son, for whose life he had so earnestly prayed and for whom he had paid so large a fine. The king replied: "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 punishment prescribed for the act."

After his defeat King Nyako and his wife, wandering in the bush, arrived at the plantation of his 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 told the sad story of Nyako's defeat, and that they were searching for an asylum anywhere. The woman returned home and told her husband the truth. "Do you really mean Nyako? I can hardly believe my ears." Her reply was: "Yes, I do." The man sharpened his cutlass and placed it aside, ordered a sheep to be killed for dinner, and returned with his wife to find the king. He was found lying on the ground on some cloth they had with them. On seeing the man whose son he had killed, Nyako said in a mournful voice· "I am now your slave." Upon hearing these words, a flood of tears gushed from the man's eyes for the loss of his son, which Nyako thought shed in pity for himself. The man brought the king home, presented him 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 after so many days starvation. While Nyako was washing his head and face with soap, the man rushed 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 Nyako was taken to Akwamu, followed by the man who had killed him and his friends. Here the whole story was told to the king and chiefs; the man was comforted for his loss and rewarded.

Oduro Tibo, who had been seeking to capture Nyako alive or dead, when informed of his death and that his remains had been taken to Akwamu, despatched messengers to demand the return of the body. This Akonno positively refused. Other messengers were sent, but with no better result, and Tibo declared war against the Akwamus. The assistance of Agona was asked by Tibo to claim the remains of their king, but they refused. Akonno was attacked by Tibo and Kusa Adu, and defeated; many captives were taken. The Agonas when they heard of Tibo's

success, demanded a share of the spoil, threatening that if refused they would dispute his return home. Tibo ordered his men to march on until they were attacked, and then defend themselves. Tibo mounted his royal stool and offered a libation of water to God and earth, calling on them to plead his cause and defend him. The Agonas attacked, but were repulsed with heavy loss, and were obliged to send a flag of truce to negotiate peace. A meeting was held, at which the Agonas were severely reprimanded; and Yaw Menta, an utter foreigner, was placed on the Agona stool; and Tibo, after threatening vengeance against anyone who should dare to rebel, returned to his country. Since then the descendants of Yaw Menta have been the rulers of Agona.

During Nyako's reign, his mother died, and all his subjects attended the funeral with the usual salute of musketry; but the people of Winnebah were late in doing honour to her memory. When they arrived Nyako objected to their firing the salute, and being thus put to shame, not knowing what might be the result, they ordered a cannon to be sent from Europe and carried it to Anyakrom. The king, on seeing it, said: "Muskets were fired by my chiefs and people; if the Winnebahs will fire a cannon now, I agree to it." The Winnebahs fired it for many days at Anyakrom.

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 those meals are devoured by mice and lizards. Nyako objected to their placing the statue of his mother and the meals on the road, and said: "Spirits are like winds, and therefore that of my mother can enjoy the meal anywhere." He then 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. A sentry was placed standing by on the top of the tree, and cry to travellers passing by: "Wouldn't you look at the statue of Nyako Ako's mother?"

As the King of Akyem had assisted the Dankyeras against Asante, Osei Tutu in revenge declared war against them. Ofosu-hene Apenteng was then the king in Asante-Akyem, and Kutu-

krunku was King of Abuakwa; both had determined to stand independent of the powerful King of Asante. In the year 1702 Osei Tutu marched against Akyem, and, after two bloody battles, they were defeated and King Ofosuhene Apenteng taken prisoner. His sister Nyantadam was captured by Oponkoko, brother of General Amankwa of Nsuta, and Asiedu Apagya was also taken prisoner. Nyantadam was married to Oponkoko, from whom she had eight children. Thus Akyem became tributary to Asante.

To avoid paying the yearly tribute, Akram, Apenteng's successor, and Kutukrunku 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; Kutukrunku to some place in the forest. After roaming for three years in the forest, they returned to Akyem and demanded back the royal family from the Akwamus. The princesses having married and had children, feeling quiet and contended in Akwamu, refused to return. But being unable to fight, the Akwamus sued for peace, delivered back the women and children, and agreed to pay a certain yearly sum of money to Akyem.

In about 1730 Akyem rebelled again. Osei Tutu at once marched an army into the place and fought a bloody battle at Koromante, defeated the Akyems who having been driven across the Pra, placed an ambuscade there. The victorious Osei Tutu, after his many triumphs, fell into it one Monday, and was killed whilst crossing the river; some say, while ascending the hill which was named Koromante, in memory of the battle. This account of the death of this really great man is contradicted by the Asantes. They say that the king was infirm and in bad health when forced to take the field against the rebellious Akyems, and although the army was successful, Osei Tutu died a natural death.

Opoku Ware did not inform the nobles and generals of what had occurred, coffined the remains of the king and ordered it to be carried in the rear of the army. Opoku, the late king's nephew, revenged his uncle's death and severely punished the

Akyems. After that he informed the nobles of what had happened and the army marched back to Kumase.

The natural death of an Asante king is a great natural calamity, but the same event in camp is a tousand times worse. Hence when any of the warriors was asked about the rumours of the king's death, his reply was: "I joined the campaign, but never heard of it." This became the oath of '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 originated with the death of Osei Bonsu. After all the abominable and bloody customs for the dead king had been carried out, the vacant stool was offered to Opoku Ware, who had not only successfully conducted the last war, but had, in addition, been appointed by the late king. There were two other nephews, Dako and Dakõ, who also claimed the stool. Opoku tried to settle the question amicably between themselves, and to share the estate but not the stool. They rejected these offers and induced a good many Kumases to favour their claims, but the majority were on Opoku Ware's side. This almost led to a civil war but Opoku prudently checked it and ordered Dako and Dakõ and their people to be killed. They were all beheaded, except one girl; and Opoku was proclaimed the successor of his uncle Osei Tutu in the year 1731.

We will now follow the refugees driven from Ahantang to Akyem, and after that take a glance at Akwamu and Akra. Akram, the successor of Ofosuhene Apenteng, having crossed the Pra, took refuge in a place near Okwawu and Aguogo, known as Kotoku. 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 Da or Oda. It was near Asuom. The kings Kwabena Boroni and Gyaberenkum successively assumed the government of Da, and now the royal family found it necessary to redeem Nyantadam's children from Nsuta. The sum of 100 peregwans, 30 sheep, and 30 ankers of rum were sent, and the following royal personages were brought to Da, viz.: Ampim, Firempong, and Firempomma. Before leaving Asante, they were made to swear a fetish oath, never to be

hostile to them, whenever any of them should become King of Da.

Ampim, cousin of Firempong, succeeded Gyaberenkum, in whose reign there was peace between Asante and Akyem, on account of the fetish oath he and his cousin had sworn. But there was no peace on the Coast and in Asante, because Opoku Ware seized the opportunity to conquer the northwestern, northern and eastern districts of his kingdom.

Akonno, during the war between Tibo and Nyako, declared war against Akra for the following reason.

The yearly Homowo came on, and Akonno sent his wives down to the coast to be present at the celebration. He told them to stay with his friend, Ama Kuma, who provided them with a whole compound for their use and treated them very kindly. When the feast was over the wives returned to Akwamu, and Ama Kuma was falsely accused of having had improper intercouse with some of the king's wives. Akonno always greedy for money sent messengers to demand 1,000 heads of cowries (£50) as compensation from Ama; and in spite of his innocence, he was compelled to comply Another false statement was made to the king asserting that the fine was nothing to Ama, as it was paid by his slaves. This encouraged the grasping king to demand another 1,000 heads, which Ama, by the advice of his friends, also paid, with the sole object of preserving peace. Desirous of war, Akonno sent for a third time to demand a similar fine. Ni Ayi, King of Akra, and his chiefs objected to the conduct of Akonno, and this led to the war. Akonno marched towards Akra with an army. He was met by a quite inadequate force, which was forced to retreat to the town and besieged. The Akras were soon compelled to seek shelter in Fort Crevecoeur. The king, Ni Ayi, with his party and nearly all the warriors entered in time, whilst Ama, with only a small body-guard, was shut out. He escaped in a canoe to sea, but the man at the helm was shot. He was fleeing with two men to James Fort, where they were murdered to the great annoyance of Akonno who would rather have had Ama in order to be able to extort a heavy ransom.

Emboldened by success, Akonno soon after declared war

against Osu, Labade, and Teshi, who, having failed to assist Akra, had now to face the powerful enemy. Labade, being without cannon, was one night stormed, and a great many of the people were slain or captured and sold to the slave dealers. King Okpoti alone lost 1,000 of his people and soon compelled, with a few of his retainers, to flee for shelter to Christiansborg. The warriors of the three towns collected in Osu; then women and children were escorted by armed men to Sanya. Ni Tshie was a youth at that time and one of the escorts. A battle was fought at Obenesu, in which the Akwamus lost their best chiefs and retreated to their camp at Labade, to prepare for the next attack; the Akra army retired to Christiansborg.

Sowa, brother of Adsei Kwao, went to Teshi with his sons to obtain food; on their return the enemy attacked them; Sowa was captured, but his son Laye Nam escaped and swam to Dutch Akra. The Akwamus, enraged at their loss, made a second attack which forced the Akras to retreat to Christiansborg. As they were short of powder, the Akras asked for some from the Governor of Christiansborg, who declined and said: "Use the powder you had against the Ningowas for your defence." Whilst encamped at Tshabele, they obtained ammunition from a vessel anchored there by pawning their children to the Captain, redeeming them after the war was over.

The European merchants of Christiansborg and Akra, who had been neutral to avoid injury to trade as well as trouble with the Akwamus, now interfered, lavished presents on the king and chiefs of Akwamu, promised to become sureties for the defeated, and thus peace was made. The heads of the chiefs of Akra and Labade cut off during the war were returned to their relatives through the traders. The King of Akwamu sent messengers through the country to tell the refugees to return home as peace had been made. Refugees to Shai, Sanya, and other places returned. The king gave two girls of the royal family as a token of his sympathy for the loss they had sustained. One girl was married to Okpoti of Labade, the other to Dako of Akra. This policy might have brought the Akras into his power, if the descendants of the girls had gained the stools. The plan

nearly succeeded; a son was born to Dako, and became King of Akwamu with the name Dako Panyin.

The powerful Akwamus desired Akonno to pay no more tribute to Akyem. They appeared to agree. When the ambassadors demanded the tribute at the appointed time, the king bullied and imprisoned them; but during the night he released them, paid the tribute and sent them away. At daybreak he told his chiefs, that they had escaped. Akwanno who succeeded Akonno in 1726, not only refused the tribute but, in addition, killed the ambassadors who were sent for it. He beheaded all but one, put their heads in a bag and sent it to Akyem by the survivor. The unsettled condition of affairs between Akyem and Asante prevented the former taking action at once; this delay enabled them to trade freely and to make war on and plunder the Akras, Akuapems and Adangmes· the large towns of Akuapem were depopulated; Abotaki, the capital, was ravaged with fire and sword.

Lanimo, the father of Late Odoi, who was the first King of Krobo, was both priest and king, and Sodshe was the most powerful general of the priest, having command of sixteen towns.

After the continuous attacks of the Akwamus, the invaders advised them to cut off the hand of the general in order to stop the war. The tired Shais agreed to this abominable suggestion and the hand was amputated; and Sodshe deeply grieved, quitted the country. As he was the protector of the people many of them determined to go with him, and travelling to the east, they settled on the banks of the river Godshei The inhabitants of the town of Mapong, descended chiefly of fallen women of Otufo, and were hated, could not accompany them, but settled on the Akuapem mountains. The Ladokus removed to La and others to Prampram and formed the Klei quarter there. Other fugitives went to Krobo, and the rest concealed themselves in the Shai mountain.

The Akwamus chiefly obtained captives from these places to sell to the European slave-dealers; the king selling from two to three hundred a month. From this trade he became the most powerful and wealthy king on the Gold Coast.

Another source of wealth for the king arose from the fines he demanded from people who had criminal connection with any of the many wives he had married in every town and village, leaving these women free with a view to getting people into trouble. When the offenders were unable to pay the fines, he and the members of his family were sold as slaves. The king and his chosen banditti spent the value of 1,000 slaves worth in rum every year.

CHAPTER VI.

The warlike and victorious reign of Opoku Ware. His wars against Amo Yam and Takiman. The great improvement in the Akra Kingdom in the reign of King Ayikuma Teiko, his preparations against Akwamu Firempong declares war against Akwanno; the troubles on the Coast The three kings of Akyem hired by Akras to fight the Akwamus Their expulsion to Krepe, and Akyem's supremacy on the Coast. The Banna and invasion of Kumase by Abirimoro Safwi and Gyaman ravaged. Subjugation of Buron. Kyempim and Ntamang. 1731-1749

Opoku Ware restored peace on his accession, and requested the fugitive Bafo, who had escaped to Nkoransa, to return to his district. The powerful King of Takiman, Amo Yaw, opposed this. Opoku advised Bafo's relations at Makom, to urge him to return. By these messengers Bafo informed the king of his desire to come home; and, in addition, gave him advice as to the best way of defeating Amo Yaw and making his country tributary to Asante, on condition that he should be made king.

When all was arranged by the king and Bafo's people Opoku Ware demanded that Bafo should be sent back Amo Yaw's reply was: "No one who places himself under the protection of the golden stool of Takiman can ever be surrendered; it is therefore impossible to comply with Opoku Ware's request." In addition to this defiance, Amo Yaw ill-treated the Asante traders in his kingdom; but Amo Yaw was too proud and powerful a ruler to submit to demands from such an inferior king as Opoku Ware. Amo Yaw and his sister Dwamarawa were so

rich that they counted gold as stones in the streets. The sister of Amo Yaw often asked: "What do people mean by poverty? I wish I could know what it is."

Bafo kept up constant intercourse with Opoku, and telling him of all that occurred at Takiman; while, at the same time, he was the first of the advisers of Amo Yaw, who asked Bafo, "how the Asantes, who were not as powerful as other states, managed to conquer great kingdoms like Dankyera and others?" Bafo 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 unlimited confidence in Bafo, was mad enough to credit all he said, and ordered all his men's firelocks to be removed and the muskets buried. When Opoku was informed of this he marched his army against the foolish Amo Yaw. The great forces of Takiman mustered to repulse the invaders; and the treacherous Bafo marched out with the king against the Asantes, encamped close to Amo Yaw, informing Opoku of his position, so that the Asantes might not put bullets in their guns while firing there. When the battle began, the deluded army of Takiman said 'tow! tow!' to their guns. Opoku rushed swiftly upon Amo Yaw and Bafo and took both of them prisoners.

By Bafo's advice Amo Yaw and his sister Dwamarawa with himself were placed in irons; the whole treasure of the kingdom was taken by the Asantes, whose power was greatly increased by this victory. Several improvements were, by Amo Yaw's advice, made in the government and social conditions of Asante. He taught Opoku to make gold and silver weights, to claim the estate of a deceased chief or general, also to enact laws fining offenders in order to add to his power and reduce that of his subjects. Dwamarawa, who once boasted of her riches and desired to know what poverty means, was now obliged to sweep the market places and the most stinking parts of Kumase.

Opoku Ware one day called the army to the capital, con-

gratulated the chiefs and generals on their victory, and requested them to thank Bafo for the assistance he had given to Asante. Amo Yaw now perceived how foolish he had been in acting on Bafo's advice. The king requested Bafo to return home, but as it was agreed upon between them that he should rule the country, he had, in the meanwhile, advised the Mohammedan subjects to flee until he returned to Nkoransa. His treachery to both Opoku and Amo Yaw was discovered; hence the expression 'treacherous as Bafo' became proverbial. He obtained the rule at Nkoransa and the Mohammedan refugees returned; thus it became a tributary state to Asante. Amo Yaw's love of despotic rule led to the generals and chiefs conspiring against the king and during the outbreak Amo Yaw was killed.

After the death of Ni Ayi, Ayikuma Teiko became King of Akra. Being an intelligent man, he strengthened them by recalling his subjects who had emigrated to Aneho and other places, because of the Akwamu invasions He was on friendly terms with the Dutch Government, he abolished capital punishment, the practice of paying double dowry for wives, made improvements of carious kinds and thus encouraged the fugitives to return. Previously the dowry was given twice; first, to obtain the wife, and the second time, when she died.

As brokers to the slave-traders, the king and many of his people had grown rich; yet they were tributary to the Akwamus. The king whose ancestors had been powerful when the Akwamus were their vassals, felt keenly this subjection to his former subjects. His thoughts were all directed to the object of freeing himself from the hated Akwamu yoke. One day a dispute arose between the Governor of the fort and King Ayikuma Teiko. It is stated that the Dutch Governor, being invited by the Governor of Christiansborg to dinner, went accompanied by the king. At the party the Danish Governor is reported to have given a stroke in the face of the king, which he returned to him some days afterwards when on a visit to Akra. This greatly annoyed the Dutch Governor, who said the case had been settled already, and the king ought not to have revenged himself after all. Some say that it was the Dutch Governor himself who struck the king

in the face. The king ceased to visit the fort for a long time, which made the Governor uneasy.

His time to go on leave was approaching, and he found that his successor might have cause to send a bad report of him to the Governor-General at Elmina, he therefore asked the chiefs of the town to arrange things on his behalf and to induce King Ayikuma Teiko to settle the difference between them before the arrival of the new Governor. At last the king spoke openly to his chiefs and said that if the Governor would take upon himself to support them with arms and ammunition to break down the power of the Akwamus, he would consent. When the Governor was informed of this, he, knowing what a plague the Akwamus were both to black and white, readily agreed, the difficulty was amicably arranged.

The Governor travelled to Akwamu and Akyem to learn the number of warriors and distributed pipes and tobacco to every man. On his return he assured King Ayikuma of the success of their intended war against Akwamu.

The Dutch Government arranged for supplying arms and ammunition; Prince Ayai, son, and Okaidsha, nephew of the king, were given as security for everything. When all this was settled, an opportunity to give a hint to the Akyem kings had to be found. In the meantime Firempong had assumed the Government of Akyem Kotoku after the death of his cousin Ampin, during whose reign there was peace between Akyem and Asante caused by the fetish oath taken by them both before leaving the place. Besides, Opoku Ware had assured Firempong, when he presented him with a young elephant, that he would never take up arms against Akyem during his life-time. Kutukrunku was still the King of Akyem Abuakwa. Akwanno, the Akwamu King, had refused to pay the tribute to Akyem and killed his ambassadors, after that arresting 300 men with their loads belonging to Firempong.

Firempong Manso thereupon informed Kutukrunku of Akyem Akropong that he was preparing to attack the Akwamus to get back his property, and desiring him to join with his army. With a force of 40,000 they marched and attacked the Akwamus,

but were repulsed with loss, after three days' engagement, including Kutukrunku, Gyamankoroa, nephew of Firempong, and other chiefs. Firempong retreated and encamped at Nyakurom; from thence he asked the help of Oduro Tibo of Asemfufu and Teteakoro II of Adwumako. Damaram succeeded Kutukrunku and encamped at Apiraman. Kudshu was King of Akra and sent out some of his army to assist in the war. Thus reinforced, Firempong marched against Akwanno. He captured one of his chiefs, Boadu. The Akwamu women hoped for success, and said that so long as General Amanya Kwaw commanded the army there was nothing to fear. But at last this general was made prisoner and both he and the chief Boadu previously captured were beheaded by Ba Kwante, who sang: "I have killed both, Boadu and Amanya Kwaw, and am a hero!"

The invaders too sustained heavy losses, Damaram, Gyāmedua, nephew of Firempong, and several others had been killed, yet the Akwamus were not defeated But the invaders had also made many prisoners and gained large spoil. Oduro Tibo founded the town Barakwa with the prisoners he obtained, and was given a horn in return for his services from Firempong. Pobi Oduro succeeded Damaran, and both he and Firempong retired from the field to Akyem.

The Governor of Christiansborg at that time was illiterate; a sailor by trade. He loved to repair watches and quarrelled with the people of the place, who in resentment traded chiefly with Dutch merchants at Akra. When any of his officers fell into their hands, they were sold to the slave-traders of Akra. This man sometimes loaded the guns with stones and fired into the town; he even had a waxen statue made of himself which he placed on the wall of the fort. The people angry at this, fired guns at it; and at last their sailor Governor set the town on fire. The provocation brought Akwanno down to the coast, who settled the dispute between the people and Governor and obtained large presents for doing so. Being angry with the Dutch merchants at Akra for inducing his subjects to trade with them and fight with him, the Governor ordered Akwanno to attack Akra again. The king returned to Akwamu and sent 1,000 armed

men to invite the Governor to come to his capital. The Dutch Governor, suspicious of being troubled, sent to Elmina for arms, ammunition, food, and gunners, and got ready to meet an attack of the Akwamus.

In January, 1733, Akwanno visited Akra. The siege lasted four months and caused a great family; the number of deaths from starvation exceeded the loss by war. The state of things induced King Ayikuma Teiko of Akra to send two of his chiefs, Okai Opremreseako I, Amo Nakwaka I, and Ama Safo, with the royal necklace of precious beads, the pay-notes for the Forts Crevecoeur, James Fort, and Christiansborg Castle, the national state can Asempayetia and the golden crown of the late King Okaikoi with presents to Akyem, to ask for the aid of the three kings: Ba Kwante, Firempong Manso of Akyem Kotoku, and Owusu Akyem. The ambassadors had to make a circuitous journey of two months to reach Akyem. The Dutch Government also sent arms and ammunition by an officer to the kings, for which Ayai, a son, and Okaidsha, a nephew of the king, were given as security. The ammunition was packed in fishing baskets to prevent detection by the Akwamus. Amo Nakawa easily induced the Obutus and Agonas to defy the Akwamus. The kings agreed to assist the Akras, but as they were at war with the Asantes already, they made a treaty with Opoku Ware, not to attack in the rear. He only knew that they were to demand a tribute from the Akwamu, which they had refused, but did not know they had been hired. Opoku Ware allowed them five months to return, on condition he was paid 500 men for his consent.

He knew that they could not support the power of the Akwamu, and if reduced in strength by them, he himself might easily conquer them. Akwamu was ripe for vengeance on its wicked deeds. Forty grains of corn were given to the ambassadors who were to tell the king, to take every day one grain from the number, and when the grains were gone the Akras should know that they were upon their enemy.

About June, the Akyems started, and Akwanno was obliged to raise the siege of Akra. After a sharp combat with the united forces of Akyem, Akra and Akuapem, Akwamu was defeated

and many prisoners taken. Their women and children never fearing defeat, were unprepared for flight when the victorious enemy came upon them. The rainy season had begun and they surrendered themselves to their enemies. Akwamu was thus driven back from the Akyem Peak to beyond the Volta. There appears to have been a cession of hostilities after the capture of both the Akwamu chiefs, Boadu and Amanya Kwaw, before their entire expulsion. The war being carried on in the bush, the Akwamus did not know its cause; but when they learned it was caused by the Akras, they suddenly attacked them. The Akyems having retired, the Akras were too weak and they were driven back to Aneho. Ayikuma Teiko being dead, Ofori Tibo was then King of Akra, Ama Wusu Ahyia, Chief of Gbese, Ni Tshie, Chief of Teshi, was the chief leader to the refugees of Popo. Chief Otu Ahyiakwa and his warriors having been annihilated in his war in aid of the Dutch Governor against the Commandas 1694, Amo Nawaki was his successor. He died during the flight of the Akras to Popo Ni Tshie and Dako, the son of Amo, ordered his remains to be carried the whole time. Crossing the Volta with the remains of Amo, the Angulas resisted them but were driven back, and they arrived at Popo safely.

Owusu Akyem, hearing of the sufferings of his friends from the enemy, came upon the Akwamus and drove them completely from the country, pursuing them along the stream Nsaki to Gyakitti on the Volta. Having crossed they sought an asylum in the country of the kings of Botoku conquering the powerful Akyem body under brave King Owusu. The truth was that he, knowing he had permission for five months from Opoku to carry on war with Akwamu, was obliged to hasten his return to Akyem, to prevent the King of Asante attacking his country in his absence, for going beyond the five months permission granted.

Hence on hastening homewards with very numerous Krepe and Akwamu captives, Mansai people attacked his forces, but he marched on without returning the fire; hence the enemy imagined they had driven the Akyems away. The old enemy had been driven off; now the Akyems proposed to storm the fort of Christiansborg. But the Governor, when informed of the

intention, sent large presents to pacify them. In spite of this they persisted in advancing. Unfortunately the Castle was destitute of ammunition; in spite of that all the subjects sought shelter inside the walls. A fetish priest proclaimed that the Danes were God's children; and if they were slain the world would be turned upside down. The Akras, not believing the oracle, wanted to march to Christiansborg but they were much sobered when they learned that the high fetish, to punish them for disobedience, had quitted Akra and gone to live at Labade with Lakpa. Forty men were caught among those who could not reach the fort in time from Labade.

1733-1742. The reign of the three kings of Akyem, Ba Kwante, Firempong Manso, and Owusu Akyem. Numerous prisoners being captured by the Akyems and their allies, 500 were paid to Opoku. The Akyems neither sold nor killed their prisoners, as the Akwamus did, but kept and naturalised them; after some years they forgot their country.

The Akyems got the coast trade in their hands, and were given the protection of the forts as the three Notes for ground rents were in their possession and payable to them. Firempong had charge of Christiansborg, Ba Kwante of Crevecoeur and James Fort. Firempong therefore shaved his head and put the hair with eight ounces of gold into the foundation of that part of the fort which was then built. As protector he was paid 32 dollars per month from the Danish Government. All the trade with the Danish merchants was placed in his hands. He had never seen a whiteman, and by the reports given by the traders, especially the Akwamus, he thought that the Europeans were a kind of sea-creatures. He expressed his desire to see a European, and Nicolas Kamp, book-keeper, was sent to Da, capital of the Kotokus, for the king to see him. A great meeting was held for his reception. Kamp approached, saluted the company, took off his hat to the king, bowed low; and the king thought he was a wild animal about to jump on him. Under this impression the king fell flat on his face off his stool and cried loudly to his wives to assist him. The drummer, Adam Malm, and Noi Afadi, the interpreter, did their best to convince the king that Kamp

was a mere human being, and that all his movements were customary. The king arose from the ground and sitting on his stool, ordered his wives to sit between him and the European and his men. Upon seeing the cue, a tail-like wisp of hair hanging down Kamp's back, he said: "Dear me, all the animals have their tails at the end 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 twisted to look like one. All this time the king's wives were watching every movement of Kamp to learn whether he was a man or an animal. Not being satisfied with all he had seen, Firempong asked Kamp to take off his clothes, which he declined to do unless at home when no ladies would be present. The meeting over, Kamp retired to his quarters, when a table was prepared for him. During the repast the king's wives stood by looking at him; one said: "He eats like a man, really he is a human being."

At last Kamp took off his clothes before King Firempong, who could now touch him, and said. "Ah, you are really a human being, but only too white, like a devil." Another meeting was arranged, and Kamp was given two slaves as a present and returned to the coast. This mission revived the commerce with Da and Akyem; and they traded briskly in pure gold dust, not like that mixed up by the Akwamus. When sufficient goods were at hand, one to two thousand dollars worth of wares could be sold in a day. They were very fond of the real Danish guns, seven for 32 dollars; those of Holland, ten, and the English, twelve for 32 dollars; the traders came by 2,000 at a time.

Opoku Ware became envious of the Akyem success; they had now the whole trade in their hands, with the assistance of the numerous Akwamu captives whom they had naturalized. He thought and pondered of means by which he could crush them down, before they became more powerful than himself. Ba Kwante about 1702 when young had been taken as a prisoner to Ashante, but ransomed by paying 1,000 ounces of gold. Opoku in spite of this payment called Opoku Ware his vassal. Under pretext, Opoku sent ambassadors to Akyem to tell Ba how lenient he had been in not joining in the attack of the Akwamus, 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 Da, there was nothing to prevent him declaring war on Akyem.

Ba was too fond of drinking especially Danish liquor, which he imbibed very freely with his chiefs; twenty ankers every month. Of all the Akyem kings, he was the only one as much given over to drink as the kings of Akwamu. When he was intoxicated, he told the ambassadors of Opoku Ware that their master should be careful otherwise he would cut off his head and also those of his chiefs and hang them on his drums. War was declared. Owusu Akyem proposed to Ba, that they should remove to Krepe and let their armies to carry on skirmishes with the Asantes till they tire them out. But Ba refused. If Owusu alone had been the King of Akyem at that time, he would have known how best to deal with the Asantes.

The Akyems had not only the trade on the coast, and the protection of the forts in their hands, but also a kind of jurisdiction. The Akras were unwilling to submit to them, especially when they violated their religious days.

When preparing to meet the Asantes, the Akyems requested the assistance of Akra, Akuapem, and Adangme as their friends and allies. But only Chief Dako Panyin of Otu-street in Dutch Akra, with his own people and a few Akras, together with a small force from Akuapem, assisted them. The King of Adwumako was asked by Ampim to help them. He sent his nephew Ampoma with the women and children of Da to Otabi, King of Asafo Dankyera in Fante, for protection. Opoku Ware hired some Fante and some Hausa warriors to help him. During the year 1741 skirmishes were fought at Ahantang; there the King of Adumako, Firempong's nephew, Dwahere, and Kwaku Moteng, were slain. Apim fled and took an asylum by Takwa Dako of Takwa Kyiase. But Dako betrayed the king who was attacked and killed. His nephew Kwahene Broni succeeded him. Another engagement took place at Amantara Tebeso, and Kwahene was caught, but made free and died soon after. Gyaberenkum, his successor, reigned only one year and forty days, and was suc-

ceeded by Karikari Apaw. Dako also lost most of his people at the same place.

Two bloody battles were fought in 1742, near the river Benna. The Akyems were numerous and fought with great bravery, keeping the enemy at bay for a long time and the result of the battle was uncertain. The loss was great on both sides and the Akyems might have won; but it being the rainy season, the firearms on both sides were useless; but the Hausa warriors used their bows, and gained the day for the Asantes at the third engagement. Owusu Akyem received twenty-five wounds and 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 as the others. Ba committed suicide during the night, and his chiefs, generals, and warriors followed his example. Thousands of the brave Akyem warriors were lying in heaps slain around their dead kings. The Asantes captured 4,000 prisoners, which, added to the kings, chiefs, and generals slain and those who killed themselves, made Akyem a tributary state.

The women and children of Da sent to the care of King Otabi were betrayed to the Asantes. After the conquest the victors went over to Fante and shared the prisoners with Otabi and his subjects. Prince Ampona was among the prisoners sold, but one Perese of Ofosu Ansa redeemed him for ten ounces of gold. He brought him home to the royal family and was paid 60 ounces. Had the whole of the Akra, Akuapem, and Andangme forces united with Akyem, the Asantes could have been conquered then and there. But their fate was to come.

Opoku Ware was putting the conquered country in shape, when he heard from Kumase that Abirimoro, the King of Sawfi and Wasa, had invaded Kumase and other towns, destroyed them and killed all the royal family. They killed them by pounding in large wooden mortars. The king at once commissioned Osei Afweree of Dwaben to get the fine of 1,000 peregwans each from the Abuakwas and Kotokus and to place new kings on the stools, appointing at the same time Nsuta Amankwa, Owusu Sekyere of Mampong, and Komawu Basewa to assist Osei Afweree in that important mission. With Bekwai Poku and Kokofu

Brayie the King Opoku Ware started in forced marches to pursue the invaders. At Korowadaso he overtook, attacked, and completely conquered them. He proceeded to the capital and destroyed it. King Oburum Ankama and Abirimoro were taken prisoners and beheaded. One thousand prisoners of Safwi were sacrificed in honour of the royal personages they had massacred. One of the princesses was Akyiawa Kese of Dwaben. She was not killed but carried away prisoner to Safwi. After the passing of some years, she was brought home by a trader, to whom large presents were given for that act, and whose family was forever exempted from being executed in Asante. Otim Nketiawa and Aberefi were the only female survivors of the entire family. By them the royal family was again increased. Opoku Ware returned to Kumase with large spoil and numerous prisoners. Nantwi was commissioned to tell Osei Afweree and others in the Akyem 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 Akyem, after being fined 1,000 peregwans, in spite of which 3,000 were paid. Obeng succeeded Karikari Apaw and also paid 3,000 peregwans after the 32 gold-hilted swords and the offering sword had been plundered from 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 peregwans, on which Dampong, the fifth Kotoku capital, was built. Dampong means dependency on Opong, the owner of that place.

When Osei Afweree had settled the Kotokus and his co-commissioners and their forces were marching back to Kumase, four sharp-shooters placed in ambush by the river Kwadutwum, and Osei Afweree was shot dead; hence the Dwaben dreadful oath—Kwadutwum.

Among the 4,000 prisoners there was a prince, the heir to the stool of Akwamu, but the truth was not known till nine years later. Opoku Ware, when he was aware of his rank, treated him kindly and gave him many presents and sent him back to Akwamu with the name of Opoku Akoa (Opoka's slave). As there was no rightful heir to the throne he was made king; and changed

his name to Opoku Kuma. The king was angry that he had altered his name and ambassadors were sent to ask why he had done so. The reply was: "If I were called Opoku Akoa, I should lose the influence I have on my people." A fine of 100 slaves was imposed on him, and his people refusing to pay the fine, Kuma made the youngmen of his capital swear, after he had made them drunk, and one night they attacked and caught 100 prisoners, and the fine was paid. In one of the inroads of King Pobi Asoman of Akyem against Akwamu, Opoku Kuma and Agyam were killed.

After these conquests Abo, the King of Gyaman, was commanded to return to his people at Odomara, but refused. Opoku marched to Bontuku, its capital, and made it tributary to Asante. Numerous refugees fled to Kong, Opoku took his army to the capital, where they arrived after travelling three months; and were quite surprised to find so large a town. The whole army appeared in comparison a handful of men, and they were afraid. Yet they summoned enough courage to deal with the Queen-Mother, whose son was away at war. She was pleased that Opoku was so lucky as to come when the king was absent, otherwise his little army would have been devoured. The old Queen in a friendly way returned 500 refugees to him and added some other valuable presents Opoku presented her with 100 of the captives and named her 'Aberewa Poku', a name she delighted to be called by. Opoku then hurried his march from there to Gyaman, and made Kofi Sono Ampem king, after which Opoku returned home.

As already mentioned, Opoku Ware during the whole of his reign was actively engaged in completing and strengthening the conquests of his predecessor in the north and north-east countries. The Nta country then governed by the King of Yebo, a nominal province to Mampong. Owusu Sekyere of Mampong, who had charge of the province, sent messengers there to levy men for sacrifice to his late father; but the King of Yebo refused to permit it. Owusu Sekyere appealed to the King Opoku and war was declared against the Ntas. Opoku, as usual, seized his opportunity, marched his army there and subdued the whole country.

Some refugees escaped to Yane, capital of Dagomba, King Okuru Karikari, was attacked but unwilling to fight, submitted after a short struggle in which Koranten Pete I, commander of the Asante war, fell at Sabe. As the King of Yane had submitted, a fine of 3,000 slaves was claimed in payment of which Okuru wisely included 1,000 Yebo refugees.

The King of Namonsi at Mimira was invited to surrender, on his refusal, he was attacked and defeated. King Akarasi I of Dwaben obtained charge of that province, while Yane was given to Koranten Pete II, The King of Krepi was asked to surrender, on refusing he was made prisoner after a short resistance. Owusu Sekyere was given charge of the place. When the camp was fixed Opoku Ware demanded from Osubri, King of the Ntshummumurus, at Basa, whether he would submit quietly. Osubri very often disturbed trade by seizing and killing Asante and Hausa traders coming there. As Osubri was defiant Akrasi I of Dwaben was ordered when joined by a detachment of the king to fight him. Osubri was captured alive and his army scattered after a fight lasting three days; many prisoners were taken, but most of the fugitives fled to Karakye, seeking protection from Odente, the famous fetish of the place.

King Opoku despatched his son, Prince Adu Kwanfeni and Konadu Amim, and the linguist Damang Safo of Dwaben, to demand the delivery of the refugees from Odente, who told the messengers that he would never quarrel with the King Opoku Ware, but was under him; the refugees must be restored. This brought Odente into contact with Asante, but principally with Dwaben, to which province Karakye was attached. After the war four chiefs were brought to Krepi, took the fetish oath and paid 1,000 men. Adubron was made up of these prisoners. The rest of the refugees, the king allowed Odente to claim. Only two towns, Badshamso and Akaneem, the king ordered to provide prisoners every year.

The camp was broken up and the army crossed the Volta to Yeji. After many victories, the army crossed the rivers Puru and Dawia, the King of Atabubu, was called to submit; not doing so, the king's bodyguard of Abohyen and Oyoko under Asaman

Ankra, Kanyerase Okyere and other chiefs gave him battle. Dawia fell and his people were subdued and given in charge of Ankra. Dawia's nephew, Kwame Kyere, was placed on the stool. Opoku Ware crossed the river Puru, met his bodyguard and commanded them to march homeward. He had subdued and brought under his rule a large territory, and captured thousands of prisoners. But before breaking up his camp, Nsuta Amankwa was ordered to attack Oduroman. The enemy was subdued given in charge of Amankwa.

The army now resumed its triumphal march home, having captured Osubri, Dawia, and the King of Krepi Not long after this great conquest, Opoku Ware who had extended the Asante dominion more than any of his predecessors or successors, died in 1749.

CHAPTER VII.

Origin of the inhabitants of Akuapem and its formation into an independent state by the Deputy Prince Safori of Akyem On the eight successors after him to the reign of Obuobi Atiemo. The reign of Ni Ayai, known as Tete Ahene Akwa or Momotse and Okaidsha. His reformation of the state of Akra, expedition to Aneho, and his death. Chief Okaidsha's civil wars; his visit to the camp of Dade Adu and his death. Chief Wetse Kodsho's reign and expedition made by him to establish peace in the country The reign of Teiko Tsuru, 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 Ansa Sasraku, the King of Akwamu. It lies between 5°42′ and 6°5′ North Latitude und between 0°3′ and 0°20′ West Longitude, and is bounded South by Ga (Akra), East by Adangme and Krobo, North and West by Akyem. Seventeen principal towns form the Akuapem state. The inhabitants belong to three, or strictly speaking, two different tribes. Akropong, the capital, and Amanokurom are peopled by emigrants from Akyem, 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 in the

place who were of the genuine Akan tribe, mixed with Berekus and Guans, who had been subject to the Akwamus. These joined the aboriginal tribes and are known as Afwerase, Aburi, Atweasing, and Berekuso. We have two reasons for this opinion: 1. not all the Aburis speak pure Twi, for the last 30 or 40 years ago their Twi was just like that spoken by the Guans. 2. Nkungkreng, the place the Aburis are said to have emigrated from, sounds more like Guan or Kyerepong than Twi; we, however, consider these people as Akwamu refugees.

It was stated 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 emigrated after them from the East, that they were then subjects to the King of Akra and were called not Akuapems but Guans (or Shuoyi) by the Akras When the kingdom of Akra was destroyed by the Akwamus about 1680, the remnant of Akra as well as the Guans and Adangmes came under the Akwamu yoke. At the time their number was largely diminished by incessant plunder, inroads, and emigration back to the East. It was said that five Kyerepong towns were once 50, and the two Late towns 30 under their King Ani Kotia, but all were reduced to the present number through different troubles from the Akwamus.

The cause of the emigration of the Lates to Nkonya, Karakye, and other tribes was the fetish Konkom, which was their highest fetish, to which a bullock was offered every year. The offering when prepared was carried to the mouth of the cave, in which Konkom was supposed to live. The priest and worshippers retired after placing the offering there, when Konkom left the cave and selected such parts of the meat he preferred, leaving the rest. Some naughty fellows resolved to see who the fetish was that used to select the best part of the offering; and hiding themselves in a certain place, they saw a figure in form of a man, but with only one eye, one arm and one leg, who came out to the offering. They all rushed upon him and dragged him out from the cave. This conduct offended Konkom so much that he left the Lates for Karakye.

To punish them for the desecration, Konkom before quitting

Late promised them a wonderful harvest, and advised them to burn all the corn and rice they had stored away. This they foolishly did, and the effect was a famine so fearful that they lived on roots and such things as long as possible and then quitted the place. The people of Ntshummuru, then at Karakye, asked the emigrants: "From what place are you coming?" They replied: "From Twi-Date", which was corrupted into Odente and applied ever since to the fetish Konkom.

The remains of the 30 towns united and formed the present Ahenease and Kubease. Akuapem history says that it was the Aburis, the advance guard of Ansa Sasraku, who first revolted. Abuwa, the queen of the place, accused her subjects to Ansa, who, knowing how brave they were, did not at once give them battle, ordered their loaded guns to be filled with water whilst they were working at their plantations on a Wednesday, and then attacked them. Several leading men were then captured and killed; from that time they were forbidden to work on Wednesdays. The Aburis appealed to the king against such treachery through Prince Opong Tenteng, his nephew. Not obtaining redress, they began war; and the prince who took their side, was killed. They took the body and fled to the place which the Basel Mission Station now occupies, and founded Aburi.

In those days the Akuapems were not governed by any principal man, but every town had its ruler. The remaining five towns of Kyerepong had their ruler at Awukugua, where a large market had been formed by one chief Awuku, and for that reason the town had been given the name of 'Awukugua'. Through marriage the ruling power was removed to Adukurom, a village founded by one Boamo, but which derived its present name by one Akyem man, Adumanuro, who was a native of Anum, then at Nyanawase, the capital of the kings of Akwamu, and of Ansa Sasraku's executioners resident in Boama's village. The Lates also had their chief at Kubease, who had children from a wife of Ahenease and also from one at this capital.

Chief Asiedu Kese, was the founder of the Late state and was succeeded by Gyadu Nkansa, in whose old age and at his

hour of death, Prince Safori arrived at Akuapem just at the beginning of his successor Ohene Berentiri's reign. Sediesa was chief over the Kyerepongs and Ofei Agyemang over the Aburis.

As these different states were not governed by a king, the country was very often in a disturbed condition, chiefly between the Guan and Kyerepong tribes. Okyame Aworobeng of Mamfe was the first man who bought a good number of Danish guns, by which he did great havoc amongst the Kyerepongs and Lates. He took many prisoners and kept them in his village Amanprobi. At the accession of Safori, the chiefs around conspired against Aworobeng, and he was deposed and his younger brother Mensa Atshekpato took his place. To revenge this Aworobeng armed twelve of his devoted slaves, attacked the Kyerepongs and Lates and killed hundreds of them. On his way home he killed himself between Akropong and Mamfe, and was buried there.

It is reported that Akuapem became an independent state for the cause now to be stated: Ansa Sasraku had two haughty nephews, Oteng Abransamadu and Oteng Agyare. These young princes had the abominable custom of using the middle of the breasts of young women of Akuapem as targets when practising shooting. The chiefs reported this atrocious conduct of the princes to Ansa Sasraku, with the result that both of them were sent down to the Dutch Governor at Akra to be trained on the coast On their arrival, they refused food, and the Governor coaxed them for three days before they tasted anything. Their wives were ordered to prepare some dishes for them and were also ordered to bring two razors with the dishes to shave them. The wives accordingly brought the dishes with the razors, and after having washed the two princes cut their throats. The Governor was grieved to hear of the suicide, and sent messengers to inform the king. His reply was· "I have heard nothing."

The Governor thought the first messengers had not carried out the commission properly, so he sent other messengers to the king to say that he was ready to pay any amount to satisfy him. The king's last reply was: "I will accept as satisfaction everything in the world: stones, trees, dust, gold, silver, copper, brass,

fowls, sheep, &c." This message greatly annoyed the Governor, and he called a meeting of the kings and chiefs of Akra to consult as to what should be done.

They told the Governor that they were tired of Akwamu tyranny and that they would unite and fight for their independence. The Akuapems were informed of all this by the Akras. Chief Ofee Kwasi Agyemang was also informed by the Akuapems. He brought a small force to aid them and battle was given to Ansa Sasraku by the combined forces of Akra, Akuapem, and the Gyakitis; but they could not withstand the brave Akwamus. So the assistance of Ofori Panyin of Akyem was asked, and Prince Safori, brother of the king, was ordered to bring a large army to assist. The Akwamus were then beaten and driven across the Volta. In this war Ba, the King of Krobo, was also asked to assist, when several maiden hostages were sent to him by Ofori.

When both Bakwante, Karikari Apaw and Owusu Akyem were slain and the Akwamus conquered, the Kotokus, who were the principal warriors in the campaign transplanted from the Da across the Pra to Dampong. The conquered land of Akwamu was entirely left to the Abuakwas, then governed by Ofori Panyin, hence he was known as the king who fought and deputed his blood relative Safori to the rule 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 were also for some time under the jurisdiction of Ofori Panyin, as related before. But that rule was very short, as the Dutch Government and all Akra acknowledged Late Boi as the King of Akra in 1734; hence Dutch Akra is called Boimang.

After the conquest of Akwamu, Prince Safori left the camp for Amanprobi, and summoned all the Akuapems to come there. He requested them to untie the cartridge belt from his loins, meaning by that, to pay him so as to retire home. At that time they were too poor having no gold dust, money, or even cloth to wear, that they used clothes made of obofu, the bark of a certain tree, beaten so as to serve the purpose of attire. Hence

they asked Safori to remain as their king; he consented and informed Ofori Panyin of it.

To confirm this agreement, the new king requested them all to take an oath of the fetish Kyenku at Obosomase. They all met at Abotakyi, and the fetish oath was administered with this promise that they would never throw off their allegiance to him or any of his successors for all time to come. This being done all the people were organised into a regular Twi order, viz.: the five Kyerepong towns formed the right wing division, Late and Mamfe, Tutu, Mampong and Asantema the left wing, and the Akyems of Akropong and Amanokrom known as Komang, i.e. defenders, and Chief Ofee Kwasi Agyemang of Gyakiti with the Akwamus of Afwerease, Aburi, Atweasing and Berekuso, who are Twis, formed the centre force. To reward the services given by Ofee Kwasi before the arrival of Safori, he was nominated the Manklalo, or Chief in general over the centre force next in rank to the king.

After the return of the Akras from Aneho, Ni Tshie, the Chief of Teshi, principal leader of the refugees, stayed in Dutch town to assist his cousins, Ama Wusu Ahyia, the Chief of Gbese, and Asa, the King of Christiansborg, in the work of Government. He worked with great energy to collect money to redeem the two princes, Tete Ehene Akwa and Okaidsha, who were given as securities for the ammunition procured from the Dutch Government in the Akwamu war.

Kuru, brother of Ni Tshie, paid the share of the collection for Teshi and Gbese. The amount due to the Dutch Government was paid and the two princes returned home.

Tete Ahene Akwa succeeded his father as King of Akra, and Okaidsha his father as Chief of Gbese. These princes through their connection with the Dutch have done much to reform Akra, because several of their sons were educated. But they had to deal with great disorders in the country resulting from the continued inroads of the Akwamus, and quarrels of different usurpers. Gross superstition prevailed destroying every good attempt of the princes. Mulatto children even were forced into the ways

and habits of the natives. Those who would not fall into the same condition were compelled to reside in Christiansborg, where they could be educated, or they enlisted as soldiers to the Dutch Government. The effects of that deplorable condition of things are felt to the present day. In spite of this, those who had European blood in their veins, although they fell into the native habits and were without education, in time became the protectors and deliverers of their country from the power of their enemies. We may cite such men as Tete Tshuru, Ayikai Tshuru, Akotia Owoshika, Kodsho Saul and others.

King Tete Ahene Akwa, commonly known as Momotse, soon began his reforming and improving work in the state and established order among the chiefs. News came that war had begun in Aneho, where several of the king's relatives and people were. Ambassadors were sent to Tete Ahene Akwa imploring help. The king readily agreed to assist them; but the chiefs and people dissented, saying that Aneho had been an unlucky place to them; and, in addition, if an expedition started there, many would never return because their relatives would persuade them to remain there. The Dutch Government of Akra also objected to the king's going to Popo and counselled him to stay; yet Tete felt he must set out because he had given his word to the ambassadors. In spite of the general objections preparations were made. The king with his own relatives from Abola and a few headmen from James Town down to Ada started, the majority promising to follow.

This expedition greatly impaired the glory and magnificence of our country because all the royal insignia were carried off and lost. The king moved very slowly as he expected a great reinforcement by the majority of his warriors. He was joined by some Angula chiefs, but the Akras never appeared. The king at last reached Aneho, after spending several weeks in every little town along the coast. After waiting a long time there for the arrival of his forces without taking the field, the king died of grief. His remains were brought in a ship to Akra and buried in the Dutch Fort. His people declined to return home for fear of being killed by Chief Okaidsha for the hideous murder they

had committed on the king's nephew Ayikai Guahyia. They dispersed about the country, greatly diminishing the Abola force. Prince Teiko Tshuru stayed a considerable time in Popo and Krepe, but returned in his old age and was made king.

His half brother Teiko Ding had tried hard to be made king. Chief Okaidsha ruled while the king was away. He was a very passionate man, and dealt severely with those chiefs who had usurped power and refused submission. He carried on constant war in the country, not sparing his own people of Gbese. Okaidsha made alliance with all the towns on the coast against Asere and Otu-street and fought them. Chief Sodsha Duamoro was one of his powerful allies, and Dako Panyin was the chief of Otu-street. In memory of this civil war, Sodsha made a horn which blew: "Woko ma Okaidsha ma Dako do wo na", i.e. "You fought for Okaidsha and were blamed by Dako." During his time King Kusa Adu of Gomoa Asen, who gained the stool through merit, became so powerful and famous that he was named Dade Adu, i.e. Adu the iron or powerful. He marched against Yaw Menta, whom Oduro Tibo had promoted to the government of Agona. After the death of Nyako Ako, the Agona still continued the custom of man-stealing and plundering of both the Fantes and Akras. Dade Adu defeated and punished Yaw Dahoma and his people, and encamped at Dshoma near the river Densu. He then invited Okaidsha to visit him there; great preparations were made by all the chiefs of Akra from Christiansborg to Teshi, who visited the camp, where a grand reception and rich presents awaited them. Dade Adu gave Okaidsha two drums, made an alliance with the Akras and promised to assist them in all things. After this he proposed to attack the Akuapems, who were troublesome to the Akras, and the Agonas were to the Fantes; but Okaidsha pleaded for them, saying they acknowledged his power, and also constantly assisted in roofing the public court at Akra. Thus nothing was done, and King Dade Adu marched back to Gomoa.

It was a custom among the Akras, never to place in a coffin a dead king, who had been a priest of the maternal fetish. Chief Okaidsha died and the educated princes among his sons proposed

to place his body in a coffin; but the other members of the royal family objected. In spite of the protests the body was put in a coffin. This led to a quarrel between the educated princes, who were supported by the soldiers to the Dutch Fort, and the people. His remains were honourably interred in the Fort; but before this was done, several lives were lost when the people fought for the body of their Chief. This quarrel originated the Gbese oath. 'Okaidsha adeka', which means Okaidsha's coffin. The princes were so embittered by this riot that they preferred to reside permanently at Elmina.

In those days rivalry existed among the Dutch and Danish, as well as the Dutch and English merchants; man-stealing and scarcity of provisions were also very prevalent. The kidnappers of the Agonas had been checked by Dade Adu, but Akra women were not safe at Mlefi and other Volta towns, when going there to buy corn. Robbery was so general that Akra farmers dared not extend their farms inland and scarcity naturally became greater, and the people were obliged to travel to Krobo, Ningo, and other places for food, where they were liable to capture. The most influential man, Chief Wetshe Kodsho, whose duty it was to resist these evils, was careless, and the public even looked upon him as an accomplice, in revenge of recent actions against him of Okaidsha. At last an expedition was made of the whole Akra to punish the plunderers. When the Angulas heard of these preparations, they were frightened, retreated to their town and begged for peace. Their messengers were told that the preparations were not directed against them but the Volta towns' people who had fled there; and that they ought to be warned to stop their practices, in order that trade might prosper. The Adas were ordered to join the expedition and the Mlefis were attacked and driven across the Volta. The Krobos were also warned, and the expedition marched back; but Chief Kodsho went through Akuapem settling the whole country. Peace was restored inland, but on the coast the fierce competition of European traders continued.

A civil war broke out in the country in 1777, which was called the Kotoku and Twerebo war. Kotoku means a bag, a

name given to Niels A. Aarestrup, Governor of the Danish settlements, by the natives; and Twerebo means flint, a name given to the Dutch Governor of Akra. The former accepted the name as suitable because he hoped by the half of his numerous Danish subjects to 'bag' his enemies. The Dutch Governor accepted the name 'flint' on account of his subjects being hard and brave.

The natives knew nothing of the cause of the war, they were only called on by their respective masters, armed and set to fight one another. King Obuobi Atiemo of Akuapem and the Krobos were ordered to come down to Christiansborg. King Naku Odang of Christiansborg and Chief Ako Dsharam of Labade, the chiefs of Ningo and Ada allies of the Danish Government, were summoned to appear with their forces, and were supplied with arms and ammunition. Obuobi Atiemo with his forces of Akuapem alone got 500 guns, three puncheons of rum, three bullocks and 1,000 heads of cowries, powder and lead of uncertain amount. King Teiko Tshuru, Chief Oto Brafo of Akra, Chief Ngmashitshe, King Obiri Korane Yententu of Akyem, and many other allies of the Dutch Government, were also called to Akra and obtained arms and ammunition.

A night meeting of all the kings and chiefs of both parties was held at Tunyean (Victoriaborg) in which they said. "We see no reason why we should kill ourselves because of differences between two foreigners! You Danish allies are quite aware that you cannot stand us, we therefore everyone of us must fire without bullets; and, in addition that you flee before us to Christiansborg so as to have the matter dropped." They all agreed to this very wise proposition, and a Thursday was fixed on which the battle was to take place. On the day fixed both armies, beating drums, arrayed themselves at Tunyean and engaged each other. The Danish allies fled into Christiansborg; while the Aseres, the left wing of Akra, passed to the eastern side of the town. There they encountered a party of Labades, who fired on them, and a captain of the Aseres' force fell. This captain is supposed to have been the Headman of the Abola quarter, named Abeo-Twereboanna, of whom it had been foretold by Sakumo that his

fall would insure success to Akra. His body was taken to the town and put on the road to allure the enemy to come out for it; in fact, three attempts to capture it were made, but were repulsed with loss; at the fourth attempt they succeeded in gaining possession of it.

This accident greatly irritated the Akras; but another meeting was agreed upon of all the chiefs and elders at Labade, to arrange the misunderstanding. Labade had been abandoned during those days Oto Brafo, Obiri Korane and some of the principal chiefs with a few bodyguards were seen one morning on their way to hold a meeting at Labade, when the Labades took them to be hostile and advised the rest to fire upon them This was done, and 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 Indignant at being thus treated by their Danish allies, the Akra chiefs went together with their friends to Teshi. The firing was heard by the farmers on their plantations, they returned to the town and reported that a large army had been 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; but when they arrived there, they resolved to brush out that disgrace and punish the Danish allies for their treachery. As one result of this civil war the prickly pears used as a fortification round Christiansborg were doubled; and gates were placed on the ways leading to the town which were shut at 6 p.m. every evening.

Oto Brafo, Head of the Dutch allies, encamped at Otonsrang and gave battle to the Danish allies. Under the heavy fire of the cannon and rockets from the garrison of Christiansborg Castle united with that of the allies, the latter were driven into the town and took asylum in the Fort, and the town was taken by the Dutch allies. Oto Brafo is reported 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. According to Akuapem tradition the Dutch allies

were beaten and driven into the town, and they would have fired it, had not night overtaken them. It is said also 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 unknown. Chief Ako Dsharam of Labade fell in the action. Another of the principal men of Christiansborg killed 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, 1,000 heads of cowries as 'subsistence', and 1,600 heads as compensation for the 35 men killed, 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, Ada, and Krobo is not known. The loss of life of the Dutch allies, and the expenses of the Dutch Governor are also unknown. What were the consequences of this waste of money and loss of life for both Dutch and Danish Governments? Bitter feuds, ill feeling, commotions, pillage raged among the tribes, as we shall read in future chapters. When such people rule a country what can be expected but woe and destruction, not of life only, but of good conduct, unity and peace. Governor Niels A. Aarestrup left the Gold Coast on the 24th of June, 1777.

The following tradition about Chief Okaidsha is from Philip Reindorf:

Okaidsha was born of Teiko Adu Emiri, the son of Ama Wusu Ahyia of Asamangkesse in Beremang Province, now called Eastern Akyem, and Kokoi Mota Bara, a female descendant of the throne or 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 Akyems and those of the Akwamus who unfortunately killed Boa Ankama, under the command of the king's son Asare, the leader of the insurgents was seriously raging. Now as the Dutch Company desired the war to end, they offered to assist the Akyems then

residing in Akra to extirpate the insurgents, who were hovering about the bush.

And as the Akyem 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 also for due payment of the amount due for arms and ammunition with which they were to be supplied to carry on the war, Okaidsha and others were given to Nicolas as security and hostages. This occurred when Okaidsha was a child; he was sent to Holland by Nicolas. During his absence a great change took place in the political life of the country. The Akyems 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 were these: Ofori, Adu Nkurang, Owusu Ahyia, Abonua, Ahemkwa Sono, Ayikai Osiahene, Obuamang, Tete Amarakese, Damte, Firempong, Otu Ahyiakwa, Dako Ampim. It seems that at this time Christiansborg and James Town had not then been built.

On the departure of the Akyem army from Akra and its suburbs in pursuit of the Akwamus, the remaining element of the Ga lineal population assumed the right of exercising the functions of the monarchy subjected to the dictation of the Guans, who form the fetish order, and the remaining Akyem 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.

At the time now referred to, there were living in the town of Akra people of three different races; first, the Aborigines Guan, second, the immigrants Ga; and third, the Komang, Otshi, and Akan. The people of the latter race were very quiet concerning matters relating to the town; leaving those matters to others and relying upon their efforts to induce the fetishes to support them in their efforts to conquer the enemy.

At this time the people elected a prince, son of Otshi, mother being of Ga Descent, named Ayikuma Teiko, to be King of Akra. This king claimed Okaidsha as a nephew by virtue of

his father being a relative of Okaidsha's mother. He was also Ama Wusu Ahyia's son or nephew by a brother.

The Dutch Company, having failed to obtain satisfaction from the Akyems, brought Okaidsha back from Holland to Elmina, sometime 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 find that originally the inheritance in both the Guan and Ga races was by male line; but this was converted into the Twi system during the time of the temporal reigns of Ofori and a few of the Akan kings. Okaidsha was long detained at Elmina by the then Director to his great inconvenience.

It is said that Okaidsha before being sent to Holland was married and had a son, named Adu Ama, after the names of both his father Adu Emiri and his grandfather Ama Wusu Ahyia; or, perhaps, the son was born after he returned to the Coast. He sent his son to the Hague through the Company to be educated, for which reason he was nicknamed Adu Ama Broni, whose descendants are living now at Gbese. Okaidsha was not permitted to quit Elmina until his son returned to the Coast Tete Ahene Akwa was made King of Akra by the unanimous voice of the three races as there are several of the Twi descendants who were giving themselves certain political airs which did not belong to their ancestors, and they feared that on Okaidsha's succession to the stool he would put them in their proper places.

When Adu Ama Broni arrived at Elmina, he met his father Okaidsha there, and as he had been employed in the Company's service, he used his influence to secure his father's release. These proceedings between Adu Ama Broni and the Company were made known to the Akras and caused divided feelings; some favoured his coming and others opposed it. The Director decided in his favour and proposed to communicate his resolution to the Principals in Holland. When Tete Ahene Akwa was informed, he said he had been requested by the Popos to help them fight a

hostile tribe. He left Akra after bribing the Guans not to oppose his march.

Two years after he had left, Okaidsha arrived in Akra, and found the town in an unruly and unsatisfactory condition. He first built a house. After that he began to enquire about the property he ought to have inherited from deceased members of his family. These questions produced trouble. He insisted on having Tete Ahene Akwa brought back from Popo by the chiefs whom he suspected to have had a hand in the runaway's affairs. Tete Ahene Akwa refused to come back, stating that he had gone to war and the Akras had better follow and fight to finish the business, before he came back to give Okaidsha an account of his property and the stool.

Okaidsha was enraged at this reply, marched all the forces he could command and started to overtake him; but the Danish and Dutch Governments interfered and stopped him at Christiansborg, where he remained refusing to return until he had Tete Ahene Akwa alive or dead. The Dutch Government sent a man-of-war and soldiers to capture Tete Ahene Akwa. Some say that the Dutch failed, while others assert 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 who had never met him in life, doubted it was the body of his opponent, but many others, besides Tete's own daughter, Momo, came and identified him, claimed his corpse and buried it. Some say that Momo's mother was a niece of Okaidsha on the mother's side, that is the Ofori family.

Tete Ahene Akwa's children and all the people, chiefs, and captains that went with him to Popo stayed there for fear of being killed by Okaidsha. Okaidsha's indignation being appeased, he returned from the camp near Christiansborg to Akra. While he was in camp, his followers dug the reservoir now at Christiansborg known as Tunma Ayi.

As related before some chiefs of the Twi race plotted with the Ga and Guan races to oppose Okaidsha's return to Akra, when he was kept at Elmina. He now seized the opportunity to avenge

himself by picking quarrels with such chiefs, and noblemen or their successors whom he thought had injured him. He first fought against Ama Kuma, a chief or nobleman at Shuowumona, and killed him. He was half brother to Tete Ahene Akwa. He next had to fight Akyikai Siahene, whose duty was to perform the ceremony of installing the candidate of the kingly stool.

During the reign of Tete, Ayikai, when he installed him on the stool, boasted that he had cut off Okaidsha and was greatly respected. He also kept the Akyem royal household fetish called Afieye, and from that position he had all the priests of the Guan seven fetishes, and subjects belonging to them, rallied round him, and all this enabled him to assume quite a royal power after Tete left Akra. Ayikai belonged to Guanmoa in Fante, and therefore had power to interpose with the Guans. He took for himself all the money and other things that people gave to the fetishes, and also the receipts from the ferry on the river Sakumo, which were generally shared among the headmen of the seven quarters in which each fetish lived. When Okaidsha appeared to be absorbed by other things, he was nevertheless on the alert and took note of all, and one day called Ayikai to give an account from whence and whom he derived his power.

Ayikai replied that it was from one Ama, a headman over Sakumo people then living at Lomotshokuna at Asere, but Ama could not be asked; he had either died or gone down with Tete; but his brother Odoi Kotei was summoned to a meeting and questioned. He said, Ama had not given any power to Ayikai, who then fell back on other excuses, said he had seduced the aborigines to make him king, and had appointed Yaboi priest of Nai fetish, Odoi Blem as priest to Sakumo, and several other fetishes. Okaidsha claimed that his ancestors, the Akan representing the Komang, were those who saved both Ga and Guan races from the oppression of the Akwamu insurgents, and that they had lost not only their King Ankama, but their great state Adanse also. He therefore claimed that he alone had a right to use the power Ayikai was assuming, and that Ayikai must surrender everything to him. Ayikai refused, and summoned all the Guan party to his help, viz.: the Priest of Oyene, Tete Kpeshi,

and his family, the Berekus, and the Gomoas, who were his own people. Oyeni was next in rank and age to Nai, the paramount fetish of the Sempe people.

Okaidsha summoned to his support all the Twi elements, viz.: Lakote nukpa, whom he made the Priest of Nai, Ama Wusu Ahyia's people, Adu Nkorang's people, Tete Amarakese's people, called Onamoko, Oboama's people, called Otuopai, and others. While these things were going on, the Ga race remained neutral, not wishing to excite enmity by being on one side or the other. There were also the Twi elements of the Agona family. Because Ofori brought down Dante of Tshiforo, Firempong of Oda or Da, and Otu of Dankyera, all these being of the Agona family, and therefore not interested 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 Providence appeared to have given Okaidsha all be required

A fight followed between the two respective bodies; and the Guans were driven out of the town, and their leader Ayikai Siahene caught and executed Okaidsha was so successful in all his undertakings that he was surnamed 'Aforoso' (he has surmounted) 'Okafrafra' (he bites fiercely).

The Guans, who had been so severely beaten and their leader killed, took refuge in the bush and afterwards returning built towns on the other side of Kole, named Glamote and Kolebu. When they were settled, they sent messengers to Dade Adu, King of Gomoa, to assist them in fighting Okaidsha. Dade Adu with a large force came to the suburbs of Akra. He encamped at Aberekuma and Anya, and sent for the chiefs of Agona and Aburi, thinking that he could fight Okaidsha successfully and conquer the long desired Akra. But to his great dismay he was told by the Chief of Aburi who and what Okaidsha was. He was then induced to send joyfully for Okaidsha who went with all the chiefs of Akra who expected to see him thrashed as he deserved; on the contrary Adu received him with more friendship and familiarity than Okaidsha expected, although the Chief of Aburi had told thim to fear nothing.

The meeting was a great affair; four chiefs or kings ruling

the Guans in Gomoa, Agona, Akuapem, and Ga, three of whom, if we take Okaidsha to be an Asona, belonged to one large family, and only the Chief of Aburi belonged to the Abrade family. To meet this under such conditions of pomp and glory was indeed a pleasant meeting. Although Okaidsha went as an ordinary man, yet Dade Adu received him as one superior to himself, both as regards age and birth. Everything that a king could bestow was given to Okaidsha by Adu; he pronounced a blessing upon all he did, exhorted him to manage his kingdom, and to rule it without fear of anyone. He also persuaded him with good words to reconcile himself to the people, in consequence of which advice Okaidsha made peace with the Guan party in Akra. He married a cousin of the chief of Amanfa, named Kpakpo Amoaforo, called Amanua Kwafo, and gave his sister or one of his relations as wife to Amoaforo, and through this intermarriage a permanent peace was made between the people of James Town and the Abora and Gbese people.

The English West African Company came at about this time, and Okaidsha arranged with Kpakpo to settle under the English, and so were called English people. The Company's chief trader lived in the Company's house with their servants who were called Alata. Okaidsha, when all this was arranged, removed all the fetishes, which were harboured at the Asere quarter, to Gbese, where Nai was already. He removed Sakumo from Lomotsokuna, deposed its priest Odoi Blem, and bought a slave whom he made a priest instead of Odoi. He also removed Kole from Sakotsoisi and Okudsham from Firempong-we. The followers of these fetishes and Adu Nkorang, Ama Wusu Ahyia, Tete Amarakese, Oboamang and Ayikai Tshuru, and their people, he made his own attendants, but refused to occupy the stool of Sakumo, which was left by Tete Ahene Akwa.

It is said that there were three stools at Akra at the time: the Ga stool, made of ivory; the Adanse stool brought by Boa Ankama, 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.

Tete Ahene Akwa took the former two down with him to

Popo, and Okaidsha determined that, unless they were returned, he would not accept the latter, and he refrained from interfering or participating in the worship of the fetishes. He deprived Abora of all Twi 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. For sometime there was no one at their head when the people worshipped the fetishes, principally Sakumo. The fetish prophets instigated the people to appeal to Momo to nominate someone of the family to speak for them to the fetishes, Okaidsha still retaining possession of them. She did so. Tradition tells us that a sister of Momo was married to a nephew of Okaidsha, and they had a son named after his grandfather Teiko. The father was dead. Momo consulted Okaidsha and obtaining his permission, gave him to the fetishmen; he was wrapped in an ephod and taken round the town. This was the origin of the usage still prevailing, that before a king is instated, the Chief of the Gbese must be consulted and his consent formally obtained, and the king must, on the death of any fetish priest, officiate on all the fetish houses, especially in those of the three principal fetishes, viz.: Nai, Sakumo, and Kole.

CHAPTER VIII.

General constitution of the countries Twi and Akra forms 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 in the country are of two kinds. The Twi form of government is an absolute monarchy, in which the king or chief has unlimited power of the life and property of his subjects. Those Twi chiefs coming into the Protectorate have, however, moderated their claims on their subjects, by coming into contact with European form of Government. The Royal Stool is by order of the king, who established a dynasty, made

and carved generally out of 'osesew' or any other very 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 victim. 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 the people 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; for this reason 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, wo 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 first known in Asante, but was indigenous in Takiman. Amo Yaw, the king of the place, had strictly forbidden the export of it. The King of Asante sent messengers to him, requesting to be favoured with a few seeds of the plant. His request was denied; the reason stated being that yam was a noble plant, and unless one of his own noble royal blood be sent in exchange, it could not be spared. The King of Asante consulted with his wives, and suggested that one of them should give up a son to purchase the seed, but not one consented to the proposal. The king was greatly distressed, until his sister offered one of her sons and obtained the seed, which was planted in Asante; from this occurrence nephews became heirs to the stool.

It was settled by the sister when celebrating the Great Yam Custom that 300 prisoners must be slaughtered not for the stool, but in honour of the royal personage who was sold to obtain the yam. In course of time, the number of poor victims was reduced to 200, then to 100, afterwards to 80, at last to one person, on every yam custom. The above tradition may be true, yet it seems that the occurrence did not take place in Asante, but in one of the kingdoms established prior to that, for both in Adanse and

Dankyera—the first ruling powers—brothers and nephews have been heirs from the beginning up to present date.

Okomfo Anokye was a native of Awukugua in Akuapem, and by origin of the Guan tribe. This tribe is the most superstitious on the Gold Coast, and it was through the influence of Anokye that superstition and fetishism were introduced into the Twi tribe. Princes of the latter people generally rule by will and wit, whilst the princes or priests of the Guans rule by fetish influence.

As the Government of the Twis is an absolute monarchy, and both political and military power being in the king's hands, he according to custom, divides his subjects into three principal orders; general chiefs, commanding the centre force or van, and the right and left wings; and, in addition, two other divisions: chiefs commanding the rear and bodyguards. These five divisions constitute the kingdom. In all political and military affairs, the king sits and consults with these generals and chiefs of the different orders to decide. In all minor matters, he consults with the chiefs and captains of the bodyguard, who live in the capital. The generals have sub-chiefs and captains under them, who form together a sort of jurisdiction unter the king. The king gives appointments directly to the generals and captains, who also increase the number of warriors under every new general or captain; enlarges the funds of a captain and inherits his property, a part or the whole of it. The stool of the general chiefs like that of the king, are hereditary; but captains are often chosen by election or merit.

The Ga or Akra form of government was once an absolute fetishcracy. 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 'wontsemei', i.e. fathers of the fetish. Women are also admitted to be members of this class. Originally the headman among the foretelling priests, called 'lumo', a title now given to kings, rulers, and governors, seems to have been the ruling power over the people.

In the government of the Angulas the king is the chief

foretelling priest of their national high fetish Ligble, who assumes the government by the fetish's own election from any tribe whatever, and not by hereditary right or popular election. Such a prophet-priest-king is presented by an ordinary man in public; the other is the indoor king. By extravagant exercise of that power the lomos forfeited it, and it was given to the officiating priests of the national high fetish, who were named 'wulomo', i.e. fetish-man or fetish-servant. 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, administer the holy water for the worshippers to wash with on fetish-days. He also instructed the people in the fetish laws, ruled over them according to the instructions of the fetish, offered sacrifices on their behalf, and prayed for them. But such priest-kings were ruled by the advice of the foretelling priests, who were considered as the mouth-pieces and representatives of the fetishes, by whom the whole constitution was framed. The government was therefore a fetish-monarchy It sometimes happened that the priest-king was also one of the foretellers. The government then became an absolute fetish monarchy, as the government of Okaikoi seems to have been.

Hence it became an established law of the Akras, that the priest-king should never be one of the foretellers, neither should one of the latter become king. Even a prince who becomes a foreteller or predictor, forfeits not only his right to the stool, but also that of becoming a 'lumo', i.e. the acknowledged principal foreteller or prophet; because he might connive at the tyranny of the ruling family or even assist them. The Akras are not ruled directly by the priest or king, but the foretelling fetish-priests.

The form of government described in some degree resembles that of the ancient Jews. The priest might also be a prophet, and also a judge, as in the case of Samuel. But when the Israelites asked for a king and Saul was chosen, the three offices were separated.

When the Twi forms of government came into contact with European customs that of Akra became more patriarchal. The

Akra king was at the same time the priest of the national high fetish; but to avoid the violation of the sacredness of the priest by appearing often in public, especially when the seat of government was removed from Ayawaso to the coast, the two powers of king and priest were separated. The priest retained his priestly stool, and the honour of a king was conferred by the priest on a second person, who was held as a vassal to the fetishes and is under the priest. In return for the honour conferred the king has to go to any expense required to obtain a wife lawfully married for the priest; and when the priest dies, the king is obliged to sleep and watch in the fetish house, until he has obtained a new priest in the other's place.

The priests are by right the owners of the lands in and about the town as was the case with 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. The king retained political power, in spite of that fact 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 Twis 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 Twis. Formerly no one was made a king or priest, unless he had performed the custom of 'kromotsunwo' or 'butunwo', which entitles one to have access to the fetish house, and to wear sandals and use an umbrella, and had taken a wife according to established law of the country. If the one nominated had not carried out these conditions, the chiefs and elders would incur the expense necessary to do so before he was appointed.

In former days the priests made a good revenue paid by runaway slaves protected with the fetish; he also obtained presents given by influential and rich people, who washed themselves with

holy water or made vows in sickness, or in any new undertaking they entered on. The priest of Nai (sea) could claim a duty of 16 dollars = 64/- and rum from every captain anchoring in the roads at Akra, besides annual presents from the merchants. The ferrying of Sakumo was a large source of revenue to the King and Priest of *Sakumo;* the rate of ferrying was 25 strings (25 farthings = 6¼*d*) of cowries for a slave, a bullock, and ivory; five strings (5 farthings = 1¼*d*) for a sheep, and two strings (½*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 ferrymen. The Priest of Lakpa 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 all the property of women dying in child-birth. The fishermen collect two porgies (per canoe) for the King and Priest of Nai in August and September. No tax is levied for cultivation of land. The chiefs also collect small fines from people who are summoned to their courts.

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

There are three sources from which revenue is collected. 1. The conquered states have to pay annual fixed tributes in human being, cattle, poultry and native manufactured cloths. Of the human beings some are kept for domestic purposes, some used as soldiers and the rest sold to meet public expenses. 2. Fines for swearing oaths. If one swears the oath Koromante (in memory of the death of Osei Tutu in 1730), Memeneda (death of Osei Bonsu in 1823), and Ntamkese, the fine is 110 peregwans each, in Asante. Of the other oaths· Kwadutwum of Dwaden (in memory of Osei Afweree's murder in 1743); Oduroman of Nsuta; Yawda of Mampong; 'Bekwae-hontwuma' of Bekwae—in these cases the fines vary from 20 to 30 peregwans each. Of the following oaths: Kwanyako or Ahenebanimsubri and Wukuda, all of Akyem, the fine was formerly 20 peregwans, but

is now £1.10.0. Of the Akuapem oaths: Sokodei, Kwabenyan, Wukuda, and Ntamkoko or Sareso, the fines vary from £3 to £10 or even £30. Mankata Wukuda in Fante (in memory of Sir Charles McCarthy's death in 1824), the fine was formerly 32 dollars. Of the oaths: Momotse Tong, Ga-Hogba, Ahantang, Okaidsha-adeka, Osu-so, Todshei, &c. of Akra—the fines vary from 32 dollars to 32 shillings Swearing 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 is punished with death in Asante, but in all other states the parties are heavily fined.

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

The introduction to Christianity has so much enlightened the people, especially since the Gold Coast became an English Colony, that the priests are greatly neglected and their revenues have dwindled so much that they can hardly subsist. The kings and chiefs are not much better off, for the influence of christianity is destructive to their power. The Constitution has run out its three stages: the prophet stage, in which the prophet priest held the reins; the priest stage, in which the high priest of the national fetish had the power, and last the king stage. Therefore the best method for the educated community to adopt is, to reorganise the whole system of government on christian principles, and then we shall be recognised as a nation. The power of the priest over lands and revenue is gradually falling into the hands of the kings; but the chiefs of every quarter in a town claim a right over every piece of land belonging to the district, as the defenders and protectors of the sites. Hence a quarter near the sea-shore generally has less land. It is therefore 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 land from the beginning, that could never have taken place.

Both forms of government had nearly the same character,

when European form was unknown. The Twis under Asante assumed the despotic form of their masters, but the coast tribes gradually, under European influences, moderated theirs, and at last became patriarchal in character.

The Akras are divided into two parts: 1. Akra proper, with seven towns: James Town, Dutch (or Ussher) Town, Christiansborg, La (Labade), Teshi, Ningowa, Tema; and 2. Adangbe, also with ten towns. These 17 towns formed the kingdom of Akra with about 100,000 population at the time of the battle of Katamansu. But when 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 by-laws and settle disputes in his own town; but difficult affairs were submitted to and decided upon by the king in Dutch Town, before the place had become an English Colony.

The Akra form of government may be said to consist of three parts. The king or chief and his councillors representing large families make their own laws for the town people, and have political power to do so invested in them. The military power it partially vested in the headmen of the quarters in a town, known as Akuashong; but they are not allowed to begin war unless the chief with his councillors sanction it. The last power is vested in the Companies, and they also transfer any difficult case to the assembly of the principal headmen or 'Akuashong'. If it is a war case, it is reported to the king in Ussher Town und submitted to his decision, and after that it becomes a general concern of all the Akras. Although the king in Ussher Town is at the head of all the petty chiefs, yet in time of war every individual man has to provide himself with arms, ammunition and other necessaries to carry on the war; for no public funds are provided for his purpose. The Akuashong having military power, lay in store for self-defence a good quantity of powder and lead to meet sudden emergencies. The king and all the chiefs and influential men also lay in a store of powder and lead for personal defence. Every youth of sixteen is bound to buy a gun or obtain one from his father, on pain of being despised as a man unworthy

of his country. The general mode of exercising oneself in the use of firearms is hunting, or at the funeral ceremonies 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 Governor was required before their subjects were permitted to take part in a general war of the Akras; but in other cases each government had to carry on war alone with the support of its subjects only.

The Twis alone have an organised discipline 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 do not only appoint the captains over the army, but, in addition, they organise it, and also increase it as occasion arises. Before a captain is appointed, the king collects recruits in readiness for him to drill. They may be either captives made in a recent war, or his own subjects whom he bought as slaves when they failed to pay a certain fine imposed on them as punishment for an oath they had sworn, or they had been bequeathed to him by a deceased chief or captain. Over a number from 500 to 1,000 men thus obtained, the king appoints a captain, and then a grand public meeting was held, and the body of recruits were presented to the newly appointed officer as his soldiers and his slaves. The subjects bought have to remain in their own town, but the captives have to stay permanently in the town of the captain, and he himself stays at the capital.

Other presents are made by the king to the captain, a name is given to the band 'asafo', and the men and officer are at the disposal of any of the generals over the five main divisions who require their services.

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

1. *Osei Tutu:* Koronti, Akwamu, Asakara, Kyidom, Dumakae, and Samang.
2. *Opoku Ware:* Ananta, Koronko, and Fante.
3. *Kwisi Bodum:* Nkonsong.
4. *Osei Kwadwo:* Asabi, Apagya, and Hyiawu.
5. *Osei Kwame:* Apagya, and Ankobea.

6. *Osei Bonsu:* Ateni, Akomfode, Atipiri, Anamarako, Apente, Pianko, and Anumsa.
7. *Osei Yaw:* Apesemaka.
8. *Kwaku Dua:* Mawere, captain: Berentuo; Nkonsong, captain: Owusu Ansa Titrawa; Sabi, captain: Boakye; Ayebiakyere, captain: Kwasi Gyambibi; Somehene, captain: Akwasi Abayie; Ampoti, captain: Osei Hyeaman; Twidom, captain: Osubri; and Pinkyedomko, captain: Kofi Dei.

The Akras have to place themselves according to their town on the Coast. The only organization in their army is made up of the different bands and companies existing in every town; all of them are constitutionally brave; love of fighting is a leading feature in their characters. The following is a short account of the different bands, their names and the manner in which the drum of each band is beaten. The sound and meaning is mostly important on the battlefield in order to avoid collision. Although there are more than two dozen bands known in the country, twelve will suffice as an illustration. They are.

1. Asonkofo—Independent band
2. Apagyafo—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. Apesemakafo—Officious band
11. Piankofo—Invincible band
12. Ankobeafo—Body-guard band.

Each band has its peculiar symbolical mottoes for beating the drum; but other symbols are often added by the skill of the drummer.

1. The independent band beats the drum to this effect: "Bu-aso, bu-aso ne yen; kurotwiamansa ba, mmu 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 (fwerenfwerenfweren)! Yeforo ekoko bi, yeasian ekoko hi; yebeforo ekoko bi a nnuare wo 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 beats· "Opoku takyi, odoto rehim! Yenom nsu mere enam wo; yeadan kyikyiku." "Chief pelican, the dence bush is shaking; we drink water where fishes abound, we have become a torpedo."
4. The audacious band beats: "Wosu, wosu, wofre yen, 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 beats "Kyere onipa, kita onipa, yebo osonoba to." "Catch a man, take hold of him, we beat the hinder part of an elephant's cub."
6. The kicking band beats· "Hena beka, hena beka, hena beka yen?" "Who dares to touch, who dares to touch, who dares to touch us?"
7. The fraud-detesting band beats: "Kuntum, okuntumpa, keka gu! Yeko yempira." "Hyena, hyena, bite and throw off; we fight, but are not wounded."
8. Black king fisher's band beats "Onipa reko, onipa reto, onipa repira " "A man fights, a man is killed, and another is wounded "
9. The stand-to-no-trash band beats. "Wotwe no bebrede a, emma, pini do." "When you draw it too much, you cannot get it; clear off."
10. Officious band beats: "Yepe asem aka, yepe oko ako." "We wish for a case to settle and a battle to fight."
11. The invincible band beats· "Mogya regu, mogya regu, mogya regu." "Blood is being spilled."
12. The body-guard band beats. "Masiesie meho, mewen meho, enam m'akyi, enam manim, na mede te ha yi." "I have prepared myself, I keep guard of myself, they walk behind and walk before me; but I stay here."

Not only by the drums are symbolical mottoes and designs

displayed by the bands, but they are to be also found in the kings' or chiefs' state drums as well as in the flags, swords, and state-umbrellas. In order to render these things simpler, we divide them so as to show office, rivalry, nobility, heroism, incompetence, faith in providence. A state umbrella with a sword on the top of it, indicates the king's sword bearer, who is allowed to beat his drum: "So akofra." "I carry the war sword."

Rivalry is thus shown:—One of the horns of King Dowuona sounds. "Gyan kokroko, m'ani wo ko so!" "Great or excellent Gyang, my mind is upon war!" To this his rival responds, also by a horn: "Asem kankan (wokae kan), mma wo were mmfi o." "Never forget what you have said"; i.e. your mind being upon war, for I am prepared for it." Rival nobility:—A rich and powerful king would have a horn blown: "Otamfo, kata w'ani." "Cover thy face, thou envious man." To which is answered. "Yeboa Oko birempon, obirempon ba obirempon, meye odehye dadada." "The noble Yeboa Oko, the offspring of nobles, I am already noble." Of heroism:—The horn of Boaten, the King of Dwaben, sounds "Woye okatakyi, woye obarima." "You are brave, you are a valiant man." Of incompetence:—A chief may pretend to fight with another chief, unequal in power, and orders the horn to blow: "So dae ye atoro, so dae ye atoro papa" "Dreaming is really a falsehood." The late King Karikari, upon his accession, determined to fight the English Government, and ordered one of his executioners to extol him thus: "Karikari gyambi, Ayeboafo a ode ntutea beko aperem ano." "Karikari the hero, the champion who will fight at the cannon's mouth with his narrow guns." When Sir John Glover entered the capital with his troops, the boaster Karikari had run away. One of his favourite horns had been left in the deserted palace; it was brought to chief Kwadwo Mensa of Aburi, who ordered one of his retainers to blow on it: "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 deep broad tone: "Kpo avuwo,

po avuwo to me!" 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 whole body of a town together, otherwise every warrior stays with his own relations in camp.

The bands are used more for defensive than offensive warfare; no captain can order his men to attack the enemy before consulting the Akuashong, but an Asante captain has power over his men for offensive or defensive action. Every band must possess a fetish of its own, drum or what not, consecrated by the Company, and every fetish drum dedicates a member of the band as its own foretelling priest, by whom coming events are made in time of peace. In war time every member of each band must apply to his own priest, or another, for advice, charms, medicines, &c. No warrior 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 it goes to war. It is therefore obvious what power the foretelling priest has, not only on the government and social life, but also on the wars of the Akras and, in fact, of nearly all other tribes. All fetishes of the various bands gave their feasts time fixed during the year to do them honour.

A man has not only to prepare himself for war, but before the movement of the troops to camp, the king and chiefs meet to 'boil' the war. Some well known and popular fetish priests will be found and consulted about the success of the campaign. With the Akras, Sakumo is the principal war fetish, whose oracles must be had, and who sanctions and shews all sacrifices to be offered before the war is boiled, either by a priest of his, or by anyone whose magical powers are accepted by all. 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 practice enchantment against Israel. Numbers XXII-XXIV.

The king and his principal chiefs meet at night with the priest; all things required for the sacrifice are ready. A large pot is set on the fire; the names or souls of the principal and powerful men of the enemy are called out and caught by means of enchantment. A piece of stone or any other thing is taken up to represent the one named, and then put in the pot. When all are thus named and represented, some leaves and other objects are added to be boiled. When boiling, should the pot burst, the enemy is believed to be more powerful. The whole practice is repeated until they are satisfied that the enemy is weakened. When this result is gained, every one present feels emboldened to fight and win.

Every warrior on leaving his wife, relatives, and friends to go to war, must obtain presents from them. These presents are made to show respect, love, and honour to the warrior; and if he should never return, that they have performed their part in his burial. Precious beads of every description and gold jewels are tied to the warrior's wrist, arm, knees, or neck. When slain in battle, the body is to be buried with these presents, but a finger, toe, hair, or finger nail must be preserved as a relic for interment at home. An ordinary coffin must be made for the relic, and it is buried as if it were the entire body. Besides this custom, the national fetishes are all consulted to show the different sacrificies to be made to insure safety and success. The Akuashong elders will consult oracles from their company's fetish and the family and individual fetishes are also consulted and worshipped before war is begun.

Another way of binding together a whole army, commander-in-chief, the generals, captains, and allied forces in war time, is the oath of allegiance sworn before the campaign is undertaken. The oath of allegiance is of two kinds, and is taken in two ways. A subject on swearing an oath of the kind 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 by pointing the sword and not the handle, affirms his readiness to support the subject to the utmost extent of his power and ability.

The second way of swearing the oath of allegiance is done generally by a new king or chief entering into alliance with another king. This ceremony being important, the oath is taken by what is termed 'to eat fetish' The powerful fetish of the country or town is obtained; a potion is obtained by washing the whole or part of the fetish with water. The allied king meets in public, and after due religious ceremony the potion is offered him to drink; but before he drinks, he solemnly appeals to the fetish, to bring judgment upon him, if he breaks 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 recognition of their mutual fidelity To forfeit this oath, by cowardice or otherwise, is punished by death in Asante, and in the Protectorate, casts an eternal stain of infamy on the family and town.

Symbolical means of communication

As many natives of Africa do not possess the means of communicating their thoughts by writing, they naturally use other means; and as they come into contact with Europeans many of these methods fall into disuse For instance, the Akras have lost nearly all they used in ancient times There are some still remaining, which by careful research can be found in their religious worship. Some of the following are of great interest.

1. Three green leaves of the palm branch, formed into a triangle by tying knots at the three points of meeting When this is put on as a necklage at the funeral of a chief, king or queen, it means that the wearer is to be sacrificed to serve the deceased in the next world. One made of date palm leaves, dyed red, is called 'komi' by the Akras. It signifies a solemn act of dedicating oneself to and serving a certain high national fetish. When a wife is sought for a new priest of Lakpa, this symbol is placed on the neck of a camwood girl in any town whatever, and she is thereby obliged to become the priest's wife.

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

3. A blade of grass broken in two and placed before a superior, judge or king, asks for pardon or excuse. This token is used in courts and public assemblies. If anyone is before a king or judge and wishes to utter an unpleasant word, which may offend, he places this symbol before his superior, and the words are pardoned.

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 between the lips shows his inability to express the message he has brought; and the king has to swear an oath that in uttering any abusive words he is not to be held responsible. After this he speaks freely A leaf placed in the mouth of a person who is obliged to come out from attending the sick is a sign not to address them; as any impure person doing so would impair the force of the medicine by which the patient is to be healed.

5. Bullet and corn symbolize war and peace. If a king wishes to make war with another nation, he sends the bullet, if peace, he sends the corn. Bullet represents death; corn, life.

6. Two pieces of firewood mean submission to servitude. In war, when the defeated party wish to express their submission and negotiate for peace, such a symbol is used. Hence in times of peace, especially during 'Homowo', 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 token of justification or innocence, whilst charcoal represents guilt or wrong. Formerly our kings in passing sentence of right or wrong, used such symbols, instead of sentencing in words. Sometimes the sentence is passed in words, after which the symbol is used on head and right arm.

8. Different kinds of precious beads, strung together into a lace about six feet long and worth about £300, called 'kyekyerekona', is used for reconciliation, or when a king or queen feels unhappy and refuses consolation, it is placed on his or her neck and is sure to soothe. When a king is walking with his servants, he will sometimes, on arriving at a certain spot, stop and close his eyes, becoming blind by his own royal dignity. When the news is brought to the queen mother, she sends this symbol, which must be placed on his neck, before he will open his eyes again and walk. When a general fails in a war expedition, he will not return home for shame, unless this necklace and bead covering is sent to him.

9. Cowries. By the number of cowries strung together and placed round the middle leg of a stool, the number of slaves a man possesses is shown.

10. Leaves or grass are used in travelling to show the right path to people following. The person going in front will leave them on the path to be avoided leaving the other free.

11 When calling on a friend and finding him away the visitor takes a wisp of grass from the roof and puts it down near the door, or sticks it in the keyhole.

12. A single red shell (lami) on a string as a necklace is a symbol of silence after many troubles, either by repeated deaths in the family or any other calamity. The red shell is also broken when hostile parties are reconciled in the king's court. Each party appoints a representative, the one for the injured takes up a stone, the other holds part of the same stone The king appoints one to represent him, who also joins in holding the stone; after that the shell is broken. A bit of the broken shell is given to each party as a memorial of peace, and the rest is thrown into the sea. We call this 'lamidswa'.

13. A shell of a species of beetle, called 'ankonam', i.e. 'I walk alone', symbolises being friendless.

14. 'Kunkuma', a seed of a plant, which has become hard in water and is found on the sea shore or on the banks of large rivers. It is as big as an egg, or sometimes bigger: it conveys the

idea of durability. Enemies may do their worst, yet they can't effect your ruin.

15. 'Santrofi' is a kind of night bird; some of its feathers are twisted into a string and worn round the knee by women when their husbands are engaged in war. Every morning the women pull out a part of the string into which the feathers are twisted and pray that the men may be as lively as the bird in the campaign, and never be caught by an enemy.

16. The kings of Asante and Dwaben wear as a sign of superiority a gold sword, called 'gyegye-tiri', on which the skull of leopard is represented.

17. 'Afafanto' is a kind of butterfly: when it is represented on a sword, it means: 'Go, fight and die'. When that sword is sent to a general by a King of Asante he knows that he is to fight and die rather than return home beaten.

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 possess must be brought to him.

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

20. The head of a large horned snake 'onanka', when made on a sword, is a symbol of power Although the snake creeps on the ground yet it is capable of catching a kingfisher.

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

22. The head of a river fish 'adwen', when made on a sword, means: 'contemplate when sleeping', be thoughtful, or sleep with one eye open.

23. Two or more green leaves of a palm branch folded together and hung on a piece of stick means: forbidding; this emblem is used to prohibit people from trespassing on private property.

24 'Tseregbamo' division or breaking of a kola-nut (or lemon) is used by friends as a symbol of dissolving friendship with a deceased person. At the funeral, all his or her friends will come and standing around the body, cast a kola-nut broken into

two halves, or a lemon divided in two. When the pieces thrown fall unequally to the ground, the one lying 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 an English man-of-war on the Fort Creve-Coeur and Dutch Akra, commonly known as the war with the man-of-war (Manowota) 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 fifty years Africa was free from foreign war The old enemy, the Akwamus, had been driven away to find shelter beyond the Volta But at no time was the country free from petty internal wars and disturbances chiefly caused by the Danes, Dutch, English then trading on the Coast. The Company of Royal Adventurers was formed in 1662 in England for the purpose of trading to the Coast. A war between England and Holland broke out soon after, and it proved a deathblow to the new Company The famous Dutch Admiral de Ruyter took all its Forts except Cape Coast Castle. In 1672 a new company was formed under the name of 'The Royal African Company of England'. To compete successfully with the Dutch Company, they built forts at Dixcove, Seccondee, Commenda, Anamabu, Winnebah, 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 on Elmina, took the Forts of Mowure, Koromante, Apa (Appam), and Bereku.

The commandant of the Fort of Creve-Coeur was said to be 'Fandraka' as the natives called him. Teiko Tsuru was King of Akra, Okaidsha having died; Ayite Okoso was Chief of Gbese, Ayai Peko, an influential man at that time; Oto Brafo was the

Chief of Otu Street. In consequence of the war in Europe most of the Europeans had been withdrawn with the exception of the commandant and the native soldiers of the Fort. The English had asked the assistance of the people of Winneba; Agona and some detachments of warriors from Anamabo, Gomoa-Asen, Apa (Appam), and Obutu, who were Dutch allies, refused to render any assistance to the English. They were brought down to Akra, to join the James Town people, who, although brothers to the Dutch Akras, could not refuse to obey the orders of their masters, and 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 resolved to defend both it and the Fort. Chief Oto swore that he would never let the English 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, while the people of Christiansborg being Danish allies, remained neutral.

Captain Shirley landed marines from the Leander, began the attack by 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 Dutch and their allies The English forces continued the fight from six a.m. till dusk for 24 days, without being successful in taking the town or the fort, until suddenly the allies became tired. The Fantes sustained a heavy loss which obliged them to return to their country. The ship, at last, ran short of ammunition, but obtained 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. But when the Dutch allies had also run short of ammunition, the king ordered the warriors to surrender the town. They did

so, and removed with the women and children to Kwabenyan, and blockaded the paths against the allies of the English and Danes to prevent their obtaining firewood 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 Peko and the king with their people at Kwabenyan. In 1785 the forts taken by the English were given back to the Dutch. The English, although they had severely bombarded the Dutch Fort, had failed to take it, and the people of the town refused submission, and they retired. But before doing so, the James Town people urgently entreated them to intercede between them and their offended brethren of Dutch Town; and, at last a peace was patched up.

We know both by tradition and history that there was never permanent peace between the Angulas on the eastern and the Adas 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 taking men and property belonging to other people in payment of long standing debts, for lodging the Danes who traded to their town, although the Danish Government had repeatedly asked the consent of the Angulas to have a fort built at Keta for the slave trade, which they refused.

3. The immense quantity of salt taken annually by the Adas from the lagoon, and lastly the alliance of the Adas with the Akras. The first war between these tribes was in 1750, in which Twum Ampoforo was King of Akyem, and Sakiama Tenteng, the King of Akuapem, assisted the Adas. In conjunction with those Twi warriors, the Angulas were defeated, but two of the royal blood of the Twis, viz.: the two sovereigns themselves, were taken prisoners. Peace was made in 1767, and the Angulas traded to Ada. The royal captives were ransomed with a large quantity of camwood.

The Angulas during peace made preparations for invasion, formed an alliance with several tribes, and attacked the Adas in 1776. It was a frightful contest; nearly one-half of the population ware killed; great numbers were made prisoners; and the

rest took flight to Okohuem, and Ningo. In the meantime the Danish merchants carried on a brisk trade with some confederate tribes on the banks of the rivers. During the time the Adas were at Ningo the Danish merchants maintained their position 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 found it wise to be quiet and traded with them until their savage instincts stirred them to plot against the Europeans. The danger was averted by their giving hostages to the merchants, which the young hotheads did not approve and constantly taunted the prudent elders for having given hostages, trade became insecure, goods in canoes on their way to the factory at Keta were seized and the canoemen sold as slaves. At last in 1782 the Danish Government took measures to crush the Angulas

The kings and chiefs allied to the Danish Government on this side of the Volta and to whom monthly salaries were paid, were King Naku Odang of Christiansborg, Ako of Dsharam, King of Labadi, the King of Akuapem, and several chiefs. Major Kioge, Governor of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast, summoned those kings and chiefs to Christiansborg to arrange an expedition against the Angulas. They advised the Governor to ask the aid of the King of Dutch Town, Akra, who was their head, and without whose assistance an expedition against Angula would be difficult and dangerous. Teiko Tsuru, the King of Dutch Akra, and his chiefs Oto Brafo, Ayite Okoso, Ayai Peko with their captains and people had at that time removed to Kwabenyan and Kpokpoase because of the bombardment of the Dutch fort by the English. They were angry with the Governor and people of Christiansborg for supplying the English men-of-war with ammunition; and Governor Kioge was obliged to go to see and conciliate the king at the Ga bush and ask for his help. A grand meeting was held to arrange the matter; but the Akras were not inclined to join the expedition. "If we had been killed by the English, to whom you supplied ammunition, could we assist you?" was the very unpleasant question put by the King of Akra.

Chief Oto, who was looked upon as almost a king, and a

wise and powerful man, rose and addressed the meeting: "Brethren, for my part, I would advise you to agree to the request of the Governor to join our brothers at Christiansborg in organising an expedition. I am confident we can conquer the Angulas as our ancestors did before us."

His royal horn then responded· "Oto e, Oto e, Kyere w'akyiri o", which means: "Oto, except in thy back"—meaning, that when he did not go before, any undertaking would be impossible for the Akras to succeed in.

By Oto's words the consent of the meeting was gained, and it broke up; the Governor and his party returned to Christiansborg. Oto and several of the chiefs obtained the requisite ammunition and subsistence. King Naku Odang, King Obuobi, and other chiefs were also furnished in the same way; and the time to start the expedition was fixed It is stated that the Governor used the cargoes of seven barques in supplying ammunition for the enterprise The Governor despatched three sailing vessels to Fante and they were loaded with corn for the consumption of the army. As the Asantes and Akyems were at war, the Governor demanded some hostages from the king to insure his loyalty during the absence of the expedition. One of these hostages joined the army.

On the 4th of February, 1784, all the kings and chiefs with their warriors from Akra, Akuapem, Krobo, River-side and the Adas arrived; and assembled between the rampart and the new building Kongensteen. In the midst of a circle of armed men, five European gentlemen, including the Governor Biorm, the merchant, and Dr. Isert, 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 followers was seated under a state umbrella on one side, and King Obuobi also with his retainers, under a state umbrella was seated 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 kings, chiefs, and warriors to make its choice of one of the kings to be commander-in-chief of the whole body. Chief Oto was unanimously chosen,

and to him the sabre on the table was handed. Holding the weapon up in both hands, he took the oath in 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 responded as at the former meeting; the mass of people shouted: hurrah! hurrah! The new general was saluted by the firing of seven guns. That mode of taking the oath is more expressive than that of the Twis, who point the sword at the nose of the superior. Liquor was served to the kings and chiefs, who, when they had emptied their glasses, spat some drops from their mouths into the opened mouths of their retainers which was a mode of giving liquor to children and inferiors at the time. All that was said during the proceedings was interpreted by an eloquent linguist into the different dialects. Doubtless the reader will recognise something Homeric in the picture.

A second meeting was held the next day by order of the general, at which fetish oaths were administered to every king and chief of the army stating that they acknowledged Oto to be commander-in-chief, that they would obey his orders and fight bravely during the campaign. Presents consisting of rum, tobacco, and pipes were distributed to every king, chief, and armed men, who were ordered to be prepared to cross the Volta on the appointed day. While this was going on, Fort Kongensteen was being built, and on the 21st of March it was finished. The Danish flag was hoisted, and the Governor and staff went to live there. Boats and canoes, sufficient for the whole army, were prepared, and on the 25th of March, 1784, the crossing began at Tefle. The Europeans superintending the work were careful to prevent overloading and drowning through carelessness. The Akras arranged themselves under their flags, while the enemy sheltered in the bushes beyond, watched them. The army of 2,000 men crossed under the enemy's fire, and when that was done, formed themselves into divisions. The centre, composed of the Akras under General Oto; the right wing, made up of the Adas, Krobos, and the River-side people, and the left wing under King Obuobi Atiemo with the Akuapems. The enemy, after many vain attempts

to oppose the crossing, fled to their camp, and a march against them was ordered. On the 30th of March the Angulas had encamped behind a marshy lake, overgrown with thick grass, called Yikiyiki. The Adas, who were eager to revenge themselves, and the Akras tied their cartridge belts to their heads, laying their guns on the top of the head, and crossed the lake, while their bodies were up to the shoulders in water and mud. When they marched the hated enemy they fought like tigers. The left wing under the King of Akuapem was unable to pass the lake at the same moment, else the enemy could have been surrounded in three quarters of an hour. The Angulas unable to sustain the fire, were obliged to retreat and Atoko was set on fire, oxen, sheep, and pigs were seized. The army now forming two columns then marched to Fute at 5 o'clock p.m. and set fire to the capital. Atitonu, Alakple, and Anyako were also in flames the same evening. Before a large camp fire, the victorious warriors, during the whole night, feasted and rejoiced on the abundant spoil gained during the day; but the Governor was highly displeased by the savage mode of destroying everything which came in the way of the army, viz houses, fruit trees, and also the cruel mutilation of the slains. He was told that unless such barbarities were performed, the Angulas would never admit they had been conquered by them. Forty men were wounded of whom very few died. An Ada seized by terror shot himself.

On the 1st of April, 1784, the march to Keta was resumed as the enemy had fled and could not be traced. Wei and Tegbe were burnt down. At Keta all but one man had fled, though they had professed to be neutral

Chief Late, the father of George Lawson, arrived on the 4th with an army of 1,100 men made up of Afrawus, Beis, and people of Little Popo. Late, being an Akra and hearing of his people's arrival, came to help them. The army now numbered over 3,000 men. On the 10th the army marched from Keta to Kpotibra, where was plenty of salt, which they seized and exchanged for provisions. The enemy could not be found, and on May 11th the camp was made on a plain Much of the ammunition had been spent in buying provisions, and more were required; which

obliged the Governor to send to Keta, and several men were sent to the Coast for articles in demand. A good supply was obtained for the army now numbering over 4,000. Although Late was a most sensible and influential chief, yet the Governor and the staff were suspicious of him. A hint having been given that the enemy had encamped at Feta, the army marched and gained a sight of his camp. The River-side people opened fire on them which was not returned; and the warriors arranged their forces within view of the Angulas, and the whole night was passed in watching, singing, and dancing, till daybreak of the 14th, when they washed, dressed, and made stripes of white clay on their bodies.

The Angulas had taken a strong position along the Kleve bush, had dug holes in the ground, inside and outside; some of the holes they had slightly covered with the object of entrapping the warriors, while others were left to protect themselves while fighting. A detachment was ordered to entice them out on to the plain. Here the Akuapems, who could not fight in the first engagement because they were unable to cross the swamp in time, began the battle very gallantly. The centre and right wing also marched to meet their lines. The conflict was sharp and doubtful till noon, when the enemy returned into the bush; but the left wing, consisting of foresters, rushed in after them, but sustained some loss. A party of the Angulas rushed to attack the rear, but the reserve army of 500 drove them back. The remarkable bravery of Chief Late removed the suspicion formed against him from the Governor's mind The battle lasted till dusk, leaving the expeditionary forces masters of the field, with a loss of 24 slain and 54 wounded. The Angulas loss was 54 killed and 160 wounded. The expedition slept on the battle-field and Chief Late was ordered by the Governor to be his bodyguard during the night. Nothing was heard of the enemy, and the expedition marched to Kpotibra.

At this place Prince Ofori Thosu, the son of King Ashangmo of Akra, arrived with an army to mediate in favour of the Angulas. He sent a captain after them to Kliko where they 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; and he sent repeatedly to advise the Governor not to grant peace to the Angulas before his arrival. Circumstances compelled the Governor to go to see the King Obli himself; and the old king of 80 years of age, said to him: "Wait in camp four weeks, and if I cannot join you, then begin the negotiations for peace with the Angulas." King Obli died in 1786.

The Governor now returned to camp; and as the Angulas were still asking for peace, the camp was pitched at Keta, and on June the 4th four ambassadors arrived with nine hostages. A great meeting was held on the 18th to receive the hostages and 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 the 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, excepting provisions and poultry, with any other European nation, except the Danes

5. They were allowed to rebuild their towns, and to keep perpetual peace with the Keta people.

6. They must give ten hostages, sons of the chiefs, and bear in mind that on the infringement of this treaty the hostages were to be sold from the country.

The four ambassadors, creeping on their hands and knees, saluted the leading men at 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 dissolved. 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 ground was prepared for the new fort Prindsensteen on the 20th and on the 22nd another great meeting was held, and the foundation stone was laid by Adade, brother of King Obli. Prince Ofori placed the first mortar on the stone with these

words: "Whoever dares to touch a single stone of the building touches my person." Then the building began. It is said that the Akras planted some trees on the principal towns of Angula as a memorial of victory. The army started for home on the 26th and reached Ada the next day. As the Angulas were not pleased at the building of the Fort, and likely to cause trouble, Prince Ofori Thosu and Chief Late were appointed to protect the building until finished.

To avoid 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 Chief Oto said they would never change their flag, but await the return of their former marsters. The chiefs of Teshie, Ningowa, and Tema, however, submitted to the Danish Government, were paid 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.

CHAPTER X.

The state of Asante and Akan at this period The battle of Mpemehoasem; dissensions and commotions in the country. The first Asante invasion of Fante, known as Fantekan. The invasion by the Obutus and Fantes of Akra, known as Hota (Saturday battle) 1749-1809

Kwisi Bodum, nephew of Opoku Ware, succeeded him on the stool, and restored to the great chiefs the constitutional powers of which his uncle had deprived them. He was the most humane of all the kings; forbade human sacrifices, and made peace among the chiefs. But his being less blood-thirsty was not approved by either chiefs or people, and many of them tried to irritate him by doing things contrary to the law of the constitution; but in spite of provocation he adhered to his principles. Kwisi's nephew and successor, Kwadwo, seduced four of his wives who were conceived by him. To spare the offender for the stool, Duedu, who had charge of the harem, took the offence on his

own shoulders and was beheaded. In spite of this Prince Kwadwo persisted in his courses, and was clearly convicted. The king to avoid further bloodshed spared him; but one night he ordered all the most valuable treasurers of the kingdom, the best medicines and ammunition to be thrown into a deep swamp of the river Nsuben, as a punishment for his offence. One of Kwisi's sons, Adabo, also transgressed with one of his wives; in this case he ordered the offender to be castrated. He was the first king who ordered inspectors to be appointed for clearing the roads and paths of the kingdom of nuisances. The insignia of that office was a gold sword, and a gold and silver whip. The fine for committing a nuisance or not clearing the paths was 'domafa'—3/11. Those who observed the law were rewarded by a present of two fowls and 2/3 Such revenue was called Nsumen and amounted yearly to 3,000 peregwans or less. It was divided into three parts, one-third to the king, and two-thirds to Korontiri and the surveyors When the king's eyes were dimmed by age, the nobles of Asante, tired of his mild reign, determined to put an end to it, built him a palace at Kyeremade, to which he was removed, where he died about 1770. Every fortieth day, known as Adae Kwasi, the King of Asante with his nobles visits Kyeremade and offers sacrifices to the spirit of Kwasi Bodum. After this the king repairs to Mogyawe to keep the Adae. Adaekese is the yearly Adae, at which the king receives his nobles and captains at Dwabirim and spends 1,000 peregwans in presents, to the chiefs, captains, and officials The following day he spends at Bantama to sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors.

When Prince Kwadwo was made King of Asante, his first action was the order of the recovery of the valuables from the deep swamp, carrying out which command cost the lives of 1,000 men, from which calamity the place is called Meneapem, i.e. swallowed 1,000 men.

Worosa, King of Banna, made a practice of seizing and killing Asante traders on his territority. Osei Kwado declared war on him. He marched against Worosa with such forces as were to hand, hoping to crush the rebellion in the bud. Kwadwo was twice defeated and obliged to retreat into the forests surrounding

Kumase. After that bad beginning, he rallied his troops and reserves and inflicted on Worosa a great defeat. The Bannas had used firearms for the first time, and were assisted by the Moslem cavalry of Kong. The cause of the Bannas' defeat was said to have been caused by an Asante who had been caught, who, when carried to the house top of Worosa, was asked by the king to show him the camp of the Asantes. The prisoner, seeing a great number of 'kurokuronasuo' trees with their beautiful red blossoms, said to the king: "There is the camp of the Asantes." Astonished to see so many state umbrellas with an enemy he had defeated, he lost courage and blew up himself and his people with powder. The explosion was heard by the Asantes, who attacked and finished off the enemy. Worosa, found nearly dead, was beheaded by a stroke of King Kwadwo's sword. His head was imitated in gold, and placed on a sword which was called 'Worosa-ti'.

Multitudes of prisoners were taken. The adults were sacrificed, or sold as slaves to the Dutch and English in the slave market at Manso, and all the male children were educated at the king's expense to become soldiers of a new bodyguard which he formed under the name of Nkonsong, and Hyiewu, with Oko ne Oko for captains

Animiri Panyin, the King of Wasa, boasted that if he could capture Osei Kwadwo he would drive an 'epa' (a curved iron handcuff) into his head. Wasa was invaded, and Animiri was captured and his foolish head treated as he had threatened to treat the King of Asante's, and then hung on a drum The terror of Kwadwo was felt beyond Cape Palmas. He pitied Prince Adabo for the punishment he had had from his father and made him chief inspector of the nuisances and path cleaners. After this, Akram, King of the Kotokus, was one midday defeated and slain.

Nakawa succeeded Okuru Karikari, who had been recently conquered by Opoku Ware, on the stool of Yane. He organized a very large body by making several alliances with neighbouring tribes, and revolted against Osei Kwadwo. General Koranteng Pete III was ordered to give him battle; and a hot contest followed in which the fortune inclined to the King of Yane, when the General boldly surrounded the king's bodyguard and captured

him alive; and his numerous forces then surrendered. By the directions of Osei Kwadwo Nakawa's life was spared, but he was made to write a contract in Arabic to the effect that he and his successors should remain vassals to the kings of Asante and pay a tribute of 1,000 slaves yearly to the king, this document was signed by Nakawa and all his Generals. General Koranteng Pete and his successors not only had charge of the 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 one adult.

During Kwadwo's reign the civil war between Mampong and Dwaben occurred. Atakora Maniampong of Mampong had the jurisdiction of the tributary states of Nta and Brong, and Akuamoa Panyin had that of Namonsi, Karakye, and Bagyam, the latter claiming the jurisdiction of the state belonging to the former, caused war between them. The rival chiefs met near Namonsi one morning; and after a sharp engagement Akuamoa Panyin was beaten and escaped on horseback. His prempe, nkrawiri (two kinds of state drum), money bag, pistol, and kettle-drum were captured by Atakora. Then King Kwadwo sent armed men who brought the hostile chiefs to Kumase, where the case was investigated. Akuamoa was condemned, and the Namonsi people were restored to Atakora. This caused his people to praise him and say: "It was you who made the prempe became a fishing rod, it was you who converted nkrawiri to a gutter, you tied one money-bag upon another, you made Bosompra eat yam on Wednesday."

Shortly after Akuamoa was deposed from the stool and resided at Marabang; but the new King Fetua proving incompetent, he was recalled to power. During the last year of Osei Kwadwo's life, when he was worn with old age and hardship, Asen, Akuapem, and Akyem took advantage of his weakness to rebel. He died about 1781. His nephew, Kwame Panyin (Osei Kwamena), a youth of about 12 years, succeeding. His first act was to send an army under Opoku Fredefrede against the Asens who had by their rebellion made bitter the last hours 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 charge of the provinces of Nta and Brong, went to Krupi to attend a funeral custom of the late chief there. He stayed there for a year and became very overbearing and cruel by practising enchantments against Asante. But his own captains Afidwase Babu, Gyamase Bediako and Adwira Boadu Atoto sent secret information to the king of Owusu's doings. Ogyoben was commissioned by King Kwame Panyin with thirty armed men, three peregwans, ten loads of kola, and ten ankers of rum to the Chief Yegye, to have Owusu drowned when crossing the Volta. Hearing of the plot, he crossed the river in a common fowl basket. To the surprise of his enemies, who were waiting to see him drowned, he landed safely. As he jumped from the basket he called out, 'Diako'.

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 twelve slaves and the assurance that he was coming

At Nyenyennura General Yemoa Ponko at the head of a large army gave him battle; he fought for three days and could not be overcome, till one of his servants, named Kotokoro, raised him on his back, and enabled him to climb a creeping plant up to the top of the rock, Atwieboo, and when there he committed suicide. The king appointed his brother, Osafo Katanka, to succeed him; he was deprived of the provinces of Nta and Brong. Krupi was also taken from his jurisdiction and the inhabitants removed to Pami. Osafo in memory of this downfall ordered different horns to be blown, showing how he had been deprived of everything he possessed, and would therefore be mute.

Akuamoa Panyin having died, the King of Asante went to Dwaben to attend the funeral there he had connection then with Agyei Badu, sister of Yeboa Kore, whom he ought never to have married, as it was against the constitutional law of Asante. He also neglected his duties in the capital because he had taken fixed residence in Dwaben. This led to Koranten Pete and Apea Dankwa, two powerful Generals in Kumase, combined with

other nobles and chiefs, leading an army to Dwaben and deposing the king. The Dwabens and his bodyguard would have fought, but the king, to avoid bloodshed, prevented them. During Kwame Panyin's reign, he constituted another bodyguard known as Apagya for his son Owusu Gyamedua, and Atipiri for the Captain of Ankobea. He also built the town of Beremang. Agyin, the chief of Tafo, was presented with one peregwan of gold for permitting the king to build the town. He also forbade the selling of real Asantes from the country. He poisoned himself at Dwaben about the year 1799.

His brother Opoku Fofie (Opoku II, Kwabon) succeeded him but only reigned two months, dying suddenly being visited by the apparition of his late brother, when in bed with one of his wives named Firempona Tanno. During his life time the Mohammedans of Kong instigated the population of Gyaman to rebel against Asante because the ex-king encouraged their religion. It was believed at Bontuku that the object was to restore to the stool the deposed King Osei Kwame; but Opoku's early death rendered the plot useless.

At his death, he was succeeded by his brother, who was much younger, and with the advent of Osei Tutu Kwamena, properly known as Diasibe and Bonsu to the stool, we enter on a period in which political relations may be said to commence between Great Britain and Asante. There was peace in the country during a period of 18 years after the return of the successful expedition against the Angulas; unfortunately lawlessness 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 is uncertain He was seen beating a woman, when a man named Bontoako Teiko jumped through his window to go to her assistance. Asiedu went back to Akuapem and died soon after. Safrotwe sent message to Akra, demanding satisfaction, which was refused with the statement that Bontoako was not the cause of Asiedu's death. This caused a quarrel between Akra and Akuapem and the paths became unsafe.

To obtain redress of the supposed injury armed men were sent under one named Okule, a Fanteman, with orders of pany-

arring Akra women when on their way to Mayera. It being Tuesday no one passed that way, but some farmers with their families were engaged gathering ground nuts. They were attacked, the women and children escaped, but some of the men were slain. Their heads were cut off and carried in triumph to Aburi.

The king was angry at this disregard of his orders. "You have brought me into trouble", he said to the party, "I meant them to be captured alive so as to settle the difference between us. How am I to return these heads to the Akras?" To this the Akuapems present answered: "Come what may, we can stand the consequences." Well knowing what must follow this atrocious action, the Akuapems, directly after the meeting, attacked Oyeadufa and Pantang, villages belonging to Labade and Teshi. Kruding, a captain of the priestly band of Teshi, and one Okru, fell in the attack.

When the head of the former was to be cut off, Tete Obokum, being his friend, interceded, dragged him behind some plantation trees and hid him under the leaves. He recovered consciousness during the night and went back to Teshi; Okru is also said to have survived.

King Amugi of Akra with his chiefs were enraged at this outrage. They concentrated their forces and encamped at Nyantrabi to fight the Akuapems. Safrotwe with his forces encamped on the Opoku Hill near Berekuso. The Akra camp was removed to Ashongmang expecting their attack, which did not occur. King Amugi ordered his forces to attack the Akuapems on the hill; diverse excuses were made to cover want of courage, and they at last proposed to decamp in order to celebrate their yearly feast. No sooner had they gone, than the Akuapems descended and occupied the same spot.

Afo, an influential man of Otu Street in Dutch Akra, advised the Akras not to wait for the celebration of the feasts in other towns, but to encamp first at Nyantrabi, till the chiefs of Osu, Labade and Teshi should bring their forces to join them. This they did but not with all their men. When the Akuapems knew of the weak state of the Akra camp, they at once attacked it and killed most of the principal men. The King Tete Ankama

and chiefs Kwaw, Amo, and several others were obliged to hide in the bushes and make their way home at night. Some remained in the bush three days before they could escape. Several important chiefs were captured, brought to Akropong, and barbarously killed. Afo was accused of acting as a spy and of having killed many of the wounded, among whom was Ayitey Okai. This happened in 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 accusations against him. The commandant of James Fort was called upon to intercede. He was ready to pay any sum to pacify the infuriated people; but nothing was acceptable; but in time they cooled down, fines and presents were given and shared, everyone was to go home, when unfortunately one Oni Tete of Otu Street excited the people to a contest, in which many were killed, Afo being one of them.

During these quarrels and disturbances, the people of Christiansborg, Labade, Ningo, and the Akuapems were allies of the Danish Government, and those of Dutch Town, James Town, Teshi, Tema, and Prampram were Dutch and English allies. The allies of the Danish Government had, in times of scarcity of provisions, access to the mountains To distinguish themselves from the people of other towns, they had to wear a peculiar necklace with one or two cowries on it. To involve them in trouble, the Akuapems smuggled articles of their own property into the loads of the Akras, as Joseph did to his brothers in Egypt; but although so badly treated by their enemies, they never thought of standing up united against their foes

Some Danish Colonists, as Schonning, Truelsen, Meyer, Gronberg, and others, had established villages at Sesemi, Dwaben, Bebiase, and Kponkpo; and a fine fort was built by Schonning in his village, armed with cannon.

Kwaw Safrotwe used to frequent that place, being friendly with Schonning. At one occasion, after the usual entertainment, the king ordered his people, who were not quite sober, to play and dance for their amusement, one song that was played contained the words: "The blacks as well as the whitemen serve me." This naturally made Schonning very angry; he ordered his fort

to be pulled down and retired to the Coast. The king did his best to appease, but every effort was in vain.

The Akras' lukewarmness in avenging the attack at Nyantrabi, encouraged their enemies to carry on further inroads to the Coast. They planned an attack on Teshi, but knowing how powerful the place was, and learning at the same time that a good number of Pramprams had gone to James Town, they fell upon their town, and carried off some women and children; but the Ningoes, hearing the firing, attacked and chased them as far as Owido near the Shai mountain, killing two of them; some of the prisoners escaped but the rest were sold in Fante. The Akuapems, an their return, surprised Ashikuma, a village belonging to Teshi, killed three men and two prisoners, whom they purposed selling. Doku, son of a Chief Okang of Teshi, was one of the captured men. He exclaimed: "You will never get a real native of Teshi again! You had better kill me." They did so.

Such was the condition of the country pillage, manstealing, and murder was the rule of every district. If the European Governments had not been weakened and demoralized through the slave trade, such terrible disorders could have readily been checked. The poor people of the country whom they pretended to protect, were, alas! if protected at all, protected for their own benefit. The two principalities, into which Asen was then divided, Apemanem and Tannosu, were governed, the former by Amo Adae, whose chief captain was Tokudum, and the latter by Tibo and Kwaku Apotoi, co-partners in authority. One of Apotoi's followers opened the grave of one of Amo's captains and robbed it of some treasure; and Amo being unable to obtain redress from Tibo and Apotoi, appealed to Ose Kwame Panyin, who gave judgment for Amo and imprisoned Apotoi. He escaped, and Amo marched into Tibo and Apotoi's province. The king then commissioned the chiefs Kofi Amparaku of Adanse, Bosompim Nto of Omanso, and other chiefs from Kumase to go to Asen and summon the hostile chiefs to meet and settle the case. Tibo and Apotoi treacherously attacked the commissioners and Amo. The latter successfully resisted, but the commissioners were killed, with the exception of Boakye and his captains from Ku-

mase. The king fined Tibo and Apotoi 300 peregwans; but the case was adjourned through the king's death.

On the accession of Osei Tutu Kwamena, surnamed Diasibe, to the stool of Asante, an appeal was made to Amo to have the wrongdoers brought to justice. The new king interfered, and again the offenders attacked Amo. Then, after two more attempts at reconciliation, and more treachery against Amo, Osei Tutu marched with his army into Asen. The two principalities in Akyem, Abuakwa and Kotoku, had been ruled by several kings after the defeat and subjugation at Benna. Ofori Panyin, Obiri Korane Aboree and Twum Ampoforo had become King of Abuakwa; Obeng and Kotoku Ampoma, nephew of Karikari Apaw, one of the hostages to the Adwumankus, had been redeemed and succeeded Obeng Apera, succeeded Twum Ampoforo I, and Ampoma having died in his preparations against Asen, Opoku became king Those kings of Akyem were ordered by Osei Tutu Kwamena to join him against the Asens.

Tibo and Apotoi fled with the 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 given and Apea Dankwa, the Asante general, overtook and defeated Tibo and Apotoi. The Fantes then attacked the Asantes who were again victorious all the Fante tribes now united with the Asens, who had bribed their chiefs. The Dutch Government at Koromante admitted the Asantes to the Fort, and the king himself advanced to Abora with a large force Colonel Torrane tried to mediate, but failed and the Asante king, finding that Tibo and Apotoi had taken refuge with the English, laid siege to Anomabo on the 15th of June, 1807.

The Governor White with Meredith, F. L Swanzy, Barnes, and T. A. Smith, and 24 men including some artificers and servants took in as many of the inhabitants as possible, determined upon a gallant defence. They repulsed every attack with great slaughter.

A small detachment came to their defence by sea, and Colonel Torrane entered into negotiations with the king. At this juncture

a whale was seen moving an sporting in the sea, and the name 'bonsu', a whale, was given to the king.

Colonel Torrane agreed to give the refugees up to the vengeance of their enemies. Apotoi escaped, but Tibo was put to death with circumstances of atrocious barbarity. The King of Asante, after expressing his respect for the brave defence of the garrison, claimed the Fantes who had taken refuge there as prisoners. He accepted half their number, and Colonol Torrane sold the other half as slaves. They would not allow Colonel Torrane to interfere on behalf of the Fantes, but promised to recognise his authority in the towns under the guns of the British Forts.

It is to the credit John Swanzy, then Governor of James Town, Akra, that he rose from a sick bed and went by canoe to Cape Coast to remonstrate with Colonel Torrane against his cowardice and cruelty, but it was too late. Few of the Fante prisoners escaped the fate of victims or of slaves, and Swanzy returned to Akra to die; but with the satisfaction of knowing that he at least had striven to maintain the honour of his country The Asante army suffered 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 Koromante The king encamped in the neighbourhood of Winneba and Obutu which he destroyed in October. A steady slave traffic was opened between the Akras and the camp, which greatly irritated the Fantes. But the king, owing to the prevalence of small-pox and famine, returned to Kumase towards the end of the year. His sister Akuwa Akurukuru and two others of the royal family died from the small-pox, hence the reason why the oath Koromante became so binding; the murder of Osei Tutu in the interior, and the death of the three sisters on the Coast. On the march back to Kumase, the king attacked the rich Queen Aberewa Kobo, and after fighting for three days, she blew herself up with powder. Her daughter with her son and all her treasurers were taken. The grandson was named Afaboo by the king. Afaboo was well educated in Kumase, and was one of the ambassadors in the peace negotiations in 1831.

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 Akyem Abuakwa deserted their king and returned home. Only the chiefs Abomosu Odom Aku, Kwaben Oware, and the linguist Banyin Kakawa of Kubease were loyal to Aparaku and accompanied him to Kumase. On the return of those chiefs to Akyem, Bonsu ordered them to tell the rest of the chiefs of Abuakwa that if they deposed their king, the royal stool would never be restored to them, unless thirty peregwans were paid. The chiefs paid the amount, which was brought to Kumase by those loyal chiefs, and after they had sworn a fetish oath, the king delivered the stool to them. Ata Wusu Yiakosan succeeded Aparaku, and Banyin Kakawa and two other chiefs brought the King of Asante's message that Ata must come to Kumase after being made King of Akyem. Ata also agreed to visit the capital after three years.

For similar cruelty Akyem Poku, King of Kotoku, was deposed by his chiefs. Kwadwo Kuma, nephew of the late King of Ampoma, was the right heir to the stool He being absent from Dampong, a rich relative, named Kwakye Adeyefe, was chosen to succeed. The Obutus, who were warned of the King of Asante'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, Awushi Tete, had sheltered his property with Chief Saki at James Town. When the war was over, his son asked for the property, but Saki had sold most of the people into slavery and given the others to the Asantes. An Obutu refugee, by name Sami nukpa, who escaped from Tshoko, 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 Kpatsha Kole a few miles north of Akra by the Obutus and Akras. The enormous sum demanded by Nsaki, the son claiming his father's property, so irritated the Akras, that one Akuashong Kwatei rose and said: "Let a sum

like that demanded from Saki be produced by whole Obutu, and we can afford to pay it." Then the meeting broke off with everyone in a rage. From that time the Obutus began kidnapping Akra women and children.

A company of iron-hearted men for defensive warfare was organised, among whom were Ato, Nkroma, Okule, Apeseo, Tete Kwaw, Ama Gbagri, Oblite, Amui, Teiko Owara, and many other chiefs, with Adama Pataku as their commander-in-chief. Through their efforts a stop was put to the inroads of the kidnappers; the chief weapon which they used was a kind of native manufactured large hatchet or bill-hook. When the kidnappers were stopped, the chief of Akoti in Gomoa, by name Osafo, encamped at Ngleigong (shell hill), with the object of obtaining by force the property in dispute

The defensive company, headed by Adama Pataku, attacked Osafo one night and totally defeated him, in fact, he was wounded and died on the way His wife Dekyi was captured, but escaped, his other wives, however, were taken prisoners Some who had escaped brought the sad news to Akoti; and to punish their enemies, the Obutus hired Fante Gomoa people with other Fantes, who bore bitter hatred to the Elminas and Akras because of their friendship with the Asantes, who, during the recent invasion of Fante, had carried on a steady traffic with the slaves consisting of the prisoners taken there. They had vowed to revenge themselves one day, and the day had come

In the year 1809, the combined forces of Obutu and Fante invaded Akra. Their camp was formed west of the town from the lagoon Kole to the east. Their appearance was so sudden and unexpected that the farmers in the plantation villages had no time to enter the town. A gong was beaten by Saki's order to warn no one to interfere, saying it was his own case alone, and not the town peoples'. After he had failed with the offer of one pipe of rum, 1,000 heads of cowries, and some bullocks to purchase peace, the invading army ordered an attack. The Akras alarmed at the way the enemy pressed on the town, took no 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 beginning to slacken, Nansen ran to the commandant in the Fort to beg him to assist the defence by firing his guns at the enemy, but he refused, saying that if he did so, he must pay one ounce of gold for every shot. Hansen then left the Fort, took a supply of ammunition to the Dutch Fort, and there gave his people the assistance required in driving off the enemy. Even his mother stood behind his people, among whom was Kofi Apetrepe, to resist the enemy. Neizer, a coloured man of Elmina, contributed largely to the day's success. The enemy was first repulsed by the Dutch Town people, then combined with those of James, they were chased away with immense loss Okomfo Hene and Apatu Kofi were the leading men among the invaders

During the same year the Fantes and Wasas, combined with the people of Cape Coast and Anamabo, joined together to take vengeance on the Elminas.

Governor White was unable to dissuade even the people of Cape Coast from taking this step. The truth is they were forced to take it by the Fantes, who threatened to attack them, if they refused to join the alliance against Elmina Their camp was formed behind he town and made several fruitless attacks on it, the cause of failure being the assistance given by the Dutch guns of Fort St. Jago to the defence. Realising the fact that it was impossible to gain possession of Elmina, which they had hoped to plunder and destroy, their next step was to invest it closely. The inhabitants were naturally sometimes reduced to considerable straits, but having free communication with the sea, there was no absolute want of supplies, although they suffered a good deal from skirmishing; but the allies suffered much more, especially from want of food; they were tired and returned to their homes.

CHAPTER XI.

Evacuation of the people of Dutch Town to Kaneshi, and the efforts of the Danish and English Governments on the Gold Coast to abolish the Slave Trade. 1807-1847.

We should be greatly unjust to the European Governments on the Gold Coast, if we are silent on the important subject of their relations with the question of the Slave Trade, although their main object for settling on the Coast had been slave traffic; a trade which greatly decreased the population of the country. A writer of the Seventeenth Century says.

"Europeans frequently carried from the West Coast of Africa above 100,000 slaves a year. The very great extent to which this traffic is carried 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." Speaking of the Portuguese, the same writer 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."

The men were most likely Kroo boys, for whose good services it was arranged between them and the Portuguese that they should never be made slaves, and a mark was made on their foreheads as a sign of freedom. All the forts built by the Portuguese, Dutch, English, French, Swedes, and Brandenburg, from Asini down to Keta, were solely for the slave trade. Slave trade entirely ceased in all the Colonies of Denmark in 1803; and on the 25th of March, 1807, it was also abolished by the English, and English Cruisers were sent to the West Coast to capture slave ships. Domestic slavery could not be abolished either by the English or Danish Governments In carrying out their object, both Governments were compelled to resort to hard measures.

After General Amankwa had left for Asante, the country enjoyed peace, but the Portuguese slave trade prospered. All the leading chiefs were concerned in it; and Chief Ankra was the



Mr Chr Schonning,
the pioneer of civilization and Governor from 1807 1817



Rev Andreas Ris



Rev J Zimmermann



Rev J G. Christaller

general broker. Dutch Town was made the Depot. Slaves were sold at night, and Ankra had them in charge till a slaver arrived; and the poor creatures were shipped in the darkness to avoid detection by the English and Danish Governments.

In August, about the year 1819, when the Akras were assembled in Dutch Town to celebrate their yearly feast, an English man-of-war arrived in the roads, and fired on the house of Chief Ankra, the General Manager of the slave trade. The warriors armed and placed themselves in battle array on the beach, ready to resist the landing of the marines. This did not occur, but the firing continued day and night from Saturday afternoon till the close of Sunday. On Monday the ship departed, Ankra's house lay in ruins, some other houses were damaged, the big fetish tree and the upper part of Samuko's shed were knocked down.

About the second month of the year 1820, seven English men-of-war arrived in the roads with the object of suppressing the slave trade by force, and the Marines landed in James Fort. The Akras removed all their property to Christiansborg and their plantation villages, and departed for Kaneshi, about three miles distant. The ruins of Ankra's house were removed and his property taken, all the fishing and landing canoes were removed to James Town. King Kudsha Okai and his chiefs determined to fight the marines if they followed them to Kaneshi, but never to attack them in town. It is said that the Marines had the intention of attacking the Akras at Kaneshi, but when the Akras marched to meet them, they returned to town After some negotiations the English Government agreed that the king and his chiefs should be allowed to return to town, but the slave dealers should be delivered up for punishment. The king, unwilling to deliver the offenders, returned alone with some chiefs and fishermen; Ankra retired to Kpokpoase, and other slave dealers to different places.

A slave ship, chased by English cruisers during this time, landed 160 slaves at Tema in charge of a Smith from Dutch Town. Major Steffens, Governor of Christiansborg, when he heard this, armed his subjects at Christiansborg, Labade and

Teshi, and proceeded with his followers to rescue the slaves; but Chief Ankra had prepared an army of the warriors of Dutch Town, who were in the bush with him, and headed by his brother, they reached Tema before Major Steffens and his men, and removed the slaves into the bush. On the arrival of the Governor only a few slaves left behind in the hurry of escape. The Temas were plundered for allowing slave dealing in the jurisdiction of the Danish Government The slave dealers remained in the bush for three years.

The Danish Government were also determined to suppress the slave trade; all their subjects caught practising the nefarious traffic were deported, and their property taken When a coloured man of Christiansborg was convicted of dealing in slaves, his lands, slaves, and house at Sesemi were confiscated and sold by auction. The commandants in the Forts at Teshi, Ningo, Ada, and Keta were strictly ordered to end the trade. Although domestic slave dealings were not prohibited, that with the Portuguese, or selling them 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 Don Jose Mora, a Portuguese slave dealer, had established a depot at Bato on the bank of the Volta Giede at the head of about 160 soldiers and some armed men, the Chaplain Torsleff, and W. Lutterodt marched to the place to apprehend the offender.

Mora fired a pistol at the Governor, but missed and was captured with his weapon. His property and a few slaves were taken. He was set free after promising never in future to carry on the trade in the jurisdiction of the Danish Government. Don Jose Mora soon after began again at Wei in Angula In 1842 Wilkens the Danish Governor with Wulff, the secretary and treasurer, and 150 soldiers set sail in an American trading vessel to arrest the malefactor.

The party landed at night, and went to attack Don Jose Mora, who managed to escape by jumping through a window; but his property and slaves were taken and brought to Christiansborg. Such slaves were set free, but as they could not safely find their

way to their own country, they were employed by the Government at a monthly pay.

There was at that time a custom existing for transferring slaves, after their master's death, by selling them to new masters when there was no legitimate heir to the property. The sum realised was added to the other proceeds of the estate and given to the lawful heir

The Fort of Keta, built by virtue of the treaty of 1784, was occupied by Government officials, whether European or native, as Commandants When the Danish Government abolished the slave trade in their settlements on the Coast, the fort was not kept in repair. In 1844, Sergeant J. C Hesse was made commandant of Keta to relieve H Meyer On Hesse's arrival, he learned that the old offender Don Jose Mora and two other slave dealers were still active at Wei in their abominable trade. He prepared to attack them, but they, when informed of his intention, removed the slaves to a place outside Danish jurisdiction Hesse happened one night to see Don Jose Mora pass the Fort with a gang of slaves, being an alert man, he ordered out the few soldiers under his command, and joined by Walter Hansen and some young men from the town, he followed and overtook the gang and their leader, ordered them to halt, upon which Don Jose pointed his pistol at Hesse and fired at him three times without effect. He was then overpowered and the weapon taken from him. The slaves were brought to the Fort, but the dealers were foolishly suffered to depart Seduced by bribes from the slave dealers, the king and elders of Angula requested Hesse and Hansen to surrender the slaves, which they refused to do. There happened to be an English man-of-war in the roads, but it was impossible to communicate with the commander, the Fort was in a deplorable condition, and the enraged Angulas easily forced an entrance. Hesse wished to defend the slaves, who were locked up in one of the prisons; but he found a want of courage amongst those who should have assisted him. The elders of Angula said that as their people had helped him to capture the slaves, he must return them to the owners, so as not to get them into trouble with the Portuguese.

If he refused, they threatened to break open the prison; and added that the king held himself responsible in case the Governor should claim them back from him. Thus, following the advice of A. Malm and H. Malm, Hesse and Hansen gave the slaves over to the king, who promised to keep them until the Governor's arrival.

Hesse at once sent a despatch, by an express messenger, reporting to Governor Carstensen all that had happened and his reasons for giving way to the demands of the king, viz.. the Fort's ruinous condition, the want of courage in the soldiers, who were even ready to desert him. Governor Carstensen, on receipt of the report, marched with a party of soldiers under Lieutenant Svedstrup to Keta. The king and elders of Angula were summoned, and the Angulas punished for assisting the Portuguese to get back the slaves The Governor returned to Christiansborg, and sent 16 soldiers with the Lieutenant to have the fort repaired.

Among the slaves were two men whom Hesse harboured; an Akuapem man, Ashong Agbo, was one of them On the return of Svedstrup, he was brought home and made free. As the Governor had ordered the fort to be repaired, Lieutenant Svedstrup was made commandant of Keta, and Hesse became Sergeant again. On their arrival, they began buying shells and firewood to make lime for the repairs. Captain Dshokoto of Anyako, and his people sold firewood, and later complained that the payment was too small. They were told that the commandant had gone to his room. While waiting one of them turned round and began to make water. He was warned by the sentry but refused to obey. A quarrel followed. The Sergeant came to make peace, when the Captain held a fist on his face as if to strike him, upon this outrage the Sergeant struck off his hand with his sword which the Captain tried to seize, which resulted in wounding his fingers. The assailants retired to the town deeply incensed, armed themselves with clubs, waiting to take revenge on the soldiers when they next came to town.

The commandant had been to visit Captain Marman, and on his return to the Fort was assaulted by the men. Hearing what

had occurred the few soldiers in the Fort rushed to defend their master, the Lieutenant. They began by using the flat of their swords, but when the fight became serious, the Lieutenant Svedstrup exclaimed. "Cut them to pieces." One of the Angulas raised his club against a soldier, who received it with his sword, and cut one of his assailants' ears off. Another wielded his club but missed and got an ugly cut on the belly. His comrades fled, and the three soldiers marched back to the fort with the commandant, just as their own men, who had been in the town, were coming to help them; all entered the Fort and the gate was secured. The whole town was in uproar all day; and early next morning, the entire Angula force came to Keta fully armed, and demanded that the commandant should deliver up the soldier who had killed the man to be punished This request being refused, they blockaded the fort, and forbade that provisions should be sold to the soldiers; the mess-women in town were forbidden to cook for them; they, however, concealed food in their clothes.

The Commandant was unable to find a messenger to take a message to the Governor, until he induced a passing Ada woman to conceal a letter in her dress, which was forwarded to Governor Schmidt at Christiansborg. At 4 o'clock on the same day, July, 1847, the Governor started with Andreas Bergeson, as interpreter, Walter Hansen, 75 soldiers under command of Sergeant Andreas Malm, two congreve rockets, and 50 armed Government labourers as basket and load carriers. This force quartered at Prampram and arrived at Adafo the next day As the King of Ada provided enough canoes, they were able to cross on the third day and formed their divisions, the Governor and his staff with the carriers in the middle, one-half of the soldiers in front, while the other half protected the rear. They were hospitably received at Dshita where they breakfasted. After half an hour's march they saw an ensign with a flag coming to meet them. The Governor jumped down from a sort of basket in which he was carried and marched in front of his soldiers. On being questioned the ensign reported that the Chief Ndokutshu of Atoko was advancing to fire a salute, the Governor pointed out that it was unwise to do so in a time of commotion such as the present.

At Atoko they were grandly received, richly entertained, and two messengers appointed to guide them. At Angula, the capital, they were hooted at for being carried in baskets, as such was against their religious custom.

Passing through the town they reached Dshadukofe and announced their approach by firing two rockets. It was a most joyful day for the commandant and the soldiers in Keta, who were starving in the blockaded fort. They marched out to meet the Governor who entered with his men. The chiefs and elders of Keta were summoned next day to appear before the Governor.

They were asked why they allowed the Anyakos and Angulas to fight against the Government? On asking for a certain time to prepare their answer, leave was given and they retired. When the time fixed had elapsed, no one appeared. Another summons was sent, but without result. Sergeant Hesse was then ordered to arrest them. One was arrested; the soldiers entered the next house and found there old Akpaku, who asked permission to dress. He went into another room, but did not come out again. The soldiers entered and found him holding a finger-ring which he put into his mouth. He refused to walk and was dragged out, and the men carried him into the fort. There it was discovered that he was dying, this was reported to the Governor, who ordered him to be sent away; and on being carried out, he expired. His people took him away and buried him; doubtless the finger-ring contained poison. The Angulas assembled in arms during the night, and at daybreak they opened fire on the fort.

The garrison defended themselves bravely for weeks; and great numbers of the Angulas were killed. On seeing a body of the enemy, Private Carl Engmann fired one of his guns among them, which not only destroyed many lives, but dashed out the brains of the linguist just then addressing the Angulas. In spite of their heroism the garrison, cut off as they were from all communications with the outside, suffered terribly from want of provisions. Only one man, Chief Tei, was loyal to the Government, and secretly supplied the garrison with corn and some fowls, which were divided among the soldiers.

Providentially the 'Abeille', a French man-of-war, anchored

off Keta. It appears that there were no signals to communicate with the ship. They could only hoist the Danish flag up and down, and then the French flag. Governor Schmidt made up his mind to go on board, the soldiers fell in, the Government canoe, lying outside the fort, was carried in the hollow square formed by the men to the beach. The enemy fired on them. In the hurry the canoemen uncocked the natural hole of the boat, but launched it. The soldiers were fighting their way through the enemy to enter the fort, when they were astonished to see the Governor in the water being driven fast by the current towards the enemy. Without a moment's delay they marched under fire to the rescue, Sergeant Schandorf and Carl Engmann crossed and swam over, got hold of him, and brought him to shore Two of the canoemen kept to the boat, fell into the hands of the Angulas and were killed. With this exception there was no life lost. About half a dozen soldiers were 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 to obtain information about the garrison Sanka, a capital swimmer, volunteered to carry the Governor's letter on board the 'Abeille'. He was conducted by the soldiers to shore and swam to the boats; and the captain was informed of the state of the garrison. He asked Captain Marman, whose ship was in the roads for a loan of canoes, and the favour was refused. The canoes were then forcibly taken and a good supply of provisions sent 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 grapeshot were poured on the Angulas The 'Abeille' not only supplied the garrison with provisions but effectually cleared off the enemy.

The Governor then embarked for Christiansborg, and called a meeting there of the kings and chiefs in alliance with the Danish Government to organise 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 to punish them. On her arrival the Governor again embarked with the soldiers for Keta. On reaching Wei, a canoe was seen containing

thirteen men, who came on board, without knowing what ship it was. They were all arrested and brought to Keta. Thoroughly cowed by the late war, the Angulas sued for peace when the Governor landed with soldiers and marines from the ship. A court was held and the case decided; a fine of $2,000 was imposed, 600 of which was paid at once, and the Governor retired to Christiansborg in the same ship with the forces. From that time the slave trade was greatly reduced in Angula, and a depot was established by the Portuguese at Little and Grand Popo.

The entire destruction of the slave trade and the emancipation of domestic slavery could not be effected either by the Danish or the English Government until the year 1874, after the capture of Kumase and the destruction of the Asante power by the British army. The slave trade was begun in 1517, and the general abolition and emancipation took place in 1874. It was a disease imported by Europeans, and which had disastrously affected the country for 357 years. Providentially the curse was removed by the English Government, but the country was left without a substitute.

CHAPTER XII.

The first Asante revenge on the enemies of Akra by General Opoku Fredefrede. The second invasion by the triple army of Fante, Akyem, and Akuapem on Thursday, commonly called So Ta. Kwadso Kuma's rebellion and the second Asante revenge by General Amankwa Abunyawa 1811-1816

The feelings of friendship and brotherhood which existed between Asantes and Akras will be proved in this Chapter which will be demonstrated both by tradition and action how profound the feeling was on both sides.

When the King of Asante heard of the invasion of Akra by the Obutus and Gomoas, and also that the Fantes had attacked the Elminas, he appointed General Opoku at the head of a large army to attack the Obutus and Gomoas, and Apea Dankwa to punish the Fantes with another force. Captain Boakye Yam and Odunkyi with 300 armed men were sent by the king to Akyem

to ask the linguists Banyin Kakawa, Odum Aku, and Oware, why Ata Yiakosan had not visited the capital as he had promised. King Kwakye Yadeefe should appoint messengers to accompany them to Ata. Ata heard of them whilst they were staying 40 days at Dampong, and secretly sent Prince Apeanin with twelve men to learn from Kwakye the object of the men sent from Kumase.

The prince brought back an answer to the effect that the mission had no other object than to invite Ata to the capital. Ata then sent a fetish to swear upon that there was nothing serious in the mission; but Kwakye declined to do so, and Ata prepared for the worst. He captured 90 peaceful Asante traders, amongst whom was Prince Owusu Mantshiri, who carried with him a large amount of the king's stipend from the Danish Government, also valuable furniture and goods; he was accompanied by Kwamena Kuma of Christiansborg, the Danish messenger. The traders were killed and the money and goods taken.

When this was known at Dampong, the Commissioners returned to Kumase to inform the king. Kwakye sided with the Asantes and delivered to them Agyei Korowa, mother of Kwadwo Kuma, also her sister Bosuma with her daughter Ohewa, and Adwowa Buaso, sister of Kwadwo Kuma. The prisoners were brought to Kumase and were pounded to death in a mortar in revenge of the prince and others put to death by order of Ata Yiakosan; and General Adu Sei Kra was sent against Ata with a force of 10,000 men; and was defeated twice by Ata at Amomani and Saman. Adu Sei Kra fled to Adesawase and reported his defeat to King Bonsu.

Ata sent presents from his plunder to Kwaw Safrotwe of Akropong who at once joined him in his revolt against the King of Asante. General Opoku Fredefrede crossed the Pra at the head of the Asante forces, and when joined by Kwakye Yedeefe, drove Ata back to Pantampa At this place Ata and Safrotwe united and waited for 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. In answer they sent him a detachment under Okai Paemseeko II. The combined armies of Akyem and Akuapem was newly organised; the

latter 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 ferocious that the Asantes preferred to face the enemy rather than himself. The Akuapems retreating from their lines caused so much loss and confusion to the Akyems, that nothing was left but precipitate retreat. Kwaw Safrotwe and Ata with their forces retired to Abon-abon at the foot of the Berekuso mountain. Kofi Asante was sent by Ata to scout the Asantes, who were then at Aburi, thence through Kyereme to Nsaki where they found sign of the Asantes. The Akyems and Akuapems divided and retreated, the former towards Fante, the latter to the Volta. Chief Anim Ampana of Adukrom with women and children of Akuapem went to Krobo where they were so barbarously slaughtered that all who could, escaped. Kwaw made his way through Kpong to Ada, and was harboured in an island where many of the royal family died from hardship and exhaustion. Opoku, after receiving arms and ammunition from the Akras, made his camp at Mukong near Dutch Town, and soon rescued his pursuit of Kwaw Safrotwe At the approach of the enemy the Adas escaped to the islands of the Volta. The fiery Opoku on meeting Flint, the Danish Commandant at Ada Fort, accused him of conniving at Kwaw's escape, and took him prisoner. He was detained five months in the Asante camp at Berekuso, and some say he was treated with respect and kindness, until ransomed by the Danish Government for 100 ounces of gold.

Kwaw Safrotwe, escorted by Captain Osramang of Ada, escaped across the Volta. Opoku left Ada and marched to Krobo, thinking his enemy had escaped to the mountains. As Chief Anim with his people only were there, they persuaded the Yilos to skirmish against the Asantes. Opoku demanded redress, but his messengers were beaten, which so enraged Otutu Osomboafo and the General that they attacked the Yilos on the heights as far up as Ogome. The Krobos united and forced the Asantes to descend with great slaughter This action of the Krobos was investigated and their action was condemned, and the hostages Odonko Otwesa and Tei were carried off as prisoners. To revenge this the

Krobos set fire to the houses occupied by the refugees during night. Opoku was ordered by King Bonsu to return to Kumase. The Labades and Teshis caught in their own plantations tried in vain to be made free. Vast numbers of the people of Akyem and Akuapem were made prisoners or slain; others perished by fatigue, hunger, and thirst during Opoku's pursuit. The women and children of Abotakyi, harboured at Eburumaso, were captured and carried off by the Asantes. The infirm and sick committed suicide, babies were put to death by knocking their heads against trees to prevent capture by the enemy. Children were deserted by their parents and were seen sitting alone and desolate by the wayside. Mothers carried three or four babies in a wooden trough or basket until she was too exhausted and threw them in the bush. A mother could be seen carrying on her back her new-born baby. Oh, the horrors of war!

Apea Dankwa with an army of 6,000 Asantes invaded the Fante country, several small skirmishes occurred, all on his favour. On reaching the Coast near Winneba, he found that the Fantes of Anomabo, Adwumanko, Apa, Mumford, Winneba, and Gomoa Asen had formed a large camp, and were ready for battle. A severe engagement took place at Apa, the Fantes were beaten and many were made prisoners, among others Bafo, the Chief of Anomabo. Smith, commandant of Tantum Fort, tried to negotiate with Apea Dankwa on their behalf; but obeying King Bonsu's orders that he should punish the Fantes who had besieged Elmina, all mediation was refused Kwaw Safrotwe had escaped to Fante. When he found there Ata with his 3,000 men, they combined their forces and hastened to attack Apea Dankwa, whose forces had suffered by the late action near Apa. The firmness of Apea Dankwa weakened when he heard of their approach, and he beat a retreat; but he was pursued by Ata and defeated. With his remaining force, Apea fled to Asen.

After his victory over the Asantes, Ata was attacked by smallpox which had broken out in his army, and died of the disease at Kwanyako, while on his march back to Akyem. Ata was one of the bravest kings of Akyem, and might have saved his country from the Asante yoke, had he lived. After his death Asare

Bediako succeeded him on the stool of Akyem. Several chiefs committed suicide when Ata died; the captains over the Fanteakwa or right wing, Siewufo or left wing, Odomtere 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 King Bonsu and had a son Owusu Akyem.

The two generals of Asante, after obeying the king by taking vengeance on the enemies of his friends, the Elminas and Akras retired, and external war ceased for a time, but by no means from internal quarrels and commotions. The combined forces of Akyem and Akuapem were still in Fante. Kwaw Safrotwe induced Adoko of Fante and Asare Bediako of Akyem Abuakwa to march with him against the Akras. Adoko was ready to join but Asare was difficult to persuade, but after delay, agreed, and the three allies invaded the Akra territory. Their camp extended from the lagoon Kole to Labade; and for three weeks no Akra could leave the town for provisions and firewood which caused bitter distress. Anything available was used for firewood to cook the scanty food obtainable.

A Portuguese vessel anchored at Akra about this time. The chiefs applied to the Captain for arms and ammunition, against prisoners whom they expected to make by the war. The Captain preferred to deal with the other side which was, in his opinion, stronger and more numerous; besides he had no faith in their power to supply him with prisoners. The Akras were very active in their efforts; the forces from James Town to Ningo have been concentrated, and a meeting was held one night at Dodowa, to arrange the mode of action. A young man stood up and said. "Brethren, let us attack the enemy very early in the morning, and make havoc in their lines before daylight lets them know the small number of our force." This was agreed to by all. Very early in the morning of that memorable Thursday, the invaders were furiously attacked, beaten, and pursued beyond the Sakumo River, in which many were drowned or devoured by sharks. Many prisoners were made, so that the Portuguese slaver was well frighted a few days after the battle. Many Akyems were killed

and wounded and the royal stool was captured by the enemy. This loss deprived King Asare and his nephews of their title to the royal dignity, and it is no wonder that Asare took the advice of his people and committed suicide, after spending a week in drinking, dancing and singing in anticipation of his own funeral. Asare was succeeded by Kofi Asante. Kwaw Safrotwe with greatly diminished power returned to Akuapem.

When the news of the second invasion of Akra reached Kumase, the king sent large presents with his sympathy to the Akras. Dokuwa, when she reached Kyebi, thanked Kwadwo Kuma for his valuable services rendered to Ata, and liquidated the debt of five peregwans she had lent to him. She gave him three peregwans, forty guns, three kegs of powder, and advised him to go and claim the stool of Kotoku from Kwakye as the right heir to it. She also appointed Obrokwa, Chief of Otumi, to assist Kwadwo in claiming the stool Bosompin, Chief of Asene, Ntronan Broni joined him, they gave battle to Kwakye at Dampong, and he fled with the stool to Kumase. Linguist Kusi and Akyikyia were sent by Kwadwo Kuma to Sewa of Dwaben to intercede for him that King Osei Bonsu might force Kwakye to deliver the stool back. The king despatched Yaw Bese, Nuako, and Odunkyi, 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 prepared to appear at the capital. Kwakye died 30 days later, and his successor Kofi Duodu and a few of his people were accompanied by Akwasi Duro and Kosso to Ampaw of Omanso to remain there Agyemang, nephew of Kwakye, was kept at Kumase by the king.

Kwadwo Kuma had in the meantime sounded the minds of the principal men in the king's household, Akwadamma, Bawua and Odofoo, as to whether it would be safe for him to come or not, and being advised never to venture it, was actively preparing to quit the country. When the time for his visit arrived, messengers were sent for him. He killed them all except Adu Sosoronkuo and Nuako, he also slaughtered several Asante resi-

dents in Dampong, who had been induced to go there by the cheapness of provisions and venison.

The following chiefs deserted from Kwadwo Kuma to Adanse, where the king's messengers were killed: Akokoaso Pobi, Kwa of Bontodiase, and Kuku Asa of Adwafo; but Amoako left for Agogo. But the great majority of chiefs and captains remained loyal, and with these men Kwadwo Kuma shut up the Asantes in their country for the space of two years, so that the King Bonsu's presents sent by messengers for the chiefs of Akra were obliged to travel through Akwamu.

The King of Asante made a great effort to crush the Akyems and Akuapems, whose revolt had lasted since 1811 He made another effort by collecting 20,000 men whom he placed under Amankwa. King Bonsu was determined to throw open the paths, to renew his communications with Akra, and to draw from thence his payment from the Danish Government which had not been paid since the last invasion. Amankwa was also ordered to receive the submission of Kwadwo Kuma and Kwaw Safrotwe, who, indeed, were expected to sue for peace on the approach of such a formidable force.

But to prevent any chance of their escape, Apea Dankwa was also sent at the same time with a small force in the direction of Winneba, to cut them off on that side Amankwa moved towards Akuapem with his army, but when within a day's march of that place, one of his foregoing parties of seven men was cut off by Kwadwo Kuma, who the following day gave battle to the whole force at Adweso. The engagement lasted six hours, and ended in the defeat of the Akyems and their allies. Amankwa proclaimed his victory to the Akras by sending a jaw-bone and a slave to each of the towns, and soon following with his army, received the stipend from the Danish Government.

Kwadwo Kuma and Kwaw Safrotwe with their forces again fled to Fante for protection. Amankwa encamped at Onyase, eight miles north-east of Akra, remaining there nearly a year, to receive the submission of the Akyems and Akuapems. Berekuso was the first town to submit, but the other Akuapems were near Obutu and used to send foraging parties, among whom were

Akrong Kwesi and Kwaku Fito of Aburi, to pillage and plunder the Akras, Asantes, and even the Berekusos.

Meanwhile the party under Apea Dankwa had encountered the Fantes several times. The Adwumanko and Agona people had been defeated with great loss; the towns of Winneba and Bereku were plundered and burnt, and the Fantes had been submitted to the most cruel punishments. Apea Dankwa died in Asen, and was succeeded as commander by Apea Yanyo. Opuro Tuata, Opuro Kwabena, Kofi Mensa of Berekuso, with a party from Akra, were commissioned to accompany the General and his forces to Fante. They united with Yanyo and his forces at Asikuma and marched together through Adwumanko, driving the Fantes before them. A large body of them had encamped at Abora, but took flight at the first onset. Crowds of people fled to the forts for protection, upward of 4,000 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 learn 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 of Asante's army had come to Fante in pursuit of Kwadwo Kuma of Kotoku, Kwaw Safrotwe, and Kofi Asante of Akyem Abuakwa, and with the intention of punishing all who sheltered them The General accused Kwaw Agyiri, Opentri, and Amisa, three Fante chiefs, of standing in arms against the Asantes in defence of these men.

A meeting was held in the hall of the Castle at which it was proved that Kwadwo Kuma, Kwaw Safrotwe, and Kofi Asante were not in Cape Coast, and the headman took fetish oath to that effect. It was arranged that 100 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 by a fetish oath. Soon after this the Asantes broke up their camp at Abora, they having now conquered the whole Fante country, and went in the direction of Akra in search of the prescribed men.

Kwadwo Kuma, having discovered that the Fantes could not protect him, fled from the country with Gyadam Kyei and Amoako Hene, intending to return to his capital Dampong.

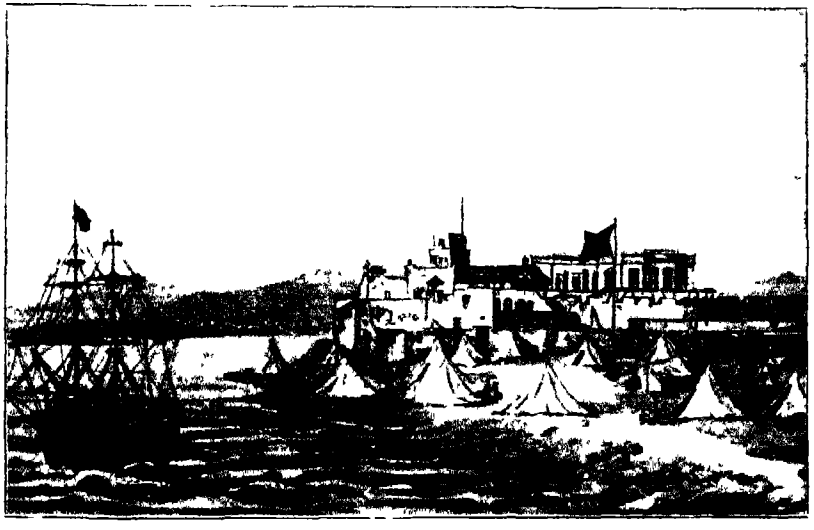
Osaka, the mother of Aduanan Apea, with her daughter Badua, having been taken prisoners by the Asantes, Apea and Kwamena Asamanin despatched eight messengers after Kwadwo Kuma, who was overtaken by them at Nkwantanan, and was urgently asked to return, as the Asantes had fled from the Fante country. They persuaded him to return, and then delivered him up to the generals at Nkum, while Osaka and Badua were released Kwadwo Kuma and Amoako Hene were both beheaded, smoked, and brought to Kumase with Gyadam Kyei alive.

When Kwasi Amankwa went to Kumase, all the chiefs and captains of Dampong asked him to intercede with the king for them; but Amankwa appointed Captain Biredu to deal with the case for them. King Bonsu appointed Odunkyi and Nuako to go with Biredu to Dampong, and after a fine of 300 peregwans had been paid, all the chiefs were beheaded, and Amoako Panyin, who deserted Kwadwo Kuma, was made Governor of the Kotokus. Afirifa Akwada, cousin of Kwadwo Kuma, but the son of Amoako, his mother Buadiwa and his sister Koroma would have been killed, had not Amoako paid three peregwans to save their lives; after which he made them take a fetish oath that they would allow him to rule in peace during the rest of his life.

Kwaw Safrotwe was still a roaming fugitive and chief disturber of the public peace, whom no one could capture, although his own subjects as well as the Agonas were tired of him. The Akuapems sent a communication to the chiefs of Akra by Ado Dankwa, begging them to negotiate for peace in their favour; but the fees, demanded and paid to the Akras before they agreed to open the subject to the Asantes, were a puncheon of rum and 50 slaves. The General accepted the negotiation for peace on condition that 1,500 heads of cowries and 200 slaves should be paid, also that Kwaw and all the chiefs who had been in arms against the king should be surrendered. Kwaw Safrotwe had left the Fante country for Akuapem, and hidden himself in his own village at Amamprobi. Ado Dankwa, whom the General had promised to make Chief of Akuapem if he would deliver Kwaw into his hands, led a party of Akras and Asantes to his hiding place at Amamprobi. Dankwa after placing an ambush around,



Rev J G Widmann



Christiansborg Castle (1862)

entered into conversation with Kwaw. He advised him to kill himself, because it was impossible to escape from the Asantes' implacable vigilance; but Kwaw refused this friendly counsel, saying that he would wear out the king's patience. Without another word, Ado Dankwa left him; his doing so being the arranged signal for the party in ambush to fire and kill Kwaw Safrotwe His body was smoked and sent to Kumase, Kwaw's two brothers, Opoku and Amankwa, shared his fate.

Chief Anim Ampana of Adukrom was brought to Christiansborg and beheaded All the chiefs of Fante, Akyem and Akuapem came to Akra; they admitted that they were tributaries to Asante, and an annual tribute was fixed for each of them. Thus by means of this peace, the Akras were able to occupy their own lands and villages unmolested by their enemies for twelve years, until Sir Charles MacCarthy persuaded them to break off their friendship with the Asantes

The object of the war had been attained, the heads of Kwadwo Kuma, Kwaw Safrotwe, and Kofi Asante were now in the king's possession. Akyem and Akuapem had been reduced to a state of vassalage and King Bonsu's authority established throughout Fante Asante residents were left in charge of the principal districts, whose duty it was to keep the Fantes in subjection and collect the king's tribute In carrying out these orders, they were very tyrannical, and seldom without some pretext for their exactions The mere suspicion of disaffection was enough to draw upon any Chief or Headman heavy fines. The Akras suffered in the same manner during General Amankwa's encampment at Onyase, several of whom became slaves and pawns. This caused the Akras to listen favourably when Sir Charles MacCarthy advised them to declare against Asante.

CHAPTER XIII.

The deplorable state of the country due to the invasions and tyrannical rule of the Asantes. The deputation composed of James, Governor of Akra, and Bowdich, Hutchison, and Tedlie with a present for the King of Asante. The King of Asante commences war with Gyaman The insult given to Asante residents in Fante. Dupuis as Consul for Asante The former friendship which existed between the Akras and Asantes 1817-1823.

From 1807 to 1823 the Asantes were lords of all the countries between their kingdom and the coast, during which long period the people suffered from the most barbarous tyranny. This originated principally from the fact that the Asante chiefs and headmen, residing on the principal towns, exercised more power over the people than the King at Kumase Everybody, merchants, mechanics, clerks, canoemen, the poor, the rich, in fact, high and low, were subjected to a system of cruel extortion on every possible occasion, and on pretences ludicrous and unheard of. People were deprived of their wives when they were handsome; if one had any words with an Asante, or inadvertently touched, or even alluded to an Asante, he was punished. In Fante as well as in Akra, several chiefs were made to pay enormous fines under various pretences. The European Governments, when they occasionally interfered, did so in a lukewarm and often insincere manner. Most of the best kings and chiefs as well as the greater part of the population had been crushed or brought over to Asante as captives for life. Many populous and large towns lay in ruins, and poverty prevailed everywhere, but chiefly in the interior countries.

The English, Dutch, and Danish Governments began to feel sympathy for the sufferings of those they pretended to protect, and did something to improve the condition of those kings, chiefs, and people, who sought protection from them. From time to time, they sent embassies with large and valuable presents to Kumase with the object of befriending the king, promoting legitimate trade, and giving the Protectorate peace. The Danish and Dutch Governments allowed the king a monthly stipend. In 1817 presents were sent to the King of Asante by the African

Company in England. The embassy was composed of James, Governor of British Akra, Bowdich, Hutchison, and Tedlie. So far as hospitality went, they were well treated, but when business was begun, difficulties arose. The king produced notes or leases, which he had captured from the Fantes, and demanded that payment on account of them should be made to him in the same way as the Dutch paid him rent for Elmina, due on the document, which he had taken from Denkera. This position was contested on various grounds, but, at last, the Notes were made over to Osei Tutu Kwamena or Bonsu, and thus the subjection of the Fantes was acknowledged. There were other difficulties, 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 Dwaden and Bowdich on September 7th, 1817. The Fante tribes were reduced by it to the position of tributaries to Asante, and a kind of British Protectorate was admitted.

The fourth and eight 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, Hutchison remaining as Resident for some months, and it is to this mission that we are indebted for the excellent work of Bowdich. Almost all the monarchs of Asante had to carry on war against Gyaman, since the first one in the reign of Osei Tutu, either to suppress rebellion or to obtain tribute. The hasty recall of General Opoku from the siege of

Krobo in 1811 was because the king had to muster an army to fight them.

Adinkra, the then King of Gyaman, had made a gold-stool similar to that in Kumase and, as he was a tributary king to Osei Bonsu, it was considered unbecoming to his position. King Bonsu commissioned the renowned Linguist Kwame Butuakwa to go to Bontuku to claim the stool for him. Adinkra quietly complied with 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 offender was returned to Adinkra by Bonsu to be dealt with as he might think fit. The fact that Bonsu did not kill the criminal made Adinkra suspicious, as to whether if he punished him with death, King Bonsu might be offended; he, therefore, set the drummer free; and he, when acquitted, insulted the Asante messengers in the presence of the assembly, and no one checked this insolence

One of the ladies, Nyankura, a princess of Kong, was displeased with Adinkra's cowardice in giving up this gold-stool She preferred a man of courage to such a poltroon. Finding it too late to recall the stool, Adinkra tried to right himself by sending insolent messages to King Bonsu and throwing Asante residents into the gold mines. The King of Asante warned Adinkra, but it was of no use; he persisted in his perversity, and, at last, provoked the king to invade Bontuku with an army. Adinkra, through a Mohammedan priest named Adumamu, sought for an oracle. By his direction, two rams were bought, one was named Adinkra and the other Osei Bonsu; they were set to fight, and the one named Adinkra was beaten. Being certain what would be the result of the approaching invasion, Adinkra spent a whole week in drinking, dancing, and singing, thus anticipating his own funeral. After this he sent to inform the Priest what had happened, and to ask for some war medicine against King Bonsu. When the medicine arrived, it was buried in the main road to Bontuku; and at the same time, the Mohammedan King of Kong was asked to help Adinkra with an army. When the King of Asante was told that the direct road to Bontuku had

been poisoned by the enemy, he was advised that on arriving at the spot, he should use another. The army from Kong not arriving, Adinkra was obliged to send two ambassadors to sue for peace. The ambassadors met Bonsu on the bank of the river Tain, but he rejected their entreaties.

Adinkra was beaten and killed; and his son, Prince Apaw, cut off his father's head, and opening the belly of a woman with child, put the head inside and sewed it up. The battle raged for several days. Apaw was taken prisoner and brought before Osei Bonsu, who, by promises and kindness, induced him to assist in finding the body and head of his father. When this was found, the Asantes stitched the dead king's head on his body, dressed and seated him, then held a court in which Bonsu brought his charges against Adinkra. The Elders, after discussing the question, brought in a verdict of guilty. Adinkra was then, according to the Asante custom, beheaded by the executioner. Immense treasures and numerous prisoners ware taken to Asante. The Kong army arrived after the death of Adinkra, and returned home with the Princess.

It was during this war that Kwadwo Tibo, King of Dankyera, displayed such dashing courage that the king, in astonishment, exclaimed: "Kwadwo, if you fight so bravely for your master, how would you fight for yourself?" Among the prisoners was Soko Ni Agyei, the second in command of the Gyamans, who was captured by King Boateng of Dwaben. Adumamu was also taken by Opoku Fredefrede. After promising by solemn oath and written treaty that neither he nor his people would ever be hostile to Asante, he was set free. Princess Tamia, sister of Adinkra, was brought to Kumase and married to Sampane. She had a daughter, Ampomahwenee, and a son, Agyei Bonne Adu. Osei Kwadwo married the former, and Owusu Taseamandi 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 Akyem, Abuakwa, Kotoku, Akwamu, and Akuapem had either joined personally or appointed 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 Asante residents, and among these was Koso (Osoko) a court-crier of King Bonsu, whose gold-cap, the sign of his office, was lost in an affray. Reports of this were brought to the king in camp, and on the strength of the late treaty, he applied to the Governor for redress.

The Governor refused; and when other messengers came, he received them with great indignation, presenting them with a ball cartridge to show that he was ready for war.

When the king received the message, his nobles demanded to be led to the Coast. But the king could not reconcile the conduct of the Governor with British good faith, believing that there must be some mistake, and the Governor had been imposed upon, because the treaty had stipulated clearly that in the event of any aggression on the part of the protected tribes he was to seek redress through the Governor rather than take the matter into his own hands.

The king, therefore, sent Owusu Dome, a messenger of high rank, with a numerous retinue. A little previous to this date, the British Government had sent out Dupuis as Consul to Asante, and he was waiting at Cape Coast to proceed to Kumase, when Owusu Dome arrived The Governor appeared to have been extremely jealous of Dupuis' appointment, and determined to thwart him. When the ambassador of the king appeared in the Council Chamber at Cape Coast, he begged that the treaty might be read aloud, and laid much stress 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 be given at once, or the king would appeal to arms.

The envoy was then informed of 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. At Dupuis' intercession, he consented to retain possession of it till he had received new instructions from King Bonsu. A relative of the king was next sent as ambassador,

who abated nothing of his demands, but insisted on a payment of 1,600 ounces of gold from the inhabitants of the Gold Coast, and a like sum from the British Governor. Upon this demand Dupuis went to Kumase. He was well received by the king, who appeared willing to arrange differences without going to war. A new treaty was made, recognising the King of Asante's sovereignty over Fante, and stipulating that the natives under British protection should be answerable to the Governor only for their acts. The king withdrew his demand for 1,600 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 Dupuis returned to the Coast, the king also sent ambassadors, whom he wished to proceed to England with presents for 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 dictating these acts is justly described by Cruickshank as shortsighted 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 Dupuis sent the king word that he would lay the matter before the Home Government, but when several months had passed without redress or reply, Prince Adum, the ambassador, was ordered to retire from Cape Coast and to stop the trade. He established his headquarters at Manso, and exercised authority over the protected tribes. Trade was entirely stopped, and the whole territory became a scene of lawless violence. In consequence of this state of things, 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 King of Asante. The following statements refer to that alliance and friendship

It is a well-known fact that the Asantes never took up arms against the Akras and *vice versa,* whilst several other natives

were attacked and conquerred by the Asantes. There are several traditions which say that the Akras and Asantes were brothers, therefore none of them has ever imbrued his hands in his brother's blood. It is impossible to prove logically and precisely the nature of such a brotherhood; it is based on mere tradition. The two nations could never have been of one and the same family, as the Akras are distinguished from the Asantes by the practice of circumcision and speak a different language. The following traditional accounts might throw some light on the subject

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

2. Tradition tells us 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; they consequently did not provoke 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 opposed face to face at Katamansu. However these things may be, the existence of true respect, mutual self-interest and friendship between Asantes and Akras is proved by different smaller circumstances.

Before the battle of Katamansu, several of the Asante monarchs used to apprize the Kings of Akra and their fetishes of any projected expedition, and receive in return fetish leaves and war-medicines. On 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. On the occasion of sending such annual presents, and, in addition, to sympathise with the Akras for the Thursday invasion in 1812, the road was closed in consequence of the invasion, and the messengers were obliged to make their way through Akwamu; and Akoto, the king, sent an escort headed by Ofori Biribiti to conduct the messengers to Akra. The Akuapems, learning of this, planned to attack and rob them of their presents; there was fight and Ofori Biribiti was wounded.

All difficult cases, that occurred among the Akras, were settled by a special Commissioner from Kumase. Several of the principal chiefs, among the Akras, were befriended by the Asante kings, but they were never tributaries to them like the Fantes, Akyems, Akwamus, and Akuapems. The observance of Osei's oath, of which offenders were fined by the Asante residents in the country, was, however, prevalent

Kwame Ata was accused of using terms of great disrespect to the king and, thereupon, Saki Akomia of Akra was commissioned by the chiefs of Akra to take him to Kumase to be judged by the king but, being found not guilty, he was sent back unpunished. With the exception of lime prepared by the people of Tema and the Akras, carried by the Akuapems to Kumase, no direct service had ever been done by them indicating subjection of the Akras to them. At length, to the infinite joy of the whole country, it was made known that the British Government, having 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 in a flourishing state owing to their exemption from Asante invasions. As traders, they enjoyed peace and prosperity for nearly 100 years, after the expulsion of the Akwamus from 1733 to 1826 They were brokers to European merchants in the slave traffic, in addition to which they had several other affinities with them, which enabled the Akras to acquire riches and popularity and improve their social condition. The foreign and civil wars in which they were engaged did not cause

them much loss. The country was well peopled and strong enough to send out an army of 20,000 warriors; both their political and military affairs were in good order. They were usually blessed with good, powerful, and patriotic kings, chiefs, captains, and rich men, who had lately broken the peace with Asante by consenting to the request of Sir Charles MacCarthy, and were eager to assail that power before it was too late, thinking wisely that if it were to be done the less time given to Asante for preparation the better.

The warlike spirit shown at that time, was utilised by the priests as a means of making money. They told the people by what kind of sacrifices the King of Asante would be exalted to action; hence different oracles were obtained from the principal fetishes. The oracle of Sakumo directed them to make men and stools of clay, to place them outside the town, on the road leading to the interior, to catch black flying ants and place them on the stool. After the insect had stung a clay man three times, it should be removed from the stool The oracle from Lakpa was, to make seven different camps, to set fire to the sheds one after another, until all were reduced to ashes; the oracle of Tema Sakumo was to make a wooden stool, tie it to a rope, drag it to the bush and back again. All this was to show that they were ready and eager 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, amid the firing of cannon and general rejoicing, to assume the Government of the British settlements on the Gold Coast, a difference took place between the English Government and the Asantes. Opentri, the Chief of Abora and principal caboceer of the Fante nation, had a slave, named Kwame Tete, who, having committed some crime,

escaped to the town of Cape Coast; upon which Opentri, without asking the Governor to give him up, proceeded with a force to Cape Coast, seized the slave and carried him to Mowure, the Dutch settlement, and had him beheaded. When this outrage was made known to Smith, the Governor, he ordered a party of 85 soldiers, commanded by Colliver, to seize Opentri, who was warned of their approach; and action was fought in Mowure town, in which eleven were killed, many wounded, Opentri killed and his body conveyed to Cape Coast Castle. As the whole Fante nation was then subject to the King of Asante, Opentri's master Osam Kofi appealed to the king, requesting him to demand satisfaction from the British Government

While this affair was still pending, a quarrel took place in Anamabo Fort between a sergeant of the Royal African Corps and an Asante trader, in which the latter used terms of great disrespect to the Governor of the Fort. The sergeant retorted, and used similar terms about the King of Asante This silly dispute cost the sergeant his life the words were reported to the king, who was advised by the Fantes and some chiefs to insist that the unfortunate man should be delivered up to him for punishment. This insolent demand was, of course, refused and all intercourse was broken off till Sir Charles MacCarthy's arrival, when the circumstances of the case were made known to him

It was reasonably to be expected that the transfer of the Forts from the African Company to the Crown and his arrival to assume supreme command would have been, as a matter of course, announced by an ambassador to the King of Asante, which would doubtless have led to the arrangement of existing differences. Sir Charles MacCarthy, strange to say, did nothing of the kind; but immediately began war over the Wasas, Fantes, and others inducing them to throw off their allegiance to King Bonsu; and to a great extent, Sir Charles was justified in acting so, because the officials of the late African Company refused to give him necessary information, or to take office under him. The tyranny of the King of Asante, the cruel oppression which the Fantes endured, and the insolence and corruption of the King's residents in the country, convinced the Governor that the only solution of

such a condition of things was war. These views of the new Governor were soon made known to the king through the Elminas and his people resident at different Fante towns, and the breach between them grew.

When Sir Charles returned to Sierra Leone, leaving Major Chisholm in command, he left affairs in this dangerous state. A few months later, the same sergeant, who had spoken badly of the King of Asante, was sent by an official to Agya, a small town about three miles away, when he was seized by some Fante chiefs, and delivered to Kwame Butuakwa, Amon Bata, and Apentento, the Asante residents at Abora, in whose custody he remained for four or five months; after that time he was cruelly put to death, and his head and hands sent to the king. This cruel execution and the man's confinement for four or five months, strengthen the evidence of the following narration: "The Sergeant, after his capture, was sent, under escort, to the king, who personally desirous of living in peace with the British Government, raised objections to the sergeant's being brought to Kumase, and released him, as Kwame Ata was in former years acquitted, but punished the accusers with death. The chiefs and captains of Asante then took the responsibility upon themselves, and authorised Butuakwa to kill the Sergeant in spite of the king's objections " Before carrying out the order, Butuakwa was reported to have said: "How often I have tried to keep together the powerful kingdom of Asante by my eloquence, but they will not have it " Some chyle being found mixed with the blood of the sergeant, bystanders exclaimed· "The world has given the white clay (sign of justification); and the slain on the field of battle will be numerous." These words were proved in the future to be indeed prophetic!

When Sir Charles was informed of this outrage, he 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 35 men of the 2nd West India Regiment, who, with the troops then at Cape Coast and Anamabo, made the number about 220 men! With this force, a swift and secret night march, followed by an attack in the dusk of the morning of the

26th of February, 1823, was made to surprise Butuakwa and his forces at Dunkwa; but the project failed through the treachery of a native of Cape Coast, named Sam Brew and, at daylight, when the party expected to surprise the Asante Chief in Abora, they were led by their guides into an ambuscade at Tuanko, many miles from the place, and were surrounded by the enemy. The advance guard, consisting of a few well-trained men of the West India Regiment, commanded by Captain Laing, fought bravely, whilst the Volunteers vanished in an instant. The others made good their retreat to Anamabo, but lost one officer, ten men killed, and forty wounded and missing. The war was thus commenced in Fante under bad auspices. In spite of this, the Asantes were not only permitted to trade to Akra, but the king's monthly stipend was paid. This little defeat might have convinced the Governor that the Asantes possessed courage and brains and were not quite ignorant of war and stratagem; but what could be expected of a man who brings over a reinforcement of 35 and hopes to conquer the Asantes with an army of 220?

After the battle of Dunkwa, the King sent the renowned Akra linguist Kwashi Apente with the king's son, Prince Owusu Pera, Anoneano, and Abam, to tell the King of Akra what had happened and the reports he had heard about the movements of one Mankata (Sir Charles MacCarthy) who was preparing to invade Asante, and also to know from the Akra king, whether he intended to join the British Government against him? This was a very difficult question! In order to get his message and its answer by the King of Akra accurately delivered, the linguist was made to swear on a certain fetish at Kumase, his lips were wounded by the sword of the king's successor Osei Yaw, with which weapon he also swore to fight the British Government, and said. "No nation will dare invade Kumase, unless we rather make war on that nation. Whoever attempts to burn Kumase, shall quench the fire with his own blood."

The Akras alone held several meetings, and unanimously resolved to support the British Government against Asante. Prince Owusu Pera was brought by the Akra chiefs before Captain Blenkarne in James Fort, and ordered by him to return

speedily and inform his father that Asante would be invaded by the English.

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 rejected the proposals made by the king through the Dutch Governor, after which Commandant Blenkarne ordered the Prince to depart with the skull. After the disaster at Dunkwa, Sir Charles redoubled his efforts to withdraw the Wasas and Fantes from the Asantes, this policy resulted in some success. Sir Charles also succeeded in gaining the aid of Kwadwo Tibo, King of Dankyera; he also embodied 800 Militia at Cape Coast, Anamabo, and Akra, visited the latter place, had an interview with the Danish Governor, Major Johan C. von Richelieu, and made arrangements with him to allow all Danish subjects to join the expedition against Asante. He also talked over matters with influential native merchants, Hansen, Bannerman, Richter, and others. By these means, and after considerable trouble and promises of rewards made to the King and chiefs of Akra, the English, Dutch, and Danish Akras were persuaded to declare against the Asantes; but before their final consent was obtained, they informed Sir Charles that they had a master whose oracles were above everything else essential, and it was imperative he should be consulted. The chiefs applied to Okomfo Nyako, the renowned fetish prophet of the time, 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 Nyako's predicting shed, enquiring for the oracle of Sakumo. The answer they obtained was: "I have already raised my sword." The oracle obtained from the female fetish (Lagoon) Kole 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 secretly given to the chiefs by the native merchants, who made them understand that to side with Asante was like keeping a snake in the pocket; and recalled the ex-

perience they themselves had made in 1814 when Amankwa Abunyawa was on the Coast, and several Akras were subjected to heavy fines and extortions, so that many became either slaves or pawns.

After gaining over the Akras and obtaining the full consent of the Danish Government, the next important thing to accomplish was to gain over the Akyems, Akuapems, Akwamus, and Krobos, all subjects of Asante. Tshumasi Ankra, headman among the Akyem hunters in the bush near Akra, was ordered to come down to the Coast; and King Amugi and his chiefs, after sounding him, brought him to Captain Blenkarne, and he was despatched to go to Dokuwa, Queen of Akyem. That masculine queen had sworn never to attend any grand yam-feast in Kumase, because of several cruelties the Akyems had suffered at the hands of the Asantes The first twin brothers of the royal family, and Kings of Akyem, Ata, and Ata, her uncles, had been killed by the Asantes; and the second twin brothers, who were her brothers, suffered the same fate. This was her reason never to go to Kumase with her two sons, Ata and Obiwom. Her presence, however, was now so urgently required at Asante that, after much mis-giving and hesitation, she yielded to the positive demands of the king to visit Kumase. During this time Ado Dankwa also sent his son Atiemo with Adi, Asa, and Kwasi, to Queen Dokuwa 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, Apeagyei Aponsagya, and Asirifi to accompany Ado's ambassadors to announce their intentions to the king. Not long after the departure of the messengers, Queen Dokuwa was leaving Akyem for Asante, and reached Abompe, when Chiefs Okru of Apapam, Obeng Ayekwa of Apedwa, and Kwasi Asimen of Tete determined to force her back in order to deprive her of the Akyem stool. She was supported by Tanno Asiakwa of the Oyoko tribe, an adherent of the King of Asante, and the most influential chief in Akyem; he was, however, vanquished at Abompe by the three chiefs and beheaded. Dokuwa was then overtaken by Tshumasi Ankra, who delivered to her the message from the Government and the kings and chiefs

of Akra. Dokuwa began by positively refusing to break off her allegiance to the King of Asante, as she had no belief in the success of the expedition. "Suppose", she said, "the whitemen fail to destroy the power of Asante, what will become of me, my sons, and my subjects? Whither shall we flee? The whitemen could sail away to Europe, the Akras would be safe on the Coast, but upon me and my subjects the Asantes would pour out revenge!"

Tshumasi replied: "Suppose the whitemen run away from the Coast, will they not put a stop to the coming in of guns, powder, flint, and knives; and could the Asantes fight without those things?" The debate ran high, until at last, the queen was overcome by the following speech: "The whitemen have brought out corn with them, have determined to conquer Asante and plant the corn in the soil of Kumase and eat some of it before returning to Europe!" Queen Dokuwa at this gave in and was brought to Akra with her twin sons and people. Her eldest son Ampoforo, though but a youth at that time, was presented to the King and chiefs of Akra as the King of Akyem, although the reins of government were in his mother's hands. At the reception given to her by the British Officials and the Akra chiefs, she held in her hands a stick with a parrot sitting on it, to indicate that she could retire into the forest like a parrot, should the British Government and Akras fail in conquering the Asantes.

When all the arrangements with the Governor and the Akra chiefs were completed, she left her twin sons Ata and Obiwom as hostages, renewed her ancient league with the King of Akra, and confirmed all by an oath on their chief fetish. When that was done successfully, the next move was to gain over the Akuapems; but some force was necessary to induce them to declare against their former masters. Yaw Okoampa, the rightful heir to the stool of Aburi, had gone to Akropong and summoned Kwafum, who had been made Chief of Aburi, to claim the stool for him as his rightful property. The ambassadors of Dokuwa and Ado Dankwa, who had been sent to King Bonsu to negotiate for peace and to tell the king that they would never declare against him, were still detained at Kumase. Kwafum was a very cunning man

and knew that by yielding to the persuasions of Ado Dankwa to declare war on the Akras and the British Government, he might forfeit the stool of Aburi, as by that he would come under the power of Asante. On his return to the Coast, he plundered and killed Prince Owusu Piabere, one of the sons of Osei, with all his people at Agyankama, who had passed down to the Coast for the purpose of buying goods.

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

No sooner was the murder of Prince Owusu Piabere perpetrated than Kwafum got into the favour of the British Government. He ran down to the Coast, entered into the alliance, and swore allegiance on a fetish given him by the Akra chiefs. In spite of the sad news from Kumase that Atiemo and the other messengers had been killed by the king, Ado Dankwa still adhered to the Asantes. After fruitless remonstrances and threats, an expedition was organised of 4,000 Akras under Captain Blenkarne, which Hansen and Richter joined, and marched to Aburi. Kwafum, with the greater part of the Akuapems, also joined the force. Information reached the camp that Ado Dankwa was preparing to escape to Kumase, so the expedition proceeded to Akropong. Ado Dankwa was apprehended by Kwafum at Adobesum and brought to Captain Blenkarne.

The Asante residents at Akropong, over 100 persons, were captured and brought to Akra, some killed, and the rest sold into slavery. At Akra, Ado Dankwa was forced to declare against the Asantes, gave up his son Kofi Bampo and Okra, his nephew, as hostages, and the king and Akra chiefs made him swear on a fetish. Dankwa was still very lukewarm, and sang thus at a play:

"You people of Akra are my grandfathers;
Mind, I don't oppose you; but hold me not responsible.
Is Osei a king to be trifled with?
It's far safer to run away, you'd better do so."

The chiefs were displeased with the song, and did all they could to silence him. No trouble had to be taken with the Akwamus and Krobos, especially as the King of Akwamu had had sad experience of Kumase ways in a suit between himself and Pobi Asawa of Akra. The latter swore the oath of Osei on King Akoto Akwamu, when he once tried to kill him for having had illegal intercourse with an Akwamu woman, whom the king, under false pretences, claimed as his wife. Pobi Asawa, knowing the woman was not the king's wife, swore that he and the king must appear before Osei and settle the case there. The king's personal expenses from Akwamu to Kumase, those of his chiefs and retinue, the cost of providing a sheep every day to the supposed culprit in irons, all this the king was requested to do in accordance with the oath, the judgment given against the king in Kumase, with the enormous fine imposed, together with the ill-treatment he had to suffer, had given him the best of reasons not to declare for Asantes. He gave Nyankomago, and Agyemang, the King of Akyem Kotoku gave Okenni as hostages to the British and Danish Governments. The Governor had succeeded in stripping King Bonsu of all his tributary forces on the southern frontier. Sir Charles now returned to Sierra Leone, leaving to Major Chisholm the difficult task of controlling the tumultuous state of affairs and of satisfying the unreasonable demands of the numerous chiefs, who reminded him of the promises made to them by Sir Charles MacCarthy, as the reward of their joining him against the Asantes. During Sir Charles' absence, several expeditions were despatched into the interior of the Fante country, some were made to oblige certain chiefs, and others to attack those who adhered to the Asantes

One of these expeditions was to Asikuma. Aduanan Apea, the Chief of Adwumanko Pong, before throwing off his allegiance to King Bonsu, had to collect the annual tribute in Fante, part of which he spent in buying salt for the king. Kwasi Amankwa, the Chief of Asikuma, had to send the salt to Kumase by Asikuma people. Amankwa was first to declare in favour of the English Government, but when Apea also did the same, Amankwa informed the king against Apea, as if he had not himself thrown

off his allegiance to the king; and on this information, forty of Apea's people, then present in Kumase, were beheaded. The king then made Amankwa collector of the tribute, also ordered him to demand from Apea any money still in his possession and, after that, fight him as proof of his loyalty.

The Fantes refused to pay any further tribute to Amankwa; and Apea, declaring in favour of the English, when his people were beheaded in Kumase, refused to give back the tribute collected to him. After this, Amankwa fought with Apea and was defeated, his town burnt down, and he himself escaped to the bush. After a few weeks, he returned to the ruins of his town, when a detachment, from Obongo, Tawia, and Osimpam, was sent to attack him. On their approach, Amankwa returned to the bush and the enemy, giving themselves up to drink and merriment, were attacked one night by Amankwa, and beaten with heavy loss, three of their principal men were among the killed

On hearing of this disaster, Captain Blenkarne, Captain Hingston, and Hansen immediately organised an army of Akras 4,000 strong. Chief Amma of James Town, Chief Dowuona of Christiansborg, and other chiefs directed the expedition. These chiefs, aware that their appearance in the Fante country would be mean, because their state decorations were then inferior to those of the Fante chiefs, proposed to strip themselves of any gold ornament and other decorations, and to wear fetishes only; and this they did. A grand reception was given them by Apea, and they were much astonished at the grandeur of the Fante chiefs at the meeting They compared Apea with Osei Bonsu and Akoto, besides whom, no one else on the Gold Coast was so powerful and magnificent. Kwasi Amankwa had meanwhile fled from the Fante country to Asante, and after a vigilant search for him and his party at Asikuma, the Akras marched home. On the return of the expedition, the Akras tried to acquire state decorations like those of the Fantes

CHAPTER XV.

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

When Sir Charles had succeeded in stripping the Asantes of their tributary support, he declared war against the king, and forthwith proclaimed Martial Law. At this time Asante Agyei, son of Adum Ata, the renowned linguist of Kumase, came to the Coast. He was arrested and imprisoned in James Fort; but on the chiefs of Akra interceding for him, he was released, and returned to Kumase. On his way, he met a large number of Asante traders coming to the Coast to trade, and advised them to return; but very few did so, the others, about 300, went on to the Coast. On their arrival, Martial Law came into operation. Captain Blenkarne hastened to Christiansborg, where many of the Asante traders were residing. Their goods were confiscated and they themselves either killed or sold as slaves Many of them rushed into Richter's house for protection. The Chief of Christiansborg went to them and took a fetish oath that no evil should befall them. In spite of this promise, no sooner had the chiefs left than they were attacked, shot down, cut to pieces or made prisoners. A large amount of their property fell into the hands of the Christiansborg people. Peter Quist was wounded by an Asante during the struggle.

When they had witnessed the very active execution of the Martial Law by the people of Christiansborg, King Okai of Dutch Town and his Chiefs determined to show their zeal in favour of the British Government by shedding the blood of their former friends. The king and his three chiefs Akwete Krobosaki, Akotia Owosika, and Aponsa appointed Amma Obagri, Teiko Owara, and Captain Mensa to waylay Prince Adu of Kumase and his people and fall upon them as they were escaping from James Town; they killed the prince and three of his followers. Captain Blenkarne, on learning what the king and chiefs had done to prove their zeal in favour of the new alliance, sent a

present of 200 heads of cowries. The Asantes sang: "Do you rejoice when such a heavy case is laid upon you?" They anticipated the speedy retaliation made by the king. In this manner the war began in Akra.

It was a very trying ordeal for the people of Dutch Town to see their old friends so cruelly treated; but as they had given their consent to join the British Government in fighting the Asantes, they could do nothing; in fact, some tried to bury the dead bodies lying about Kuku near Christiansborg but were advised to desist, and they had to obey. The gallantry displayed by Tibo at the invasion of Gyaman in 1818 had greatly astonished King Bonsu, and led him to ask: "If you fight so for your master, how would you fight for your own defence?" Tibo had realized the critical state of his life in the hands of the Asantes, because he knew how his ancestors had been killed by them He was a wide-awake prince, had been brought up in Kumase, and had studied the Asante policy and only waited for an opportunity to make himself independent. Accounts differ as to the reason why Kwadwo Tibo was called to Kumase, whence he effected his escape to the Coast. Another tradition, which seems more likely, relates that a rich Wasa man, Kwadwo Mensa, became so proud and independent that he ordered one of his slaves to blow a horn thus: "Hunter, wouldn't you come to kill Kwakuo (a kind of monkey)?" After a time the King of Asante was informed of the tune of that peculiar horn, and knew what it meant. The king was the hunter and Kwadwo Mensa the monkey living independent in the forest and defying the hunter to catch him Owusu Akyem, the king's chamberlain, was commissioned to march with an army to Wasa for the apprehension of Kwadwo Mensa He obeyed, defeated Mensa, cut off his head and seized his property; but on his return he passed through Banso, the capital of Dankyera. Kwadwo Tibo enraged at the proceeding at Wasa, a territory under his jurisdiction, claimed all the gold confiscated, leaving to Owusu only the prisoners and spoil.

Tibo was summoned to appear at Kumase. The case was judged and decided in Tibo's favour. When 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, a Dankyera 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 king was ill and could not be present, and the court was corrupted by bribes, this prevented Boaten and Awua Yaw, the chief enemies of Tibo, from obtaining a unanimous opinion for his death.

The Dankyeras, hearing a false report that their King Tibo had been arrested in Kumase, attacked the Asante residents and killed four of their chiefs. Tibo was again called before the Court, but his legal adviser, Adu Sei, instructed him to defend himself by taking the forbidden oaths of Asante, and thus he flatly denied any charge.

The Dankyeras, anxious to throw off their allegiance to Asante and join the English, requested Tibo to come, or they would else act without him; but the king exhorted the people to be patient and abstain from acts of violence. At that time there were in Kumase four Mohammedan priests, Baba, Soma, Sibri, and Kantama, who, in agreement with Agyei Yeboa, the predicting fetish priest of Tibo, were using their best enchantments on his behalf. They advised him to leave the capital one Thursday night, and after amusing himself with dancing the greater part of the time, Kwadwo left with only thirty armed men, ordering the drummer to beat the kettle-drum all night after his departure. His people, who had been ordered to meet him on the way, had sent 1,000 Wasa and 1,000 Dankyera armed men to await his arrival, in the meantime they were to conceal themselves in the forest of Terabuom. The small party of men he had with him was stationed in the neighbourhood of Asafo as rear-guard. They allowed him sufficient time to meet the men in the forest, then marched through the street noisily and blew the horn of Tibo: "Kwadwo mmirikako!" The inhabitants awoke, and knowing who and what it was, attacked them suddenly; but Tibo was gone. The Dankyera, in conjunction with the rear-guard, answered the fire of the Asantes, and a sharp conflict followed 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 were killed and their heads sent to Kumase.

On receipt of these heads, Captain Dei Kra was sent immediately with a large army in pursuit of Tibo; Adu Sei Tshatsha acting as commander; but he was insufficiently supplied with ammunition, and all the warriors, who hastily left Kumase, had to await ammunition at Ohiakose. This mistake enabled Tibo to escape, and we may suppose that the captains had been bribed. Tibo marched in two days from Kumase to Banso, packed everything, and with all his people, women, and children, resumed his march to the Coast. The Asantes spent ten days in marching from Ohiakese to Banso where they stayed forty days more in search of plunder Akobea and Pimpim, two messengers despatched by the king with arms and ammunition, urged the army to execute their task, stating that the king had appointed Awua Yaw Commander-in-Chief, but scarcely had the Asantes left Banso, when a Wasa man, Boampong, with 700 warriors blockaded the road behind them, killing all travellers going to or coming from the capital.

Sir Charles MacCarthy revisited the Gold Coast in November, 1823, and on the 27th of that month, was informed that an Asante army 20,000 strong under the king's cousin Kokofu had attacked and totally defeated the King of Dankyera, had conquered his country, and was pursuing him to the Coast, in which direction Kwadwo Tibo was flying with the greatest speed. Sir Charles immediately put himself at the head of a small force consisting of eighty of the Royal African Company, 300 Cape Coast Militia, and about 1,200 unorganised Fantes He received a message from the Wasa Chief, Kwasi Nyako, that he was ready to join him with 10,000 men, and the Governor procured arms and ammunition for them all, but only 600 made their appearance.

Though disappointed by Kwasi Nyako, he resolved to encounter the Asantes, and Kwadwo Tibo, on learning of the approach of an English officer with a large army in his defence, hastened to join him. Sir Charles and Tibo met, but although delighted, Tibo pointed out to the Governor that his force was too small to meet them, and begged Sir Charles to retreat a few

miles in order to concentrate all the available forces; but Sir Charles replied: "I am confident in the strength of the small force under me, and determined even now to offer myself a sacrifice, that the one to conquer shall come after me." Tibo turned round and said to his people: "I am quite sure that the Fantes cannot stand, and the whole charge will fall upon the Governor and his small force, and the result will be the ruin of Dankyera."

They encamped upon the banks of the Ankwaw, a small tributary of the Pra, near the village of Asamankwa. The Wasa force formed the right wing, about 1,000 Dankyeras under Tibo the left wing, and Sir Charles MacCarthy with the undrilled Fantes the centre. These comprised the whole of the force, viz.· 380 Regulars and Militia, and about 3,000 of the unorganised force. Others believe that Sir Charles' men numbered 5,500.

On the 21st of January, 1824, the Governor engaged the enemy, who completely lined the opposite bank; the British soldiers opened fire at them across the river; but owing to the density of the jungle, the conflict resolved itself into a series of skirmishes. The Fantes and Wasas threw down their arms and fled at the first discharge from the Asantes, leaving the unfortunate Sir Charles MacCarthy with his 380 men (with only twenty rounds each) aided by the Dankyeras to fight against nearly 20,000 men, flushed with recent victories For several hours the Regulars and Militia kept the Asantes from crossing the stream; but when their ammunition was exhausted, they could no longer hold their ground, and no sooner did the exulting Asantes perceive that the fire was slackening, than they forded the river and by their overwhelming numbers and their peculiar way of advancing in the form of a fan soon completely surrounded Sir Charles and all the unfortunate men who were with him. All they could do was to sell their lives as dearly as possible; they fought desperately with their bayonets, till overborne by the sheer pressure of numbers and weight, and as each man fell, he 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 to where the King of Dankyera was still horoically fighting against vast odds. During this battle Buckle and Wetheral were killed, and other Europeans; Captain Raydon was afterwards offered up as a sacrifice to a fetish. Nine British Officers and 180 Regulars and Militia were killed, missing or captured.

When Sir Charles marched with his small force to cross the river Pra and support Tibo, he had no thought of an early meeting with the enemy, for he had despatched Major Chisholm with the main body consisting of 600 Regulars and Militia and 3,000 unorganised natives to cross the Pra at Aponsasu about 20 miles on the right, Major Laing with 100 Regulars and Militia and 2,000 Fantes in the direction of Asen while Captain Blenkarne with 300 Regulars and Militia and 6,000 Akras were to approach Asante through Akyem; and Sir Charles 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 Akyem, when they received the sad news of the defeat at Asamankwa The camp was immediately broken up, and the troops began to march home. After a week's preparation, the force at James Town under Chief Amma and his captains started first Captain Blenkarne, Hansen, and Bannerman were among them. On the second week King Kudsha Okai and his chiefs of Dutch Town, after appointing Prince Koi, Dodu Nyang, Tete Tshuru, Akwete Gbeke, and Teiko Owara as their representatives, also started. Then came Chief Dowuona of Christiansborg, who was appointed by King Owuo, and some detachments of Labede and Teshi. Old guns belonging to some of the warriors were exchanged for new ones at Winneba, and the whole army marched to Anamabo. The army of more than 6,000 men received subsistence from the Government of one dollar each per week, and new guns were again distributed here. They proceeded to Cape Coast, where Apea, Tibo, Adoko, and all the Fante chiefs had sheltered their women and children, while they were encamped in the interior against the invaders.

Major Chisholm with the organised forces under him and the Akras joined the Camp of the Fantes and Dankyeras. Apea and the Akras formed the right wing, Adoko the left, and Major Chisholm the centre on the main road to the Pra. After four days' march, in rain and suffering from hunger, they crossed the Pra. On a Thursday morning Adoko sent messengers to tell them that scouts had discovered the enemy. The march was resumed on the two following days; many dropping from fatigue and hunger, but at last the enemy's rear was visible. But just as they were falling on to begin the attack, Apea sent an urgent message to advise the Akras not to open fire yet as the Fantes forming the left wing under Akoko had deserted their post. They proposed a hasty retreat, and during the whole night groped their way back in the dense forest through mud, rain, and without food to the banks of the Pra. They framed floats of four pieces of plantain trees, upon which most of them recrossed the river; the gun and cartridge belt resting on the float, while they paddled with feet and lower limbs. Some swam across, with the belt tied on the head and left hand holding up the gun. Captain Mensa of the force of Otu-street in Akra ferried over a great many of the people, and perished himself in the waves from exhaustion. Above one hundred of the Akras were drowned in consequence of too hurried crossing in the night. The Europeans encamped on this side were busy till Sunday noon in taking over the panic-stricken men.

When the crossing was finished, most of the Akras marched to the battle field at Asamankaw, and witnessed the frightful scene there. The Asantes had cruelly tied or nailed the poor victims alive to palm and silk-cotton trees. Apea, on the retreat from 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 that was possible to save so valuable a chief, but failed.

The camp with a small store of ammunition at Daboase was abandoned through the confusion in the army which prevailed after the army had been recrossed; and on 2nd April Major Chisholm was forced to retreat from the Pra, and the want of

provisions with the Akras caused them to melt away, one by one, to their homes.

Hansen, Chief Amma, and his captains returned to Cape Coast; but Tibo, determined to fight the Asantes to the last, still kept the field, and with the help of the native forces, attacked them at Dompim on April 25th, where neither force gained much advantage; but the forces from Egwafo, Aberemu, and British Commendah came behind the enemy, which gave an opportunity for the numerous Wasa prisoners captured at Asamankwa to escape. The Asantes then marched in that direction, which caused the evacuation of Commendah Fort, and several towns were plundered and destroyed by them

Preparations were made to continue the attack, and on May 21st, a determined battle occurred at Afutu, when the Asantes were beaten, but many of the Fantes, as if frightened at their own success, fled at 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 shelter, of these great numbers died daily of hunger and disease. The utmost was done by the Government to give relief to this tumultuous multitude of distressed people; and at the same time it was actively engaged in preparing to meet the invaders, making balls of any available metal, either from roofs of houses or the stores of merchants.

While this was being done, Osei Yaw Akoto, the brother and successor of Osei Bonsu, who had died after reaching a great age, reached Manso when the late battle was fought at Afutu, joining the army on the 29th. Forty days after Kwadwo Tibo fled from Kumase, the old King Bonsu died and his brother Osei Yaw Akoto, his successor, could not ascend the stool before the grand funeral ceremonies for the dead king had been performed; neither was it possible to carry them out in the absence of the army; and for these reasons a party of warriors of the king's body-guard, some 6,000 men, was organised, Osei Yaw at their head, the King of Dwaben, and Yaw Osekyere, and proceeded on to the Fante country to call back the army and all particulars connected with the campaign were reported, but

in spite of all this, the king was angry that Tibo had not been taken. His captains arrogantly swore that they would catch Kwadwo Tibo even if he had taken refuge in the body of the smallest fish, or in the Castle of Cape Coast; yes, 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, and a few marines and seamen were landed from the British man-of-war and some merchantships, less than 400, and not all of them were in good health.

Sir Charles MacCarthy.

Hark to the ancient story of our forefathers' wars,
Their battles and their victories,
Their shouting and their deaths!
Then let us turn our thoughts to praise of brave MacCarthy!
But sad to say· the men he came to help,
Deserted him, and he was left alone.
Alone he stood, fighting with keen blade while life remained
All round him lay the slain, the brave the true,
While cowards fled the field;
But MacCarthy's spirit lived, at Katamansu it arose,
A mighty force, the conquered Ashante,
And made the Gold Coast free!
Our liberty was gained by brave MacCarthy's loss;
And Britain's loss was our dear gain!
From bonds of sin and shame not man alone can set thee free
To thy Redeemer Jesus turn,
And then in truth 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 reputation. His principal captains. March for invasion and incidents in camp and on the Coast. 1825-1826

After their victory and the death of the brave and gallant Sir Charles MacCarthy, the Asantes closely besieged the Fantes and Dankyeras, who had retreated to Cape Coast. Colonel Sutherland, who had arrived to take command, sent instructions 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 Ada, 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 The Governor distributed arms and ammunition to every warrior, and appointed the Danish Officer Poulson, the book-keeper, who was said to be of the royal blood of Denmark, with 50 Regulars, as commander of the Danish forces King Notei Dowuona and the chiefs of Labadi 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 Akyem, on hearing of the arrival of an Asante army under Captain Kwaku Biri on the frontier of her territory, advised Ado Dankwa not to march against the Asantes, who were besieging Cape Coast Castle, but to march with his forces to defend their own country.

About the first week in July the army, estimated at 15,000 men, marched to Winnebah and thence to Anamabo. The women and children of the place had sheltered themselves in the Fort in consequence of Kwasi Amankwa's attack on Biriwa a few days before. Old Adama Pataku, with his iron-hearted Akras, proceeded to clear the enemy from the forest of Fufumpo, and the whole army arrived at Cape Coast on July 5th. They found many

tribes under the protection and guidance of the White Men was increasing. Before Kwadwo Tibo's escape from Kumase to Dankyera, he informed Dampong Amoako of his intentions; and later Tibo Panyin of Asen did the same. Queen Dokuwa, after declaring in favour of the British and Danish Governments, sent Afe and Akroma to find out the intentions of Amoako. After that a meeting was held privately at Pomaase, when Adae, brother of Amoako, Nuama, and Odenkyem, represented the Dampongs, and Ofori Tiri and others Queen Dokuwa. They made covenant, and a fetish oath was taken to confirm it. The oath was the cause of the Dampongs playing a double game in the battle of Asene, which led to the defeat of the army from Kumase, and the death of its leader Kwaku Biri

On the day the Kotokus in Dampong and the districts in their jurisdiction were to quit the place, King Dampong Amoako, fearing he might be deprived of the stool of Kotoku, on reaching Akyem, he, with a small following, retired to Agogo Upon which his son Afrifa Akwada, cousin of the late Kwadwo Kuma, was made king. With 900 men and many chiefs they crossed the Pra to Kyebi. A grand reception was given them at Kyebi by Queen Dokuwa, who was glad to welcome back all her relations and advised them to choose a capital from among the towns of Gyadam, Adasawaase, Mmooso, Mampong, Dubi, and Asafo Asen but, unfortunately, while at Kyebi, a large tree was blown down on the king and one of his wives, and both were killed. After the funeral rites had ended, they retired to Gyadam, and consulted together as to whom they should elect to succeed the King Afrifa Akwada. Without informing Dokuwa of their intentions, Agyemang, nephew of Kwakye Adeyefe, was named, who was then at Soadru in care of Chief Kwagye Ampaw, who had also thrown off his allegiance to Asante. Special commissioners were sent by the chiefs of Kotoku, viz.. Linguist Adukoko, Kwadwo Kokroko—half-brother of Agyemang—, and several others. After administering a fetish oath to the commissioners and paying three peredwans, they brought Agyemang to Gyadam, and he was made king. A better selection could not have been made, but it offended Queen Dokuwa not personally, but on account of his

late uncle's conduct towards the royal family of Kotoku. Kwadwo Tibo and his followers were the first to become refugees; but, after the battle of Cape Coast, other chiefs and their captains revolted from Asante and fled; Agyemang, Ampaw, Amoakua, Kwasi Amankwa, Aboagye, Kwa Tenteng, and others; for all keenly felt that servitude under Asante rule was too 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 of the Gold Coast.

On his becoming King of Asante, Osei Yaw resolved to punish the Akras for assisting the Fantes. The late King Bonsu on his death bed earnestly exhorted Osei Yaw never to take up arms against the whitemen on the Coast, and the King of Dwaben, aware of this, reminded Osei Yaw of his dying father's last solemn injunction, but without result The king sent to enquire of the oracle of Tanno, the first fetish of Asante, what he should do, as a dispute had broken out between himself and the whitemen and Akras on the Coast, and he wished to march down and settle the quarrel.

He was told to wait until Tanno and his warriors had been to the Coast to see whether the king should march down or not. A few days 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 advise him. The oil was poured into the river, and Tanno said he had been defeated on the Coast by the Akra fetishes, and sustained a great loss in killed and wounded, the oil was therefore required to dress the wounds of the warriors. The king should not march against the Akras. Osei Yaw, enraged at this oracle, sent word to the fetish that from the first he had been no fetish of his own, but became so by right of conquest. He would, however, march down to the Coast and bring another fetish to Kumase. Tanno answered that the king might go if he pleased, but he would do well to provide himself with a strong horse from the interior, have him shod with iron shoes, and be sure to reach Kumase from the Coast in six days.

Boaten 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 in a cloth and sent to Dwaben with this message: "If the meal is cold when arriving, it means good luck, if warm, Boaten will smell fire on the Coast." However, he showed him what sacrifices to make on leaving Dwaben and before encountering the Akras. The meal was warm on reaching Dwaben. The king made the necessary preparations, distributed arms and ammunition to all his warriors and went in person to boil the war at Oserebooso. After that he went through Kumase to Bantama, poured out a libation to the spirits of the deceased kings, and took up his quarters at Dako. He came to Santemanso the next day, the first town of the Asantes, before Kumase was built, stayed there one night, and then went on to Kokofu. The king encamped two months at Sewua to muster the troops. He left three captains, Bekwae Sei, Kokofu Asare, and Amoako Sei, on the boundary of Dankyera and Asen, to protect the country from invasion. The Asantes and their tributaries were very reluctant to invade the Protectorate after their disgraceful retreat from Cape Coast

Ntedwa of Apemanim and Otibo Kuma of Atannosu, kings over the two principalities into which Asen is divided, appointed three messengers: Prince Andwa, the son of Ntedwa, Kwasi Dako, and Apere, to inform King Osei Yaw of their reluctance to serve him in this war, unless His Majesty would give them enough time for rest. The king replied "Let them join my enemies, if they choose, for I can get hold of them!" The haughty reply so frightened the Asens 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 his allegiance to Assante, and had therefore concealed his royal stool in the bush. This message was conveyed by Bonsra, and Kwaku Sie, who were passing up from Fante. The bearers were commissioned by Osei Yaw to administer a fetish oath to Ntedwa, after which he and his family were removed to Asante.

As stated in Chapter VIII, the Twis, more especially the

Asantes, are distinguished from other tribes of the Gold Coast by the regular organisation of their army, consisting 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 looked upon as a slave. The king appoints every captain and can at pleasure dismiss him or have him beheaded, and do as he pleases with all he possesses. The king defrays the war expenses, and in return claims one half or one third of the spoil. When the chiefs undertake an expedition, he assists the warriors with arms, ammunition and money; but the chiefs and captains sometimes borrow extra money from the king, which they have to repay with the spoil, if successful; if not, the money must be collected at home.

When the king left Sewua, he encamped for two months at Bogyeseawo. The King of Dwaben, who had been delayed by the tardy reply of the Oracle, and also by his want of zeal for the expedition, was late in arriving; and when he did arrive, an accident occurred which nearly led to the outbreak of civil war. Boaten came one day to Kumase, and his military chest, containing 1,000 peregwans, equal to £8,016.13.4, was audaciously stolen, and no trace of the thief could be found. Boaten was on the point of declaring war on Kumase, but the elders of Dwaben, to prevent bloodshed, offered to pay him the amount and did so, and the matter ended. A gold jewel, which had been lost with the royal chest, was found in a tuft of hair on the head of one Osei Asen, a courtier of the king The clue to the theft being thus obtained, the King of Dwaben claimed all the stolen property from Osei Asen; but King Osei Yaw did not support this claim of Boaten. The elders of Dwaben once more interposed by saying: "If we insist upon claiming the lost property, and civil war follows, 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 forgo the case!" And Boaten was wise enough to give way.

The forward march of the Asantes was not got known in the South when they had got to Sewua. Agyemang had attacked the Okwawus three times, and burnt Atibie, Obomen, Oboo, and

other places, but fortunately an Akyem prisoner escaped from Oseibereso to Akyem, warned the people. Agyemang gave up fighting the Okwawus, and Akyem began preparations. The scouts of Queen Dokuwa had meanwhile managed to kill some Asantes and brought their heads to Kyebi. Their jaws were immediately despatched by messengers to King Taki with a request to inform the British and Danish Governments of the impending danger; but the Akyems were ridiculed by the Akras for sending old jaws of deceased persons; and Governor Brock ordered six soldiers to go with the messengers homeward and learn the truth. The Akyems had meanwhile left Kyebi and their other towns and were flying towards Akuapem. They met the party and the six soldiers, and Captains Boapea of Kyebi and Akoi of Late were sent back with the men. At Anyinasin they met some of the enemy foraging; the soldiers fired at them, killed four and captured four, returning to Governor Brock with the prisoners and two heads.

There was no room for doubt of the coming invasion, and rigorous preparations were at once made to encounter the enemy. Governor Brock distributed arms and ammunition to all the subjects of the King of Denmark, from Christiansborg down to Ada, the riverside people, Osudoku, Krobos, Akwamus, Shais, Akuapems, and Akyems. Extra arms and ammunition were given to all these people by the British Government, besides which the influential native merchants, Hansen, Richter, Bannerman, and others, gave to all the warriors what it was the custom to do under such conditions. When the people of King Akwamu were carrying home the ammunition given them in James Fort, they were heard to say: "We have conquered the enemy!" They meant that they had the supply of ammunition with which to defeat the Asantes.

A very unfortunate thing happened at Akra during those critical days, which the people, with their superstitious ideas, put down to magical powers of Asante, and which, but for the intervention of the Commandant at James Fort, might have led to dangerous irritation among the warriors of James Town and Dutch Town Sempe Mensa was keeping one of the female

slaves as a wife; and a man named Mensa Tshinakong, not knowing this, had an intercourse with the woman. The offended Sempe Mensa demanded a heavy fine from the offender, as if she had been legally his wife. Every one advised him to be lenient and not demand so much. Sempe Mensa rejected every advice, and fined the offender 24 heads of cowries, equal to £5.8.0 at that time, which was the price of a slave and considered a very large sum.

A few weeks later, Mensa Tshinakong missed a sheep, and upon search being made it was found in the stable of Sempe Mensa, brought there by his son Abeka. Mensa Tshinakong now had his chance for revenge, and demanded 400 heads of cowries, about £90, as a fine for stealing his sheep, 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; and then the assistance of another attacking band of Abora quarter was obtained by the Attacking Band of James Town, and having thus redoubled their strength, the Court was held at Sakumotsosisi. The jury did not agree in their verdict. The chiefs wished to justify the defendant, but the Company supported the plaintiff; and the foreman, agreeing with the Company, gave judgment against Sempe Mensa, who was greatly enraged and left the Court with the people of his quarter with contempt. The Companies painted the right arm of the plaintiff with white clay, placed him on their shoulders and paraded through the town, dancing.

Sempe Mensa and the people of his quarter had arranged to fight the Company if they passed through the street insultingly. The dancing party at last arrived at Sempe's quarter, when all at once, one Kpakpo Twum fired at the Company, one woman was killed and several people wounded. In defence the Company retaliated and fighting began. Loopholes had been made on the previous day in Pempe Mensa's house; their sharpshooter, Pobi Oboakora, had been called from his plantation and placed himself in a commanding position. The Company was attacked furiously and several were killed and wounded. The sharp-

shooters of the Company, Adshiete and Mensa Adshoe, discovering the position of Pobi Oboakora, fired at and killed him. The soldiers were then ordered from Fort James to apprehend Sempe Mensa, and this arrest 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 Akyem and Akuapem obtain refuge at Akra. Concentration of troops at Akra. The first and second encampments

Osei Yaw, King of Asante, spent 40 days at Bogyeseanwo, drilling his army which numbered 40,000, exclusive of women, children, and load-carriers. Wherever the army camped, they counted on plunder. All the best houses at Akra and Christiansborg were divided out among themselves beforehand. The army proceeded to Bereonase, and thence, driving the Akyems before them, through Kwaben, Asiakwa, and Asafo to Kukurantum, where they stayed for a week, and went on to Adweso, where they stayed about 40 days.

The chiefs of Akra got from a fetish priest some evil war charm, which was used against the enemy at Adweso by two Akyems and two men from Aburi. King Osei Yaw purposed to attack the Akras from the East, to prevent them escaping to Little Popo, then he drove them to the West, and thence to lead both the Fantes and Akras captive to Kumase. An Akuapem prisoner informed the Asantes that the entire army of Akra had encamped at Dodowa. An incident occurred at Manfe, which had been very injurious to the enemy's army. Osei Asen one day ordered the big drums to be beaten, and danced through the camp with his thumb extended as a sign of mockery.

The King of Dwaben, when informed of this insulting conduct, vowed to behead Osei Asen, "even if he had seven heads on his body, if he presumed to enter his quarters". Dantama Wua also swore the Koromante oath, that, while he was General

of the Van, Asante should not be ruined by men like Osei Asen; and he ordered his men to seize the drums, and peace was restored in the camp.

As the appearance of a lion excites all the beasts of the wilderness, so that march of Osei Yaw caused great excitement among the whole population of the Gold Coast. When he encamped at Kyebi, every one was agitated, the Akyems and Akuapems fled to the South; the women, children, and infirm were taken to Christiansborg and Akra, but some remained in the forests of Onyase, Kwabenyan, and Kpokpoase, where the Akyems, like bush crabs, managed to hide them; others took refuge in the bush near Akra. In the towns every inch of ground was taken up by Akyems and Akuapems Akoto, King of Akwamu, and his captains and warriors arrived at Akra; also Kwadwo Tibo and his captains and troops, Aboagye in iron mail and helmet, Kwamena Asamanin, King of Agona, and captains, Obropo Akotia, 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 Hutchison came in command of a small party of Anamabo.

The principal merchants, Hansen, Jackson, and Richter, had drilled their own household people and slaves, forming a militia, Jackson, in the absence of Bannerman in Europa, putting himself at the head of his people.

Major Purdon, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, was Commander-in-Chief, Captain Kingston, at the head of about 60 British marines, Jackson, and Hutchison were the officers in command of the English forces. The militia under Hansen, Jackson, and Richter numbered nearly 600 and carried with them the newly invented congreve rockets and two brass one-pounder field pieces. All the kings and chiefs who joined 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 anyone who dared 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 daily to arrange everything

necessary for the campaign, and was repeatedly advised by the Twis to select the ablest king, General of the Van, as that was a most important point in a war with the Asantes. Impressed with the idea of his own importance, Notei Dowuona, the King-in-Chief of all the Danish subjects, and therefore commanding half the army, demanded of the council to be appointed to this most important position.

Chief Akwete Krobo Saki with characteristic boldness replied: "We mean to go and fight, but not to display riches. You had better leave us to command our own van. Osei Yaw never meant to fight the Danes or the English, but the Akras, and we are the Akras." This plan speaking settled the question.

On the 22nd of July, 1826, after full preparation, two native Danish soldiers were sent to report to Governor Brock the arrangements made for the conduct of the campaign Carl Ludwig had marked the guns of every warrior by attaching to each a small piece of calico to distinguish them from those of the enemy The troops were commanded to leave the towns to encamp against King Osei Yaw Akoto; but the troops of Ningowa, Tema, Poni, and Prampram refused to encamp with the main body; they determined never to leave the roads leading to their towns unprotected. When the little force of 70 armed men refused to obey the command of the Governor, the other towns also stayed away. And we are to this day indebted to the people of Ningowa for what we at first deemed disobedience and obstinacy. Had they removed and been followed by others, the vast army of 50,000 would have stayed at Onyase, and the enemy could have easily carried out his design. 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 Amankwa, Kwamena Asamanin and their troops, encamped at Onyase; Governor Brock with a body-guard of about 50 soldiers, with Dowuona and Akoto, at Okamfra, King Saki at Oyeadufa, King Ofori at Pantang, Queen Dokuwa and Ado Dankwa at Kponkpo. All expected that the Asantes would come down by the main road

to Akuapem. The Akras, who are so confident in the oracles of their fetishes, obeying them as if they were generals, remained for eleven days at Onyase with the few whitemen whose power seemed to be limited by the smallness of their number. King Dowuona dissatisfied with the way in which the army was encamped, remonstrated with King Taki, and was backed up by Queen Dokuwa and King Saki of Labade but with no effect On the 2nd of August King Dowuona removed his camp with the intention of marching direct to Katamansu with all the Danish forces he commanded; but on reaching Oyandufa, his people begged him to stop there, because if he fought with only half of the warriors, blame might be attached to him if they were defeated.

Fortunately for the credit of Dowuona, an Asante prisoner, carrying the head of another Asante, was, on the 3rd of August, brought into the village by four men of Prampram They had caught the Asantes plundering a plantation. The king asked the prisoner "Where is your master marching to, and when will he remove his camp?" The Asante replied· "To Tema, in about three days, and if you were the King of the Akras, you should hasten to meet my master before it is too late." Messengers were sent to King Taki, who instantly broke up his camp and advanced to Oyeadufa. On August 4th all the troops assembled at the village, the kings and chiefs were sworn in, and became as united as one man A council of war was held to discuss as to the best way to meet the enemy, who had encamped on the plains of Sasabi, and could reach Tema by a march of nine miles. It was proposed that the Akuapems, being well acquainted with their own forest, should send out scouts. Chief Apagya Kofi was proposed as leader, but he abruptly refused, saying· "It is no play to spy on an army of Osei Yaw; should I venture it, I might be lost with my men!" The next proposition was that each division of the army should take its own 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 Male of Labade objected to that proposition as dan-

gerous. "I will be the first tomorrow", he replied, "to go ahead and direct you where to encamp." Being a hunter, he had made a pathway along the plain for hunting purposes. On the morning of August 5th, Male called several youngmen of his company to the main road, leading from Amarahia to Sasabi. They completely blocked this road by dense masses of sharp briers. Standing here, Male directed the whole army to march on his pathway to the plain. Had this course not been taken, the army would have taken the main road to Sasabi, and not been prepared in their divisions and lines; and a total rout would have followed with a single shot. Captain Male was worthy of high praise.

The dust raised by the army marching was observed by the Asantes, who said. "A large force has come into the field." The marching last the entire day and night. Each warrior was provided with sufficient rounds and little victuals, and on that account they were anxious to take the field as soon as possible and return home. The following day they completed their encampments in accordance with the positions of their towns along the Coast The Temas were removed from their first camp eastward, which position was reoccupied by Dowuona. The force of Teshi joined that of Akra, but was detached behind that of Labades. Governor Brock, with his body-guard, Lutterodt, Aarestrup, 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 of the king's body-guard.

A force capable of meeting such a division as the Van of Asante army must be made up of the forces of Dutch and James Towns, Christiansborg, Labade, and Teshi, as well as the Regulars and Militia. Kwadwo Tibo commanded the left wing, having all Dankyera, Asen, Fante, and Agona forces under him. Major Purdon, with part of the regulars and Militia, formed the rear. Hansen and Richter inspected the whole line of the army; arranged everything and encouraged every king, chief, and warrior. The Asante King sent his sword-bearers disguised as Akwamus, and inspected the position and formation of the army, the report to the king was: "It is known and acknowledged that the

forest belongs to the elephant, else we would say that the buffalo is also on the plain. Nothing is so necessary as Your Majesty's own presence to assume the command, for an army is in the field." A war council was at once called together, whom Osei Yaw thus addressed. "I have called you together to hear yourselves the report brought from the enemy's camp. It is therefore my desire and command that as we came to fight on the plains, you should abandon the mode of commanding your troops in your baskets. Every Chief and Captain must tomorrow lead on his troops, giving command in the proper way 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 that because he gave it, when he returned to Kumase, for some little offence, he was ordered to be stoned to death by boys.

The Akras also held a council of war in which it was said. "Tomorrow we must fight the enemy, catch and kill them, and then go home, as we have a limited amount of food, because we left a large supply in the first camp " There was a strong movement that evening in the Asante camp and in that of the Akras. They approached within musketshot distance, abusing each other, and then retired to their respective camps The Akras, while marching back, started and killed a buffalo. The advance-guard under Yaw Opense, whose custom it was to carry 1,000 torches with him for an attack in the night, prepared to do so; but the king objected, and said. "I never fight at night; wait till morning, when I will 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 Yaw out of the Protectorate Triumphant return of the Allies. Enormous wealth poured into the Protectorate by the victory August 7th, 1826

Early in the morning of the 7th August, 1826, the warriors washed themselves and made stripes with white clay on their bodies. The special war drums of the king were beaten: 'Perempe,

perempe! Kom, kom!' Akoto and Kwadwo Tibo, who were familiar with these drums, sent information to King Taki, advising him to have the warriors in readiness, as the field would be taken by the enemy immediately. Captain Hingston, Hansen, and Richter paid a flying visit to the camps and encouraged the warriors. Orders from Headquarters reached them, while there, to return as quickly as possible. The kettle-drum of King Taki was beaten: "Nkranpon, wose a, eye du, ketekere, dom a enni amanfo! Monka ntoa, monka ntoa!" I.e.: "The great and durable Akra, who perform what they say, not subject to destruction, get to arms, get to arms!" And the sound of the enemy's kettle-drum beat in reply: "Asante kotoko! Kum apem a, apem beba: monka ntoa, monka ntoa, monka ntoa!" I.e . "Asante porcupine, when thousands are killed, thousands will come, get to arms, get to arms!"

King Dowuona, on seeing that the enemy's advance-guard had crept forward in front of his line, though they were Akras, and ordered Captain Abose Kwaw to clear them off; but he fell into the enemy's hands, with his aide-de-camp Adshei Obadsheng, both were caught and killed, both heads were sent to the king. Osei Yaw placed his feet three times on 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 of the warriors each assumed the dress and tools of her husband and imitated his work, dancing and singing in company to keep up the spirits of the husbands in camp. One of their war songs was the following·

> Sons of heroes, grasp your guns!
> When you fight, you will fight!
> When the war breaks out, you will be free to fight.
> Sons of heroes, grasp your guns!

The following is an Asante war song:

O father Sei, hurrah! O master Sei, hurrah!
To catch many prisoners, he is gone forth with his youths to war.
O father Sei, hurrah! O master Sei, hurrah!

There was a gorgeous display of different banner, and a deafening noise of horns, drums, and war-cries. While the armies were drawn up, two Numidian cranes (or hornblowers of Sakumo as they are superstitiously called) flew with the noise of a bugle through the Akra camp, and were welcomed as a good omen, as their high priest Sakumo had passed to inspect their position. After which a loud voice was heard from the line of the Asere people, saying: "We are now about to pour in, brothers!" 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 began the battle by a heavy fire of musketry that forced the enemy to fall back. Every remonstrance of their captains not to take prisoners, but to fight on, was disregarded. They rushed wildly on the Korenti and Akwamu, the well organised veteran force of Asante, and were drawn back to their camps. This was a most critical moment; and the battle seemed to incline in favour of the enemy. Chief Ankra of Akra proposed to Chief Kwatei Kodsho that they should blow themselves up with gunpowder, but was entreated by him to wait till he heard news of the right wing; and one of the English officers proposed to fire his pistol into the ammunition store to prevent the enemy capturing it, but he was also advised to have a little more patience. Hansen had the narrowest escape of being made a prisoner. A field-piece was captured by Prince Kwame Ankyeafoo, but Hansen speedily recovered it by a discharge which made great havoc in the enemy's line. Sergeant James Kittson sent in a rocket which blasted some pounds of gunpowder in the line of Captain Opolu Fredefrede, who was severely wounded, and several others killed. The army took advantage of the Asante confusion and furiously attacked them with knives and hatchets Richter was severely wounded in the thigh and the Commander-in-Chief advised him to retire to the town; he rode home.

Major Purdon, Commander-in-Chief, contributed greatly to the day's success. At that moment, Akoto, Commander of the right wing, who had hitherto, for some reason of his own, kept quiet, ordered his large state-umbrella to be moved towards the Asantes as if he intended to desert to them; instead of doing so,

he attacked their rear violently, just at the moment when brave Captain Nabera fell. The combined forces of Prampram, Ningo, Ada, and the river side people just at the same time followed up the attack, and the position for the Asantes became critical. King Osei Yaw, realising the danger, marched in defence with his body-guard, stood upon the royal stool, and drew the war-sword waving it between heaven and earth, as kings usually do in war; but the rebound was too strong, and he was wounded. There was a severe conflict between the king's body-guard and the forces under Opoku Fredefrede, in which the Asantes were beaten and greatly weakened, and on account of the defeat the Asante General afterwards poisoned himself and died at Asafo. Dshani, Afutu, and Ante from Teshi are said to have shouted the religious war-cry "Awo, awo, awo!", to which every warrior of the whole column responded as one man: "Awo, Agbai, bereku tso!" A loud voice was heard in the enemy's line. "Edom agu o!" "The battle is lost!" Then all the baggage was hastily thrown on a heap as high as a mountain, and the Asante army took to flight, after fighting and holding their position for nine hours, from 6 a.m. to 3 p m. Prisoners were made, and then the baggage and camp were taken King Osei Yaw made his escape with a large number of his body-guard through the right wing of his army; and the Akras were left victorious on the battlefield.

Many cowards among the forces of Winneba and Bereku fled from the battle at the first discharge from the enemy, leaving then King Ayerebi with his bodyguard and Gyankuma with his men. They even allowed the Akra women to snatch many guns from their hands, when running away through the towns. The undecided Kwasi Amankwa deserted and went to surrender himself, but was captured and cut to pieces; others believe he was not deserting but was captured while bravely fighting. It is said that King Osei Yaw after his capture enquired: "Akwasi, what have I done to you to cause you to join my enemies?" To which he answered: "Nana, woye boawu, madi w'akyi mabere", meaning: "To co-operate with you, King, is death. I have grown tired of following you." He was executed, but his people managed to capture his remains, which they took to the banks of the river

Densu, and there buried. On their way they are said to have killed several Akras and Akyems.

King Kwamena Asamanin, who could easily have captured the King of Asante, was coward enough to permit him to escape, saying: "One should not allow himself to be overrun by an army of Asantes", and he took shelter under the shade of a large tree, and from there he saw the capture of his wives, daughters, and other relatives, in addition to 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 gunpowder, even their god—the golden stool—was left on the battlefield. While most of the army were plundering, a select band of warriors under Apea Dwa set out to overtake and capture the Asante King. While Akoto and the Adas were bravely fighting to get possession of the golden stool, Nkuntrase Antwi was gallantly defending it, when Boaten, retreating from the right wing, reached the spot and asked. "Where is my uncle?" Antwi replied· "He is retreating." "Was he going along with the god (the golden stool)?" "No, I am fighting to get possession of it!" With the help of Boaten's men, Nkuntrase captured the stool, and brought it to the King of Dwaben

Brave Apea Dwa was killed by an ambuscade; his men revenged his death and brought his body to camp at 6.30 p.m. which ended the campaign for that day. Among the few prisoners caught by the Asantes was one Mensa from Manfe, a Court-crier of King Ado Dankwa, who assured Osei Yaw that he could conduct him safely to Kumase, and the king promised to make him a captain if he succeeded Mensa guided the king from the battlefield through Amarahia, Damrobe up to Obosomase, and thence to Mampong; there he met Boaten and other fugitive Asantes. The hurried retreat went on to Adweso, where they attempted to halt, but were borne along by the rushing mass of fugitives. Here Mensa effected his escape with his hands pinioned behind his back, and roamed through the forest for some days, till he came to a village belonging to the Adukrom people; there finding two fugitive Asante women, he made them loose him, after which he brought them home as prisoners.

King Osei Yaw, Boaten, and several chiefs halted at Asafo, thinking that the danger was over, and the one sheep that they had managed to bring with them was sold by Boaten to the king (for £7.4.0). Meanwhile a detachment of Akyems under Kofi Aberantee arrived, whose wives and children had been captured in the Akra bush by Ata and Ata, the twin-brother Asante captains. The Akyems in hiding allowed the fugitives to prepare and cook the sheep and then fired at them, compelling them to flee with great loss; doubtless the Akyems enjoyed the sheep. The fugitives were again attacked at Asantewa by four brothers, who were brave hunters and succeeded in reaching their only sister, Oforiwa, who had been taken prisoner on the battlefield. A third party of Akyems under Kwabena Edu, Bankye, and Apea Nti, likewise pursued the king. At Apedwa they heard he had left Asafo. They met the wounded Prince Owusu Ansa Apenteng, riding, and slew him. Apea Nti pursued Osei Yaw as far as Bodu and abandoned the pursuit. The fugitives, marching day and night, reached Akyem Akropong, where 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, bearing the following message: "We have been sent by Your Majesty's captains, to give their compliments to the king and their congratulations for fighting and to state that they sympathise deeply with Your Majesty's troubles and losses! They ordered us to ascertain whether the rumours they heard are true or false,—also whether Your Majesty has brought back the god; and, if otherwise, to be informed so as to march down to the place where the god is, and to warm themselves with the fire which is said to have been kindled there and is burning." The king replied: "I have brought the god with me." "We would not ask this by ourselves, but we were expressly commanded by Your Majesty's captains to be allowed to see the stool." By the king's order it was brought to them. Then they were satisfied and said: "Nana, we have seen it, and reported to the captains." The king's intention was that Boaten should go with him to Kumase, but

Boaten declined and said: "One person should not be put to shame twice; once at Kumase and again at Dwaben!"

King Osei Yaw and Boaten then parted. Boaten was given a reception at Dwaben; but the king entered Kumase unperceived; he merely sent his compliments to the chiefs and informed them that he had arrived but was not well enough to receive them. He sent for Gyanfiwa, mother of Yaw Osekyere, and consoled her for the loss of her son, promised to support her, and gave her four slaves and four peregwans. According to reliable accounts, the king stayed four months at Sewua, attended the wounded and sick, appointed new captains in place of those who had been killed, before making his state appearance in the Capital, and then met with a grand reception Adu Sei Tshatsha, the renowned linguist of Kumase, was stoned to death by mere boys, being suspected of an intrigue. Kwadwo Tibo met some Asante traders at Cape Coast, whom he took to be servants of Adu Sei Tshatsha; and in conversing with them, he let out the whole secret of his escape from Kumase, confessing that it was effected through the kindness of Adu Sei, to whom he sent presents and an old finger-ring, as a sign of their intimate friendship, and by this the old linguist was detected, Adu Sei had also advised 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 being orphans.

The forces unider the twin-brother captains, Ata and Ata, who could have done great injury to the war-dancing women and children in the towns, were prevented from doing it by the orderly beating of the big drums by mere women in every town along the Coast. They killed several persons on the roads and in some villages. They fired the town of Berekuso, captured 70 Akyem women, who were sheltering themselves in the forest near Kwabenyan, and were marching off with them triumphantly, but the Akyems, under Kofi Aberantee, pursued them and rescued forty, so that only 30 were brought to Kumase.

As we have followed Osei Yaw in the retreat to Kumase, we will return to the field of battle. During the following engagement, the mournful groanings of the men, women, and children,

wounded and dying, were heard. They cried for water and food, calling out most piteously for help and deliverance. We will not dilate on the too well known carnage and horrors of war; no wards can do justice to the horrors!

The Akras postponed till Thursday the 10th of August reconnoitring the battlefield, on which about six thousand unburied corpses lay. The Akras made many prisoners and seized valuable spoil, but the principal booty was taken by their inferiors.

Of all the battles fought by the Asantes since the formation of their kingdom, Katamansu had proved to be the most fatal. The king 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 all the creatures that live in the sea, which they consider, even to the present day, as warriors of their fetish Nai and imagine to have taken part in the combat, and to have been wounded in it.

The loss in the army of the Akras was comparatively small. There were five renowned captains who fell, Nabera, Abose Kwaw, Tete Okogyyeatuo, Krote, and Kwasi Amankwa. Our loss altogether in killed, wounded, and missing amounted to 1,800. The troops of James Town sustained a heavy loss of 99 men captured and killed, which has been put down to various causes. Some say, it was through the force of Christiansborg, which, in the general falling back of the whole army, was driven a few years below the line. Others say it was from some of the Fantes who fled at the first discharge from the enemy. The following is the most likely explanation: In the general confusion, the James Town troops may either have advanced beyond the general line, or may have retreated a little, and the line being broken, the vigilant enemy took advantage of it and attacked them in the rear. The force of Gbese and the right wing of Christiansborg were expert and brave 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 bloodthirsty, spared many of their prisoners. The different contingents of the army marched back triumphantly to their respective towns, where the warriors were enthusiastically welcomed by their wives and friends. Several days were spent in merriment, and thanksgiving oblations were made to the fetishes. During those days of rejoicing, the warriors used to go out in bands to the battlefield, where some picked up wounded men whom they carried home and cured, while others obtained different kinds of spoil.

August and September being the months in which the Akras celebrate their yearly feast, the one in 1826 was unusually grand.

Tete Akosem 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 asked, took him to the eastern side of the lagoon Krote and there barbarously murdered him. His cruel manner of death supplied a name for the word 'target', so that, when soldiers have target practice, people say, they are shooting Oti.

The Angulas had a grudge to the Akras because of the Danish expedition of 1784, and with the view of gratifying their spite, brought their canoes to the bank of the Volta shortly before the battle with the object of catching and killing the fugitive Akras. After waiting for some days, they heard of the great success of their enemy and shamefully sneaked home.

Shortly after the great victory of Katamansu, it was rumoured that presents would be forwarded from England for all the kings and chiefs for their good services. They were all anxiously expecting these presents until December, when a large man-of-war arrived at the anchorage. An English Officer, Sir N. Campbell, came on shore and requested to see the battlefield. Richter with some others accompanied him, and they spent a few days inspecting the place and, it is reported, Sir N. Campbell was disgusted at the sight of so many corpses lying unburied, and hurt the feelings of the party by saying: "You killed them too much!"

It is believed that the spoil taken from the Asantes was worth several thousands of pounds sterling. The Ningo and Ada forces,

which attacked the Asantes in the rear, seized the largest quantity of gold-dust; but the deluded people of Ada, who were forbidden the use of that precious metal, changed it for cotton goods and cowries. Kwaku Kpotehara had captured a lot of gold-dust, which he served out by handful to buy various trifles, knocking off the dust that stuck to his fingers. Many grew very rich, and up to this day there are, in many 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 every one looked up to them Their former enemies, Fantes, Akyems, Akwamus, and Akuapems, bowed down to them, and their prestige was acknowledged even at Asante and Dahome They maintained lively traffic with foreign countries, and strangers came down to the Coast for commercial purposes But the Akras have not acquired the power of ruling. For that reason no regular revenue runs into the Treasure. Their kings and chiefs will always remain poor, or even, when rich at their accession, will grow poor by always spending and never gaining They will in time, as the people become more civilised, abandon the titles of kings and chiefs, or when their position as chiefs is useful to the British Government in keeping up peace or order in the Colony, some stipends will be allowed them to live only out of the large revenue yielded by the colony.

Well done! Victorious Ga,
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.
Unmindful of splendour and pomp,
Yet by nature strong as a rock.
Hardy and brave, yet born peaceful.
Enemies from North and South,

From East and West, stood aghast,
When they 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 their great difficulties Excellent plans of the Mission and its progress Arrival and establishment of the Wesleyan Methodist, the North German and the Anglican Church Missions The effects of the Missions on the different tribes on the Gold Coast About 1720-1890

How far the Portuguese, who are said to have catechised and baptised their slaves before shipping them off, succeeded in their efforts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the education of the natives, cannot be traced, and the religion they introduced was so mingled with idolatry and fetishes, that no vestige is left. Of the Dutch, Danes, and English we can only find tracings of education given by them at their headquarters. The teaching was mainly for children begotten by them in the country, but not for the people generally. The Danes and Dutch appear to have done more to promote education than the English; yet the latter were more liberal in their views of imparting instruction, because the educated were given positions according to their abilities, while the Danes and Dutch had only one object, to enlist them as soldiers.

Hence the whole country was lying in an Egyptian darkness of barbarism and superstition. A gleam of the 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 circle of believers in that age could never influence the vast populations outside the pale of government employ. Oh! that an evangelical Mission had settled earlier in the country to preach Christ and to shed the light of the Gospel in that 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 in 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, in the year 1722. To this colony the name of Herrnhut was given through the zeal and success of these 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 meeting led to the establishment of a mission in the small Danish island St. Thomas, West Indies. The two first Moravian Missionaries were sent to the negro slaves there in 1732 Others were sent to Greenland in 1733, to the Red Indians in North America in 1734, to the negro slaves in Surinam, Dutch Guiana in South America, 1735, to the Hottentots in South Africa, 1736, to Jamaica in 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 for the salvation for the Africans of 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 was Chaplain on the Gold Coast for six years, was instructed to bring two Mulatto youths of the Government School to Copen-

hagen to be educated at the public expense. Of the two youths selected and brought to Denmark one was Protten, whose mother was a daughter of King Ashongwe, who emigrated to Popo in 1680, and his father a soldier in the Castle of Christiansborg. On 17th November, 1727, Protten was baptised in Copenhagen and named 'Christian Jacob'. He began to study in 1728; in 1735 he was asked to return to his native country, but did not feel enough courage to do so; and at this time he fortunately met Count Zinzendorf, 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 submitted to the Society. Henry Huckuff was appointed by the Conference to go with Protten to Africa as first Moravian Missionaries. Zinzendorf went with Protten to Holland and got passage for them. In March, 1737, they set sail for Africa, and arrived at Elmina on May 11th. It was first the intention of the Society to establish their Mission at Elmina under the patronage of the Dutch Government, but when they arrived at Elmina, Protten proposed going to Akra, and his brother missionary was obliged to accompany him there. Thirty-five days after their arrival at Akra, Huckuff died on June 15th, 1737.

Protten went to visit his relations at Popo in September; and was kept there against his will and did not return until October, 1739. From that time till 1762, he was never permanently employed in missionary work, neither was he settled in one place. He travelled to Germany in 1745, and married then a pious Mulatto lady, widow of a Moravian missionary, on June 6th, 1746. He longed to go to the Gold Coast again; but the Elders of the community of the Brethren lacked sufficient confidence so send him, and he went alone to Copenhagen and in 1756 undertook his second journey to the Gold Coast to become a Catechist or Assistant Chaplain and Schoolmaster in Fort Christiansborg. When the vessel reached the Coast at Grand Junk on the Grain Coast (now Liberia), fever and other causes compelled him to land. He stayed there fifteen weeks, and a month later arrived at Christiansborg, where he was well received by Governor Jessen. He was sent back to Europe in July, 1761, and came to Herrnhut,

February, 1762; and in March, 1763, he was consecrated by the Elders and sent out to Africa for the third time with his wife; but when they reached Holland and were prepared to sail, adverse circumstances prevented them going, and he returned to Copenhagen to resume his former employment under the Danish Government from 1764 to 1769 and died at Christiansborg on August 24th of that year.

In March, 1767, the Directors of the Danish Guinea Company begged the Elders of the United Brethren to send missionaries to the Gold Coast to preach the Gospel to the natives for the purpose of making them orderly, faithful, and diligent people like those on the three Danish islands in the West Indies. In June, 1767, after having asked the Lord what to do for Africa, and feeling encouraged to continue their work, the Elders of the Conference in Herrnhut resolved to send out five missionaries: Jacob Meder, Daniel Lemke, Gottfried Schultze, Sigmund Kleffel, and Sanyek Gakk. The Conference laid the case before the authorities in Copenhagen, during which time the Danish African Trading Company surrendered their Charter 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 them sailing and they did not go on board again till March 29th, 1768 On April 4th they started and reached Christiansborg on July 5th, and were warmly welcomed by Governor Franz Kyhberg, Protten and his wife, and the natives; but before Brother Meder and two others could go to Ningo to select a place to settle in, the fever attacked one after the other, and three of them died, Schultze 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 and his wife did their best in attending the sick.

When the sad news reached Europe, the Society did not lose courage and hope; and although it was a heavy blow, four other missionaries were sent out: M. Schenk, R. Bradly, S. Watson, and Westman; the last named was only to go with the others to the Gold Coast and then return home to report on the state of the

country. In October, 1769, they left Copenhagen, and arrived at Christiansborg on the 9th of February, 1770, and were welcomed by the two brethren and Protten's widow. Governor Gerhard Wrisberg presented them to Obiri Korane, King of Akyem, when he came to visit them at the Fort, and he expressed himself to be willing to receive the two brethren in his country. Schenk, Bradly, Hall, and Watson set out for Ningo on March 9th. They bought a piece of land and began building 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 had attacks of fever, so that Bradly asked Westman to come to help him at Ningo, where he arrived on April 2nd. Watson died on the 10th and the others soon followed one by one. Westman survived, embarked for Europe, and five days after died at sea. The news of these rapid and mournful deaths did not reach the Society for some time, but the Missionaries at St Thomas heard of them verbally from a captain and wrote home. The full report of all the missionaries' deaths did not reach Herrnhut till 1773. Thus the Moravian Mission on the Gold Coast ended in sowing eleven precious seeds of the Divine Sower in the soil of West Africa, and these 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 destitute spiritual condition of the tribes of the Gold Coast, and Count Zinzendorf already predicted a better future.

In the 18th century Denmark was blessed with several pious kings, who took a sincere interest in the religious welfare of their brethren subjects in the colonies, and there were also several pious Governors on the spot. Major de Richelieu, a well-minded with regard to Christian truth, was Governor of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast between 1822 and 1825 He himself conducted the Sunday services in Fort Christiansborg, and saw that the Mulatto children were properly educated. On his return to Denmark he petitioned the king in favour of a greater attention being paid to the religious welfare of the natives.

The Basel Missionary Society, founded in the year 1815, had for some time prepared missionaries chiefly for other so-

cieties, but in 1822 they began missions of their own. They were now deliberating on the question of beginning a work in one of the benighted regions of the West Coast of Africa. Major de Richelieu went to Basel, offering in the name of the king fair conditions, and every assistance in case the Committee should choose as their field of labour the Gold Coast. The offer was accepted and they entered into negotiations with the Danish Government.

In March, 1827, four missionaries: Holzwarth, Schmidt, Salbach, and Henke were sent to Copenhagen. They arrived at Christiansborg on December 18th, 1828, and were joyfully welcomed by Governor Hendrick G. Linf, 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 influence it had on the pupils under him. As a missionary, he advised and encouraged the chiefs to send their children to School· it was the first instance that happened in Christiansborg. In March, 1832, three missionaries: A. Riis, P. Jaeger, and Dr Heinze arrived; but the Doctor died six weeks later. Jaeger soon followed and Riis was left alone. Like Henke he was employed in the Government School and also acted as Chaplain, but in 1835, when Pastor Jorsleft arrived in the capacity of Chaplain, Riis resigned. His mind was powerfully attracted to the interior, where he wished to begin a mission Jorsleft and Gronberg went with him to Akropong King Ado Dankwa desired Riis to establish a mission there and rendered him every assistance. He bought a piece of land, and the king ordered his chiefs and people to build him a house; for that reason the natives called him 'Osiadan' (house builder). The welcome given to Riis at Akropong encouraged him to beg the Committee not to weary in their efforts to convert the negroes; and his reports kindled a new fire of love among the friends of the Kingdom of Christ. Two missionaries, I. Murdter and A. Stanger, together with Miss M. A. Wolter, the future wife of A. Riis, arrived in 1836. It was hoped a more fortunate time would commence for the mission; but A. Stanger was struck down by death in December, 1837, and J. Murdter in November,

1838, and A. Riis was left with his wife to battle alone. The mission had lost within ten years eight persons and had apparently produced no fruit. The Committee declared in the report of 1838. "We are bowed down at hearing the sad news, we are dismayed at the utter failure of our plans, we do not understand the thoughts of the Lord in thus deeply afflicting our work."

Riis continued for some time his efforts at Akropong, but his health gave way under the afflictions and hardships he suffered; but before returning to Europe, he visited Kumase, but the impressions produced in his mind by the lion's den were not such as to inspire hope of an early beginning of Gospel work in Asante. In July, 1840, Riis 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 that this stronghold of Satan should remain in the peace of death. The new Inspector W. Hoffmann, an energetic man, took up the work of his predecessor with undaunted courage, and found out new means to "get the field". About three years after the sick leave of Riis, we found this faithful pioneer, assisted by J. C. Widmann, in Jamaica enlisting Christian and emigrants from the free Negroes for the holy war in Africa. Inspector Hoffmann's plan 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 mother-country, and arrived at Christiansborg on the 17th of April, 1843. Not all these West Indian brethren proved themselves to be shining lights among those who were in darkness, but in spite of that, Akropong became henceforth like a city on a hill, the light of which could not be hidden.

A school was opened at Christiansborg for the Mulattoes, which soon became crowded with pupils. From 1848, Schmidt, a European missionary, was settled there, and regular preaching began; but the new work suffered from the utter breaking down of Riis' health and his return to Europe. New missionaries arrived:

E. F. Sebald, F. Schiedt, and H. N. Riis in 1845; J. G. Dieterle, I. Stranger, F. Meischel, and J. Mohr in 1847. A new station was founded at Aburi by F. Meischel.

The Annual Report of 1848 relates that at last the wilderness and solitary places were beginning to rejoice, and the fruits 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 teaching. Between 1838 and 1848 only one missionary, Sebald, died at Akropong on December 7th, 1845.

We proceed to the year 1858, and are astonished to learn that no fewer than 18 missionaries, nine married and three unmarried ladies, besides 26 catechists and teachers are stationed not only at old places, but also at Gyadem in Akyem, founded in 1853, at Abokobi, founded in 1854 in consequence of the bombardment of Christiansborg, and at Odumase, founded in 1856. Aburi, which was abandoned for six years because of the sick leave of Fr. Meischel, was reopened by J. C. Dieterle The work had developed to manhood through the manly work of those to whom it was entrusted. The schools had grown so vigorously that they could compare with those in Europe. Plantations were cleared and planted with thousands of coffee trees, roads made through the bush, better dwellings built, and many other good things accomplished.

But not only outward improvements were made, the preaching of the Gospel also produced a joyful harvest. The number of regular Church Members at the end of 1858 was 385, besides 90 candidates for baptism. The prospects were favourable in every way, and encouraged even greater exertions, the heathenish powers were evidently giving way. Ten years later, at the end of 1868, 40 years after active missionary labour, there were 31 missionaries, 19 ladies, 63 native assistants, 1,581 Church members, four times more than there were ten years before. The year 1868 alone brought an addition of 372 souls.

The Mission Trade Society had begun their operations for the purpose of carrying on business on Christian principles. The first Factory was established at Christiansborg in 1855 by H. L.

Rottmann, the energetic missionary merchant, who during a period of 37 years devoted all his energy to the work, and has convinced many intelligent and patriotic natives by his simplicity, honesty, and self denial that he was indeed a missionary. We say convinced, because the general opinion on the Gold Coast is, that a merchant nolens volens becomes a worldling, a polygamist, and lover of luxury. Two schools were also founded on the banks of the river Volta: at Ada and, 60 miles to the interior, at Anum, in the midst of an abundant cotton district. The merchants there not only offered their goods, but, in addition, European and native ministers also offered, without money and without price, both to children and adults, imperishable goods from above. From one place we had to retreat. Gyadam, burnt down in 1861, was abandoned, but only to make room for another station in the Akyem country at Kyebi, and a great number of outstations arose, surrounding the central places in every district. After retreating from Anum, in consequence of the Asante invasion in 1864, the station was established in Akuse on the banks of the Volta. (Anum was reoccupied in 1881, but not as a trading station.)

During this period, Elders were appointed in our congregations to assist the missionaries and to settle minor cases of jurisdiction which institution has proved a blessing to the people. Church regulations, adapted to the wants of the native Christians, became the standard of life in our communities, polygamy and domestic slavery, two closely connected evils, were subdued energetically. Our schools, the most flourishing part of our African mission, received every attention, because we were convinced that before we could reach our aim—the independence of a native church—we must have a staff of well educated native assistants. With this object, boarding schools for boys and girls were opened in all our districts, in addition to the day schools at each station and outstation. For a time, a great number of the children we instructed were either orphans or members of heathenish families; in many cases, either the father or mother or both were unconverted, and it was clear that children living under such conditions, the good influence of the school is weakened by the veil

effects of paganism. This is manisfestly not the case at the boarding schools where the children live entirely with the missionaries under proper discipline.

It was naturally a difficult task to persuade parents to give up their children, especially girls, to the missionaries for education; but, fortunately, all prejudices gradually melted away under the enlightening influence of the Gospel. The greatest difficulty in establishing a girls' boarding school was met with in the Krobo district, where every girl had to submit to a certain filthy heathenish custom, called Otofu or Dipo, or else become an outcast. "May the Lord destroy all the bulwarks of Satan, and pour his spirit upon the daughters and handmaids among the Krobos!" exclaims the Report for 1865. We fervently repeat the prayer in favour of all the girls in Ga and Adanme districts. The boys and girls of the Boarding School are also instructed in handiwork and the girls in sewing especially. We cannot reasonably expect that all these children should be converted, European experience and Holy Scriptures forbid such sanguine hopes, but one thing we do know: the Holy Spirit works in the hearts of many of them, and they learn at least so much under the roofs of the missionaries as is required to fit them to become useful members of society 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 thus trained has no difficulty in obtaining an apprenticeship in a mercantile business or in a Government office, in fact, several young men are thus employed, and they reflect credit on our schools, but not so much on our congregations; we confidently hope, however, that they will in time become a credit to our congregations and active supporters of our native church. Other boys may become farmers or learn a trade in our industrial shops; but these are not our objects with relation to our Middle Schools.

Young men who have passed three classes of the Middle School, and wish to become teachers or catechists, receive in a

fourth class preparatory teaching, which enables them to enter special Seminaries; and those who wish to become teachers stay two years in a Teachers' Training School, connected with the Theological Seminary. If we did not dislike to use big words, we might term the latter: "Our Gold Coast High School". Our main aim is. to educate native ministers, able to take charge of the congregations, to feed their flock with knowledge and understanding (Jer. 3, 15), and to promote the wisdom that comes from above and is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, 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 also our expectations in their sphere of labour.

Another department of our work received its development between 1858 and 1868. Our friends know that our missionary work is not confined to religious teaching and preaching only. Our Committee think that it is not only right but their strict duty to make our Christian from the Gentiles partakers of the social blessings, which Europeans abundantly derive from Christianity. To effect this purpose, industrial establishments were opened in Christiansborg for joiners, wheel rights, carpenters, lock-smiths, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and bookbinders. Our industrial missionaries had to surmount many difficulties with their workshops, and we are thankful to state that, in this branch also our mission has not laboured in vain After many trials, the different establishments became self-supporting, and all these different trades tended to produce 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, following their example, have improved upon their former style of house, in fact, all the social changes, which this branch of our work brought to the Gold Coast, are generally appreciated and speak for themselves to every one possessing eyes to see and sense sufficient to observe and compare past and present.

Great difficulty also arose from confusion of tongues which exists in this part of the world, and in no small degree in this district, five different languages are spoken; Ga or Akra, Tshi (Twi), Guan (of Kyerepong, Date, and Anum), Adangme, and Ephe. Two of the chief vernacular tongues, Ga and Twi, have been adopted and cultivated as the common medium of intercourse in church and school, and these have become written languages. Rev. J. G. Zimmermann finished the Ga translation of the Bible in 1865, and Rev. J. G. Christaller issued his excellent Twi 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, &c., either translated or compiled by the two missionaries named and others. We are greatly indebted to the Basel Missionaries, but particularly to Rev. Zimmermann and Christaller, for the great pains taken to cultivate our language sufficiently to become a written language; and we gratefully assert that as long as the 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 generously paid for the printing of these translations.

We will now sketch the outward features of our progress during the last ten years. In 1868 we were able to assert that we had filled the regions of the Eastern Province of the Colony with the Gospel. Congregations had been gathered, schools founded, native assistants educated, the Bible translated into two languages, other books for school and church published in the native tongues, workshops opened, agriculture promoted. And as a step in the right direction, progress had been made towards building up a native church by several of the faithful catechists being ordained as pastors of congregations between 1868 and 1878. The report of 1879 says: "It was a day of joy and gladness, when our dear brethren, the Revs. A. W. Clerk, Ch. Reindorf, and T. Opoku, received this token of confidence and appreciation of faithful services by our Committee." Four years later Koranteng, Nath. Date, Jer. Engmann, and Ch. Quist were ordained. And we thank the Lord that he has blessed the labours of his



Rev. Th. B. Freeman

servants the missionaries so 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.: D. Asante and N. Clerk.

The area of our mission field has extended over one half of the Gold Coast Colony. The country Okwawu has been occupied in the North, Western Akyem or Akyem Kotoku in the West, and the Eastern boundary in the Volta with places beyond it.
Statistic of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast on January 1st, 1890 (and in parenthesis, 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), Nsaba in Fante Agona 10 (14); Odumase in Krobo 7, Ada 5 (6)

In the inland districts Akuapem Aburi 7; Akropong 12, Akyem. Begoro 31 (46), Okwamu 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 2,791 (3,513) 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 (98) Dayschools and 5 Sunday-schools.

The loss sustained by our mission since 1828 to 1890 (1894) amounting to 62 years are 65 (66) missionaries and 33 (36) missionary ladies, total 98 (104) persons.

We have arrived so far with the history of the Basel Mission, and are now to follow the course of the Wesleyan Mission, the next in age and rank. "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 version of the Bible in the excellent Government School at Cape Coast Castle, became so interested that they agreed to meet regularly in order to read it together and discuss its contents. The association took the name of 'A Meeting or Society for promoting Christian Knowledge'. They adopted for their guidance the following rule, which is copied literally from the minutes of their proceeding '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 Jesus Christ, our mind will be enlightened and we shall 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, William de Graft received at Dixcove a request from his young friends at Cape Coast Town that he would engage someone going to England to buy for their use a number of New Testaments. Shortly after, Captain Potter, master of a merchant vessel from the port of Bristol, arrived at Dixcove, to whom W. de Graft applied, asking him to carry out this commission. He was surprised to receive such an application from a native young man and became deeply interested by the information his questions elicited, that he asked to enquire 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. When Captain Potter was next at Cape Coast, he saw the members of the Society, and after consulting President Maclean, returned to England, resolved to exert himself in order that, on his next voyage he might, in addition to 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 would make personal enquiry and observations on the spot; and should he conclude that the prospect was not sufficiently good to warrant his stay for the purpose of starting a mission, Captain Potter undertook to bring him back to England without any expense to the Missionary Society. This generous offer met with acceptance and Rev Joseph Dunwell was selected to go out He embarked with Captain Potter on the 17th October, 1834. On the 29th of December, the vessel anchored off the Dutch Fort at Elmina. At this place, within sight of Cape Coast Castle, Rev 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 work of my Divine Lord and Master.'

While at anchor off Elmina, Rev. Dunwell wrote a letter to President Maclean, at Cape Coast Castle, informing him of his arrival on the Coast and stating the objects of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in sending him there as a missionary. A day or two after his arrival at Cape Coast Castle, he was kindly received by the President, who invited him to stay there until he could provide himself with a suitable residence; and expressed his opinion that there was a favourable opening among the natives for missionary work."

The nucleus of a true church of Christ having been formed by a scripture-reading body by the Lord himself, who is the head of the Church, Rev. Dunwell's arrival was hailed by joy and gratitude. A congregation of between 40 to 50 members on trial was soon gathered, and the aspects of the new mission were promising. Dunwell visited various places, and preached for the

first time at Anomabo in March, 1835; and he found several doors wide open to receive his message of salvation. He was attacked by fever after about six months energetic labour and died on the 24th of June, 1835. The Wesleyan Committee at home, in announcing his death, said: "We are painfully affected by this dispensation, but not disheartened; cast down, but not destroyed. Our great Master buried his workmen, 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 flock at Cape Coast Castle had been left without a shepherd, but being a tree of the Lord's own planting, the congregation increased, and the influence of Christianity even extended to a large distance inland.

Rev. and Mrs. Wrigley arrived on September 15th, 1836, and he, without delay, began the erection of a commodious building including chapel and school-rooms, and under his ministry the Society prospered. The Wesleyan Committee at home sent Rev. and Mrs. Harrop on November 17th, 1836, and they arrived on Sunday, January 15th, 1837, and went with Rev and Mrs Wrigley the afternoon Service, where they had a crowded congregation to the great surprise and satisfaction of the new comers.

Rev. Wrigley was ill the next day and laid up for some time. A fortnight later both Rev. and Mrs. Harrop were attacked with the 'seasoning fever'.

Mrs. Wrigley sank under the fatigue she felt while attending, by night and day, to the wants and suffering of her friends. Mrs. Harrop died on Sunday morning, February 5th, 1837; and both Mrs. Wrigley and Rev. Harrop died within a few minutes of each other, on the 8th of the same month. What tragical events! "How are we to account for all these losses of dear lives, at the great assizes, if we remain unconverted!" Rev. Wrigley remained the only surviving missionary and only the consolations of religion could have sustained him under such an accumulation of losses so sudden and severe. Yet he went on with his work, visiting, preaching, schoolteaching, journeying from place to place with

heroic endurance; and renewed his application for help as follows: "I have to urge again my demand for immediate reinforcement of the Mission. What can one person do amongst so many? I hope, in spite of the sad news which these sheets contain, that others will be found to fill up the ranks and in the spirit of one now slumbering by the side of Harriet Newell in the Isle of France, Sergeant, come to this hell, if it be only to die here."

In spite of all that had gone before, others were found in due time, who freely and nobly offered themselves to be ,baptised for the dead', in this part of the world, but before their arrical, Wrigley was seized with the illness that proved fatal to him, but was graciously supported during his affliction, and received the greatest kindness from the affectionate people to whom he had ministered with so much success He died in Cape Coast Town on November 16th, 1837. It was during Rev. Wrigley's ministry that William de Graft was appointed to Winnebah, and there happened to meet two Mulatto traders from Akra, Peter Mayer and a friend of his These men became so interested with the new religion, that they desired to become members of the Christian Church, and on reaching Akra, they hired a house and began meetings for private devotion, and on the arrival of Rev Freeman, the successor of Rev. Wrigley, he visited and confirmed them and those who had joined them.

Twelve days before the death of Rev. Wrigley, Rev. and Mrs Freeman embarked on board the 'Osborne', and arrived on January 3rd, 1838. Rev Freeman had not heard of the death of Rev. Wrigley until he reached Cape Coast, and when he entered the hallowed chamber where Rev. Wrigley and four other servants of the Lord had so recently died, he was naturally very depressed; but casting his burden upon the Lord, he began his work with a cheerful spirit that was truly admirable. We believe that Freeman was providentially and specially sent by our Lord himself to the Gold Coast, because he was allowed to labour there nearly half a century and richly deserves the name of Father Freeman.

Our climate was not so favourable to Mrs. Freeman, who immediately set about the female department of the mission work in the same spirit as her husband, arranging plans for future use-

fulness, but suddenly she was called to part from her dear partner on February 20th, after a residence in Cape Coast Town of 48 days.

Under the energetic exertions of Rev. Freeman the mission in Cape Coast had been prospering, when the prospect of a wide door opening for the preaching of the Gospel in Kumase, which had already been reported to Rev Wrigley, again reached Freeman. In the spring of 1839 Freeman paid his first memorable visit to the capital of Asante, and was cordially welcomed by the king, and arrangements were made to establish a mission there. Rev. and Mrs. Mycock and Robert Brooking embarked for Cape Coast on November 20th, 1839, and arrived on January 13th, 1840, and warmly welcomed by the people and Freeman who up to that time had been toiling alone. Freeman's visit to Kumase aroused great interest in the favour of the Gold Coast Mission in England in 1840, and Williams de Graft, the native local preacher, arrived in England during June the same year, when the feeling was greatly increased and became universal A special appeal was made to all friends of missionary work, and the noble sum of £5,000 was raised in a few months, which enabled the Committee to largely augment the number of missionaries sent to the Gold Coast.

Rev. Freeman and the party appointed to go with him embarked at Gravesend on December 10th. It consisted of Rev and Mrs. Freeman, W. de Graft, Rev and Mrs Hesk, Rev. and Mrs Shipman, and Watson, Walden, and Thackury. This noble band of missionaries were favoured with a safe voyage and landed at Cape Coast Castle on February 1st, 1841. Their arrival increased the staff of missionaries and wives to the number of twelve; but in March Rev. and Mrs. Mycock were obliged to return to England. In about six months' time, four of the others were dead, and a fifth had to return to save his life. The history of the Gospel Mission in Africa is a history of the ravages of death; it is written in graves! William Thackwray died at Anamabu, May 14th, 1841, Charles Walden was the second victim on the 29th of July, Mrs. Freeman died on the 25th, and Mrs. Hesk on the 28th of August; Rev. Hesk returned home. Thus the mission party at Cape Coast was reduced more than one half, but in spite of these

mysterious bereavements, Freeman, early in November, accompanied by Brooking and the two Asante princes Owusu Ansa and Kwantabisa, who had been educated in England, started for Kumase. They were well received by the king, a piece of land was granted on which to erect suitable mission-premises; and the nucleus of a Christian Church was speedily formed in the blood-dyed streets of the sanguinary kingdom of Asante Freeman returned to the Coast and left Brooking in charge of the mission. The Wesleyan Committee felt it to be their first duty to send out three missionaries to fill up the ranks occasioned by deaths and those who returned. They were William Allen, Henry F Wyatt, Thomas Rowland. Allen arrived on the 27th of January, 1842, and the two others on the 21st of February. Thus the little band which had bravely maintained its post, was strengthened, but strengthened, alas! for only a short time. Rev. Wyatt died on the 6th of April, 1842, and Rev. Rowland, who was sent in May to join Rev. Brooking in Kumase, was attacked by illness on the journey, and although he partially recovered and it was hoped he would live, he died at Kumase. A reinforcement, Rev. and Mrs. Watkins and George Chapman, arrived at Cape Coast on January 23rd, 1843. But the standard bearers on the Gold Coast were again reduced by the death of Rev. Shipman and Mrs. Watkins. Rev. Shipman, after a few weeks residence at Cape Coast, went to British Akra James Town, early in 1844, to take charge of that important station, and continued his labours until his death. In addition to other work, he was engaged in compiling a vocabulary of the Fante language and finished a translation of the Commandments, the Lord's prayer and part of the Conference Catechism. He had also several native converts in 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 22nd, 1843. We relate with deep sorrow the death of this energetic missionary, because his removal was a death-blow to the Wesleyan Mission. The fine institution he opened at Akra, where promising young men from Cape Coast, Anamabo, 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. Watkins died at Cape Coast on March 1st, 1843, after a residence there of only 39 days.

After the energetic labours of the Wesleyan Mission on the Gold Coast, from 1835 to the beginning of 1843, precisely eight years, the loss of able missionaries and their wives amounted to fourteen, and the result of their labours, according to the Gold Coast Almanac for 1843, is the following: seven principal stations and fourteen out-stations. *Cape Coast:* Thomas B. Freeman, with six 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 four agents; *Dixcove.* Rev. John Watson with two agents; *Mumase:* Rev. R. Brooking, *Badagry* William de Graft, and *Anamabo* under George Blankson and six agents The number of members in Society was 690 and 360 scholars.

In the middle of October, Rev. and Mrs. Annear, with Rev. Timothy J. Greaves and Rev. John Martin, embarked for the Gold Coast and arrived on December 12th, Rev. Annear spending nearly a year and a half at Sierra Leone. On the 7th February, 1844, Rev. Benjamin Watkins, who, after his wife's death, took charge of the circuit and institution at Akra after Shipman's death, also expired. Rev. Booking was sent out for the second time, after more than three years' labour, accompanied by his wife, and arrived on March 20th, 1844. Rev. Chapman was at Kumase and Rev. Greaves took charge of the Akra circuit after the death of Rev. Watkins. In June, Rev. Freeman, who had been labouring abundantly, again left the Gold Coast on a temporary visit to England, but a few days after his departure, Rev. Greaves died at Akra on July 14th, 1844. Rev. Freeman remained in England till May 1845 and, 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 ever invented. The Committee and the friends of the mission rejoiced that he came out 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 gaining additional supporters to the cause.

When Rev. Freeman returned to the Gold Coast, he was accompanied by Rev. Henry Wharton, a man of colour, a native of Grenada in the West Indies. They embarked on May 17th, 1845, and reached Cape Coast on 23rd of June. In August, Rev. George Chapman sailed for England, hoping to return to his interesting work here, but was sent to South Africa, and Rev. Wharton was appointed to go to Kumase.

On the 10th of November, another little band of missionaries, Rev. and Mrs. Allen, with Rev George Findlay, Edward Addison and Mrs. Brooking sailed for Cape Coast, landing there on the 30th of December, but, unfortunately, Rev. Brooking had been compelled to leave the Cosat on account of illness, so that husband and wife missed each other on the passage. After a residence of only two months and ten days George Findlay died, March 10th, 1846, at Cape Coast Town. Rev and Mrs. Annear were compelled to leave the Coast for England In January, 1847, the Gold Coast Mission received another supply of workers by the arrival of John Thomas, John Harrop, and Charles Hillard. On the 15th of January, 1848, Rev. and Mrs Allen and John Martin were obliged to leave their labours at Cape Coast on account of their health.

Rev. Martin had worked for more than four years and Allen upwards of six years. Rev. Frederick Hart was at Cape Coast in March, but three excellent labourers, Addison, Thomas and Harrop, were compelled to abandon their work.

At the District Meeting of 1850, G. P. Brown, Joseph Dawson, Timothy Laing, and J. O. Ansa were accepted 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, Anamabo, Dominase, British Akra, Kumase, and Badagry. The following were the statistics for the period: six missionaries, ten chapels and preaching houses, 857 members, 946 scholars. The stations were as follows: in the

Cape Coast circuit: Cape Coast, Dixcove, Sekondi (Sakunne), Beulah, Providence, Elmina, Abrobonko, Akroful, Abakrampa, Dunkwa, and Abaka. In the Anamabo circuit: Anamabo, Edwumako, Abasa, and Asafa. In the Dominase circuit: Dominase, Donase, Abuadse, and Ayeredu. In the Akra circuit: British Akra, Winneba, Prampram, and Ningo. In the Badagry circuit: Badagry and Abeokuta."

Rev. Freeman was still the General Superintendent of the Mission. Every effort was made by him to make civilization march hand in hand with the evangelization of the country. In Rev. Freeman's report about the result of establishing a large garden for industrial training, he says. "The scholars in the industrial garden behave well, and many of them are of great promise. They present quite a new feature in the civilization of this country. The fact of a lad being able to read the scriptures, and at the same time able and willing to use with a practical hand the billhook, axe, and spade, and do a good day's work, is a feature which will tell above all others on the masses of the people as evidence of the great work of civilization that is being done."

From the year 1852 Methodism began to progress rapidly. Prior to that date, advance was slow, owing to the great barrier of paganism lying across its path But circumstances which occurred in that year connected with the great fetish at Mankesim, exposing fetish tricks, greatly shattered the foundations of paganism. (See Cruickshank's work, Volume 2, Chapter 11, for details.) The words of the Superintendent of the Anamabo circuit 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 with fetish worship. The confidence of the people here and in the neighbourhood has been much shaken. The national gods of the Fantes, Hanamu, are now forsaken; no one now consults them. No human power could have done this, only the preaching of Christ crucified. The people are at this time hesitating between two opinions; all our energies are therefore required to win them for Christ. In Asafa paganism is tottering and there are hopes of its downfall on some

future day, thus making way for the triumphant advance of the gospel chariot."

The following statistics of 1853, the year following that in which the great Fante fetish fell, will give an idea of the rapidity with which the work of evangelization had progressed after that event. The number of members which was 857 three years ago, ran up to 1,124; scholars 1,242, missionaries 9, chapels 13, preaching houses 16.

The success of missionary work was at this time confined to the Coast; there had been no such change for good, respecting fetish worship in Asante; and even the few whose hearts were inclined to receive the Gospel dared not come forward for fear of their despotic king, who would surely have butchered them, had they departed from the fetishism to which he himself was devoted. Rev. T. Laing, who was residing in Kumase in 1853, said 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 means death for people becoming Christians Many of the Asantes desire to embrace Christianity, but fear to come forward. The Asantes are not a 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 own eyes, how good soever it may be. They always do what the king sanctions, whether good or bad, so that as the king is a pagan, they must all remain pagans too."

At this time hostilities took place between the protected territories and Asante, and Rev. Laing was shut off from all communication with the Coast till peace was restored. He was then relieved by a Catechist, Watts, the last of the Society's servants, to come to that hot-bed of cruel superstition who plodded on this incongenial soil till the war of 1863 Like Laing he was a prisoner at large for years till peace was made and he was removed. All attempts of reestablishment were prevented by the machinations of the wily despots in power, till the capture of Kumase in 1874, when the mission was again established into Adanse, Bekwae, and other chief towns, but only to collapse after a few years working, by the internal wars of the various tribes,

and today thousands of Asantes grope in heathen darkness, 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, but this very useful department was given up in 1853.

The staff of native ministers war gradually increased. In 1852 James A. Solomon was recommended to the English conference as Assistant Missionary on probation, and in 1853 Edward J. Fynn and Edward Bickersteth were also proposed. The condition of the mission was one of steady progress from 1853. In 1856, the statistics showed 12 missionaries and assistants, 20 chapels, 16 preaching houses, 2,053 members, 1,439 scholars, and 7,420 attendants at public worship 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, comprising Rev. Daniel West, was specially sent to enquire into the financial condition of the district, and Rev William West, who was to supersede Rev. Freeman as General Superintendent. At the district meeting, held on January 14th, 1857, Daniel West presided; and during the short interval between the date of his landing and holding of the meeting, he had by his kindness and fidelity won the sympathy of all the brethren in the district as well as that of the people generally. The following is taken from a letter in which is expressed the high estimate formed of Daniel West· "The kindness, faithfulness, and ability which have characterised Rev West's intercourse with the brethren both in public and private, have produced in their minds the most favourable impression, and the recollections of his visit, so far as he may have been personally concerned, will be of the most pleasing kind."

Rev. West became the Chairman and General Superintendent from this year instead of Rev. 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 homeward. 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 time 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 translation of the scriptures into the vernacular. The following is the 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 alterations necessary 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 Rev. Hart on his leaving the district, and Laing not having retained a copy of same, the brethren are not in circumstances to form an opinion on the merits of the success likely to attend his undertaking such a work. So far as they are able to ascertain of those who speak Fante, by reference to the poll-tax returns, it is about 500,000, the number calling themselves Christians must be about 10,000; and possibly one fifth 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 a great mistake. Had our missionaries fully recognised the importance of native literature, and encouraged such of the native ministers as were competent, Laing for instance, to undertake the work of translation, our Mission would have been more progressive, our converts more intelligent, and gospel truth much more widely spread amongst the masses. This mistake was seen later and efforts made to meet the want, but though something has been

done, we are still far behind in this very important and indispensable department of our work, the result of this fundamental error.

William West returned to England on a furlough in 1860, and during his absence the office of Chairman was filled by Rev. Henry Wharton. During the three following years, the missionaries arriving at the Gold Coast were: Agur B. Gardiner, Alfred Taylor, George Davis, and Christopher B. Sykes; and these were followed by H. H Richmond, James Cuthbert, and George Robinson. Rev. West returned to the chairmanship with the three latter gentlemen, and was presiding at the district meeting held on January 14th, 1864

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 the Society were sent out to the East Indies and New Zealand. On the 5th of May, 1847, four missionaries, L Wolf, L. Bultmann, Jans Graff, and Ch. Plato, landed at Cape Coast, with the object of selecting a suitable region on the West Coast for the work of their Missionary Society They were cordially welcomed by the Wesleyan Missionaries stationed there; and shortly after their arrival, they received orders from the Committee to begin work at Gaboon.

Rev. Wolf and Bultmann then embarked for Gaboon, leaving the other two missionaries behind them. Unfortunately both missionaries were attacked by fever during their voyage. Wolf recovered but Bultmann died on June 5th in King Glass Town in Gaboon, and Wolf was alone. In spite of this blow he went on, fearlessly seeking a region fitted for missionary work. He might have succeeded in settling at Gaboon, had not the French Commandant there driven him from the place by force. Wolf returned to Cape Coast, where he met J. Graff alone, because Plato had died on June 14th. The two survivors then left for Christiansborg, and were joyfully welcomed by the Basel Missionaries and the Danish Governor, Schmidt They were lodged in the Basel Mis-

sion House, very kindly treated by their missionary brethren, and waited for an opportunity to start their mission. During their stay in Christiansborg, Wolf and Graff assisted occasionally in the school work and in preaching, and, fortunately, one of the mission house school boys Nyankomago, son of the King of Peki, told the missionaries that his father Kwadsho Dei would be very glad to receive the white preachers in his country, and thus it came about that the land of Krepe was chosen for their mission work. Wolf left for Peki, and was joyfully welcomed by the king and his people. The king gave him a piece of land and he began at once to build a house for himself, but when he proposed coming down to Akra to fetch Graff, he learnt that he had died on November 11th, 1847 Thus between May 5th and November 11th, within six months, three missionaries out of four had been called to their eternal rest!

Rev. Wolf had once more to stand alone in the Krepe land, and with no connection with the Coast except through the Basel Missionaries, yet he continued his work in Christian fortitude without fear It was a great pity that he did not understand the language but was at the mercy of his interpreter, who very often deceived him He wrote to Hamburg for help, but had to wait a long time before Groth and Quinius arrived at Akra in February, 1849; and in March the following year Wolf was joined by his wife at a time when his health was broken and he was suffering from dropsy In January, 1851, not only Rev. and Mrs. Wolf were forced to leave this important station, but Groth and Quinius were obliged to do the same in consequence of broken health. In the harbour of Hamburg, Wolf breathed his last, and thus ended the first period of the North German Mission in Western Africa, by the death of the four men sent out.

In the years 1850 and 1851, the Missionary Society was transferred from Hamburg to Bremen, and from that town an arrangement was made between the two Committees of Basel and Bremen, that the former undertook voluntarily to supply the latter with the missionaries required for the work. The two first missionaries from Basel were W. Dauble and J Menge, these two accompanied Rev. and Mrs. Quinius to Peki in 1851. On

April 23rd Menge died, and Dauble, being convinced that he ought to start from the Coast, wrote several times to the Committee on the subject, but his views were not approved. Mrs. Quinius being ill, her husband was obliged to leave Peki for Christiansborg for a change, and as her condition did not improve they were forced to leave for Europe. Rev. Dauble had to wait at Christiansborg for assistance, and in January Plessing and Brutschen arrived. Dauble's first question to the new missionaries was: "Where shall we go? Where shall we begin?" Their reply was: "Peki again!" This was very hard for Rev. Dauble, who was fully convinced that the mission ought to start from the Coast. However, he brought his brethren to Peki Rev. Wolf's buildings were in ruins, the roofs eaten up by the white ants, and the rain had ruined everything. New buildings were built, and with hope they began their difficult work, which now showed signs of progress. Schools were opened and the preaching of the Gospel was listened to by the people. Suddenly they received instructions from the Basel Missionaries in Akra to quit their promising labour at Peki as soon as possible, because the Akwamus, old enemies of the Krepe people, had invited the Asantes to invade the land. They accordingly went to Christiansborg, reported the state of affairs to their Committee, and asked whether they might be allowed to start their mission at Keta, and waited for an answer. The Committee agreed to their request and the mission was started at Keta in 1853. In 1856, the station at Waya was founded among the Adaklu tribe, in 1857 one at Anyako followed, but proving unhealthy, a new settlement, Ho, was established as the principal station in the Krepe land, but in 1869 this flourishing place was destroyed by the Asantes, but was rebuilt in 1876. The Bremen Missionary work, after 34 years labour, assumed a favourable aspect and showed distinct progress in 1881.

Ho had six outstations, including Waya, and Keta on the Coast had four, including Anyako, and in 1890 a healthy mountain station, 2,300 feet above the sea, was built of Amedjophe. On December 31st, 1893, the three stations had twenty outstations, 20 schools, 1,247 church members, and 591 scholars.



King Tackı Tıwıa I



Edmund Bannermann

The Gospel had been preached in 1893 at 313 places. The number of missionaries in October 1894 was 18, ladies 10 (including 3 diaconesses), and 37 native assistants. The loss which the Bremen Mission had sustained from 1847 up to 1894 is, 63 missionaries and missionary wives.

Roman Catholic missions were established at Keta in the English territory and in 1892 at Little Popo (Adjido), Lome, and Togo, with six priests and 8 lay-brethren in 1894, 185 scholars and 130 adults

The Church of England, which comes last, was nearly contemporary with the Moravians, and began her work on the Gold Coast in 1751 Rev. Thomas Thompson was sent out by a section of the Church known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel The men sent out attempted to convert the people, but the terrible climate and the numerous deaths caused them to cease the work for a time It was due to the influence of Rev. 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 carried on. Yet even these first broken efforts left some good seeds behind for future growth, and the self sacrificing heroes of the Gospel left their foot prints behind them for others to find after, they themselves had become victims to the terrible effects of the climate, as we have already seen in the introduction of the history of the Wesleyan Mission.

In 1879 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, including J. O Brown, Alex Bruce, Thomas 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 memorable meeting, a young native clergyman, Rev. W. Johnson, was sent out there, and laboured zealously for over three years. Ill-health caused him to resign his office and return to Sierra Leone, where his remains were interred. After a short interval, during which the native Christians endeavoured to keep the flame of spiritual life alive, and the embers of the altar from dying out, another native missionary from Sierra Leone, Rev. F. W. Smart,

came to take up the work at which he continued for about one year.

Some time later, Dr. Ingham, the present Bishop of Sierra Leone, visited Akra, and with the help of the Governor of the Colony, Sir W. Brandfort 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, another native of Sierra Leone, was licensed by the Bishop to the charge of it in 1886. Since then 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 created an extension of this good work in the Colony, and gave it a more solid foundation A Colonial Chaplain, Rev. Maxwell, born in 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 Rev. D G. Williams from Akra to Cape Coast as Assistant Chaplain, and of bringing out a European, Rev John H. Davies, as Colonial Chaplain to 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 showing of good seed by Gospel preachings, and by good works of various kinds among the surrounding heathens. 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 in public worship 400.—Cape Coast: communicants 30; Sunday-scholars 330; attendants in 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 denominations, who are toiling for the salvation of the Gold Coast people! We call on all who are benefited, spiritually or tem-

porally, by these missions, to support them by their godly lives as well as by their money. There is an object to attain which all the missions are striving for, and that is to make the congregations self-supporting, and we call particularly on the members and scholars of the Basel Mission to do more than what has been hitherto done; because for the purpose of founding a self-supporting church, our mission established the industrial departments.

Casting a last glance at the vigorous way in which the Missions have been carried on, in spite of the terrible sacrifice of valuable lives, we find that the excellent and beautiful hymn of Bishop Heber most admirably express our thoughts and emotions

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 the remotest nation has learnt Messiah's name.

CHAPTER XX.

The expedition under Chief Ankra to Bame 1829.

Elated by their late victories over the Asantes, the Akras imagined that they could easily organize an expedition to foreign countries, as it was reputed they had done in former times, and they were finally of opinion that their military prowess would conquer There was in Otoo Street in Dutch Akra a petty dealer, named 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 Dodu Kuma not finding people to bring all the cowries home to Peki, left some of them with his landlord Edufo. Akomea Kwame was sent to bring the cowries over, which, as a matter of course, was delivered by the landlord Edufo; but this man on his way to Peki, when he had just reached the top of Tshibu Hill, was overtaken by Edufo and his friend Duduvo who fell upon Akomea suddenly, snatched the valuable load from him, and barbarously murdered him and hid his body under a rock. Akomea not returning home for two days, Dodu

sent messengers to Ahodome to enquire for him. Edufo told the messengers that he had three days ago delivered up the cowries to Akomea and that he had then started to return.

When the two robbers and murderers were dividing the spoil, a quarrel broke out between them; and Prince Ado Kwadwo, who chanced to be in town that day, heard of it and informed his father Akoto that a hideous murder had been committed at Ahodome. The king thereupon sent Ado with the linguist Gyensanom and a detachment of 100 men to Ahodome to require the chief, Ado Kokroko, of the place to search for the murderers; and with the assistance of Adsheshi, an influential man there, Edufo and Duduvo were found, arrested by the chief and sent to Akwamu. They were tried and condemned by the king, delivered up to Kwadwo Nsherema, and sent to Akra with the body of the murdered man Sentenced to death by King Taki, they were both beheaded. The linguist, Gyansanom and his party, who had delivered the criminals, were sent back to Akwamu with thanks.

A few months after the execution of the two murderers, a dispute arose between two towns at Krepe about an elephant killed. A hunter, named Akwabina Dadshawa of Adahokoi, met an elephant in the bush, shot and missed him, so the animal escaped towards Ahodome A few minutes later he heard a shot fired in that direction, and soon saw the same animal retreating to the old place, fired and this time shot him down. The hunter who had first fired, and who was from Ahodome, came to the spot and contended that he had killed the elephant, and after a time the friends of both men appeared from their respective towns and divided the flesh. The Adshokois claimed the head for King Akoto of Akwamu, whilst the people from Ahodome claimed it for Adsheshi and the quarrel was finally settled by each party obtaining a tusk.

The Adshokois were not satisfied and reported at the next town Kpalime-brofong that one of them had killed an elephant with the intention of giving the ivory to Akoto, but had had one tusk taken from them by a party from Ahodome, who had sworn to present it to Adsheshi instead of King Akoto. This excited the people of the town, who rushed upon the Ahodomes, seized the

other tusk and presented them both to the king. Everything was reported to the king who, upon enquiry, found that the animal was not killed in the bush of Ahodome, sent congratulations to the Adshokois with assurances that he was ready to fight the Ahodomes in case they dared to molest them

Adsheshi when informed of what had happened, prepared for war. With the assistance of the people of Kpalime, he attacked Adshokoi, killed him and took prisoners in large numbers. King Akoto, when informed of the attack, forthwith marched against the Ahodomes, and blockaded the road to Boso. The following towns confederated against King Akoto Tshito, Onyerewase, Kwanta, Avengu, Patakrowase, Tsibu, Nketieso, Adame, and Agome; their principal chiefs were Ado Horoko (Kokroko) of Ahodome, Adsheshi, and Adabo of Tshito. The next morning at 6 o'clock, Akoto sent messengers to summon Chief Dra and his captains Awukupo, 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 Denu of Kpalime, who had started with his wife for Boso, unluckily fell into the enemy's hands. He was beheaded and his head thrown into the town Excited by this outrage, the Kpalime people began the attack, it was very fearful, but they were compelled to retreat; their town was captured, but nothing belonging to the Akras was touched They retreated through Agodome to Kpalime-brofong, and King Akoto retired to camp at Kpalime. Adsheshi hired a large army from several towns to help him against Akoto, and attacked the king very hotly, but was forced to retreat with loss to Bame, where the king encamped. The Ahodomes in conjunction with a large body of Krepes repeated the attack the next morning, and forced Akoto to retreat to Kpalime, from which place he could neither retreat to Akwamu nor face so numerous and powerful an army. While Akoto was in perplexing position, Adsheshi was actively engaged in strengthening his forces with other Krepe tribes. He obtained a large army from Avatime, Angula, and other places and would have gained the whole Krepe forces, if Kwadsho Dei, the Krepe King, who was allied to King Akoto, could have been induced to abandon

his allegiance. If that could have been done, Akwamu could have been crushed. There was in camp with King Akoto an Akra linguist, Awere Boi, who advised him to ask for the assistance of the Akras: "You recently, this man said, joined the Akras against Asante, and now being yourself in trouble, I am quite certain that my people would give you assistance, if you sent me first to the king to prepare the way." The King agreed to this proposal and sent Awere Boi to Akra, and being a clever linguist, he managed to obtained success. The king was still in camp when Boi returned, and Captain Aforo was sent to Akra with twelve slaves and some money as presents to King Taki and his chiefs. The message Aforo delivered was. "Since Akoto returned from Katamansu, his Krepe subjects and had become unruly, and were trying to rebel against him. King Akoto therefore commissioned me to crave the help of King Taki and the Akras."

King Taki called a meeting of all his great chiefs, including Akwete Krobo Saki, Akotia Owosika, Dodu Nyang, Ahuma, Dowuona, and they unanimously appointed Chief Ankrah of Dutch Town as commander-in-chief, and authorised him to organise an army to defend Akoto Ankrah arranged with the captain of a Portuguese slaver then in the roads to supply him with arms, ammunition and other goods on credit, payable back in prisoners after the expedition. He informed the people that the king had appointed him to raise an army in defence of King Akoto, and that whoever wished to join the expedition might come forward and claim any amount of goods on credit to be payable in prisoners after the campaign; and in this way Ankrah succeeded in raising and organising an army. Detachments of warriors from James Town, Ada, 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 Akuapems, and Chief Awua of Begoro in Akem with 600 men also joined. The Krobos, although they applied for and obtained arms and ammunition, absented themselves.

Chief Ankrah started from Akra with an army of 15,000 men in the first week of July, 1829. In order to frighten the enemy, three iron one-pounder field-pieces were fired every morning

and evening. At Asutshuare the army was, by order of Akoto, ferried over Ofo and Oketeku, two of Akoto's captains and the linguist Kwa escorting them to the king's camp. They stayed one week at Akwamu and then marched through Anum and Boso, where the respective chiefs entertained them well They then went to Kpalime, where they met a grand reception, a salute was fired by the whole army, and Chief Ankrah solemnly swore to King Akoto that King Taki had sent him with his army to extricate him from all embarrassment. This was followed by three days rejoicings, and after a week's stay in camp, the whole army was ordered to march and encamp at Bame; and on crossing the rivulet Amemere, they were attacked by the Krepes, who were forced to retreat. The rivulet had been poisoned and two Akyem warriors fell dead on the spot after drinking it. After setting fire to Kpalime-brofong, the army encamped then as night was falling. Heavy rain prevented the continuance of the march for some days. A second attack was made when the march was resumed; but was repulsed with loss, and the army encamped at Bame.

Two days later Akoto sent messengers to inform the inhabitants of Tokokoi, Have, Nyangmo, Amfoi, Avatime that he had returned, and wished to know whether they wished for peace or for war? Ambassadors carrying white flags, pieces of firewood (signifying submission to servitude), yams and plantains from each and all these people came to assure Akoto that they wished for peace; but all this was part of the well known Krepe strategy, and early the next morning they made a severe attack, and six of them were captured by the Akras, sold to Akoto and slaughtered The army was again attacked by the Krepes in the rear because they did not dare to engage the enemy openly in front. The Akras were enraged by these repeated affronts which led to nothing, and pursued the retreating Krepes as far as Nketiaso, and there the camp was fixed for three weeks, during which time parties of the warriors were sent against the enemy's towns far and near Provisions and prisoners were captured largely, which supplied the daily wants of the army. Nearly all the palm trees were cut down to provide the men with wine.

Chief Ado Horoko of Ahodome, feeling deeply for the sufferings of the Krepes, sent ambassadors to Ankrah pleading his innocence in the war and desiring to know why he, Ankrah, being himself an Akra, did not do justice by first investigating the cause of the war; also that the Krepes were tired of the whole affair, and would sacrifice Adsheshi to purchase peace. Adsheshi had no idea of this action against him. The camp was removed from Nketieso to Bame, where the Krepes were ordered to assemble. A great meeting was held on the planes of Bame, Chief Ankrah with the forces under him occupying one place, King Akoto with his men in another, and all the Krepes who had been engaged in the war as well as the Ahodomes who had taken refuge in other countries and towns, men, women, and children were massed together.

Chief Ankrah demanded to be informed of the real cause of the war, and linguist Kwa was ordered by King Akoto to present the whole thing to the people assembled After Kwa had obeyed, the linguist of Adsheshi stood up and defended his master from the charge made against him by Kwa, who was attacked by the assembly. Adsheshi was also seized and beheaded The men, women, and children of Ahodome, over 2,000, were all plundered instantaneously, and the Krepes, although numerous and well armed, did not make the least attempt to defend the unfortunate people; in fact, they knew perfectly well what was to take place. When order and quiet had been restored, the Krepes were asked whether they had any objection to raise against this cruel, unjustifiable and treacherous deed of theirs?—an act contrary to the elementary law of nations. They were cowardly enough to raise no objection whatever, and thus the campaign was brought to a disgraceful end.

When the whole transaction was over, King Akoto tried to gain possession of the head of Adsheshi, but this Ankrah decidedly opposed, but gave him the jawbone, while he kept the skull for himself as a trophy of his expedition. Most of the Krepes were inclined to throw off their allegiance to Akoto, and to enter into a new alliance with Ankrah; but Ankrah opposed this, and advised them to submit to their master Akoto on condition that

he should cease selling their children or offering them as sacrifices.

When everything had been finished, the Akras were anxious to return home, but Akoto desired them to wait for the celebration of the Grand Yam Custom, which he intended to celebrate in camp. Before that took place, something occurred 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, began calling for their wives very urgently. To search for them they even entered the women's quarters, by which the pain of death was incurred They were beaten by the women's guards, who, in return, were given many blows with stones, a fight followed But Akoto seeing the danger was wise enough to check it very soon, and restored order in the camp.

When the Grand Yam Feast came on, Akoto behaved very imprudently, as, to revenge himself because of the skull of the late King Okai Koi, which one of his ancestors had gained 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 given by Ankrah to the chiefs and elders of every town that had sent a contingent to the expedition. It had been the intention of Ankrah to march against the Krobos, on his way home, to punish them for perfidiously obtaining arms and ammunition for the purpose of joining in the war and, after that, not appearing. He despatched two messengers, Neizer and Otu, to warn them and also made King Taki aware of his purpose; but he was advised not to do so, because the Krobos, being Danish subjects, an attack on them might involve trouble with the Danish Government; and it ended by the latter paying back to Ankrah the amount due.

CHAPTER XXI.

Peace made between Asante and the Protectorate, April 27th, 1831. The prisoners ransomed back to Asante.

*After the battle of Katamansu, the road to Asante was block*aded, and trade entirely stopped. The Asantes suffered greatly from want of salt, rum, tobacco, cloth, &c., but they bore with these privations for one year; after that, they felt compelled to ask for peace, but were unable to send ambassadors to the Coast for fear of the Asens and Akyems. Amisah, the Government native official detained in Kumase when the war began, was consulted about peace negotiations and he advised the king to send down to the Coast to open the question On his return to Kumase, Princess Akyiawa, one of the prisoners, and two Asens accompanied him. After the defeat of the Asantes at Katamansu, several of the tributary states tried to throw off their allegiance to King Osei Yaw, who went to Aseremaso to ask for divination from the Priestess Siawa Pategyawa, the widow of Okomfo Anokye, but when the arrival of Amisah and Princess Akyiawa at Kumase was known to Osei Yaw, he returned to the capital. A grand meeting was held for their reception, and negotiations for peace were begun, the two Asens, who came with Amisah, were foolish enough to sing songs against the king, and he was obliged to kill them.

On September 1st, 1827, the king's ambassadors, viz.. linguist Okwakwa, Amankwa Kuma, Kwantabisa, Kankam Kye Kyere, Afasboo, Princess Akyiawa and Amisah arrived at Cape Coast to arrange terms of peace, admitting that Osei Yaw was of opinion that it was useless to fight against whitemen and, therefore, desired to make peace and, in future, be subservient to them. Envoys were sent from Cape Coast, negotiations began, a treaty was settled and drawn up in December, 1827.

The Governor at the time was Sir Neil Campbell, and he desired the allies and protected tribes to agree to terms of peace, but found it impracticable to obtain their consent. When the ambassadors were at Akra, the kings and chiefs refused to accept

their suing for peace, on the ground that the King of Asante should have sent one of his principal Captains to represent him, with an indemnity, as a preliminary to a permanent peace. On this refusal, the ambassadors returned to Cape Coast, and from there to Kumase, Princess Akyiawa accompanying them.

On their second return, Governor Maclean was in power. The two royal hostages, Kwantabisa, the king's son, about 10 years old, and Owusu Ansa, son of the late Bonsu, about 9 years old, with 600 ounces of gold, were delivered by the king to Amisah. He brought the ambassadors and the two princes with the gold to Cape Coast. On the arrival of the envoys, Governor Maclean came down with them to Akra, and they had an interview with the kings and chiefs of Akra, who had been summoned to the meeting.

Queen Dokuwa, Agyemang, Apaw, Captain Ofo representing King Akoto, Ado Dankwa, and others had arrived at Akra. Quarrels occurred between the Akyems and the ambassadors and the people, and it required all the tact and temper of the Governor to maintain peace, in fact, at one time, he had to order out some men-of-war to the roads to prevent further disturbance. The Akras appeared to have opposed the peace negotiations, and had to be reconciled by large presents, which were given them privately by influential native merchants. A great meeting was held before James Fort and the following treaty might have been read to them, or a new one was made of which no trace can be found.

Asante Treaty of Peace, April 27th, 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 Anamabo; Tino, King of Denkera, Owusu Oko, King of Tshuforo; Animiri, King of Wasa; Tibo Kuma, King of Asen, the Chiefs of Adwumako and Asikuma, and the other Chiefs in Alliance with the King of Great Britain, whose names are hereby 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 Ansa 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 six years from this date.

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

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

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

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, Princess of Asante. Okwakwa, Chief of Asante. Ageri, King of Cape Coast. Adoko, King of Fante. Amoenu, King of Anomaho. Abuku, Chief of Akuamfi. Otu, Chief of Abora Tibo, King of Asen. Kwadwo Tibo, King of Dankera. Gyebi, Chief of Asen Owusu Oko, King of Tshufore. Appollonia 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, they assembled in the same manner at Christiansborg on the following day. It was another great meeting, especially as there were present a large number of the Danish Government officials in the Castle, who had been commissioned by the King of Denmark for the purpose of organizing a large regular native force, because it was evident that war with Asantes in the future could not be done away with by a single great victory. The native soldiers had, since their arrival, been doubled in number, carefully drilled, well supplied with artillery, and armed with the best available weapons known.

Sir N. Campbell had the same commission order in reference to preparations against the Asantes, but as the battle of Katamansu had been won before his arrival, the great preparations could not be utilized. Governor Hein, Magnusen, Secretary and Treasurer, Brock and Schenon, artillery inspectors, and others, were at Christiansborg Castle. The soldiers in new uniforms paraded before the Castle, to receive the Asante Ambassadors and the kings and chiefs of the Protectorate. It was a sight to impress the Asante envoys. Another Treaty was said to have been drawn and signed by Princess Akyiawa of Asante, Chief Okwakwa, Kwantabisa, Afaboo, and Amisah, then a salute of five guns was fired to ratify the peace treaty, and the ambassadors were dismissed with large and rich presents.

It is asserted that the Akras verbally added to the Treaty the following clause: "If any Asante trader and his wife came to the Coast, and any improper intercourse happened between the wife and the Akra man, nine heads and thirty strings of cowries, equal to eight shillings now, was to be paid by the offender, whilst if an Asante man committed the same offence must be sold into slavery."

The next important point to be arranged was now to bring the redeemed prisoners back to Kumase. Several of them had been redeemed by the influential merchants on the Coast, and were returned to the king without charge with the view of promoting friendship and trade with the Asante. Among the prisoners were the following members of the royal family: Aka Pusua, the king's wife; Akyiawa I, the Princess who had assisted in peace negotiations; Kokowa, Boaten's wife; Akyiawa II, and many others. To insure their safety in travelling through the Fante country, Richter adopted the following plan: Kwadwo Tibo, being the most powerful king in the Fante country, Richter invited his mother, Aya Dankwa, to come to Christiansborg and become a concubine of his. She came down with all speed, and was allowed a house and people to attend her, and imagined herself a friend of the old gentleman, when she was really a hostage kept there to ensure the safety of the redeemed prisoners.

Meanwhile the ambassadors arrived at Cape Coast with the captives, who were escorted by 24 armed men of Richter, the renowned Pobi Asawa of Akra at their head. Governor Maclean, after finishing the negotiations for peace with Danish Government, the kings and chiefs of Akra, Akuapem, summoned all the Fante kings and chiefs to Cape Coast Castle, on the arrival of the ambassadors and the ransomed prisoners. There were present Kwadwo Tibo, Tibo Kuma, Wasa Animiri, Kwame Basagyi, Boampong, and others. Unfortunately an incident happened in Cape Coast, similar to one which occurred at Akra; but then a quarrel only broke out between the Akyems and the ambassadors, whilst at Cape Coast stone and stick fights took place between some Wasa chiefs. The Governor at once checked the disturbance, and ordered 100 lashes to be given to each of the

chiefs who had allowed their people to fight. Boampong, thinking it a very degrading thing for a chief to undergo such punishment, stole away to a house in Cape Coast Town, and cut his throat.

When the Governor made the Fante kings and chiefs clearly to understand that the Akras had given their full consent to the negotiations of peace, they signed the treaty of the 27th April, 1831, in the great hall of Cape Coast Castle.

After necessary preparations and carrying large presents from the Government and influential merchants of Fante, the ambassadors started from Cape Coast under escort of 240 soldiers from the Castle, several Fante messengers, and Pobi Asawa with the two dozen armed men of Richter, but the Governor refused to sanction their carrying arms with the soldiers, therefore they were given loads instead, and left their weapons in the Castle until they returned to Praso when they would be restored to them. An obstacle arose on their way to Praso, because an Asen man, Dankwa Tutu, had murdered one named Toku and had escaped into the bush of Asen, which made the road dangerous, they were detained two weeks at Odraease for fear of Dankwa Tutu; but the chiefs of Abora assembled at Nyankumase and swore to abide by the peace which had been made. King Otutu and his chiefs appointed armed men, who escorted the whole body from the Coast as far as to Manyamanso, the town of Gyebri, but the soldiers and Richter's men accompanied them to Praso, and then returned to Cape Coast. Pobi Asawa with the messengers from Cape Coast then had sole charge of the ambassadors and the released prisoners to Kumase, and on their arrival handed them to the king. Princess Akyiawa, on reaching Kumase, was reported to have bought a slave, whom she named 'Nkranfo ye mmoa', meaning ,the Akras are fools', for sparing the life of such a woman as herself. Aya Dankwa was, after all, sent back with large presents to her country.

The peace was kept for six years according to the Treaty, after which the 600 ounces of gold lodged in Cape Coast Castle as security was returned to King Kwaku Dua of Asante. The messengers who received it were quite astonished not only at

its return, but that it was in the same condition as when it was given to the Government. The two Princes, Kwantabisa and Owusu Ansa, were sent to England and educated there with the idea that they would one day become kings of Asante, but as sons and not nephews they had no claim to the stool of Asante.

CHAPTER XXII.

Agriculture and its implements in Adam's time Improvements made by the Ancients How the former inhabitants of the Gold Coast acquired implements; 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 why not improved Famines in the country through provisions and labour being dear Folly of the educated community in not following the example of the civilised nations What the Government should do to advance the prosperity of the colony

We read in Holy Scriptures that our first parent—Adam—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 terrestral Paradise, to till the earth from which he was taken. Scripture says nothing about the nature or the material of the first implements which Adam used for digging and other work. We may suppose they were made of some hard wood. For until the invention of brass and iron attributed to Tubal-Cain, possibly called by the Romans Vulcan, the Antediluvians must have used much the same rude implements as those employed by Adam. The prodigious length of life the Antediluvians enjoyed must have been favourable to the acquirement of knowledge, especially agriculture, on the cultivation of which their existence depended. It is probably that in that distant time their knowledge of many things was in advance of ours on the Gold Coast. No doubt the terrible catastrophe of the flood swept away much accumulated information, but 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 scientific knowledge must have progressed until the building of the Tower of Babel, and it is from the dispersion of mankind, resulting from the confusion of tongues, that we must date the origin of foreign nations, because we can see in history that some nations, becoming civilised, founded kingdoms in which arts, science, and agriculture flourished, whilst others led a savage and wandering life.

In relation to the aboriginal tribes on the Gold Coast, the question arises, what kind of implements, and of what material were they made prior to the coming of the Europeans? As necessity is the mother of invention, those aboriginal emigrants may have discovered the art of founding iron from the ores, and working it into rude implements for cultivation, a long and different process, learnt bit by bit by painful experiment, as was done in the interior The following facts may cast a gleam of light on the subject. At Adanse Akrekyere, where some smiths appear to have lived, patterns of implements then in use were carved on a rock With all heathens of antiquity the inventors of some arts were often converted into fetishes or gods, like Bona with the Twis, and Ayekeaye (Ligble) with the Akras. On account of such smith-fetishes, a professor of that trade gave to his male child the name of "Numo", 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 shape of two clay smoking pipes placed side by side As the soil of the Gold Coast, even to the seashore, is wonderfully fertile, the results of culture by the rudest implements, two crops in one year, with little labour, richly rewarded the farmer The rich virgin soil also produced an abundance of trees with edible fruit, such as the fan-palm and date-palm and several kinds of berries upon which they subsisted during the greater part of the year. The fruit of the fan-palm formed the principal article of diet and was cooked thus. the fruit is first roasted and the peel stripped off, the edible part is mixed with a little native flour made of roasted corn. Some berries, especially angmada, undergo a kind of brewing, and a

beverage was made. The process of brewing corn and water into a kind of beer is called 'nmada', i.e. corn beverage.

The wine extracted from the fan-palm they called 'adoka', that made from the date-palm 'akudono', of the oil-palm 'teda', in Twi 'nsafufu'. The origin of palm wine is traditionally reported to be: "When the Fantes were on their way from Takiman to the Coast, their king had a celebrated hunter named Ansa, who was employed by him. As the Fantes had to fight the former inhabitants of the country before they could settle there, the king sent Ansa to lead scouting parties from time to time. Ansa had a dog which always went with him; and it happened during a hunting excursion, he found a palm-tree which had been thrown down by an elephant, and in which a hole had been made by the animal's foot; and it appears that the sagacious animal had long been aware of the secret of tapping the palm-tree and had enjoyed the delicious and intoxicating sap that it yielded. The hunter, Ansa, noticing the liquid flowing from the tree, was half inclined to taste, but fearing that it might be poisonous, he tried it on the dog, which greedily drank it. Following the example of the dog, he in the morning drank so freely that he became quite intoxicated. He lay in a state of stupor all day and the king and people wondered what had become of him, but when he had sufficiently recovered, he soon found out the best way of tapping the tree, and when he had obtained one pot of palm-wine, took it to the king, but before handing it to him, tasted it himself to prove that it was not poisonous, as was the custom.

When the king tasted the wine, he enjoyed it so much that he would not allow any one else to partake of it; in fact, he got so drunk, that he did not recover until the next morning. The people, when they saw their king in such a helpless condition, thought he was poisoned. They set out in pursuit of the hunter, Ansa, whom they, without allowing him to explain, despatched, thinking that because of the high and influential position he held, he had killed the king in order to reign in his place. When the king had recovered, the first thing he did was to call out: Ansa!, and when he learnt that out of mistaken zeal he had been

killed by some of his men, he ordered them to be beheaded; and ever since, the sap of the palm-tree was named Ansa which is corrupted into Nsa.

Another account of the origin of the use of palm-wine tells us that a chief, named Akoro Firampong of Abadwirem, in Adanse, had a hunter, Werempim Ampong, whose dog followed him to a farm, where he found a number of palm-trees thrown down by elephants, some of them split in two and with the sap flowing from the surface of the trees thus divided His dog at once licked up some of it and became wild and intoxicated, and after that lay in a state of stupor the rest of the day The next day, Werempim Ampong went there again, he made a hole in one of the trees, placed a broad leaf in the opening to conduct the wine and drank it He, too, became drunk and when sober, reported it all to the Chief, Akoro Firampong. On the third day the chief went with the hunter and drank freely of the new liquor, and also became intoxicated. When he recovered, he invited his friend Anti Kyei of Akorokyere to visit the place with him, and both of them drank so freely, that Anti Kyei died. This created great alarm and indignation against Firampong and the friends of the dead man resorted to arms to take vengeance, so much so that Firampong, to prevent bloodshed, offered to kill himself; but before committing suicide, he ordered the drummer of his kettle drum to beat the following, which has become the general beating of kettle drums

Werempim Ampong, wudi nsa mu akotene,
Akoro Firampong, damirifua, due, due!
Anti Kyei, Firampong, dammirifua gyegyegye,

meaning:

Werempim Ampong, thou art palm-wine warrior,
Akoro Firampong, receive our sympathy, pity, pity!
Anti Kyei, Firampong, receive our sympathy in high tones

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 servant to the captain; and through him the captain sold the new liquor,

and to distinguish it from palm-wine it was called Mmoro-nsa or 'mmorosa', that is 'Mmoro's liquor'. The principal vegetables cultivated and eaten by the former inhabitants of the country were: yams, batatas, cassada, maize, ngma (a kind of small and very black wheat), rice, and different kinds of beans. There were other kinds of roots eaten by them, which are unknown to us, through going out of cultivation. Even the use of cassada was almost abandoned on account of its being narcotic; and it is traditionally reported that their fetish Sakumo promised to pass its urine on the root in order to remove that defect, and when he had done so, it became good. We could not have convinced them that the fetish had nothing to do with the change, but only constant and careful cultivation brought the root to its present state.

Amanfi and Asabu, two giants who paid great attention to agriculture, were the chief cultivators of the soil.

It was, however, the establishment of Europeans on the Coast which gave impetus to cultivation, and led to the introduction of foreign plants and fruit-trees into the country. A writer of the 16th century says "Till now, the Portuguese are the only nation that attempted the improvement of the Negroes."

They did not confine themselves in the efforts to their generous and trading factories, but formed considerable colonies on the Coast. They tried to teach the natives the better cultivation of the soil, &c. They introduced kinds of millet and corn, plantain, banana, orange, and apple; but we must admit that a tradition exists that plantain and banana were indigenous to the country and that they were first discovered in Dompim in Akyem.

Defining the word 'abrode', which is the Twi name for plantain, we say Abro ode, i.e. Abro's yam; and it appears there were indigenous plantain and banana in the country before the arrival of Europeans, and Abro was the name of the native who obtained some suckers from the European who first introduced it. The following tradition appears to be the true one as to how the plantain was discovered.

A hunter at Dompim, feeling very hungry during one of his hunting excursions, happened to find ripe fruit on the

plantain tree, he tasted it, and then ate one or two of them, and brought home a bunch ripe fruit and also a bunch of the green ones, showed them to his fellow-hunters and to his wife; they all considered them to be very nice. The green fruit was roasted and enjoyed. The next time he picked them, they were boiled and made into 'mpesi' (mashed food) as is done with yam, hence the name 'oboode', which means a substitute or an addition to yam. After the Portuguese, came the Danish colonists, such as Meyer, Schonning, Truelsen, Grenber, Balck, and others followed in their footsteps, their chief object being not only to instruct the natives in the cultivation of the soil, but to improve it so as to better supply the European markets with what they required so as to emulate the West Indies. After the abolition of the slave trade, the Danish Government urged the people to produce vegetable, and plantations of coffee, cotton, and other produce were made in the Kuku and Legong hills Further on, they bought land from the Akuapems and founded their own villages Sesemi, Bebiase, Kponkpo, Abokobi, Akropong, Togbloku, &c Besides coffee, the Danes introduced other vegetables unknown to the natives but produced in the West Indies

After the Danes, the Basel Mission also taught the natives how to improve their methods of cultivation of the land, first by European lay missionaries sent out for that purpose To advance that object as well as to shew the natives (there are Christian negroes who cultivate the land), 24 members of the Moravian Congregation in Jamaica were brought to Akropong in 1843 at the cost of the Committee at Basel The emigrants brought with them the Coco (mankani) and the mango, avocado pear, bread nut, &c., into the country; the Coco proved a valuable assistance during famine.

Fishing and hunting were their next occupations; poisoned arrows were used for hunting, and many elephants, buffaloes, and many other animals, very plentiful at the time, were killed. The art of sea fishing, making nets, fishing canoes, &c., seems to have been discovered by the Fantes. The first European settlers may possibly have improved the nets, but no improvements appear to have been made since; and if our people had not been

despised to live from hand to mouth, great advance might have been made, such as larger boats, better nets, &c., which would certainly have made good returns for the expense and industry; but our motto appears to be: "As our great-grand-fathers did, so we must do."

The giant Kwagya of Mowure, who accompanied Amanfi from the sea, founded the town Mowure, and was the first fisherman, he and his followers carrying on the occupation, and from his teaching and example all the people of the Gold Coast learned the craft. Dshangma, the founder of the town of Ningo, contrived a means of catching fish by placing a strip of a creeping plant across a rib of the lagoon Dshange Placing himself out of sight, when the fish passed on the creeping plant one end of which he had fastened to something available, he jerked the end he held suddenly and one or more fish were thrown into a rude receptacle he had ready. This was one of the doubtless many plans used for catching fish before nets were invented. It is remarkable that the then principal occupations of our people, viz.· agriculture, fishing, and hunting, supply proofs that they had a certain knowledge of the creation transmitted to them by tradition. Fishermen keep Tuesday as a holiday, and as our holidays always fall on the same day of the week in which one is born, our fishermen believe, through tradition, that the sea was created on the third day, Tuesday. The farmers kept the same day as their holiday, yet in consideration of Adam coming into existence on the 6th day of creation, they called the earth 'Asase Afia', i.e. coming into existence on Friday—Adam is named from the earth —for this reason Friday is another holidy 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, he being the friend of the animals." Is not this remarkable! How came our people to know that Adam had the power to kill animals, before they could die, and is their friend?

The next occupation of the former inhabitants was salt-boiling and gold-mining. The method of obtaining salt at first appears to have been to boil the sea water or saltish water from

the lagoons in earthen pots. They used to place 10 or 12 pots in two rows, which were cemented together with clay somewhat similar to the furnace. It was then set boiling with wood, and evaporation produced salt. Europeans introduced copper boilers, but these methods were tedious, and the Portuguese invented salt-pits and pans, into which the salt water of the lagoons was led through small drains and pipes, and the water evaporated through the scorching heat of the sun.

The Portuguese commenced the salt-making on the lagoon Kole, at Akra, and when the Akras were conquered by the Akwamus, the blame was laid on the Portuguese, and it was said that Kole was offended that such pits and pans had been dug on her; and from that time the Akras forbade the practice. They and the people of Christiansborg gave up that profitable manufacture and confined themselves to trading in European goods, but all the other towns along the Coast chiefly applied themselves to salt-making. Those who did this acquired great riches, because the demand from the interior was constant and, if peace could be maintained, the Coast towns would have been the most prosperous on the Gold Coast.

Gold was obtained from the mines in Akyem, Dankera, Tshuforo, Asen, Wasa, Asante, and other inland places. The gold of Akyem was and still is the purest and finest. People on the Coast, especially in Fante, Elmina, and Axim, used to wash out gold on the seashore after heavy rainfalls

Earthenware of various kinds, waterpots, cooking and eating vessels, smoking pipes were made The walls of the houses were either built with sticks and swish or solid clay, of a pyramidal form of five or six feet high, and thatched with sticks and grass. The houses looked like the present sheds of fetishes, with no windows, but only a single opening, which could be closed by mats made of palm leaves and called 'Kwo' No furniture was inside, only baskets made of fan-palm, with lids in which clothing, precious beads, and other things were kept. The clothing of the poor was 'obofu', the bark of a certain tree beaten soft; but the better classes used country cloths. In ancient days these were woven; but when Europeans arrived and cotton or linen goods

were introduced, the weavers gave up their trade. Iron founding was likewise abandoned; but the manufacture of earthenware and articles in gold was not only kept up but improved.

The principal occupations of the former inhabitants of the Cold Coast were: agriculture, work in gold, iron and earthenware, fishery, salt-boiling, gold-digging, and weaving. The new occupations introduced by Europeans were: bricklaying, carpentry, cooperage, clerkship, gold-taking, soldiery, tailoring, shoemaking, wheel-wrights work, stewardship, cookery, canoe-rowing, schoolmastership or teaching, sea-shell gathering. Sea-shell picking was a very profitable occupation for women at the time, because all the forts and tanks built by Europeans on the Coast were made with the lime obtained by burning the shells with wood, and it was better than that obtained later from Europe. (Why did not our people continue making it? No, we desire to lead an easy life and to have everything manfactured in Europe instead of making for ourselves, sending everything we possess to foreign countries, which must result in making us slaves in the future.)

Many will reply. "Are there not so many kinds of produce raised in this country, which bring thousands of pounds sterling back to us? Yes, there are, and many more may be produced in the future, if people are industrious and intelligent But the better classes among us, the educated part of the community, have given up agriculture as a means by which the riches of a country are augmented. Is not agriculture the mother of civilization, the backbone of national wealth, the type of various branches of human industry, which have sprung up in the civilized world? If our educated people abandon that work, is our civilization on a sound basis? Can we speak of our civilization when the real riches and resources of such a wonderfully rich country are buried in the ground? When the grass on thousands of acres of land is consumed by fire every year instead of being eaten by cattle? If our Government had all the native hands they require, and the merchants 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 their future be miserable? Well dressed, fashionable, but without occupation; corruption must increase, and instead of our country improving, it will shamefully retrograde!

Let us consult on this subject the lessons to be acquired from the most civilized nations, ancient and modern The Israelites were all husbandmen and shepherds, driving their ploughs and watching their flocks. Gideon was threshing his corn when the Angel told him that he should deliver his people. Saul, though a king, was driving his 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 yokes of his father's oxen.

With the Greeks and Romans, we see everywhere kings and princes living upon the fruits of their lands and on the flocks and working with their own hands; then there are the descriptions in Homer. We see by Xenophon's economics that the Greeks had in no way lowered their opinion of husbandry, when they were at the highest point of politeness. Whoever is acquainted with the life of Cato the Censor, cannot accuse him of a low way of thinking or meanness of spirit, yet that great man, who had filled all the offices of 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 about the various ways of managing Lands and Vines and other matters relating to agriculture The Carthaginians, Egyptians, Persians in the height of their power, had overseers in every province to superintend the tillage of the ground; in fact the Egyptians had so great a reverence for agriculture as even to adore the creatures connected with it. Even distinguished statesmen, such as Gladstone and Prince Bismarck, were devoted to pursuits connected with agriculture; but enough has been said to maintain our position.

Our people, after the Europeans had established themselves in the country, did not confine themselves to the traffic in slaves, but most of them turned their attention to the cultivation of the

soil. Yams, rice, and corn were so plentiful that slaveships were supplied with corn, in peaceful times 1,000 stalks for 5 shillings, but in times of war 1,000 stalks for one ounce of gold. From Asabu and Fante countries about 100 canoes were daily laden with corn, yams, and potatoes at Mowure for Axim and Akra for sale.

Bosman says that rice grew 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 the cultivation of rice up to our time, would our merchants have to order it from Europe?

After the conquest of the Akras by the Akwamus, cultivation was confined close to the towns because of the incessant inroads and kidnappings by the latter. By and by those high forests and bushes which attracted so much rain that the harvests were plentiful, were felled for fuel and home consumption, causing rain to be less, hence scarcity of food prevailed in June and July every year. The farmers were forced to form small hamlets two or three miles from town, such as Ologobi, Tatarawa Kpatshakole, Sowotuom, and other places. The meaning of Ologobi and Sowotuom shows how the farmers fared at the hands of their enemies. The former shows that they eluded the kidnappers and escaped home; the second that their plantations could only be made by holding on to their guns in defence. As they could not make their plantations more inland, the harvest of corn was never plentiful; cassada and beans were grown; and they were obliged to buy corn from Fante, Agona, and the Volta towns; and in doing this several women, men, and children fell into the hands of man-stealers and robbers.

When the Akwamus had been conquered and expelled from Nyanawase to the place they now occupy, the farmers extended their plantations some miles further inland, but they could not proceed further until the Akwamu refugees had been sought for and reinstated in the bush. Three noble women of Akwamu were given as hostages to Akra, one to James Town, one to Asere, whose name was Opoma Tia, and one to Gbese, Kpakpa Asoanna; the head chief of the Akuashong got Opoma Tia, who, it appears,

was kept as a wife by the chief. On account of that connection, the Akwamu refugee Adsham Botwe, then residing at Amanforo, became known to the chief and was treated as a brother-in-law bp Kpakpa, through whose advise the King and chiefs of Akra appointed Adsham Botwe as overseer of the whole conquered land of the Akwamus

Having through the favour of the Akras become the overseer of the land formerly belonging to his people, Adsham Botwe called the following Akwamu refugees to his assistance, viz.· Adshama Otuoko, Otabi, Kwasi Adae, Kwasi Batam, and Panyin Anyankoe; and these hunters helped Adsham Botwe in the management of the whole land, and by degrees they called in Atshia and Amoa, who had some connection with the royal family of Akwamu from Agona and Fante

Atshia founded, later on, a place which is named Atshiamang and Amoa that of Amoamang These Akwamu fugitives, who had some blood relation with Akra, encouraged the Akra farmers to extend their cultivation and villages further inland At that time any pieces of land Akra farmer cultivated was considered to be his; but in time the fugitives seeing how careless the Akra chiefs were about their right to the land, even if that they had gained possession of by conquest, took advantage of the position and made themselves chiefs and owners of the whole country, and even went so far as to collect rents and to sell back those portions which had been cleared by the former planters and were well known to be their property, either to their children or, in fact, to any one who offered large sums for them. A large part of the rent, we must admit, was given to the king. Chief Amoa and many others went on selling the land till they were warmly opposed by the brave farmers of the village of Opa. Amoa was impudent enough to summon them before the King and chiefs of Akra. The farmers appeared and stated their case before the court at Akra, that the land was theirs and conquered for them by their forefathers, Amoa himself being a fugitive who was their captive, and who could, therefore, never deprive them of their property. This clear statement of facts ended Amoa's sale of stolen property; but in consequence of the unsettled state of

the country by the incessant kidnapping and plundering of the Obutus and Akuapems, the farmers' best efforts to properly cultivate the land were impeded and the robbers had to be checked. Some of the plunderers were killed and several others shared the same fate from the hands of the palm-wine carriers and the iron-hearted company known as 'Odshofoi'. These palm-wine carriers formed a powerful body bravely defending the country from these brigands. Many serious cases were dealt with by them; but the farmers did not enjoy peace until after General Amankwa Abunyawa had punished the Akuapems and Fantes in 1814. In addition to the general scarcity which prevailed in June and July every year, great famines were caused by war, scarcity of rain, and by a plague of locusts. Famines which are still remembered by the people, especially that of 1809, which was occasioned by the Asante invasion of Fante in 1807, and also those that occurred in 1816, 1822, 1825, 1829, 1832, all these were caused by war, when, naturally, peaceful cultivation could not be pursued; during these famines, it often happened that a Fante was sold for a few pounds weight of corn.

At these terrible times, women, and children were seen at Akra searching for wild fruits and roots; fortunately the fruits of the fan-palm, date-palm, and all kinds of berries were plentiful in those days, such as noko, kofu, amugui, and others; but the fan-palm was of the greatest value. Another great resource was the wild root called Akpatsha, which grew as big as the fist and resembled the sweet potato in shape. Women and children could be seen in the early morning strolling in the plains about a mile from the town in search of Akpatsha, and when a woman found one she joyfully sang: "Asaba titriku amano, mina onu si te oyon? Kolete, Kolema." When this root was brought home, it was divided amongst the family and eaten raw.

The people who had relations and friends at Akuapem, especially at Berekuso, went there to obtain unripe plantains, which were dried in the sun or smoked in the kitchen, in which a row of wooden pins was fixed in the wall three or four feet above the earth; and on these the fruit was smoked, dried, ground, and prepared. Mothers are said to have often boiled pebbles in

a pot to pacify the children till food was available. As fish were plentiful, a herring only costing one cowry, or 40 one string, and several plants had edible leaves, the people did not perish. On account of the scarcity in June and July, the Akras name their annual feast, Homowo or Homoyiwoma, meaning a hooting of hunger, so that instead of thanking and praising God for the blessing obtained, they hoot at hunger in order to shame it.

Famines were also produced by locusts; and our old people speak of those which visited the Gold Coast for the first time about 1740 and destroyed all vegetables, causing so great a famine, that 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; and many Akra women were sold. Some were lucky enough to be redeemed by their relatives, but others were kept in captivity for life. In the 19th century locusts have appeared three times; and in 1833, just when the second corn-harvest was ripening, they came to us, but the damage inflicted was little, it was the first known to our people. They being unaware that locusts are a Divine judgment on a nation (Ex. 10, 12-15; Ps. 105, 34. 35; Joel I, 4-7. 2, 25-27) entertain the notion that there is a high mountain at Agu in Krepe, where 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 leave the mountain to destroy vegetation of all kinds

In May, 1838, the locusts again visited the Gold Coast just at the time when the corn-fields were shooting forth blossoms; they were so numerous that they nearly blotted out the sunlight and destroyed every green leaf. Corn, yam, and cassada plantations were consumed by them as if a great fire had burnt up the face of the country; every tree was leafless, the plantain trees, the grass on the plains, all were devoured When they had only been a few minutes on a plantation, nothing was visible but the naked earth. They travelled in a direct line along the Akuapem mountains towards Adshenkotoku, but fortunately, a strong storm arose from the West, which swept them away and saved the crops there. When their course was stopped, they turned to Akuapem and the coast, and destroyed all the cassada plantations. When

the West wind had abated, they resumed their advance to Fante where they could not destroy much as the harvest was ripe.

People were glad to be rid of them, but, alas! not very long after, the canker-worm took their place, which are more destructive to plants and fruit trees than even locusts. The wind had no power to sweep worms away, and they were too numerous to destroy. They disappeared in the early months of 1839 as mysteriously as they came. During these times of loss and trouble, the people applied to the fetishes for help; and numerous sacrifices were made to them for aid in every town in the country. Our people, as a rule, try to find out the cause of their calamities, generally imagining that the fetishes have been offended, and in this case the Labadis attributed the plague of locusts to their chief having a superfluous number of fingers; the result was that the venerable chief or king was ordered to give up his services in the Court of Lakpa, and a successor was appointed in his place to minister to the fetish

To avoid the evil wrought by the locusts, people changed their mode of planting cassada, they had hitherto placed it thinly, but now the farmers along the Coast set about making especially large cassada plantations Those in James Town and Dutch Town made large ones in Dshonya, which proved so wonderfully fruitful that others followed the example. Most of the Europeans and native merchants then on the Coast had gardens; the native headmen also had their gardens.

Provisions were cheap in those days. A load of corn of 80 lbs. weight cost 15 to 25 strings of cowries, say between 3*d* and 6*d* in our days. A loaf of bread of 1 lb. cost 9 cowries, one of 2½ lb. 25 cowries, whilst presently four 1 lb loaves cost 3*d*. A big hen cost 5 strings, a cock 4 strings, and an ordinary chicken 2½ strings. As food was cheap, so was labour, a common labourer is paid 2 to 5 strings a day, a carpenter or bricklayer 1 to 3 heads of cowries per month; a soldier 2½ heads of cowries a month, which being paid in goods, were retailed with good profit. A piece of iron bar which was the ordinary pay of a soldier was sold for 6 heads of cowries; four yards of cloth (or 12 lines and 16 lines of country cloth, the former cost 25 strings, the latter

30 to 50 strings) which was the monthly pay of a carpenter or bricklayer, was sold for one head and 10 to 25 strings. Even when silver coins were used in paying labourers and for goods, as there were no shilling or sixpence coins, the dollar was cut into four pieces, called quarter-moneys, with which the employers and buyers deceived the labourers and others by cutting up the coins as they liked to their own advantage, until good old England supplied us with small coins.

But our people of the present day would say, the ancient were fools and we would never condescend to be paid thus!

We think, we of the present time are fools, and shall remain so until we understand what civilization means When a farmer is enriched by his business, and then instead of improving his trade by employing many more hands in extending his operations, he takes his profit and invests it in mercantile pursuits, about which he is quite ignorant, is this likely to promote civilization? When a fisherman becomes rich by his trade, ought he not to improve it by buying more boats and nets, and if possible ordering better ones from Europe, and if one man has not the money to do so, why should not a number of them combine their money for the purpose. But if instead of this he becomes a general trader, for which he was not trained, must he not certainly fail? What is the result? When all the educated community are too fine to become farmers or fishermen, and all of them become traders and clerks, the price of provisions must rise. The last 30 years has seen a wonderful change in the price of everything, and in another 30 years, everything will be worse, and in the popular phrase· "we shall have to live on silver", that is money will be cheaper than provisions Take for example Krobo. The Krobos are known to be the best farmers on the Gold Coast; all the inhabitants, 40,000 in number, are engaged in agriculture, viz.· palm-oil making, which obliges them to have all their land planted with palm trees, and although they buy thousands of acres of land from the Akuapems, Akwamus, and Akyems, the lands are so distant from town that provisions obtained can with difficulty be sent to market, hence food is dearer in Krobo than even on the Coast; and if the whole population on

the Gold Coast will turn its attention solely and wholly to being traders and clerks, the result will be the same.

The rearing of cattle and poultry, which was introduced into the country by European farmers, so that bullocks, sheep, turkeys, &c., were plentiful, is now entirely neglected; the Adas alone keep to that business, and supply the Coast. The grass of Keta is worse than any other, but in spite of that, they rear bullocks. We have every facility to become respectable, well to do men, if we will only abandon our false ideas of civilization and make up our minds to work with our hands! With regard to our educated men, we admit that they do their best to earn a living, but if they would turn their attention to other pursuits, and if our youths, on leaving school every year, would not depend solely on finding employment as clerks, it would be of great advantage to both men and youths.

Then our educated ladies will not only refrain from hard working, they, in addition, have no desire for education, the only wish that possesses them is to dress as European ladies, but bother books and reading. Of course, there are exceptions. If our ladies have no desire for education and to be able to read for themselves, and are not desirous to work, what is the prospect of the advance of civilization? The prosperity of a family, the prosperity of a town, and of a Christian Church, indeed, of the whole country, depends and must depend on ladies, whether they be better educated, more industrious, and better Christians! We admit that some part of the civilization which exists on the Gold Coast sprang from the Mulatto ladies and gentlemen, who were the children of big European merchants and high officials once residing on the Coast. They, by inheritance, have become the owners of large estates, and naturally live as their fathers lived. The lower orders imitate them under the false idea that to dress like Europeans is to play the lady, and after that it is necessary to live as they do But in reply to their observations, our ladies ask, what kind of work are we expected to perform? We do needle-work, we trade on a small scale, what more do you demand? We reply, does that pay? Trade may pay, but can you keep your accounts as it is usual for traders to do? Go to Sierra Leone

and Lagos, and there you will find ladies doing what other members of their sex do; but on the Gold Coast the contrary prevails; and if we make our uneducated mass of boys and girls consider education from that point of view, we become a stumbling block on the way to civilization.

The Basel Missionaries introduced such a system of education for females up in the interior that in spite of it she willingly worked in her husband's plantation, and did all kinds of necessary woman's home work; and on Sundays she was suitably attired. If a woman from the interior visits the Coast, and were to act as she did at home, she would put dressing fashionably on one side, and revert to the habits of the uneducated, so as not to be ridiculed by the Coast ladies. Now, the Sierra Leone and Lagos women of the lower classes dress and do their work in accordance with what is done in their country, they rightly adhere to the principles which have been implanted in them, but not one of the Gold Coast ladies act on the principles in which they have been trained

This want of principle, especially prominent in the Gold Coast people, which makes those educated in Europe look down on those who have been educated here, is the sole cause of the unimproved condition of the country; and such of us who have been providentially favoured, prefer the society of white-man, who in truth will never treat us as equals, and endeavour to ingratiate themselves into their society. But it may be asked, where shall we find intercourse so likely to polish us if not with Europeans? Our fellow Africans are too uncultivated not to say low. To that we say No!

There are native people, although educated here among the mass, who are respectable, behave respectably, and from whom, by solution, could be formed a society, but not if we begin by despising them.

For the last fifteen years the European residents on the Gold Coast have associated with the natives and its results have not been beneficial, but now-a-days that friendly intercourse has ended. Is not that a lesson to teach us to depend upon ourselves for society? Let the better claims among ourselves impart to each

other their best qualities, christian and rural, and then a decided change for the better will certainly take place in the Gold Coast; let us cultivate our own best qualities and not imitate badly those of Europeans! Things are better to-day we hear in the Fante country; and if there were more Young Men's Christian Associations and similar institutions here, agriculture, education, and Christianity could be advanced.

Before saying anything about what our Colonial Government should do to promote the prosperity of the country, we must take a glimpse of the past state of the Gold Coast. Some 200 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, also the English and the Danes, the French, and, for a short time, the Brandenburghs also had theirs. That such a small country of an area of 20,000 square miles, had so many masters of different nationalities and different laws, was a pity. But after the Dutch and Danes had departed, good old England was left alone on the field. What all those Governments could have respectively done for the improvement of the country and the people, could now be better performed; and we are very glad and thankful that Providence has placed our country and people under Christian England.

We are fully content to be under the sway of our blessed sovereign, because when we cast our eyes on all the Colonies under England, we see great improvement Even in those Colonies to which our brethren had been dragged as slaves, and later on restored to liberty by England, great improvements have been effected, while, in some instances, 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, and that faith inspires us with courage, so that although we are behind in many things, we feel certain that we shall be elevated from our present degradation. We therefore look to England and the English people but principally to our Colonial Government to help us.

The Basel Mission, and if we are allowed the expression—

the divinely appointed Basel Mission—the mission that does not confine itself to the glorious Gospel, but educates the people in nearly every branch of industry, and for that purpose had opened several industrial establishments at Christiansborg for joiners, wheel-wrights, lock-smiths, black-smiths, and other mechanical crafts, has done and is doing great good to the country, and we expect our Colonial Government to do its part. We live in the best time the Gold Coast has ever known, because war, which hinders so cruelly the improvement of a nation, is no more heard of here since the power of Asante has been crushed by the British Army under Lord Wolseley.

We call the attention of our Colonial Government that a few years after the battle of Katamansu (Dodowa) in 1826, the Danish Government introduced the teaching of industry in the Government School, in order to teach the scholars that they must not depend for a living by becoming soldiers, but should be properly taught agriculture, fishery, and mechanical pursuits generally. Governor Henrich Lind, who introduced the scheme, and to further his purpose brought all his family and several immigrants out, was forced to return to England, on account of ill-health, in 1831, and his successor allowed the scheme to fall off. It is high time for our English Colonial Government to do something on the same lines for the present and future generations; either to co-operate with the painstaking and frugal Basel lay missionaries, by allowing them a certain sum annually for teaching industries. Such help would enable them to enlarge their establishments and do more good; or our Colonial Government, if they preferred it, might build their own workshops and send for the best West Indian artisans to superintend them, if they desired to work independently.

Perhaps the most important need of all is to have good roads. We have wheel-wrights but where are the roads?

If our Government agreed to open industrial workshops, even they would be less useful than roads. In the first place we urgently require three good cart-roads for Akra, at least 30 miles each, to begin with. With these the provisions which are so plentiful at the plantations could be cheaply conveyed to the Coast, and

also the produce for the merchant. Material for all kinds would be cheaper, and many would remain in the Colony for its advantage.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The causes which led to the first civil war between Kumase and Dwaben. Battle and retreat of Boaten to Akyem in 1832

As the capture of Kumase by General Lord Wolseley and Sir John H. Glover resulted in a civil war between Kumase and Dwaben 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 Dwaben, was a great favourite of the late King Osei Bonsu; and Osei Yaw, who succeeded Bonsu, was envious of the favours shown to Boaten by Bonsu during his life. This ill-feeling was cherished by the new king when he ascended the stool, and became stronger after their inglorious retreat from the Coast, during which Boaten succeeded in saving the golden stool from capture by the enemy on the battle-field

Envious captains of the Asantes added to this ill-will by putting unfavourable construction upon the conduct of Boaten during the battle. They even accused him of having retained some of the public treasure lost in the campaign, insinuating that as he had managed to secure the golden stool, the public treasure 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; and on their arrival at Asante, the following persons, Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi on one part, and Mafo and Okwawe Dokono on the other, were competing for the stool of Nsuta. Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi with most of the inhabitants of Nsuta applied to Boaten, asking him to settle the dispute and to place one of the rivals on the stool; but their rivals, Mafo and Okwawe, applied to the king at Kumase. When this was known to Oweredu and Berifi, they requested Boaten to ask the king that a fetish oath should be

administered so that their lives would be safe if they appeared at Kumase. The king replied that there was no necessity for a fetish oath, as he had nothing against them. Boaten, to appease their fears, ordered his brother Kofi Boaten to take fetish with his clients. Now, although the King of Dwaben may possess 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 at Kumase to settle the case there, which he did, bringing his two clients with him.

A grand court was held in which Mafo brought all the charges he could against Oweredu and Okwawe, how they had been in the habit of robbing, murdering the king's people passing through Nsuta to Salaga; and that the king's servants thus robbed and murdered numbered about eighty As there was no evidence in their defence, they were condemned and the king appointed one of his nominees to the stool of Nsuta, and ordered Boaten's clients, Oweredu and Okwawe, to be put in irons with their relations, 60 persons in all When the case was settled, the king went to Bereman, and from there he commissioned Oteng with about 1,000 men to kill all those unfortunate people at the dead of night.

When Boaten heard of this heinous act, he returned home in a rage. Some people believed that the 60 unhappy people had committed suicide, when the two chiefs, Oweredu Kwatia and Berifi, were condemned by the king to be beheaded.

Fully aware of the ill-treatment he had given to Boaten, King of Dwaben, the king sent several presents to pacify him, which he indignantly refused; and one year elapsed before he visited Kumase again. A few months later the following incidents occurred.

Yaw Odabo, alias Kotiaku, a subject of the Prince of Dwaben, who so resembled the prince that it was nearly impossible to distinguish one from the other; in fact, they would be taken for twin-brothers; and Boaten made a companion of him. He was deeply attached to him, indeed, that he shared all things equally with him. That state of affairs lasted even after the prince became King of Dwaben.

One day Kotiaku had stayed with Boaten until night conversing with him; but after leaving him, he stole into the king's harem and committed a rape on three of Boaten's most beloved wives. One of them, Osewa Kramo, said. "It is a very long time since I have had the favour of being seen by my lord the king; I wish therefore to call for a light to see your face, before you take leave of me." The light was immediately brought in, and to her surprise and horror she saw Kotiaku instead of the king.

"Akuamua Bena!" she cried very loudly. "What is the matter?" asked one of the other wives When she was told it was Kotiaku, she said· "Was it he who was with me, too?" The third wife then said: "It must then have been Kotiaku who was also with me!"

A great alarm was consequently made in the harem, and the king enquired and was informed of the cause. The big kettledrum was beaten, and the people of Dwaben assembled in the king's house. The unpleasant story was told, and express messengers were despatched to Kumase on the same night to inform the king. Meanwhile Kotiaku had effected his escape to Kumase, where he was arrested. The King of Dwaben insisted upon his being surrendered to him with his family and relatives, including his mother Akuwa Friyie, his sister Ofewa, and his wife Otrewa, and their child, all to be punished with death According to Asante law, the offender alone is to be punished, but not his family. The king knew that Boaten had the same right as himself to make a demand in accordance with the national law, but he would not admit this and claimed the guilty man and his whole family. The King of Asante insisted that the offender alone must suffer for his crime but not innocent persons. Messengers went to and fro, urging the delivery of Kotiaku and his people; but the king positively refused, and Boaten said "Let the king exchange Dwaben for Kotiaku and his parties." For that reason he determined never to go to Kumase again.

When three days had passed, Kwantabisa, general of the van of the Asante army, was sent with seven of his chiefs to Dwaben to bring Boaten to Kumase, in order to settle the case which had been pending so lang. Kwantabisa thus addressed Boaten and

the court of Akuamua: "In olden times it was said, a dispute arose between Akuamua and his uncle, the king, which lasted for four years unsettled. I have the same commission today, to invite you to your uncle, to see his face, so that matters may be peaceably arranged."

To this address, Boaten replied. "The idea of the king wishing me to come over to him! Does he believe that I have forgotten the affair with the inhabitants of Nsuta? Was there ever a similar case since the creation of the world? Is not Nsuta's case vividly present in my mind? That has taught me to be wiser, and therefore I will not go to Kumase! If the king really meant peace, he would not have killed all those friends of mine at Kumase. We say, if a neighbour has gone astray, he is recalled by the tune of a horn blown by another neighbour, and as such is not the case, neither shall I listen to the call, nor be forced to go by one like yourself. I am a man, and not a coward to be thus treated."

After that 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 covered with shame returned to Kumase On arriving at the capital, he applied a leaf of a tree to his mouth, so show to what abusive words he had been subjected. Upon such occasions, it is the custom for the king to swear to the commissioner to pardon him before he repeats the insulting words he has had to submit to, or he might be put to death. Kwantabisa being a wise man and knowing the consequences that would follow a repetition of the hard things said and done to him, only touched the better parts of them. The king was enraged, and ordered Kotiaku and all his people to be sent to Dwaben.

Then the king turned to his chiefs and said "Should I allow this little fellow to insult me so much?" The chiefs replied: "We might do something but for the mat-shrubs" (a large species of Bromeliaceae planted between Kumase and Dwaben by order of Anokye, by whose magic virtue the power of Asante was established, and which are a memorial of the compact that Kumase should never take up arms against Dwaben). The king

answered: "Were not people sleeping on mats in Kumase, when those Bromeliaceae had not been planted by Anokye?"

Two weeks later, Boaten sent two messengers to Kumase, but the king would not allow them to speak and barbarously killed them. This act shocked the Kumase people. In spite of this two more messengers were sent by Boaten eight days after, who shared the same fate. The king thereupon distributed arms and ammunitions to his captains, commanding to start on a Monday, so as to fight the Dwabens on Krudopa-Oku, the most sacred day with the Asantes, which falls on Wednesday Among the captains who swore to the king was one Adu Brade, a son of the late kings, wo said. "If I mean by this expedition to drink from a spring and not from a pool, I forfeit the oath of Koromante." On reaching Abankuro, having Buraso before them, the troops met messengers from Boaten, who said "Akuamua wishes to know why a force is marching against Dwaben today? 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 in order to settle the case there."

Refusing this request, the Asantes seized the messengers, put them in irons and sent them with an escort to Kumase Boaten must have had a large supply of messengers and must have bought them cheaply When they reached Kumase, the king ordered them to be killed.

The Asante army marched on a few miles and encamped on Tuesday so as to arrive at Dwaben in time to fight on the most sacred Wednesday. Early in the morning of that day, being Krudopa-Oku, Boaten assembled all his chiefs and said to them "Se berebi womba, nkye ofunabiara amba" ("Had something not happened, no trouble would have come"), "for it was Kotiaku who had offended me and through him it is that all these troubles are upon me now. I therefore order that the offender and all his people must beforehand be made away with!"

Without delay everyone of them was beheaded and the little child of Yaw Odabo, who was clinging to his mother's breast, was snatched away and drowned in the river Owaram.

A few minutes after the execution of Kotiaku and his rela-

tions, the king ordered the inhabitants of the town, men, women, and children, to quit the place; and only the armed men formed an ambuscade about the town, in order that they might see what the enemy would do when there, whether they came to settle the pending case or to fight. The enemy, however, upon entering the town forthwith fired at a bullock. At this Okra Dehee and Gyesaw, who had painted their bodies with white clay, were sent by King Boaten and Chief Yeboa to enquire. "Were you not aware how the world was created? When have you kept the words of Anokye that the army from Kumase is upon Dwaben?" "It was a bullock that was shot", was the reply. A dog was then shot, and the men in white ran forward and asked. "Akuamua (Boaten) wishes to know, where you have kept the words of Anokye, that guns are being fired upon Dwaben today?" A few yards further on, the Asantes found the dead bodies of Kotiaku and his relations lying about. At this sight a heavy fire was opened on the Dwabens. The first Asante captain to fall was Adu Brade, whose head was cut off and brought to Boaten. He ordered it to be burnt. The Asantes were forced to retreat as far as Ekyereso

During the heat of the action, one of Boaten's captains blew himself up with powder; and his remains were thought to be those of Boaten, and were therefore conveyed to Kumase. The king called an old woman who was a prisoner, and said to her. "You being a grey-haired woman, should have given better counsel to your king, but did not do so! He who pretended to do wonders lies here now "

"Nana", she said, "it is not Akwasi who is lying there now."

"Who is he then?" asked tke king "I do not know who it is; but it is not Akwasi", said the woman. "Then where is Akwasi?" enquired the king "Akwasi has walked away", she said. "Where to?" enquired the king. "I don't know, it may be to another country", she replied

Okye, a captain of 1,000 men, by the king's order, carried the dead body back to the troops at Dwaben, with these words: "Come, you fellows! get away with your Boaten!" and with other abusive words, he left the body with them and returned to Kumase.

Boaten had proposed to blow himself and all the royal family up with powder when his ammunition had run short; but Yeboa Kore and his chiefs had opposed him. They said that so long as God spared them they should not kill themselves, but go to some other country and prepare against the Asantes. Boaten said: "That would have been possible, if I had not destroyed all my clothes, and even scattered all my gold dust." The chiefs replied: "So long as the Asantes could not annihilate us, we must not destroy ourselves. We had better march to Akyem and surrender ourselves to Queen Dokuwa, and fight the Asantes again when we have gained a footing there and are stronger." The king agreed to what Chief Yeboa and the others proposed, and they started. Chief Yeboa Kore delayed as if to make preparations, but made his way to the river Pimkyim and there committed suicide with 60 persons of his blood It was the body of Yeboa Kore that was taken to Kumase.

Boaten had given an imperative command to Captain Kwabena Nketia, husband of his sister Boatema, who had the charge of the royal family, as well as the women and children of Dwaben, to shoot down his sisters and all of the royal blood, the moment he heard that he had destroyed himself with powder When Nketia heard the blasting of gunpowder during the heat of action, he 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 scattered in terror, and most of them 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 this shout, Nketia was so paralysed that he was unable to fire, but recovered enough strength to shoot himself.

The enemy left the battle-field, and King Boaten was anxiously awaiting the arrival of Yeboa Kore and his people; but when the sad news of his suicide reached him, he determined to follow the same course. Captain Apententia prudently advised him not to do so till they reached Praso, where the enemy could not discover and dishonour their remains. By this time the king had cooled and they resumed their march towards Akyem. Agogos and Amantras under Amoako attacked the king at Peterensa, but

he scattered them to the winds. Continuing his march, he slept half way and next day reached Duafrasuom. He despatched messengers to Dokuwa to inform her of what had befallen him by the action of his uncle, Osei Yaw, that he had no bed to sleep on, no pewter-basins to use, in short, no royal effects of any kind with him, and desired to come over to her.

Meanwhile the Asante army had been ordered to march back to Kumase. Two of Boaten's family, Sapong and Sapomma, a son and daughter of the King of Dwaben's sister Afrakuma I, with the state properties the royal stool, and his own sons Agyei Twum, who succeeded him, Yaw Kyere, Okyere Panyin, with many others who were taken prisoners in the conflict, were brought to Kumase. The young princes were given in charge of Kwadwo Duawa, chief of the eunuchs, the elder boy was six years and the other four years old At the reception of the troops these poor captives were carried on men's shoulders while they saluted the king and his assembly. The younger on seeing the king and chiefs said to his brother "Behold the large state umbrella of our grandfather, his castle, oh dear, here he is!" When brought before the king, the little one exclaimed to his bearer "Let me down to go to my grandfather." Both princes were put down, and the king took them on his lap "Nana", said the little boy, "I feel very hungry, for when the grand yam-feast came on yersterday, guns were fired, but we had nothing given us to eat." "All right", said the king, "you shall eat soon " After the reception was over, they were brought home, and richly served, but the elder boy ate very little The king treated them kindly for some time; but after that he assembled his chiefs and said to them "My grand-children must be despatched on account of Adu Brade. Yes, they must be despatched." The chiefs said· "As they are little children, they should be spared for a memorial to the world; and in accordance with the sayings of Anokye, these youngsters should be spared." But the king insisted upon their being killed because Adu Brade had fallen in the engagement The chiefs opposed the king, saying "We were strongly forbidden by Anokye to ever imbrue our hands in the blood of the Dwabens." The king then said that he knew how to manage

things so that their blood should not be shed. It ended by the poor little children being smothered in a large wooden trough and buried.

Boaten's messengers were kindly received in Akyem by Queen Dokuwa. When they returned they brought with them all things necessary for Boaten to Duafrasuom. The Dwaben royal family consisted of the king, his mother Osewa, sister Afrakuma I, and her child, also Boaten's brother, Kofi Boaten. These with their people and the whole of Dwaben were cordially welcomed by Dokuwa, her sons, King Ata, and Obiwom, and all their people, and after their reception, presents were lavished on them, and a site to build their towns and villages on was granted. A few days after his arrival, Boaten despatched three ambassadors with his compliments to the Danish Governor Brock, the British Governor McLean, 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 Akyem His recall to Asante The atrocious request of having his cousins and some captains put to death before he consented to return.

When the ambassadors had executed their commission, they returned to Akyem. From all the principal merchants, Ridley, Richter, Hansen, Bannerman, Fry, and others, in addition to the kings, chiefs, and principal men, large presents were sent with their compliments and expressions of sympathy with 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 sympathise with you, bid you welcome, and wish you success in your battles. I receive you with embraces, to live in peace with each other, and, in course of time should Osei think of an invasion, we agree to stand together against him."

After their negotiations, the merchants began trading with the Dwabens at Akyem.

There was not peace between Dwabens and Asantes during the former's stay at Akyem. Whenever they met they fought, either with sticks, knives, or guns. Boaten organised an expedition under Opoku Sakoree against the Boem people and took a great many prisoners besides much spoil in ivory and other things. He sent many of the prisoners as presents to the principal men on the Coast, and sold a great many to pay expenses. After the expulsion of Boaten from Dwaben, Osei Yaw ordered the Karakye and Namonsi people, who were tributary to Boaten, to throw off their allegiance to their former master and come over to him They were unwilling to do so, and General Nubeng was ordered to march against them At Bankoro Wiawoso, General Nubeng learnt that the Dwaben expedition from Akyem against Afidwase and Asokore was coming there, and unexpectedly Opoku Sakoree met the Asante army A sharp contest followed, in which the Dwabens and Akyems were defeated

General Nubeng now marched to Karakye, many of the people there 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 Asante general was passing the day in merriment and dance, when suddenly an army of Bagyam appeared and attacked the unsuspecting party. Nubeng and several influential men were killed on the spot. This forced the Asante army which had gone to plunder to return hastily and drive the Bagyams back 3,000 prisoners were taken from Karakye and Bagyam When the defeat of the expedition and destruction of the Karakye and Bagyam was reported to Boaten, he sent at once a large supply of ammunition by a captain of Atipini to Karakye to help them fight the Asantes, but the former had too much weakened by the late battle, to venture to take the field again. Skirmishes between the Dwabens and Asantes continued for a long time, injuring the country and damaging trade. At last the following ambassadors were despatched from Kumase: Akoa Yaw, Barefi, Osei Bedikwa, Ata Kunku (bearer of the gold stool), Etuahene (bearer of the gold calabash), Amankwa Kuma, and several others. Boaten appointed envoys with linguist Oduro Akotedwan at their head and presented the state

of things to the chiefs of Akra, who also apprized the Danish Governor Morck, the British Governor McLean, and Commandant Fry. A grand meeting was held at 'Tunyean' (now Victoriaborg) on the 27th May, 1835, and peace was concluded between Asante and Dwaben. A total eclipse of the sun occurred that day. The Asante ambassadors prudently gave every chance to Oduro Akotedwan to win the case in order that Boaten might be easily persuaded to return. Oduro did win the case, and the verdict was given in Boaten's favour, and a linguist's cane was presented to Oduro by the officials The eclipse made it necessary to put off the case until the next day.

There was no true and permanent peace between Ata Obiwom, and Boaten when the last was at Akyem. Boaten appeared 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 Payin and Obiwom and it was from him they acquired the art of ruling in the Twi manner. In spite of all that, they not only envied him, but intrigued with ladies of his harem. Obiwom had improper intercourse with one of the wives of Kofi Boaten, from which an incident happened that would have brought on war between them, had not Ata very prudently stopped it. Kofi Boaten was informed of the intrigue with one of his wives, and as she would not confess, the offended husband watched and detected them. She was ordered to be apprehended and beheaded. She endeavoured to escape and was pursued by her husband Kofi Boaten. As she ran she cried loudly· "Ata, gye me e! Ata, gye me e!" ("Ata, have me rescued! Ata, have me rescued!"). The poor woman fell on a fetish at the entrance of the house, and the enraged husband fell upon and beheaded her.

Ata, not knowing the cause of this, was greatly offended at such an insult, and a stick and stone fight broke out between the Akyems and Dwabens. Boaten, who, at the time, was at Berem for amusement, was informed of it. The Dwabens were forced to retreat, but on seeing the king, who had been called to stop the quarrel, they drove the Akyems from Kyebi, when he said:

"Where to?" King Ado Dankwa of Akropong, when he knew what had occurred, sent his principal linguists, Aye Kuma and Apenteng, to Akyem; there they assisted Kofi Abrantee, Chief of Kukurantumi, to investigate the case, and Obiwom was found guilty. He was fined 10 peredwans, equal to £81. Osewa, mother of Boaten, nearly ordered the Dwabens to resort to arms, when the riot happened. This and other offences caused Boaten not to speak to her for over a year.

Another deplorable incident also happened. One Ofosu Atimu, a servant of King Ata, by some misconduct to the queen mother offended the king, and was ordered to be beheaded, but he effected his escape to the Coast, and sought protection from the Government. One day Ofosu happened to be found in the house of Boaten's basket carriers, and when the king heard it, he at once sent information to King Ata, and he instead of sending his own officers to apprehend Ofosu, sent instead a flask of rum to Boaten's basket carriers with a request to catch the man; which of course Boaten opposed, and said "One refugee never catches another refugee, should he do so, it will reach the court that he had introduced Asante's cruel acts to Akyem, and was teaching people to imitate them. If Ata refused to send for Ofosu's arrest, neither should his people do it."

At last Ofosu made his way to the Coast, and a court was held to try the case. The Akyems tried to find Boaten guilty; but he did not submit to the decision. This and other causes made the Dwabens think of their own country, and made them long to return. On account of disturbances of the public peace, twelve soldiers of the Danish and English Government were stationed at Kyebi and relieved every six months. This was continued all the time the Dwabens were at Akyem Boaten had several times begged the Danish and British Governor as well as the King and chiefs of Akra to allow him to visit the Coast, but in each and every case had been positively refused.

He petitioned at least to be allowed to see Akra, but even that favour was denied him. The reason for this no one could understand. Some say the Akras were of opinion, "that blood is never wanting in the head of a horsefly"; and that being an Asante

king, formerly an enemy, he might design some evil 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 leading merchants on the Coast that he was not to stay in the Protectorate. All these hindrances caused Boaten to return to his country if possible; and added to that his mother and sister persuaded him in the same direction.

In the year 1839 Rev. A. Riis, of the Basel Mission on the Gold Coast, arrived at Akyem and did his best to begin a mission among the Dwabens and Akyems; but neither Boaten nor Ata helped him. Boaten did send a number of Dwaben youths to the Coast to be trained as musical band performers; but for a school and preaching the gospel he showed no interest. Boaten, besides not being permitted to visit the Coast, received message after message from the British and Danish Governors, urging him to return to Dwaben Prince Kwaku Dua had been made King of Asante, after the death of Osei Yaw, and despatched ambassadors after ambassadors to the Governors of Christiansborg and Cape Coast, King Taki I, Ata, Kwadwo Tibo, Tibo Kuma, and, in fact, all the chiefs of the Protectorate begging them to persuade Boaten to return to Dwaben. The first ambassadors were Osei Dankyere, Yaw Koko, and Barefi. They brought 60 peredwans, equal to £487 (some say 300 peredwans) to Boaten with this message "Boaten is the principal man who has to place Kwaku Dua on the stool; and unless he returns, no one can perform the ceremony connected with the coronation."

The money sent is said to have been divided between Boaten, Sapong, head chief of the Oyoko family, Agyei, Chief of Asafo, and Agyei Bohen, captain of the Bodyguard One of the ambassadors, Barefi, had a confidential message from Kwaku Dua to Boaten; and on his arrival determined to behead him; but Barefi, knowing the king's intention, said: "The king has determined to send out 1,000 messengers to recall you home, so that if you kill me another and another will continue to come until you desist." Boaten said in reply, that the King of Asante was requested to return all the property and men captured from Dankera, Akyem,

Akuapem, and other places to the respective owners, before he would agree to go to Kumase. On Barefi's return, the king sent him again to Boaten to say that it was impossible for him to return the people and property; for he did not know where the property was and it was not he who would have taken possession of it· their forefathers had captured the things, and being dead, how could he know where they were to be found. Boaten should let bygones be bygones, and return The King of Dwaben replied: "I am plunged deep in debt, how can I leave my creditors behind and go to Dwaben? If the king desires me to return. I ought to have sufficient money to pay my debts and expenses before I go back." Barefi came to Boaten for the third time with 800 peredwans and said "Where a man like Akuamoa exists no pecuniary trouble could befall him; he may, however, accept 800 peredwans, and on his reaching Kumasi anything more that he desires will be given him "

John Magnusen, a Danish native soldier, was ordered by Governor Giede to go to Akyem and settle accounts between Boaten and Queen Dokuwa; and it was found that his debt amounted to 16 peredwans, this was paid at once The principal ambassadors sent by the King of Asante were Ahenkuro Sei, Owusu Agyemang, and linguist Boadu. They announced their arrival at Akyem to the English and Danish Governments and found it necessary to spend more than one year to collect the Dwabens who were trading all over the Protectorate, before Boaten and his people could start on their return.

Boaten's last request to Barefi was that his cousins Aberedwase Opoku and Nerebehi Poku and their families should be killed before he would agree to go back; but that their troops should be spared for himself. King Kwaku Dua replied to this wicked demand, that he would not raise any objection to it, provided Akuamoa (Boaten) would send his own people to do it; he would not do it himself. Having obtained the king's consent, Boaten, under false pretences, informed the English and Danish 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 his return. Unaware of the real intention of Boaten, two soldiers, Christian Yelstrup and Henrick Engmann, with one Nkudshei, were appointed by the Danish Governor; Taki sent his linguist Dshang of Akra, to go with Boaten's messengers to Kumase.

Aberedwase Opoku and Nerebehi Poku were cousins to Boaten. The former's mother, 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 Dwaben, but in consequence of a civil war with his subjects, he abdicated and lived in a village till he died. Opoku had therefore a claim to the stool of Dwaben as well as Nerebehi Poku. A misunderstanding between the king and his cousin was created in this way. After Kwantabisa had failed in his mission to bring Boaten to Kumase, and the first messengers of Boaten had been beheaded at the capital, he ordered his people to prepare bullets, and Aberedwase not knowing anything of this, came to his cousin, but was refused admittance, as both Aberedwase and Nerebehi envied Boaten's power and sided with the King of Asante in the hope of obtaining the stool. Aberedwase Poku became very uneasy at being refused entry to his cousin, and quitted Dwaben the same night in spite of the expostulations of Nerebehi, and sought refuge in Kumase Next morning three messengers arrived at Nerebehi's inquiring for him, and they were asked by him why Aberedwase was so badly treated at the king's house? On that account he was frightened and quitted Dwaben. The messengers were going to pursue him, but Nerebehi advised them to go back, as by that time he had reached Kumase, where they would not dare to arrest or do any injury to him He added "For my part I would advise you to go back, give my compliments to the king and ask why Aberedwase Poku was denied admission to 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 pending case between my cousin and the king should be amicably settled, otherwise I will be neutral in spite of Heaven and Earth."

The messengers reported to Boaten what Nerebehi had said;

and when the civil war broke out between Dwaben and Kumase, neither of the cousins took part in it, hence Boaten desired to kill them both and their families before he returned.

Others were of opinion that these cousins of Boaten left Dwaben on the same night that Odabo was detected. They went to Kumase with the view of siding with the king so as to claim the stool for themselves. The three soldiers and King Taki's linguist acting as ambassadors arrived at Akyem. Boaten appointed Kwabena Puntua, Gyimadu, linguist Damansafo, Asare Panyin, Mogyaben, and a party of 50 armed men to execute his atrocious order at Kumase. Puntua and his company announced his approach, and a grand meeting was held at Kumase for their reception. When that was done, they went to their quarters at Ntuom. The king sent presents of every kind of eatables and gold dust to them the next day, after which the whole Asante nation was ordered by the king to send in their presents, which was liberally done.

As it was the Great Yam Feast, Aberedwase Poku with all his family and Nerebehi Poku were in Kumase. Prince Owusu Dome was ordered by the king to invite the ambassadors and Aberedwase Poku to his house to drink palm-wine. At the party they were told that Akuamua was expected soon, therefore they must be put in irons for a time, until he arrived, when any case pending between them should be settled. To which Aberedwase Poku replied· "Akuamua may come at any time, I have nothing serious to settle with him." Nerebehi Poku responded· "Why should you talk of being put in irons? Stretch out your hands to be manacled." He did so, yet none of the Dwabens could take hold of the hands, but all continued weeping There were more than 400 of the king's basket carriers and a set of the king's bearers who had surrounded the house to prevent any one 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 Twum and Antwi, ancestors of Dwaben and Kumase kings. I, on whom neither gold nor silver handcuffs should be used, must now submit to be handcuffed with iron in Kumase."

After being handcuffed, they were both taken to a house prepared for that purpose. Their wives and children were then seized and handcuffed. Among them was Boatema, a sister, and Kwasi Gyenti, a nephew. They were told that being royal personages, they should not be kept in that state in Kumase; and to avoid their being seen by the people, it would be advisable to remove them to a village, until Akuama's arrival; all this was said and done to decoy them to the place fixed on for execution. A few yards beyond Nsuben, Puntia and his men (the soldiers excepted) overtook them The sign of blockading the road by tying up the grass on the waysides—three knots towards the city and three knots towards the villages—was now performed, and Puntia ordered his men to murder the whole party. The poor women uttered heartrending cries, lamenting their sad fate, that being honourably born they must now perish so miserably. Above seventy persons, unoffending men, women, and children were butchered on that day. General terror prevailed. One of the intended victims effected his escape and reported what had befallen the people of Nerebehi The king not knowing that the terrible news had reached those people in their village, sent two messengers to bring them to Kumase. The cunning messengers noticed a change in the aspect and movements of the people and returned quietly, without them to the capital. They were ridiculed as cowards for not carrying out their orders, and two other messengers were sent. The villagers hid their feelings, supplied the messengers with food and drink, and then killed them They made a big dinner, ate and got drunk, danced and lamented 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 around the flames for some time and then cried: "Dispatch me quickly, for by this time my children are weeping and waiting for me." She was shot down. A father, after dancing for a good while, exclaimed: "My time is up, I must be gone!" and shot himself.

They continued this wild conduct the whole day and night, till most of them were killed. When the king heard of this tragedy, he sent armed men to interfere, but it was too late. They

found a mound of dead bodies, six feet high. This hideous wholesale destruction of human beings did not touch the iron 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. Her body was brought to land and buried by the king's order. The heads of Aberedwase Poku and Nerebehi Poku were both brought to Boaten; and he insisted on hanging the skulls on his big drums, in spite of his mother's protests. Besides the unfortunate victims, the following principal men and captains of Asante were also killed by Boaten's order: Lamte, Obuadaban, Bantama Aparaku, Ansere Tepa, Yaw Da, Oteng and Kwasi Odabo. All these were beheaded, and some relics of them were sent to Boaten at Akyem.

"The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty!" Ps. 74, 20 May our Heavenly Father hasten the time when error and superstition shall flee, and Christianity prevail!

CHAPTER XXV.

Boaten on his way back to Dwaben, and his death The arrival at Kumase of his mother Osewa and the Dwabens The rebuilding of Dwaben Trade with Asante revived and full peace restored 1839-1842

Boaten had at last obtained his wish. He therefore sent messengers to the Coast to inform the Danish and British Governors, the kings, and chiefs, that he was about to return to Dwaben Presents were again lavished on him One day with all his men, women, and children, he took leave of Kyebi, the band playing before him. He had reached Saman and wanted to pass through Gyadam to take leave of Agyemang, when Ata sent word that he was going to fight him, and that Boaten should therefore not go there. Boaten replied: "That would never do! I have taken refuge with Agyemang and with you, when Dwaben was destroyed by the Asantes, and have 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 be put on the neck of Ata, entreating him not to leave the place he was until the next day, when he would come over himself to hear what complaints he had against Agyemang. (The royal necklace of precious heads is the emblem of the king's power to stop war or to reconcile hostile parties) Ata took the necklace off, and the messengers brought it back to Boaten, who blessed his stars for giving him such an opportunity of gaining some fine to gratify his people with. For such an offence one is liable to a penalty of 32 peredwans, equal to £259. The next day, Boaten marched to Sinno, looked into the case, found Ata guilty, and fined him 12 peredwans and two sheep. Ata returned to Kyebi ashamed.

Boaten was preparing to visit Agyemang and take leave of him, when one day, amusing himself in the street with a certain game (antwe) he suddenly fell into a swoon His medical attendants did all they could to restore him to consciousness; but he was dead This occurred in 1839 It was reported that he poisoned himself; in fact he said to the Danish soldier who was sent to urge him to leave Akyem, that he knew how to put an end to his life; he had also said that he would never see Kumase alive. The real cause of his death was through an occurrence in his own family When at Kyebi, his daughter Sewa Nkran was married to one of the principal European merchants at Akra. Kwabena Puntua, his confidential captain, and also the husband of Afrakuma I, had the charge of Sewa Nkran to the Coast; and, during the travelling, an improper intercourse occurred between them. When Afrakuma knew of this offence of her husband, she determined to have Sewa beheaded, but Boaten opposed this, Sewa being his favourite daughter. Afrakuma said to the king: "Was it not on account of a similar case that you fought with the Asantes, which brought all these troubles upon us, and yet you deny my rights."

At the death of Boaten the best of his servants and captains, men like Puntua and others, shot themselves. A grave was dug and well prepared, a bedstead placed inside, and Boaten's remains were laid on it until they could be conveyed to Dwaben. A grand but bloody ceremony was made for him. After three months the

funeral procession started with the intention of passing through Gyadam to see Agyemang; but instead this they went direct to Mampong, where they were received by Agyemang and his people with presents and expressions of condolence. They marched to Kwawu, where they rested for a time and were about to go on, when Boaten's brother Kofi Boaten died. Osewa, Boaten's mother, sent to Gyesi, Captain of the right wing of Dwaben, who was of the royal family, and told him. "Gyesi, let me have blood to wash the remains of my son, Kofi Boaten, before he is buried." Upon hearing this, he said. "Do you mean myself?" "Yes, Gyesi, you!" "Who has ever done such a thing in this world?" Sternly questioned Gyesi, but she ordered him to be arrested and beheaded. That atrocity was reported to Gyesi'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, Gyesi's sons retired to their quarters and, being about 30 persons at the time, blew themselves up with powder. Of the rest half went in company with the Dwabens, the other half retired to Akyem and Akuapen and settled there There was reported that Gyesi was killed on suspicion of having caused Kofi Boaten's death.

After this hideous action of Osewa at Okwawu, she sent information of the death of Kofi Boaten, and the sacrifice of Gyesi to King Kwaku Dua. He was grieved to hear of what had been done, and asked "Who was beheaded? Gyesi, it is horrible! Why should Gyesi be killed to bury Kofi Boaten? I deeply sympathise with Osewa's losses, but she should not have killed Gyesi! Who would bury a son with a brother's blood?"

Osewa assumed the Government when Kofi Boaten died. In November, 1841, Osewa and the Dwabens reached Kumase, and a very grand reception was given them in the capital, where Akwanno swore at the meeting· "We went out as men with horns, but have returned as women. Should anyone 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." Numerous presents were given them by the king

and his subjects and they had the sympathy of everybody. All their property and people captured during the late civil war were restored to them. The king assisted them greatly in rebuilding their town in a much finer style than the old one, and peace was established. The rebuilding began in January, 1842, during which time the Rev. T. B. Freeman of the Wesleyan Mission had the opportunity of visiting Kumase and Dwaben with the glorious gospel of peace.

Osewa determined to claim the return of Adakwa from the Government of Kokofu, Apea Gyei, to become King of Dwaben, 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 peregwans on their behalf, Osewa's demand was refused. 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 cost the prisoners taken at Dodowa, whom they sent free of charge to the king, but they also sent special messengers with valuable presents to him, and by this governor's conduct trade was encouraged, and Asante traders came to the Coast by hundreds. The merchants represented the condition of trade to the English and Danish Governments at Cape Coast and Christiansborg When the meeting of both representatives of Asante and Dwaben had been called at Tunyean (Victoriaborg), peace was made and trade flourished.

Governor McLean himself was reported to have brought some of the prisoners to Kumase and given them to the king, and a good understanding was arrived at between them; roads were opened and other improvements made so that trade revived. The merchants on the Coast obtained so large 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 Hutton, Swanzy, Ridley, Bannerman, Richter, Hansen, and others, grew very rich during those days. Akras, who were

long before that the brokers to the merchants in the slave-trade, turned their attention to more legitimate trade, and therefore travelled to and resided at Akyem, Asante, Krepe, and other places, whence they brought many slaves for domestic purposes 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 to 1833.

The cause that led to the organisation 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. Ofori having obtained information of this, came directly with eight armed men and his daughter, to desire Oku to remain neutral, as it was a case between two chiefs alone. Ofori said: "I have been told that your assistance has been asked for by the Nyives to fight against me, but if you, the old elephant, will engage in the fight, we are unable to carry on against you and the Nyives. In my days Atikpoi should never be ruined, and I offer myself to be sacrificed and these eight men sold to brush my blood from your hands; and I give you my daughter in marriage." King Oku thereupon assembled all his chiefs and captains of the three Agotime towns and submitted to them the request of Ofori. They replied that since the Nyives had asked for their help and obtained a definite promise, it was impossible to change it: fight they must.

Chief Ofori had to run home with his daughter and the eight men and tell his people the result of his mission. They set to work to fortify their town with ramparts made of big trees with loopholes, to prevent being overrun by the enemy in case of failure The day of fight was fixed, and the Atikpois were attacked: but they defended themselves so gallantly that the Nyives had to flee, leaving the Agotimes alone on the field but with

immense loss of lives. King Oku proposed a retreat to Gbli, Chief Captain of the army, who, in reply, swore that if he should retreat to Nyitoi, the king's name of an elephant must be changed to that of an antelope of lowest species. They, therefore, remainded in the camp, when Ofori, though aware of their discomfiture, yet ran among them with 16 heads of cowries and some sheep, earnestly negotiating for peace; but by Gbli's refusal to remove the camp, the request of Ofori again was a failure. A second engagement took place, the Agotimes won the day, and the Atikpois became tributary to them. The Nyives fled and were impeached as cowards, and promised to pacify the Agotimes For this Gugu promised to give his daughter to Oku, but altering his mind, he gave her to his brother Nate Ngo, and things were settled for a time. The children of that marriage and their mother fled to Nyive, and their people refused to send them back, and on that account war was declared by the Agotimes. Chief Gugu allied himself with the following towns Shia, Krunu, Kpaleve, Tove Atshave, Agu, Azavi, Asahu, and Atigbe, and was chiefly supported by the Chiefs Krunu and Namote. The Agotimes, being friends of the Akwamus, asked their assistance, and captain Akonno Kuma was appointed The Nyives were engaged and beaten, but before prisoners would surrender, Akoto maliciously called the captain with his force back to Akwamu, and greatly injured his friends. Nate Ngo, the King of Agotime, was obliged to despatch messengers, including his son and daughter and the state linguist's Cane, embroidered all over with precious blue beads, to Akra, very earnestly asking for the assistance of Chief Kwatei Kodsho, promising that any amount of money he wanted to organise an army should be advanced by himself and paid at Agotime, as a battle had already been fought and won, but he required the help of an Akra army to force the enemy to surrender. Chief Kwatei anticipating only short and easy work, thoughtlessly gave his consent, and then submitted the case to King Taki and his chiefs at a meeting held at Sakumo-Tshoishi. The king and elders advised Kwatei to consult first his quarter's people, and after getting their consent, they would consider whether they would supply him with other warriors to join the

expedition. But being too sanguine of winning easy success at Krepe, and commanding a great many men at James and Dutch towns, he foolishly opposed the proposal of the king and elders, and said that he could muster an army of his own quarter's people and slaves, if they refused to assist him.

Captain Kotei of the Audacious Band then got up and swore that as he was captain of that band of Asere, he would certainly join the expedition with his company, provided that Chief Kwatei would pay and feed the warriors as he had not the means. The chief agreed to do his best, and the meeting ended. The king and chiefs appointed armed men to join Kwatei, Seko Agboleme, and Botwe Akplehe with one dozen men from the Abora quarter. Chief Krobosaki appointed Ayi Dadekpoti and Ashong Katai with eight armed men; Chief Dodu Nyang also sent Krote, Oto Tsuru and Okanta with 60 men, Kome from Teshi with 20 men. These 300 of Kwatei's own people, and 350 of the Audacious Band of Asere under Captains Kotei, Mensa Commodore and Ayiku comprised the whole of his force, about 1,000 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 in January. He had one iron one-pounder field-piece with him, which was fired every morning and evening during the campaign. At Dofo they had to wait until Akoto, King of Akwamu, had given them leave to cross, because he knew nothing about the expedition, and he was unwilling to allow any of his captains to join Kwatei, till the following presents were sent him: 40 heads of cowries, rum, sheep, and cloth for the king, for Akonno Kuma 16 heads of cowries, one sheep, an anker of rum and a piece of cloth; the same for Ofei Kiti. Akoto then appointed four captains: Dabara (Nabla) with 300 armed men, Ofo with 30, Kwabena Afadi with 20, and Boakye with 28 men; 378 in all. The camp was removed from Dofo to Manyakoi (Banyakoi), four days after to Abotia, where two weeks were spent, thence to Sokode for four days, and then met the Akwamu force at Ho. The whole body being concentrated, they marched through Ntakra, Kwadshoe, and

Sukpe to Adame. Here the Agotime force joined the expedition. King Nate Ngo and his chiefs, Kanga of Sukpe, Mensa Osa of Kpotoi, received 22 kegs of powder and four hundred lead-bars of ammunition brought for them. The whole force, the Akras, Akwamus, and Agotimes, numbering 4,000 to 5,000 men. On a 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 contest was continued on Sunday with the same result, because the ground selected by the enemy was very bushy, which prevented their being brought to close quarters. On Monday the attack was repeated, and by noon the expedition ran short of ammunition; and neither the Akras, nor the Akwamus, nor the Agotimes could supply any. In their perplexity they fell upon three large kegs carried by Kwatei's people, but to their surprise, they only found chains in them. As nothing, under these circumstances, could be done they retreated and the enemy pursued them until they reached Agotime, fortunately with small loss.

For three weeks no ammunition nor subsistence was to be had, and a demand was made for the latter, and 16 heads of cowries were given by Kwatei to every man in the army. There was a terrible scarcity of food Captain Odoi of Labade, who was trading there, and had been used as a linguist by Nate Ngo, was commissioned to get subsistence from the king for the army. 200 heads were sent to be shared by 5,000 men To maintain themselves by their own efforts every man started trading, some coming to Akra for goods, and for fully two years nothing else was done. They celebrated three Homowos (yearly feasts) in their camp. At last acting on the advice of the captains Kotei, Mensah, Commodore, and Ayiku, Chief Kwatei despatched messengers to his sister Dakowa at Akra, to send him a good supply of arms and ammunition, and when these arrived, the next thing done was to seek the assistance of King Akoto himself, who, being greedy man, demanded a large supply of ammunition for himself. All he asked for was sent, and he forthwith marched to assist Kwatei. The people of Sokode disputed his passage to Nyive; they continued the fighting for three days and were

beaten. Kwatei then sent word to Akoto that he was coming to clear the enemy away; 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 upon them and were captured. Kwatei resumed his march; and at Ho he found Akoto, who had defeated the enemy and made many prisoners. However, he was envious of the few prisoners made by Kwatei on the march to Ho. He said they were the victims of his last battle and that he had a right to claim them. He forced some of the chiefs to give up their prisoners, but Kwatei would not, and they turned out to be the only plunder he obtained by the expedition.

After three months rest at Ho, the army fell into line towards Nyive. Akoto assumed the command of the main force, Kwatei of the right wing, and Captain Akonno the left. They had their quarters at Ntakra, on Sunday at Awadshoe, 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 six days, they were suddenly and furiously attacked by the enemy, and, with great loss, driven to Yiviefe. The enemy continued fighting the whole day, 80 of the Akras were wounded, and more of the Akwamus; still they quartered on the field that night. The following day, Monday, they marched back to camp, and on Wednesday six ambassadors arrived with white flags, pieces of firewood, yams, &c., and begged for peace. Nothing remained but to summon Chief Gugu and his confederates to surrender. Chief Kwatei appointed twelve messengers, Akoto and the Agotimes twelve each, who would carry on the commission, but whether through Akoto's or his captains' unwillingness, nobody knew, the messengers deferred going from day to day. The scarcity of provisions was intense, hence Kwadsho Dei, the commander-in-chief of the Krepe forces under Akoto, sent a request to Captain Nabla of Akwamu to arrange in what way the warriors should be fed. The only reply was: "They must buy food for themselves from Mansai (Matshei) and Lume; the king would not do it"; and although Dei was dissatisfied 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* one ear left to Mabere was cut off; the other one had been amputated for a similar crime.

Akoto did not relish Kwatei having the glory and reward of the expedition, and therefore acted very indifferently in forcing the enemy to surrender. He had been in camp a whole year whilst Kwatei had been there three years, and, in addition, the warriors were suffering from hunger.

Edshanyi, son of Chief Kwadsho Dei, was attacked with illness; and his father asked the king to let him return home to be cured, but he was flatly refused although nothing was being done. In spite of the king's refusal, Edshanyi ordered the camp to be removed, and left with the Krepe forces Akoto, at last finding a plausible excuse, told Kwatei, that he intended to celebrate the yearly grand yam-feast and must go to Akwamu, that Kwatei should go with him to Bame, where he might capture some poor people. Kwatei very reluctantly agreed, and the whole camp moved to Bame; but found nothing to plunder Having played his last card, Kwatei indignantly told King Akoto that the Akras never live upon plunder, but upon legitimate trade; he must therefore learn that should he reach Akra alive, not one glass of rum, an ounce of powder, cloth or any article for trade would be seen in Akwamu At Ahodome they parted, Akoto to Akwamu, and Kwatei to Abotia, where he suffered from fever brought on by worry and grief. On reaching Dofo, he removed the remains of his son who had died there, and then crossed the Volta to Ningo. At Teshi he rested there on account of his serious illness, his captains did their best to get him home. At Labade he commissioned Captain Kotei to march with the Army to Akra to fire a salute, and he himself would come on during the night; but when he was half way between Labade and Christiansborg, he expired in August, 1833. Akoto might rejoice at having robbed Kwatei of a glorious triumph and a large number of prisoners by the expedition; but he did not calculate that he had thereby weakened his influence with his Krepe subjects, who were only seeking for an opportunity to revolt, but did not do so from fear

of the Akras who might be called upon by Akoto to help in crushing them, neither would God Almighty, to Whom all nations of the earth belong, suffer such a barbarous, cruel, and bloody kingdom to exist any longer upon the earth.

It is shocking to the civilised world to hear of the deplorable and wretched condition to which the Krepes were reduced by the Akwamus, since they were driven by the Akras in 1734 to settle in the Krepe land. The Akwamus lived upon war and plunder ever since the kingdom was established at the foot of the Akem peak. From 500 to 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 worst state. Many towns were devastated by repeated attacks, kidnappings, extortions and the like, many parents were bereft of their children; while districts were depopulated, whole tribes were thinned out by yearly tribute or lawsuits. Boys and girls were sold into slavery to furnish the king with luxuries For a few pounds of fish, an Akwamu resident in a Krepe town would sell a boy or girl to buy his breakfast, in short, poor and harmless persons were sold like sheep or fowl! In 1822-1823, when Yaw Osekyere, an Asante general commissioned by Osei, assisted the Akwamus against the Krepes, they captured thousands of unoffending Krepes, so that a boy or girl of ten years was sold for 25 strings of cowries, and an adult for one head and 25 strings. They locked up thousands of the prisoners in houses and then set fire to them because there was no market for them. On account of all these terrible things, they composed this poem. "Heretivio, miato nyo miano kuo gbo", i e "Ye stars, your portion is excellent, for when your mother (the moon) dies, she revives." It is obvious that the Krepes were always on the watch for a chance to throw off their allegiance to the king.

Chief Kwadsho Dei of Peki, the bulldog of Akoto, had had long experience of 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 all. Messengers

were sent after him to force him back to the camp; everything was done and said to influence him in the desired way, but he would 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 each ear would be charged a head of cowries (1 shilling) as a fine. The reply to this was: "The twelve 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. Now his bulldog Kwadsho Dei had revolted. It would have been more prudent on the part of the king, to overlook the disobedience of Dei, than to think of humbling him by a fight, but Providence had so decreed it!

During those days Peki was flourishing, there were several influential chiefs and captains, and rich men. Among them were Amon, usually carried in a basket, who had 500 warriors, Grato 500, Tako 400, Labi 500, and others. These united strengthened the hands of Dei, promising to support him to the utmost of their power. The whole Peki force met King Akoto at Bame and drove him back to Abotia. Kwadsho Dei 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 blocked by Kwadsho Dei. When he consulted his chiefs as to which tribe it would be best to apply to for assistance, Nabla advised him to call for the Akras, saying that they were the bravest men he knew. "An Akra man, when suddenly attacked, leaves his cartridge-belt in camp and runs forward to discharge his musket before returning to put the belt on." Akonno Kuma's opinion was that the Angulas were the bravest people known. "An Angula man", he said, "would, after firing 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

Kwatei, think of asking help from the Akras, so they unanimously agreed to ask for help from the Angulas, their old allies.

A large army of Angulas arrived, and King Akoto was exceedingly pleased. The following night they were put to the test by the firing of several guns near their camp; and their clumsy and confused way of falling in, proved clearly what kind of warriors they were. The Akwamus told them that "the king was only practising an enchantment". With such an enormous army, Akoto marched again to Bame, when Kwadsho Dei met him. After a terrible contest, Dei was driven back to Peki. The king did not attack the town, but encamped at Afalime, having Peki on the East, himself between that and Akwamu, facing the enemy. Akoto gained another victory at Afalime, captured Peki and encamped there. Dei retreated to Tshoho (Sohai) with the view of fleeing to Pekipong; but Chief Sohai Koto kept him back, saying: "You have irritated the big black ants, and do you mean to fly 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 take them to King Taki and his chiefs and to ask him to back them by encouraging traders to bring more arms and ammunition to Krepe. Okumko was rewarded by the present of a slave for going as Ambassador to Akra. A large supply of arms and ammunition was carried to Krepe for sale.

All the Krepe tribes were now summoned to unite in defence of their fatherland. They agreed to support Kwadsho Dei at Sohai. Anum and Boso threw off their allegiance to Akoto. While these things were being done, the Akwamus spent their time in merriment in all the towns of Peki. When all was ready, the whole Krepe army was divided into three main bodies: the centre under Kwadsho Dei, the left wing under Nyako and Kumi of Boso and Anum, Ahodome and the other Krepes forming the right wing. In this order 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 Amemere on the main road to Kpaleme. They fired at them, the

priest was killed and his head brought to Dei; the others fled, and reported it to the king who encamped at Abase. The Akwamus fell in and encountered the Krepes at Blengo, and the battle began. They fought for two days, and then the Akwamus retreated to Dshogbati. Here they fought again, and although it was very critical, neither would yield; both sides suffered severe loss, but the Angulas most, because they had not taken the necessary precautions It ended in a draw; the armies separating. The four most influential captains of Dei fell with all their men; his son Nutsho and a great many other chiefs were among the killed. After three days had passed, hunters were out as scouts; and they discovered to their surprise that the Akwamus had retired, leaving behind several guns and a vast amount of baggage. All was taken by the Krepes. King Akoto fled to Adanse, and there parted with the Angulas with grief and shame He took his quarters at Anyensu, feeling too ashamed to return to Akwamu. Kwadsho Dei, after the battle, stayed for some time at Tshadome, before returning to Peki.

For remuneration to the Angulas, who had suffered so much loss, Akoto ordered them to plunder Asutware on their way home. The Danish Government of Christiansborg, hearing of this, immediately sent soldiers, and removed them to the other bank of the river; and the Angulas, on arriving, found that all the inhabitants of Asutware had crossed the river Volta, and that Krobos, Shais, and Osudokus had been ordered by the Governor to encamp thereabout, so that the Angulas dared not cross the river and returned disappointed to their country At that time the Mlanfis joined the Angulas against Krepe. The result of the war to the Krepes was that they declared their independence and made Kwadsho Dei king Providence did not permit Kwatei Kodsho to longer plunder the poor Krepes, nor Akoto to rule them any more.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The causes which led to the angry expedition of Governor Morck against the Krobos. Ado Dankwa throws off his allegiance to the Danish Government, and his death 1835-1838

The kings of Akuapem, who tried in vain for several years by inroads and kidnappings to subdue the Akras, were more successful with the Krobos and Shais, who were their neighbours and depended on them for the lands they cultivated. They fixed their power on the mild tribes by their well-known astute policy, and by the protection offered during the troubles with the Asantes. Being peaceful farmers, whose desire was from time immemorial the cultivation of the soil and not war, they lost the sympathy of their spirited brothers, the Akras, and became tributary to the Akuapem kings, whose influence and law ruled the country, so that they not only became liable to heavy fines and extortions, but also to kidnapping and even to murder. We must admit that the Krobos themselves were first rate kidnappers, and even murdered travellers not only to get their goods but also their skulls for the annual festival of the national fetishes Kotokro and Nadu.

For that reason, the Krobos, who were trying to extend their plantations far into the bush, constructed sheds with two openings, one in front and one behind, the reason for this will be given later. They formed but small villages, often only one man and his family in the dense primeval forest. Sometimes when there was only one man there, he would while making 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 food scattered on the ground, would be sure to think there were several persons about. The Krobo, when questioned, did not understand, but pointed to the food about as if to say, his friends had not dined yet but were close by, and he would call them if desired. Saying this, he stepped into the front opening of his hut and escaped out of the back one.

King Ado Dankwa, who had promised General Amankwa to be punctual in paying the annual tribute to the King of Asante, at one time found it impossible to do so in money or in men; and he was to pawn his nephew to the Asante tax master, Owusu Afriyie, promising to redeem him as soon as possible. Adum was brought to Kumase, and there became so independent and self-confident as to fall in love with one of the king's nieces; she became pregnant and he was in great trouble and danger. Ado Dankwa felt that he must redeem Adum as quickly as possible, to secure him from the effects of the king's anger aroused by his misconduct. Seeing no other means of escape, Ado Dankwa resolved to kidnap some of the poor Krobos as a means of paying the tribute. To carry out this scheme, he sent to Krobo to open a new market for pots, pretending that the Akuapems were then in need of earthenware vessels. He sent about 14 heads of cowries as a bait to the market of Kwayefo; the Krobo women brought down plenty of pottery from the town to the market; and the Akuapems who were hidden in the bush, captured 77 of the women. Ado now paid the King of Asante with 70 of them, and sold the remaining seven.

This cruel and treacherous deed so enraged the Krobos that they threw off their allegiance to King Ado Dankwa. The Akuapems living in Krobo were ill-treated, and the king's oath and tribute abrogated. Very little after this, a Krobo hunter named Madshite Petshi killed some antelopes in the forest; and while pursuing other animals, some Akuapem hunters came to the spot where the bodies lay, and took them all, during his absence. Petshi, on another occasion, found some antelopes killed by Akuapem hunters; he cut them up and took away all he could carry. This aggravated matters, and Ado Dankwa would have marched against the Krobos, but there was no peace between him and his subjects, as a result of his extortions.

Governor Frederick Sigfred Morck assumed the command of the Danish settlements, and the Chaplain Rev. Torsleff arriving, Rev. A. Riis of the Basel Mission, who was then acting as Chaplain to the Castle, resigned that post for direct missionary work. His heart having been always attracted to work in the

interior, especially to Akropong, he proceeded there now, with Gronberg, Rev. Torsleff, Lutterodt, and Shannon, who introduced him to Ado Dankwa. After obtaining a piece of land from the king and a site for a mission building, Rev. Riis and Gronberg returned to Christiansborg. The king ordered a house to be built for the missionary, and a few boys were to be sent to school, of which the Governor was informed The Governor then went in company of Torsleff and Gronberg on a visit to Riis and also to introduce himself as the new Governor of the Gold Coast On his arrival at Akropong, all the chiefs and captains of Akuapem attended him to pay their respects and to fire a salute. This was done, the Chief of Shai also joining them, but the Krobos, although informed of the meeting, hesitated to present themselves at Akropong. They did, however, send a message expressing their regret that they could not attend the meeting, but if the Governor could come to them, that they would welcome him and do all to show their respect. Ado Dankwa had doubtless informed the Governor of his relations with the Krobos and the kind of subjects they were to him. The Governor, not knowing the truth about the King and the Krobos, was greatly annoyed at such an insult, and determined to go himself to see what kind of people the Krobos really were and, if necessary, punish them for their insolence. Doubtless Ado Dankwa advised him not to go alone and offered to accompany him.

The Governor sent a despatch by an express messenger to Brock, the Secretary, ordering him to send 25 soldiers, arms, ammunition, rum, and provisions; to distribute arms among all the Danish subjects from Christiansborg to Ningo, to ask Richter for men to bring the fieldpieces, and Lutterodt, Svanikier and the other merchants for people to carry arms and ammunition to Akropong, the Government labourers should be armed to come up and their wives should carry provisions. Brock promptly executed the Governor's orders and despatched 24 soldiers under the command of Sergeant Henrick Malm. On their arrival at Akropong, arms and ammunition were given to the king for his chiefs and warriors. King Notei Ababio and Chief Notei Nyantshi of Christiansborg with their forces marched to Akro-

pong, and joined Ado Dankwa's forces. They marched down with the Governor to Krobo and encamped at the foot of the Krobo mountain. Chief Anyetei Kokoranya of Labade, and Ofori Shadsho, the Chief of Teshi, arrived in camp with their troops, and reinforcements came daily from the Coast towns as well as from Shai, Osudoku, Asutshare, and other places.

The Governor sent Sergeant Christian Yetstrup and private Reinhold, the kings and chiefs appointed their linguists to go with the Sergeant up the mountain to summon the Krobo chiefs to give an explanation of their insolent message to the Governor. There were then two chiefs, Muala Okumsoro for the Eastern, and Adawura for the Western Krobo, with a number of principal men. On the return of the sergeant and his company, they brought down Odonko Aru and Ologo Patu with a flag of truce, 12 pieces of firewood and began negotiating for peace. The Governor accepted their offer of peace on condition that all the Krobo chiefs should come down to his camp, and settle the case there; but they were afraid to come and made vain promises day after day. To force the chiefs to visit the camp, the Governor might have suggested stopping their fetching water from Okwei, instead of fighting them; at all events, when the Krobos came for water, the Akuapems attacked them. The Krobos fell back as far as Susi; but the division facing the force of Ningo, instead of fighting there, preferred to attack the Akuapems and forced them to retreat with heavy loss. With the exception of the Shais, none were engaged by the Krobos. Ado Dankwa, pressed by his warriors for a supply of powder and shot, applied to the Governor, who peremptorily declined, saying: "Who ordered you to fight? You have disobeyed my orders." In this difficulty Ado Dankwa gave three of his sons to the Akuapems to sell them for obtaining ammunition; but they refused to do so, and 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 Krobos, discontent of his people, and the displeasure of the Governor, ordered the breaking up of his camp and marched back to Akuapem with all his warriors, leaving the Governor and the Akra army on the field.

The chiefs of Krobo still hesitated to come down after their defeat of 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 terrified them that they came down precipitately; and the case was settled. They were found guilty of *disobedience and fined 1,500 heads of* cowries. As the fine was not immediately paid, the chiefs were brought up to Christiansborg. Richter, becoming their security, paid the amount, and they were liberated The principal chiefs of Akuapem, Kwafum, Apagya Kofi, and Asiedu, said to the king that the Danish Government was deceitful, weak, and unreliable, and that 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 return from Krobo, passed through Akuapem, he was hooted in every town. Rev Riis, who accompanied the Governor on the expedition, remained at Akuapem, while the Governor and his staff, among whom was Gronberg, came to appear before the Governor at the Castle of Christiansborg to justify their leaving him on the field of battle. Before the king and chiefs had obeyed this order, a serious case occurred in the king's family.

It was the usual custom that when a person died suddenly and there was any suspicion of his having been poisoned or put to death by any foul means, the body was carried by two men in a basket, which was believed to knock at the criminal, and the man who was struck had to shoot himself or was beheaded by the king; his remains were not buried but thrown away. The relatives of the criminal unable to support the disgrace had to pay large sums before they were allowed to bury the body. Kwasi Adae became ill, poisoned, it was believed, by Aniampam, and was carried to Late to be treated by a doctor. He died there, after having told the people to carry his body home, as he would knock at the person who had poisoned him. This was done, and when the basket containing the body met Aniampam, it knocked him and, according to the custom, he must shoot himself or be beheaded. Both men were members of the king's family and he, unwilling to lose two persons of them at once, proposed to pay

any amount to the brothers of the deceased, but they refused to accept anything but justice. The Akuapems were enraged at this injustice of the king, and demanded that Aniampam should be punished. When the Governor knew what was going on at Akropong, he forthwith sent two soldiers to bring Aniampam and the brothers of the dead man to Christiansborg, so that the case might be settled there. The Akuapems had, meanwhile, determined to dispute the passage the soldiers would make to effect the escape of the criminal. They, therefore, laid themselves in ambush in the forest between Mamfe and Amanokrom, Nfogyo, Kwaku, and Awuku, brothers of the deceased, were with them. On reaching the spot, the prisoner was taken from the soldiers, killed and cut into pieces, and these pieces all the towns of Akuapem, with the exception of Akropong, shared. When the soldiers reported this outrage to the Governor, he immediately sent a detachment of soldiers under Sergeant Briandt and they brought down all the chiefs· Kwafum, Apagya Kofi of Adukrom, and Asiedu of Late, &c , to Christiansborg. The case was adjusted and the chiefs were fined the sum of 1,500 heads of cowries, 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 of the resolution made to throw off the allegiance to the Danish Government. Thereupon, the king, chiefs, and their followers started for the Coast, as if to attend the Governor's call and, on reaching Berekuso, made their way towards Akra. Kwafum had meanwhile reported to the Governor the intentions of the chiefs, that they were only leading the king to Akra to desert him. The Governor, however, sent Gronberg and Lutterodt to intercept their escape to the English jurisdiction. They were met at Kwabenyan by the Governor's representatives, who used every persuasion to induce them to return to Christiansborg, but failed. When they arrived at Accra, they fired a salute to the Commandant Hanson, and declared in favour of England. Old Kwafum was sent to Christiansborg on the same night during which the king and chiefs reached Akra, had an interview with the Governor, arranged everything and went back to Akra.

A grand meeting was convened the next day before St. James' Fort between the English officials and their allies, and the Governor and the Danish allies; and they agreed to lay the matter before the home authorities and be directed by their advice. Kwafum had meanwhile introduced Adum to the Governor, and Adum was assured that he would 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 obtained large presents from him. The home authorities decided that the Akuapems must remain with their former masters. Governor Morck then publicly proclaimed Adum King of Akuapem, condemned Ado Dankwa as an outlaw, and fired a salute 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 authorised to fight Ado, should he dare to come up to the mountains. The chiefs of Akra, who had supported poor Ado, could do very little for him They sent a detachment under Chief Ayi Kokosaki, 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 supporters who were people of Aburi Atweasin, 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 return freely to Akropong; and if he doubted them, 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 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, fearing an attack, concealed themselves in the bush between Obosomase and Afwerease. Seeing two women with loads, accompanied by a young man with a gun, the hidden men supposed the enemy was about to attack them, fired at the young man and wounded

him. They rushed out to cut off his head, but the wounded 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 of fighting after peace had been made. He did not stop to fight them, but came to Damfa with about 300 warriors, where a few soldiers with an English Officer were sent to assist him against the Akuapems, who did not arrive, nor could they march to attack them; and for this reason 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 Kwame Akrompi and Tshoku, laid an ambush by the main road at Ayai-Ngmangmasha on the Opoku hill. They caught three Akropong women, among whom was Akua Badua, wife of Owusu Akem, and brought them to Berekuso. The lion-hearted Owusu, on hearing at Kwabenyan of this, marched directly to the place, just when Ashong and his company were delivering the message. He attacked the town, killed seven persons, and rescued his wife and people All Akuapem flew 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 troubles so afflicted the old king that he poisoned himself. It was the hand of God for betraying the late King Saforotwe.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Return of Owusu Akyem to Akuapem. Disturbances there about the Royal Stool Adum's incarceration and appeal for redress on the Coast. Death of Owusu Akyem Disturbances on the Coast in consequence of Owusu's death. King Adum and Chief Saba'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 angry and told Owusu that they had settled there to work and not to wage war, and that they had better move

on. Kpokpoase and the neighbouring villages became their abode, and many of them were reduced to bitter want, and 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 his people; and marched to Abiriw unmolested As the only nephew, who supported and protected the late king, he had in his possession the stool of the kingdom; and Adum knowing that the silver stool presented to him by the Danish Government had no value whatever according to the custom of the country, claimed the original from Owusu, who refused to surrender it, stating that Adum had forfeited all claim by his desertion of the king in the late troubles The Governor, in order to restore peace, went to Akropong with a few dozen soldiers, held a meeting of the principal men of Akuapem, and forced Owusu to give up the stool to Adum, and a salute was fired It was expected that the king would stay in the capital, but knowing that he was disliked by the people of Akropong, he went to live at Tutu, and neglected his duty as king to the people; neither did he support the missionaries by sending boys to school, as the late king and Owusu had done The Governor, angry at hearing this, sent Jorgen Sonne, a coloured man, with a few soldiers to compel Adum to stay in Akropong. Sonne met the king at Aburi, brought him to Akropong, and made him understand that should he leave the place again, he would forfeit the stool

While the king was in the capital, one Amoako, his retainer, who wore the royal feathered cap, had illicit intercourse with Adum's wife. Amoako was arrested by the king and placed in irons before being put to death Upon which Owusu, for some unknown reason, had the king himself arrested and put in irons. When the West Indians heard of this, they came over and took the king to the Mission Station and kept him at Rev. Hall's house. The sad news reached Adum's relations in Tutu; and they sent Nkroma, Adum's brother-in-law of Christiansborg, the same night to Akropong and brought him to Tutu. Adum hastened to Christiansborg and reported the conduct of Owusu to the Governor—Carstensen—and to the king and chiefs. In con-

junction with them, the Governor despatched messengers to Akropong, inviting Owusu to come and explain his conduct. The chiefs of Akuapem were displeased with the action of Owusu and would not give him their support, so he came with his own people only. The Governor, instead of holding a grand court to deal with the serious charge, either in the Castle or before the Fort, allowed the King, chiefs, and the mob of Christiansborg, who were enraged at Owusu's outrage, to settle the affair. The native court was, on December 2nd, 1844, held at the corner of the Castle, both plaintiff and defendant with their people being present. Owusu was indignant at this way of proceeding, as he had not been called down to the Coast by the people and chiefs, but by the Governor. When they threatened to put him in irons, as he had done to Adum, he ordered Asa Yaw to tell his people, who were, it appeared, prepared for action, to open fire on the assembly. They did so, and Amo, a relative of Bannerman, and Odonko Mensa were killed and several men and women wounded. Then Owusu's followers, who had fired, took him on their shoulders and hastily quitted the town. The infuriated people flew to arms and pursued them, so that the badly managed affair resulted in the loss of several lives, including Owusu himself and his two brothers.

Owusu's two sons were given in charge by the chiefs to Saba Akem, an influential headman of Christiansborg, but, without their knowledge, Saba Akem cruelly killed them in the town, while two other children captured by the Akuapems were delivered to the Governor, who treated them kindly and sent them home. When he heard of the cruel murder of the two boys, he ordered Saba and the chiefs to appear at the Castle, but they all escaped into the bush. By inquiry it was proved that Saba alone was guilty of the assassination of the boys, but he was not to be found for some time. When he returned Lieutenant Svedstrup with half a dozen soldiers was ordered to arrest him. At dead of night, there was a knock at his door, and upon opening it, he was captured, 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 with the Commander and some of the

ship's officers in his company; a very gross insult to a Governor when in company with foreign officers. Richter and 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 from the man-of-war were landed. They marched with the soldiers in the Fort to the town and bombarded Saba's house and some others in his quarter and then burnt them down.

Governor Carstensen reported the whole transaction to the Authorities in Denmark, and Commodore Kling of H.M.S. Oernen was despatched to the Gold Coast to investigate the matter. A grand court was held, and both Adum and Saba were tried, found guilty, and shipped to Denmark in July, 1846.

J Sonne went with them as interpreter. Asa, the younger brother of Adum, would have succeeded his brother but, on account of the late disturbances, Kwadade was unanimously chosen king. Kofi Kra, the Chief of Akropong, who had the state property in his possession during the late trouble, took upon himself to restore to Kwaku Dua, King of Asante, the state umbrella captured in 1826 When this was known, he was arrested by the King and chiefs of Akuapem and sent to the Governor at Christiansborg. He was imprisoned and, while confined, hanged himself. A few months later, the Governor sailed to Denmark and, doubtless, gave an account to the Government of the state affairs on the Gold Coast.

A few months before Governor Carstensen left the Coast on leave, a grave riot occurred at Akra between the people of James Town and Dutch Town on September 6th, 1846.

Two men, one named Akoi of Otu Street, Dutch Town, and the other Mensa also of Gbese quarter, who was at the time residing in James Town at Amanfu quarter with some of his mother's family, were the originators of the riot.

Akoi's wife was a cousin of Mensa's and, it being the Homowo Sunday, a day on which the people generally mourn their family bereavements during the past year, Mensa happened to meet Akoi, at his mother's family house, who was quarrelling there with the people on account of his wife. Mensa, prudently, knowing that on that particular day people were not too sober,

pacified Akoi and gave him as a peace offering a bottle of rum. The rum was drunk by all those present, and Akoi left the house. After Mensa had completed the Homowo compliments to his mother and family, he left to return to James Town through the main street. On reaching the corner of the street, he saw Akoi leaning on the wall of a house occupied by the Evans family, waiting for him. Mensa had no apprehension of any evil intention on the part of Akoi and accosted him in a friendly way, and was passing on his way when Akoi seized him by the cloth, and said. "Now, my friend, I have been waiting here for a long time, and now that we have met, let us finish the affair as man to man ought to do."

Mensa replied that he didn't know what he meant, upon which Akoi pushed him roughly and a struggle began. At that moment there appeared on the scene one Adote Osiaboo of Otu Street at the head of a dancing band known as Chief Ankra's Kete. Adote ordered his followers to beat Mensa to death; and a furious attack on the unfortunate man followed People passing the street from James Town ran up to the Amanfu quarter and told Mensa's friends of what was going on. They immediately reached the spot and drove Adote and his party away. Nobody seemed to know the cause of the conflict and, as it was Homowo, many of the people were drunk. When Adote and his followers were running away, the Amanfu people pursued them armed with all kinds of weapons, and alarmed many people of Asere quarter, breaking into houses and murdering many persons in cold blood; but the Asere people turned out at once murdering more men than the Amanfus, who were, however, soon scattered by the well-armed body of James Town. The people of the other two quarters—Abora and Gbese—would have taken part in the conflict, but considering that Mensa, on whose account the Amanfu fought, 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 killed on both sides. Men and women were shut up in their houses till dusk, at which time the James Town people set fire to a house in Otu Street, which burnt the greater part of Dutch Town. This

aroused the indignation of the two other quarters. Captain Mensa Maclean, who was made Captain instead of Kodsho Ababio, when the latter 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, thus preventing them from obtaining water, firewood, and provisions.

The influential inhabitants of James Town, who boldly appeared on the scene in this difficulty, were Bruce and Charles Bannerman; both had blood relations in Asere quarter The mother of Bruce and the grandmother of Charles Bannerman were noble ladies with large connections in the place.

Old Bannerman was in Europe, and his son Charles, who had ample means at his disposal, offered a large indemnity to the people of Dutch Town for the loss and injury they had sustained. But they being determined to fight, refused the offer. There was moreover no Commandant either in Dutch Fort or James Fort, which state of affairs obliged Governor E 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 consideration, King Taki I and his great chiefs resolved to have the affair amicably settled, because King Kodsho Ababio of James Town belonged to Gbese and was the former Captain of the Company which had seized upon James Town; that, in addition, all the influential people of James Town were their brethren and relatives, and that Charles Bannerman was offering a large indemnity for their losses, besides the Danish Governor's interference in favour of peace. They consequently raised the siege of James Town.

A grand Court was held by King Taki, his great chiefs, the Aquashong and Anobua, with kings and chiefs from several Ga towns. The case was investigated and Akoi was tried, found guilty and drowned in the sea, the ancient punishment of the Akras. The practice of beheading criminals they had imitated from the Twi people. Charles Bannerman's indemnity was accepted, and Adote Osiaboo saved his life but was condemned to pay a large portion of the expenses incurred in the shape

of a fine. When Governor Carstensen left for Europe, Governor Schmid succeeded him.

Another disturbance took place in Shai in December, 1847. One Otwetwerebo had been killed by order of Odoi Ansa on a suspicion of poisoning. Ansa was arrested by the soldiers sent by the Governor; but was forcibly rescued on the way to Christiansborg. For this offence an expedition to Shai was organised at once by the Governor. The soldiers under Lieutenant Larsen burnt down the town Mla, arrested the Chief of Shai and brought them to Christiansborg where they were punished. These repeated revolts, insults, and defiance may have induced the Danish Government to give up their costly yet beloved settlements on the Gold Coast after nearly two hundred years' occupation; and it is only just to speak briefly of the benefits conferred on the 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 also despatched, 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, &c., to all of them. No revenue whatever was collected, but instead every second year a ship was out with goods, chiefly Danish iron-bars, rum, cloth, guns, cowries, and cash, &c., for Government expenditure; and to any return, the ships were only ballasted with sand. Their headquarter Christiansborg was so improved and enriched that it became the first town on the whole Gold Coast. Artificers of every description necessary at that time in Africa were only to be found and obtained from Christiansborg. In short, whatever things were required to promote the comfort, improvement and elevation of a people were bestowed by the Danish Government. But after the sacrifice of not only money but so many precious lives, apparently with little result, the

King of Denmark, tired of making such enormous efforts, felt justified in making overtures to the English Government for the purchase of his settlements on the Gold Coast. The sum of £10,000 was paid and in 1850 the Danish possessions, chiefly the Forts, Christiansborg Castle in Osu, Augustenborg in Teshi, Fredensborg in Ningo, Kongensteen in Ada, and Prendsensteen in Keta, were ceded to the English Government.

Governor Carstensen, having arrived from Denmark by an English vessel, stayed at Bannerman's house, and forwarded the despatch, containing the news of the great change to Governor Schmid at Christiansborg Castle The next day Carstensen came to the Castle and held council with the officials, Schmid, Schonning, and Larsen. The chiefs of Christiansborg, Labade, and Teshi were summoned and were informed 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 be under the protection of British, who would take their interests to heart in the future as the Danes had done in the past. They asked for a few days time to enable them to lay the matter before their people and permission to return in a few days with the answer

After a delay of three days, they returned and stated that their people accepted the English as their future protectors. A grand meeting of all the merchants and leading men was held, when Governor Winniett, James Bannerman, Commandant Schomerus of Creve-coeur, Dr. Dolce, Revs. Freeman and Wharton, Captain Simms, Charles, James, and Edmund Bannerman, and several others were present, and all agreed to the transfer, in addition to the above Europeans, the native chiefs and people were there, one of them enquired: "Who would be the Governor?" "Mr. James Bannerman will be the Commandant", replied Governor Winniett. They were all greatly pleased at this appointment, knowing that Bannerman was a generous and kind-hearted gentleman, and after a present of a puncheon of rum by Governor Winniett the meeting broke up.

On the 6th March, 1850, the 1st West Indian Regiment under Lieutenant Stocks marched to the Castle, the Danish flag was

lowered and the Union Jack hoisted in its place. 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 people were in tears, while the others rejoiced. They had been told that English vessels would in future lay anchor in the roads at Christiansborg and they will trade in paltry articles, provisions, &c., with them. Governor Schmid took up his quarters at Miss Nicolina Brock's, Schönning at the Redoubt, and Larsen at Burgesen's. The Government furniture and the soldiers' old guns and many other things were sold at public auction. Governors Carstensen and Schmid, and Larsen returned to Europe, but Schonning died a few days after from grief. This is the poem some of the people composed at the time.

Brofo eba e, Brofo eba e, Nlesi Brofo eba, wonsumo,
Brofo ete e, Brofo ete e, Dan Brofo ete, wonsumo,
Wonsumo gba, wonsumo gba, wonsumo.

Whitemen have come, English whitemen have come, we like it
Whitemen have gone, Danish whitemen have gone, we like it.
Surely we like it, surely we like it.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Administration of justice according to English law Its effect upon the people Imposition of a poll-tax The way which the Government should have adopted in collecting it Conspiracy of the people to refuse paying the tax. Governor Hill's patience with the folly of the people Bombardment of Christiansborg, Labadi, and Teshi by H M S 'Scourge', Commodore John Adams Peace made and the rebuilding of Christiansborg
1851-1856

No native gentleman could have better occupied the post of Commandant for a people, who for nearly two hundred years had been under the jurisdiction of a foreign nation than James Bannerman of Akra. He was known by all the natives on the Gold Coast as one of the three principal merchants, and was highly distinguished for his generosity and amiable disposition, so that Sir Winniet found it an easy task to introduce him to the people as the English Commandant for the late Danish settle-

ments on the Gold Coast. We may also attribute the easy transfer of the people to the English solely to James Bannerman's policy in having prepared their minds before the arrival of Sir Winniett. Nevertheless, the administration of justice according to English law involved some serious difficulties. The first thing which offended the natives was the law against the cruel treatment of wives. In all cases of the kind the wives had now the option of leaving their husbands, whilst under the Danish administration liberty of action was accorded to the native laws and customs in such matters. The second offence in the minds of the people was in reference to the ill-treatment of pawns and domestic slaves, when sometimes these people were made free. Another offence was that no stipends were given by the English. These grievances had already begun to act upon the minds of general public, but as yet there were no signs of popular discontent.

A few weeks after the assumption of power by the English Government, a very serious case, unheard of before on the Gold Coast, took place at Ningo in April, 1850. Shang, who was a respectable headman of the place, was accused of having poisoned a person by enchantment or magic, and the chief and elders, without reporting the case to the authorities, actually roasted Shang alive, besides this enormity there were several other charges against the chief and people for breach of the peace. The chief and elders were brought to Christiansborg; the case was investigated, and the accused were sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour at Cape Coast Castle, where several succumbed through hardships and died.

In October a similar crime was committed at Ada and reported to the Government, and Otumfoo and several other chiefs were summoned to appear, but they refused to appear and assulted the bailiffs. Governor Winniett therefore distributed ammunition to the West India Regiment consisting of 100 men, Captain Ade and some chiefs with their forces were also armed, and an expedition was led by the Governor himself to Ada, on October 20th. The rebels then submitted and pleaded for peace; were fined, and the offenders were deported to Cape Coast Castle and imprisoned.

When the English took over the Danish settlements it was thought that the introduction of customs duties would more than defray the expenses of the Government; but the Dutch Government, whose settlements were dovetailed between the English stations, declined to impose similar duties, and it became impossible to carry out the project. Governor Winniett died on December 4th, 1850, without carrying out his favourite scheme. The company of the 1st West India Regiment was sent back to Sierra Leone, Governor Major Hill assumed the administration and the Gold Coast corps was instituted. The Governor, acting on the recommendation of Lord Grey, who took a warm interest in the advancement of the natives and made himself thoroughly acquainted with their condition thought he could raise a revenue in the country, capable of paying the expenses of administration. The Fantes, the old allies of the English, might have become alive to the necessity of contributing to the support of the Government, but our people at Akra had not the remotest idea of supporting it by paying any tax.

Governor Hill and Commandant Bannerman summoned a grand meeting at Christiansborg, which was attended by King Kodsho Ababio of James Town and King Notei Ababio of Christiansborg, King Kwadade of Akuapem, King Ata Panyin of Akyem Abuakwa, King Agyemang of Akyem Kotoku, King Kwadsho Dei of Krepe, and the chiefs from Labade to Ada and Krobo. The necessity of contributing towards the cost of administration was proposed to them They begged leave to retire for a few minutes to consider the question, which reasonable demand ought to have been granted; but Captain Ade, an influential relative of Bannerman, stood up and said. "I agree to contribute to the support of the English administration", and the kings and chiefs felt obliged to second the captain and the poll-tax of 15 strings of cowries, then about sixpence per head was fixed. The usual presents of rum, &c , were given, and the meeting ended; the kings and chiefs returned to their respective countries.

The Government should have taken the census of the population, and then fixed the yearly sum to be paid on the king or

chief of a district or town, making him responsible and then appointed agents to receive the tax collected by the king or chief for the Government. That course would have avoided trouble and inconvenience; but the Government simply constituted the following districts, without knowing the population of each, the Akra, the Adangme, Akuapem, and Akyem districts and employed native agents to collect the poll-tax. The first collection in 1851 was quietly and cheerfully given, although some complained that they had pawned their sons and daughters in order to pay it. During James Bannerman's administration of the Gold Coast, which began in 1850, the far famed fetish Nananum of the whole of Fante was found to be nothing but a set of imposters who had concealed themselves in the grove, and who had for over two centuries been looked upon as gods descending from Heaven to reveal hidden secrets. Sam Bannerman, the Commandant of Winneba, assumed command in the absence of his father. The old gentleman had exercised moderation in the administration of justice, knowing how mildly the Danish Government had been in their action to the natives in the past, but the new Commandant carried out the English law to the letter

A case showing this occurred in Krobo, between Zota Kakpo and Akokopa on one part, and Chief Ologo Patu on the other. Complaint was laid in the Castle by the two former against Ologo. He refused to obey the summons to appear and insulted the bailiffs and constables. An expedition under Bannerman was sent against the unruly chief; and the Krobo chiefs were ordered to bring Ologo Patu with them to meet the Commandant at Asabi. When they came, the case was investigated, Ologo was arrested and sent handcuffed to the Coast; and after paying a fine of 3,000 heads of cowries, he was liberated.

On the arrival of Major Hill in October, 1851, Bannerman returned to Christiansborg as Commandant, and at this time, the second collection of the poll-tax was due

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 the Acting Governor the next day; and were told by him that it was time to pay the poll-tax again. They asked for a few days time to consider the question and the Acting Governor repaired to Cape Coast to learn from Bannerman when the raising of the poll-tax was to begin. As the grandees had promised the Governor, Bannerman, after a few days delay, sent for them to come to the Castle to give their answer. They, having made up their minds, delayed going to the Castle, assembled outside, and requested Bannerman to come to them. They were told to appear at once personally before Bannerman, and asked on what ground they refused to come inside. They not only refused to obey the summons but left it on the spot and then retired to town. It was impossible to overlook such an insult, and Bannerman went out with a few soldiers to arrest the grandees, but all had disappeared, except one, who, when arrested, was rescued by his people. Bannerman therefore called the Akuashong and the grandees to obey the summons on Saturday next

The grandees left the town and resided at Labade; and neither the Akuashong nor the native merchants could persuade them to return. The misconduct of the grandees was reported by Bannerman to Acting Governor Cruickshank at Cape Coast. He returned to Christiansborg in February. In the meanwhile a night meeting of all the Akuashongs of Christiansborg, Labade, Teshi, &c., had been convened at Kpeshina, i e , at the mouth of the lagoon Kpeshi, between Labade and Teshi on the 12th of January, and there they swore not to let the grandees go to the Fort or pay any tax, even if the Governor should fight with them, and to make war with any party breaking this agreement Previous to taking the oath Chief Owu of Christiansborg, then employed as Government interpreter, did not come to this meeting; and his brother Anang was required to take the first oath in the name of Owu. He objected to do so because he had not consulted his brother, and refused. One Saki of Christiansborg then took the oath, the other headmen of the Akuashong seconded him and the meeting broke up. However, the headmen of Christiansborg were told by those in other towns that if they listened to tales of their coloured masters and mistresses and were per-

suaded to infringe the agreement, they would be made into pads by which the Castle of Christiansborg would be carried into the sea.

On Saturday the 14th of January, over 3,000 armed men of Christiansborg, Labade, Teshi, Ningowa, &c., assembled at Klotemushi, immediately under the cannon and rockets of the Castle. The educated native community, some Basel Missionaries, viz.: Revs. John Stanger, C. W. Locher, John Zimmermann, and August Steinhauser, a deputation from King Taki of Akra and Kwame Mienya, an influential man of Cape Coast, assembled in a group of their own to try to make peace. Julius Briandt of Christiansborg expressed the opinions of the educated part of the community. Badu Asonko, the powerful linguist of the infuriated people, addressed the assembly and said they would not serve the English Government any longer, neither would they pay the poll-tax Alimo, another powerful linguist of King Taki, replied that they might refuse to pay the poll-tax, but they must not throw off their allegiance to the British Government, and Badu Asonko was obliged to retract that part of his speech which advocated throwing off the British Government altogether.

A second meeting of the armed men was held a few days later at Teiashi in the valley between Christiansborg and Labade, where they were better sheltered from the cannon than in the place chosen for the former gathering Here J Richter and H. Svanikier vividly impressed on the chiefs of Christiansborg the danger they incurred in fighting the Government, advising them not to listen to what the other town's people said, so that Christiansborg might be preserved. A disturbance was made by some ruffians when they noticed that the chiefs were inclined to give in, upon which the whole assembly, numbering 4,000 men, took up arms to attack the merchants. Failing for the second time in their efforts to make peace, the educated people of the town reported the dangerous state of affairs to King Taki. He summoned the armed men to meet him at Okaishi near Dutch Town. Over 4,000 men assembled there, but no good result followed, and they all marched back to Labade through Christiansborg. Had the Government opened fire upon them with

cannon and rocket, it would have been a terrible experience for them, but they exercised instead patience with their folly, and only warned them never to come armed to Christiansborg in the future.

After this insult to the British Flag, the garrison was strengthened with munition, provisions, and soldiers, and Cruickshank, when this was done, deliberated as to the advisability of marching out to attack the rebels. Another rush was made into the town to capture Chief Owu, but he escaped to Akra. Like foolish children, they began by singing songs to welcome the British Government, and now composed songs against them. This is one.

Cannon they have loaded,
but couldn't fire,
Cannon they have loaded,
but couldn't fire.
White men dishonestly imposed
poll-tax on the blacks
That poll-tax we will never pay,
the grandees never surrender.
Go, tell the white man to come out

It was a great misfortune that both the King, Chief, and Linguist of Christiansborg had died before the outbreak took place, and the people were in consequence ruled by the grandees; if such had not been the case, all the troubles and disturbances might have been peaceably settled The principal grandees at this time were: Omabo Okoi, Adotei Twi, Sewa Kwawushi, these three had the care of the stools of the king, Manklalo, and Alata chief; Badu Asonko, the powerful linguist, Noi Dshetri, Adukoi, Sewa Koma, Tete Gbodo, Saba Ogang; Noete Otututshe, Ashong Amakoi, Noe Sekang, Koifio, Abete, Koi Ashong, Adom Agbo, and others. The King of Labade was Akonno, and Togbo Teko Asere was the Manklalo. Prince Frederick Dowuona, the heir to the stool of Christiansborg, who had been educated by the Danish Government in Copenhagen, was called to the town from his village, and could have done something to make peace, but not being yet king, he was powerless. He volunteered to go to the

Castle to arrange the difficulty, but the grandees opposed it. Old Adotei Twi of Christiansborg advised the other grandees to be careful and not let others make fools of them; but he was fined and hooted for his remark.

At last Governor Cruickshank determined to march out and attack the rebels, and was busy with the necessary preparations, when Governor Major Hill arrived, who made another attempt to settle the case peacefully. He sent for the native merchants W. Lutterodt, J. Richter, Hans Svanikier, L. Hesse, Neils Holm, Joseph Fleischer, and others to appear at the Castle, and 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 The Governor was even willing to overlook the insult offered to the British Government if the rebels would lay down their arms and return to town This generous offer was communicated to them by the ladies, who entreated them to yield and thus prevent the destruction of town, property, and lives. But all their efforts were fruitless. When the Governor saw the rebels march towards the town again, he gave orders to attack them the moment they came within gunshot.

Unfortunately while preparing to execute this order, Adjutant Hill and two soldiers were killed and three others wounded by an explosion of gunpowder. The Governor, to carry out his intention of attacking the rebels, instructed Cruickshank to go to Akuapem and Akyem to ask for help from Kwadade, Ata, and Agyemang. The three kings were unwilling to assist the Governor in collecting the poll-tax. They sent messengers in company with Cruickshank to assist the Government in making peace. The Commissioner and the delegates from Akuapem and Akyem arrived on March 4th, and on March 6th a meeting was held at Labade, at which Cruickshank, the Basel Missionaries, Rev. Wharton of the Wesleyan Mission in Accra, King Taki, and the Twi delegates were present. Through their means peace was made, and it was settled that the rebels must pay 2,000 heads of cowries, and the native merchants secured the fine by pledging their gold watches, guards, and jewels to the Government; and

three guns were fired to ratify the peace. Captain Bird was appointed Commandant, and Bannerman retired to Akra on the 9th of March. Chief Kwame Mienya and G. Amissah of Cape Coast, who had both done their best to make peace, and had been insulted by Linguist Badu Asonko with the following words: "What an earthen pot cannot cook, a calabash cannot succeed in doing", having done so much, returned home. The following couplet was written in the Fante country:

Osufoo gyaeo, Osufoo gyaeo!
Dammirifua mu ni ade! Osufoo gyaeo!

Discontinue, O people of Christiansborg,
For in condolence there are no riches.

Everyone hoped and tried to believe that after the rebellion had been put down and peace made, it would last, although a turbulent spirit existed, which had not yet cooled down. Some months passed and the public peace continued undisturbed, when one day Captain Bird, taking a walk on the main road to Akra, met some people rolling a puncheon of rum to Christiansborg. The rum had been bought by one Late and was seized by Captain Bird as smuggled, no permit had been given and no duty paid. The report of this confiscation was brought to town; the people rushed to take the rum by force from the soldiers; and a fist and stone fight was soon in full swing; the people got possession of the rum and drove the few soldiers into the Castle. Captain Bird ordered the soldiers to man the batteries and was just about to fire on the rioters but they dispersed. Lieutenant Brownell went out with 16 soldiers, marched through the town but met no resistance. Lieutenant Duke and 50 men arrived from Cape Coast Castle on the 4th September, which made the garrison consist of Captain Bird, Lieutenants Brownell and Duke, Ensign Clarke of the Gold Coast Corps with 120 rank and file. Lieutenant Brownell, who had been sent for that duty, began to collect the poll-tax.

On the 30th August, W. Lutterodt, J. Richter, and others paid their tax, that is they started in the right direction, which

might induce others to follow, but how much better it would have been, had they done so before instead of after the rebellion! When the grandees and Akuashong, already excited, heard that some of the native merchants had paid the tax, they posted guards to intercept any taxes on their way to the Castle, and ordered the money to be delivered to the Akuashong. In the first place the Akuashong had no right whatever to interfere with or seize Government property, but it is necessary to know what were the terms of peace made by Governor Hill Was it only to lay down arms? And last, how did Lieutenant Brownell set about his difficult task of collecting the tax? Did he hold a meeting with the chiefs before beginning his work? The grandees, being included in the Protectorate and therefore British subjects, ought to have had the opportunity of asking Lieutenant Brownell for an explanation, for they thought that the recent peace was built on the understanding that the poll-tax was abolished.

Animated with that idea the grandees and the Akuashong assembled and summoned the native merchants before them to show cause why they should pay the tax which had been abolished.

The merchants were fined a puncheon of rum and strictly charged never to pay anything in future On Thursday, the 31st August, the people went so far as to stop provisions going to the Castle; and Lieutenant Brownell and other soldiers and officials were nearly killed by stones thrown at them when they interfered One Kwaku was killed by a stone thrown at him from the Castle. The Government determined to punish the rebels and made necessary preparation. The Basel Missionaries, who had rendered every assistance in their power to make peace, were invited by the Government to remove to the Castle, but, as Missionaries sent to preach the gospel, although thankful for the offer, they preferred to remain neutral. The native merchants, seeing the preparations of the Government and hearing a rumour that the town would be bombarded, went to the Castle to enquire.

Captain Bird plainly told them that what they had heard was true, but as to when he could not say Some of the town's-people began removing their property to Akra, Labade, and other places, but the majority were incredulous and delayed action.

The Basel Missionaries, avowedly neutral, knew they were safe and removed nothing. H.M.S. 'Scourge', Commodore John Adams, appeared in the road at Akra at 5 p.m. on Monday 11th September; and the native had no idea that she could interfere with their interested siege of the Castle. The Labades and Teshis had assured them that they would bring a good number of ladders on which to climb the castle. At last the day of action arrived by the Government, which the people were indirectly made aware of by one of the white officials. The bombardment of the town was to begin on the 13th September It was the Homowo Wednesday, when the people assembled in the towns are generally drunk; but considering the importance of the occasion, they remained sober and ready for action.

On the 12th September the gunner Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe from the 'Scourge' volunteered with two other jack-tars to instruct the garrison of the Castle in the art of defence construction. On the morning of the 13th September, a memorable day for the inhabitants of Christiansborg, the great John Bull who had been jeered at in a doggerel ditty, as we have read. "having loaded cannon, but couldn't fire", aroused himself from his torpor; and proved that he could both fire and hit.

The 'Scourge' weighed anchor and sailed for Labade, which was a very wise plan, because its presence there prevented the Labades and Teshis from joining and assisting the other forces in their attack on the Christiansborg Castle.

At 7 a.m. Boom! Boom! Boom! The guns of the 'Scourge' roared and tore at the very same time that the ceremony of Lakpa was being performed among the initiated worshippers. It is on that day generally every year that over 5,000 or 6,000 heathens, men, women, and children of both sexes, assemble together in the afternoon to perform the most shameful dance in which all men and women are allowed by Lakpa to embrace each other freely and publicly. A few minutes after the 'Scourge' commenced the attack on Labade, the garrison began pouring into the town showers of shells. The people took up their arms but could not find a point to make an attack; so the hunters and sharpshooters ensconced themselves on the stone buildings close to the Castle,

whence 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 the fire of the garrison was actually silenced by the muskets of the hunters. No gunner or soldier could attempt to load the cannon or fire his rifle. The 'Scourge' at that time was bombarding Teshi; but unfortunately the halliard of the flag had been cut by a shot of the hunters so that the ship could not be signalled to come to their aid; but with great bravery Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe succeeded in repairing the damage, during the operation, he was wounded At 5 p.m. the 'Scourge' was signalled to come to the help of the Fort, which she did most efficiently, bombarding the buildings in which the hunters were sheltered, and the town generally. Every fire from the natives was instantly silenced. The shells were called 'Obata', i.e half measure pot Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe and his two jack-tars succeeded in effecting such arrangements during the night of the 13th that the gunners in the Castle were comparatively sheltered from sharpshooters. The armed men of the town were on guard about the town since the bombardment commenced, ready to meet the soldiers where they were ordered out, although the firing from the Fort on the town was continued daily on the 14th and 15th. On the 15th the 'Scourge' went to Cape Coast for ammunition and other supplies This gave the rebels an opportunity of storming the Castle, but King Taki, hearing of their intention, opposed it, advising them to leave the town and encamp in the field to watch the Government's action, because he had heard that the Fantes would be called in to assist the Government. Following 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 Castle and were plundering the houses. The enemy returned and attacked the garrison, and drove them back, with one killed on each side and some wounded. The 'Scourge' returned on the 17th from Cape Coast and again bombarded the town, and 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 sailed

to burn Labade and Teshi; the latter was burned to the ground, the former not much injured. The natives tried to fire their muskets into the 'Scourge'; an ignorant and foolish proceeding. Some Fante armed men came under Commandant Sam Bannerman, but they ran away on the night of their arrival from Akra. King Taki's persuasions had induced the people at large to give up the town and remove to the bush, after the loss of only five men and two women, including the loss of blind Erick Engmann and his two half blind daughters, who were leading their father to the Fort for protection. At Labade six were killed, but none at Teshi, and few wounded. Whilst the garrison suffered a loss of seven killed and 23 wounded, including Captain Henry Bird and Lieutenant Hunt Grubbe. The following is quoted from an English newspaper: "The number of killed and wounded on our side sufficiently proves the obstinate attack of the natives, who are by no means to be despised as foes."

The soldiers now freely entered every house plundering, and pulled down several stone buildings which stood close to the Castle. The two houses of the Basel Mission suffered from the shells, and the breaches made way for the people to enter and steal nearly all they possessed. The missionaries removed to the Wesleyan Mission house at Accra, and after a few days delay, Rev. Zimmermann went to Abokobi with his family and the students under him, and there established a permanent mission station. Governor Hill arrived with some men-of-war intending to pursue the people in the bush with the marines; but King Taki pleaded successfully for them, the project was abandoned and peace concluded. Every chief who had taken part in the outbreak had to give a son or nephew as hostage to the Government; this was done. The mission houses were repaired and Rev. Stanger and Locher re-occupied them. The people of Christiansborg, who had been assured of the assistance of the Labades, Teshis, and others, were greatly disappointed; their whole property, consisting of several good stone buildings, twenty-two of which were stated to be worth from £400 to £3,000 each, money, jewels, furniture, besides their influence and reputation, were all lost, and themselves and families dispersed in the country,

as the result of a foolish rebellion. What a severe lesson! Let us hope others will take warning.

King Taki, after he had succeeded in making peace between the Government and the people, died on Friday, 20th March, 1856, after a peaceful and useful reign.

The Basel Missionaries were not only the first to re-build and re-occupy their houses, but, in addition, rendered every possible assistance to the people whom they persuaded to return from the bush and assist in rebuilding the town. The Rev. T. B. Freeman, then acting as Commandant, was very active in his efforts to recall the people.

Rule, supremely rule, Britannia, rule
Thy newly acquired Colony on the Gold Coast!
Protected from the tyrant and slaver
By blood of thy noble sons shed on fields,
Let not thy treasures all be lost!
Destined by Heaven to rule the land
Let justice, love, and peace prevail!
For many years thou didst freely pour
Blood and treasure on the land,
With what return? The least.
The Danes and Dutch, on profit bent alone,
Thy rivals were, with equal power.
But now Britannia stands alone
To bless and save!
Two mighty foes impede her way,
Ignorance and blood-stained superstition.
To rule and not to fight such deadly foes,
Is not Britannia's way.
To lift the nations which she rules·
to educate, and leave the gospel free;
One word from her, and murderous customs died!
Britannia's rule then blest by all,
With superstition drive away,
And Christianity and peace prevail.

Appendix A

LISTS OF EUROPEAN GOVERNORS ON THE GOLD COAST

1. Lists of the Governors of the Nederlands' 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	Years	Months	Days	Period in office		Remarks
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 Houssen	»	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.
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.

Names	Rank	Years	Months	Days	Period in office		Remarks
N M.V. Nood-de-Gieterre	Dir. Gen.	1	3	10	1754 Jul 14	1755 Oct. 24	d.
Roelof Ulsen	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 Walmbeck	Gov	1	1	20	1763 Jul. 11	1764 Aug 31	d
M. J. P. T Huydecooper	»	2	9	6	1764 Sept. 11	1767 Jun. 7	d.
	Gov. Gen	2	—	1	1767 Jun 8	1769 Jun. 9	promoted
Pieter Woortman	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	relieved
Jacobus De Veer	Dir. Gen	4	1	19	1790 Mar 19	1794 Mar. 23	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	It. 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
Erik Oehlsen	1698, d
Johan Tranne	1703 Aug 31, d.
Hartvig Meyer	1704, Apr 23, d.
Peter Swerdrup	1705 June 6, d.
Peter Peterson	1706 May 6, d
Erik Lygaard	1711 Aug 17, d
Frantz Roye	1717 Nov 26, d
Knud Röst	1720 Aug 30, d
Peter Ostrup	1722 Jan. 24, d
David Hernn	1723 Jan 22, d
Niels F. Ostrup	1723 Oct 30, d
Chr. Syndermann	1724 Apr 30, d
Hendrik von Suhm	1727 March 1, r.
Fred Pahl	1727 Sept. 18, d
And. Willumsen	1728 Dec 24, d
Andr. Waeroe	1735 Aug 12, r
Severin Schilderup	1736 June 14, d
Enewold Borris	1740 June 20, d
Peter Forgensen	1743 May 26, d
Chr Dorph	1744 Feb 3, d
Jorgen Bilsen	1745 March 13, d
Thomas Brock	1745 March 23, d
F. Wilder	1745 Apr 23, d.
A. F Hackenborg	1746 June 21, r
Foost Platfusz	1751 Feb 21, r
Magnus Litzow	1751 March 8, d
Magnus Hacksen	1752 July 21, d
Carl Engmann	1757 March 10, r
Christian Fessen	1762 Febr 14, r
Carl Resch	1766 Oct 20, r
Chr Tychsen	1768 Jan 11, d.
Frantz Kyhberg	1769 July 2, r
Gerhardt F Wrisberg	1770 June 1, r
Joachim Otto	1770 June 13, d.
Johan D. Fröhlich	1772 June 15, d.
Niels A Aarestrup	1777 June 24, r
Conrad Hemsen	1780 Dec 7, d.
Jens Kjoge	1788 March 31, r.
Johan Kipnasse	1789 Oct 23, r.
Andreas Biörn	1793 Jan 25, r
And Hammer	1793 June 30, r.
Bendt Olrich	1793 Aug 3, d
Fr Chr v Hagen Baron	1795 Aug 17, d.
Johan P D Wrisberg	1799 Dec 31, r
Johan D Anholm	1802 Oct. 1, r
Johan P D. Wrisberg	1807 Apr 15, r
Chr Schionning	1817 March 1, d
Johan E Richter	1817 Oct 5, d
J Reiersen	1819 May 15, d
Chr Svanekjaer	1821 Jan 1, s
Peter S Steffens	1821 Sept 10, d
Mathias Thonning	1823 Dec 23, r
Johan Ch von Richelieu	1825 March 16, r
Niels Broch	1827 Sept. 30, s
Jens P Findt	1828 Aug 1, r
Henrich G Lind	1831 Jan 20, r
Ludvig v Hein	1831 Oct 21, d
Helmuth v Ahrenstorff	1831 Dec 4, d
Niels Broch	1833 March 1, s
Henrich G Lind	1833 July 21, d.
Niels Broch	1834 Dec 2, s
Frederick S Morck	1839 March 18, d.
Hans A Giede	1839 Aug. 18, d
Lucas Dall	1842 May 24, r
Bernhardt C Wilkens	1842 Aug 26, d
Ed J A Carstensen	1850 in April, r
R. E Schmid	1850 in April, r.

3. Governors of the Possessions on the Gold Coast of the Trading Corporation formed under the Acts of Parliament 23 George II., C. 31 and 25 George II., C 40, the "Company of Merchants Trading to Africa"

Name	Date	Name	Date
Thomas Melvil *	1751	James Morgue	1784
William Tymewell *	1756	Thomas Price	1787
Charles Bell	1756	Thomas Morris	1787
Nassau Senior	1757	William Fielde	1789
Charles Bell	1761	John Gordon	1791
William Mutter	1763	A Dalzell	1792
John Hippersley *	1766	Jacob Mould	1798
Gilbert Petrie	1766	John Gordon	1799
John Grossle	1769	A Dalzell	1800
David Mill	1770	Jacob Mould	1802
Richard Miles	1777	Colonel G Torrane	1805
John Roberts	1780	E W White	1807
J B Weuves	1781	Joseph Dawson	1816
Richard Miles	1782	John Hope Smith	1817

* Died on the Coast

Governors of the Settlements on the Gold Coast after the acquirement by the Crown in 1821 of the Possessions of "The Company of Merchants trading to Africa"

Sir Charles McCarthy	1822	Sir Neil Campbell	1826
Major Chisholm	1822	Captain Ricketts	1826
Sir Charles McCarthy *	1822	Lieut. Colonel Lumley	1827
Major Chisholm	1824	Captain Hingston	1828
Major Purdon	1824	Major Ricketts	1828
Major General Charles Turner	1824		

* Killed on the Coast

Governors of the British Possessions on the Gold Coast transferred by the Crown to the Committee of Merchants in 1828

John Jackson	1828	William Topp	1836
Captain Maclean	1830	Captain Maclean	1838

Governors of the Settlements on the Gold Coast on their resumption by the Crown in 1843

Commander Hill, R N	1843	J C Fitzpatrick	1849
James Lilley	1845	William Winniett	1850
William Winniett	1846	James Bannerman, Lieut. Gov	1850

Governors of the Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast subsequent to the Letters Patent of 24th January, 1850, directing that Her Majesty's Possessions on the Gold Coast should cease to be Dependencies of Sierra Leone

Name	Rank	Date
Major Stephen J. Hill	Governor	1851
J C Fitzpatrick	Act.-Gov.	1853
Brodie C Cruickshank	Act -Gov	1853
Major Stephen J Hill	Governor	1854
Henry Connor	Act -Gov	1854
Sir Henry C. C. Pine	Governor	1857
Major Henry Bird	Act -Gov	1858
Edward B. Andrews	Governor	1860
William A Ross	Act -Gov.	1862
Richard Pine	Governor	1862
William Hackett	Lt -Gov	1864
Richard Pine	Governor	1864
Brevet Major R. S W. Jones	Act -Gov	1865
W E Mockler	Act -Gov	1865
Colonel Edward Conran	Lt -Gov	Apr , 1865-Febr. 1867

Administrators of the Settlements on the Gold Coast subsequent to the Commission on the 19th of February, 1866, re-uniting the Colony of Sierra Leone and Her Majesty's Settlements on the West Coast of Africa under one Governor-in-Chief.

Name	Rank	Date
Herbert T. Ussher	Administrator	Feb., 1867-Aug , 1868
W. H Simpson	Act -Adm	Aug., 1868-Nov , 1869
Herbert T Ussher	Administrator	Nov , 1869-July, 1871
Charles Spencer Salmon	Act -Adm	July, 1871- 1872
Herbert T Ussher	Administrator	1872-Apr , 1872
John Pope Hennessy	Adm -in-Chief	Apr , 1872- 1872
Charles Spencer Salmon	Act.-Adm	1872-Nov , 1872
Col Rob Wm Harley, C B	Administrator	Nov., 1872-Oct., 1873
Sir Garnet Wolseley, K C.M.G , C B.	Administrator	Oct , 1873-March, 1874
Lieut.-Col Maxwell	Act -Adm	March, 1874-Apr., 1874
Charles Cameron Lees	Act -Adm	Apr , 1874-June, 1874
Capt. G C Strahan, R A.	Administrator	June, 1874-July, 1874

Governors of the Gold Coast Colony subsequent to the Letters Patent of the 24th July, 1874, constituting the Settlements on the Gold Coast and at Lagos, a separate Colony.

Name	Rank	Date
Capt. G C. Strahan, R.A	Governor	25 July, 1874-7 April, 1876
Charles Cameron Lees, C.M G	Lt.-Gov	7 Apr, 1876-Dec, 1876
Sanford Freeling, C M G	Lt -Gov	Dec., 1876-5 June, 1877
Sanford Freeling, C M G	Governor	5 June, 1877-13 May, 1878
Charles Cameron Lees, C M G	Lt -Gov	13 May, 1878-June, 1879
*Herbert Taylor Ussher, C M G	Governor	June, 1879-1 Dec, 1880
W. Brandford Griffith, C M G	Lt -Gov	1 Dec, 1880-4 Mar., 1881
Sir Samuel Rowe, K C M G.	Governor	4 Mar, 1881-13 May, 1882
C A Moloney	Act -Gov.	13 May, 1882-4 Oct, 1882
W Brandford Griffith, C M G	Lt -Gov	4 Oct, 1882-24 Dec, 1882
Sir Samuel Rowe, K C.M G.	Governor	24 Dec, 1882-29 Apr, 1884
*W. A. G Young, C.M G	Governor	29 Apr, 1884-24 Apr, 1885
W. Brandford Griffith, C.M.G	Lt.-Gov	24 Apr, 1885-13 Jan, 1886

Governors of the Gold Coast Colony subsequent to the Letters Patent of the 13th January, 1886, separating Lagos from the Colony and substituting a separate Government for that place

Name	Rank	Date
W Brandford Griffith, C M G	Governor	14 Jan, 1886-11 Apr, 1887
Col. F B P White	Act -Gov	11 Apr, 1887-26 Nov, 1887
Sir W Brandf'd Griffith, K C M G	Governor	26 Nov, 1887-30 June, 1889
F M. Hodgson	Act -Gov	30 June, 1889-18 Feb, 1890
Sir W Brandf'd Griffith, K C M G	Governor	18 Feb, 1890-12 June, 1891
F M Hodgson, C M G	Act -Gov	12 June, 1891-24 Nov, 1891
Sir W Brandf'd Griffith, K C M G	Governor	24 Nov, 1891-12 Aug, 1893
F M Hodgson, C.M G	Act -Gov	12 Aug, 1893-7 Mar, 1894
Sir W Brandf'd Griffith, K C M G	Governor	7 Mar, 1894-7 Apr, 1895
W E Maxwell, C M G	Governor	7 Apr, 1895
Sir W. E Maxwell, K C M G	Governor	11 Apr, 1896
F. M. Hodgson, C M G	Act -Gov	19 Apr, 1896-23 Oct, 1896
§Sir W E Maxwell, K C M G	Governor	23 Oct., 1896-6 Dec, 1897
F M Hodgson, C M G	Act -Gov	6 Dec, 1897-29 May, 1898
F M Hodgson, C M G	Governor	29 May, 1898-27 Dec, 1898
W Low	Act -Gov	27 Dec, 1898-13 July, 1899
Sir F. M Hodgson, K C M G	Governor	12 July, 1900-29 Aug, 1900
W Low	Act -Gov	29 Aug, 1900-17 Dec, 1900
Major M Nathan, C M G, R E	Governor	17 Dec, 1900-30 July, 1902
Captain L R S. Arthur, C.M G	Act -Gov	30 July, 1902-20 Dec, 1902
Maj Sir M Nathan, K.C M G, R.E	Governor	20 Dec, 1902-9 Feb, 1904
Major H. Bryan	Act -Gov	9 Feb, 1904-3 Mar, 1904
Sir J. P. Rodger, K C M G.	Governor	3 Mar, 1904-9 May, 1905
Major H. Bryan	Act -Gov	10 May, 1905-11 Nov, 1905

Governors of the Gold Coast Colony subsequent to the Letters Patent of the 13th January, 1886, separating Lagos from the Colony and substituting a separate Government for that place.

Name	Rank	Date
Sir J P. Rodger, K C.M G	Governor	12 Nov, 1905-1 Apr, 1906
Major H. Bryan, C.M G.	Act.-Gov	2 Apr., 1906-1 Sept., 1906
Sir J. P Rodger, K C M G	Governor	2 Sept, 1906-8 Oct., 1907
Major H Bryan, C M.G	Act -Gov.	9 Oct., 1907-28 Mar, 1908
Sir J P Rodger, K C M G	Governor	28 Mar, 1908-30 Mar., 1909
Major H. Bryan, C M G	Act -Gov.	30 Mar, 1909-28 Aug, 1909
Sir J. P Rodger, K C M G.	Governor	29 Aug, 1909-31 Aug, 1910
Major H. Bryan, C.M G	Act -Gov.	1 Sept., 1910-20 Nov, 1910
J J Thorburn, C.M G.	Governor	21 Nov, 1910-4 Feb, 1911
Major H Bryan, C M G.	Act.-Gov	5 Feb, 1911-15 June, 1911
J. J Thorburn, C M G	Governor	16 June, 1911-29 June, 1912
Major H. Bryan, C M G.	Act -Gov	29 June, 1912-26 Dec, 1912
Sir Hugh Clifford, K C.M G	Governor	26 Dec, 1912-30 Apr, 1914
W C. F Robertson	Act -Gov.	1 May, 1914-27 Aug, 1914
Sir Hugh Clifford, K C M G	Governor	28 Aug, 1914-4 May, 1915
A. R Slater	Act -Gov	5 May, 1915-16 Nov, 1915
Sir Hugh Clifford, K C M G	Governor	17 Nov, 1915-17 Nov, 1916
A. R Slater	Act -Gov	18 Nov, 1916-23 Apr, 1917
Sir Hugh Clifford, K C M G	Governor	24 Apr, 1917-31 Mar., 1919
A R Slater, C.M G, C B E	Act -Gov	1 Apr, 1919-8 Oct, 1919
Brigadier-General F. G. Guggisberg, C.M G., D.S.O., R E	Governor	9 Oct, 1919-1 June, 1920
A. R Slater, C M G, C B E	Act -Gov	2 June, 1920-6 Oct, 1920
Brigadier-General F G Guggisberg, C M G, D S O, R E	Governor	7 Oct, 1920-10 July, 1921
R. W. H. Wilkinson	Act -Gov	11 July, 1921-12 Dec, 1921
Brigadier-General Sir F G Guggisberg, K C.M.G., D.S O, R E	Governor	13 Dec, 1921-1 Apr, 1923
Dr J C Maxwell, C M G, M A, M D., B L	Act.-Gov	2 Apr, 1923-17 Aug, 1923
Arthur J Philbrick, C B E	Act -Gov	18 Aug, 1923-1 Oct., 1923
Brigadier-General Sir F G. Guggisberg, K C.M G, D S O, R E	Governor	2 Oct, 1923-30 Mar, 1924
Dr J C Maxwell, C.M G, M A, M.D, B L	Act -Gov	31 Mar, 1924-1 Sept., 1924
Brigadier-General Sir F G Guggisberg, K.C M G., D S O, R E	Governor	2 Sept, 1924-4 July, 1925
John Maxwell, C.M G	Act.-Gov	6 July, 1925-1 Sept, 1925
Sir J C Maxwell, K B E, C.M G, M.D, B L	Act -Gov	2 Sept, 1925-10 Nov, 1925
Brigadier-General Sir F G. Guggisberg, K.C M G., D S O., R E.	Governor	11 Nov, 1925-10 Apr, 1926
Sir J. C Maxwell, K.B.E, C.M G, M.D., B.L	Act.-Gov.	11 Apr, 1926-27 Sept, 1926

Governors of the Gold Coast Colony subsequent to the Letters Patent of the 13th of January, 1886, separating Lagos from the Colony and substituting a separate Government for that place.

Name	Rank	Date
Brigadier-General Sir F. G Guggisberg, K.C.M.G, D S O, R E	Governor	28 Sept, 1926-23 Apr., 1927
Sir J C. Maxwell, K.B E, C M G, M D, B L	Act -Gov	24 Apr, 1927-5 June, 1927
John Maxwell, C.M G	Act -Gov	6 June, 1927-19 July, 1927
Sir A. Ransford Slater, K C M G, C B.E	Governor	20 July, 1927-8 Apr., 1928
T S W Thomas, O B E	Act -Gov	9 Apr, 1928-11 Nov, 1928
Sir A. Ransford Slater, K C.M.G, C B E	Governor	12 Nov, 1928-17 Apr, 1930
G C du Boulay, C B E	Act -Gov	18 Apr, 1930-22 Sept, 1930
G A S Northcote	Act -Gov	23 Sept, 1930-3 Nov, 1930
Sir A Ransford Slater, K C M G, C B E	Governor	4 Nov, 1930-29 Jan, 1931
G A S Northcote, C.M G	Act -Gov	30 Jan, 1931-20 Apr, 1931
Sir A Ransford Slater, K C.M G, C B E	Governor	21 Apr, 1931-7 Dec., 1931
G C du Boulay, C B.E	Act -Gov	8 Dec, 1931-14 Dec, 1931
Sir A Ransford Slater, K C M G, C B E.	Governor	15 Dec, 1931-4 Apr., 1932
G A S Northcote, C M G	Act -Gov.	5 Apr, 1932-29 Nov, 1932
Sir T S W Thomas, K C M G, O B E.	Governor	30 Nov, 1932-12 May, 1934
G A S Northcote, C M G	Act -Gov	13 May, 1934-23 Oct, 1934
Sir A. W Hodson, K C M G	Governor	24 Oct, 1934-16 June, 1935
G E London, C.M G	Act -Gov	17 June, 1935-22 Nov, 1935
Sir Arnold W Hodson, K C M G	Governor	23 Nov, 1935-22 May, 1938
G E London, C M G	Act -Gov	23 May, 1938-18 Oct, 1938
Sir Arnold W Hodson, K C.M G	Governor	19 Oct, 1938-23 Oct, 1941
G E London, C M G	Act -Gov	24 Oct, 1941-4 Nov, 1941
Sir Alan C. Burns, K C M G	Governor	5 Nov, 1941-7 Feb, 1942
G E. London, C M G	Act -Gov	8 Feb, 1942-28 June, 1942
Sir Alan C Burns, K C M G	Governor	29 June, 1942-10 Oct, 1943
G E London, C M G.	Act -Gov	11 Oct, 1943-1 Feb, 1944
Sir Alan C Burns, K C M G	Governor	2 Oct, 1944-27 May, 1945
H L G Gurney, C M.G	Act -Gov	28 May, 1945-18 Oct, 1945
Sir Alan C Burns, K C M G	Governor	19 Oct, 1945-? ? ?
Sir Gerald Hallen Creasy, K C M G, O B E.	Governor	12 Jan, 1948-14 Feb., 1949
Robert Scott, Esq C.M G	Officer Administering the Government	15 Feb, 1949-27 Mar, 1949
Thorleif Rattray Mangin, C M G	"	28 Mar, 1949-10 June, 1949
Robert Scott, Esq C M G	"	11 June, 1949-10 Aug, 1949
Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, K C.M G.	Governor	since 11 Aug 1949

* Died on the Coast § Died at sea on voyage to England

LIST OF CHIEF JUSTICES

Name	Date of Appointment
Sir D. P. Chalmers	2nd December, 1876
P. A. Smith	11th January, 1879
J. Marshall	28th February, 1880
N. L Bailey	21st October, 1882
H. W. Macleod	16th October, 1886
J. T. Hutchinson	1st January, 1889
Sir W. Brandford Griffith	29th May, 1895
Sir Philip Crampton Smyly	14th September, 1911
Sir G. C. Deane	1st November, 1929
Sir P. B. Petrides	22nd January, 1936
Sir Walter Harragin	14th December, 1943
Sir Mark Wilson	27th December, 1948

LIST OF COLONIAL SECRETARIES

Name	Date of Appointment
J. D'A. Dumaresq	13th November, 1874
C. A. Moloney	1st November, 1879
R. Knapp Barrow, C.M.G.	31st January, 1884
Frederick Evans, C.M.G.	10th November, 1887
F. M. Hodgson, C.M.G.	15th September, 1888
W. Low	3rd August, 1898
Captain L. R. S. Arthur, C M G	20th November, 1901
Major Sir H Bryan, K B.E, C M G	14th February, 1904
Sir A R Slater, K C.M G, C B E	18th August, 1914
Sir J C Maxwell, K C.M.G., K B E, M A, M.D, B.L	4th October, 1922
Sir T. S W. Thomas, K C.M.G, O B.E.	5th August, 1927
Sir W. E. F. Jackson, K C M G	9th October, 1929
G. A. S Northcote, C M G	10th September, 1930
G. E. London, C.M.G	8th May, 1935
H. L G Gurney, C.M G.	19th October, 1944
Robert Scott, C M.G	8th March 1947
R. H. Saloway, C.I.E., O B E	12th January 1950

LIST OF GOVERNORS &c. OF THE GOLD COAST

(1944 to 1950)

Name	Rank	Date	Remarks
Sir Alan C Burns, K.C.M G	Governor	2 2.44- 5. 5.44	In Colony on duty
Sir George E London, Kt, C.M G	Officer Administering the Government	6 5.44-29 5.44	Governor on short visit to United Kingdom
Sir Alan C Burns, K.C.M G	Governor	30 5.44-27 3 45	
Mr. H L. G. Gurney, C M G.		28 5 45-18 10 45	
Sir Alan C. Burns, K C.M G		19. 10. 45-15. 8 46	
Mr H L G Gurney, C.M G		16 8 46-15. 9 46	
Mr T R O. Mangin, C M G		16 9 46-29 11 46	Mr Gurney transferred to Palestine
Sir Alan C Burns, *G C.M G*		30 11 46- 2 8 47	In Colony on duty
Mr. Robert Scott, C.M.G		3 8 47-11. 1.48	Sir Alan Burns leaves Gold Coast finally
Sir Gerald H Creasy, K C.M G, O.B E.		12 1 48- 3 7 48	Newly appointed Governor on duty
Mr. T. R O Mangin, C M G.	Officer Administering the Government	4 7 48-14 7 48	Governor on leave in U.K.
Sir Gerald H Creasy, K C M G, O B.E	Governor	15 7. 48-14 2 49	
Mr. Robert Scott, C M.G		15 2 49-27 3 49	
Mr. T. R. O Mangin, C.M G.		28 3 49-10 6 49	
Mr. Robert Scott, C.M.G		11. 6 49-10. 8. 49	Resumes governorship on recovery from illness
Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, K.C.M.G		11 8 49- 2. 6 50	Newly appointed Governor on duty
Sir Thorleif R. O. Mangin, Kt, C.M G.	Officer Administering the Government	3 6 50-. .	Governor on leave in U K.

NEW CONSTITUTION (BURNS) 1946

MEMBERS

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

His Excellency the Governor *President*
The Honourable the Colonial Secretary
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of the Colony
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories
The Honourable the Attorney-General
The Honourable the Financial Secretary
The Honourable the Director of Medical Services
The Honourable Nana Tsibu Darku IX, O B.E, Omanhene of Asin Atandasu

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

Ex-officio Members

His Excellency the Governor *President*
The Honourable the Colonial Secretary
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of the Colony
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti
His Honour the Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories
The Honourable the Attorney-General
The Honourable the Financial Secretary

Elected Provincial Members (Colony)

Nana Tsibu Darku IX, O B E, Omanhene of Asin Atandasu
Nana Amanfi III, M B E., Omanhene of Asebu
Nana Kwame Fori II, Omanhene of Akwapim
Nana Frimpong Mansu II, Omanhene of Akim Kotoku
Nana Annor Adjaye II, Omanhene of Western Nzima
Nana Hima Dekyi XII, Omanhene of Upper Dixcove
Nene Azzu Mate Kole, Konor of Manya Krobo
Reverend C G Baeta
Dr. J. B Danquah

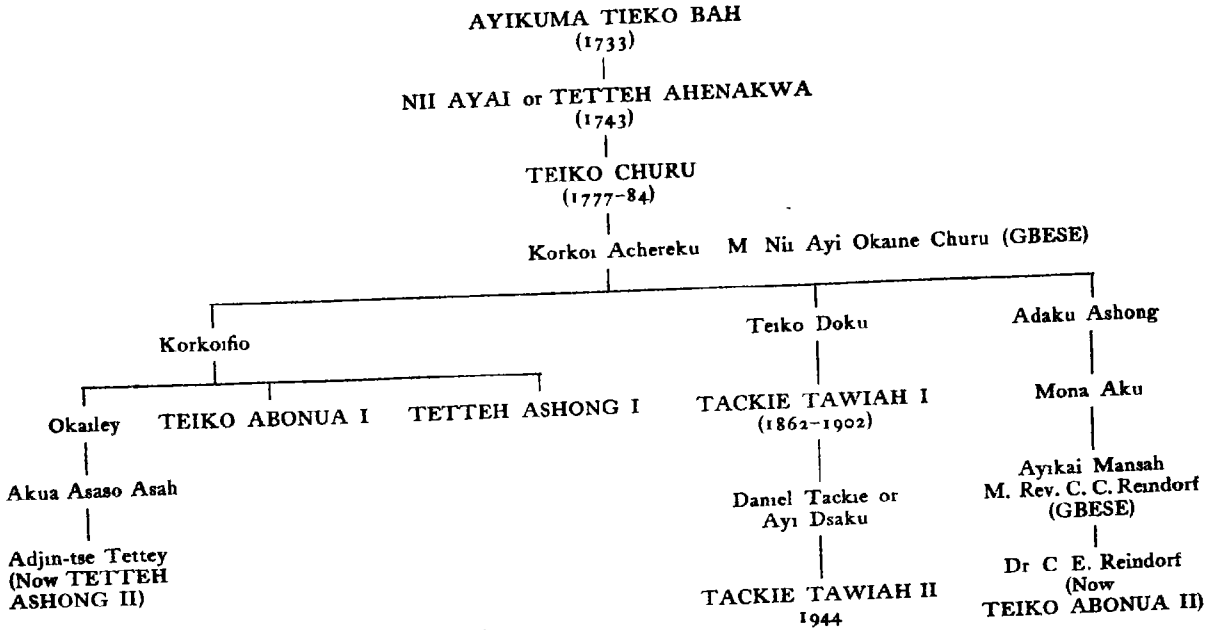
Elected Members (Ashanti).

Nana Kwame Gyabi Ababio, Essumejahene
E O Asafu Adjaye
Dr I. B. Asafu Adjaye, M B E
I. K. Agyeman.

Elected Municipal Members

Dr F V. Nanka-Bruce, O.B.E *(Accra)*
Akilagpa Sawyerr *(Accra)*
C. W. Tachie-Menson, O B E *(Sekondi-Takoradi)*
George E. Moore *(Cape Coast)*
B. D. Addai *(Kumasi).*

THIS TREE OF LINEAGE SHOWS SOME OFFICE HOLDERS OF GA PARAMOUNT STOOL



Note: Teiko Abonua I (Senior Councillor, Gbese)
Teiko Abonua II (Djasetse or Senior Councillor, Paramount Stool)
Tetteh Ashong I (Senior Councillor, Paramount Stool)
Tetteh Ashong II (Osiahene or "King-maker", Paramount Stool).

Appendix C

KINGS OF AKIM ABUAKWA

(Reigned in ancient Adanse and modern Akim Abuakwa)

I. *Kuntunkrunku Dynasty,* Circa 1500 A D.

1. Kuntunkrunku, first king of *Akanmansa,* "Three Nations of Akan", in ancient Adanse
2. Apeanin Kwaframoa Woyiawonyi
3. Damram
4. Pobi Asomaning
5. Oduro
6. Boakye I
7 Boakye II
8. Agyekum Adu Owaree I
9 Boakye (Mensa) III
10 Agyekum Adu Owaree II
11 Agyekum Adu Owaree III
12. Animkwatia

II *Ofori Panin Dynasty,* Circa 1733

13. Ofori Panin (Ofori the Elder) Sudden Growth of Ashanti Confederacy, headed by Osei Tutu
14. Bakwante (d 1742)
15. Pobi (1743)
16. Owusu Akyem, "Ohenkoko" (the Red King)
17 Twum Ampoforo, "Okasu" (deposed and executed about the middle of the century)
18 Obirikorane (died about 1770)
19. Apraku (1770)
20. Atta Wusu Yiakosan (d 1811)
21 Asare Bediako (suicide, 1811)
22. Kofi Asante, "Baninyiye" (the Good Man), 1811
23 Twum II.

III *Dokua Dynasty,* under British Protection, 1851.

24. Queen Dokua, the Great Queen, fought in the Dodowa (Akantamansu) War, 1826 (reigned from 1817)
25. Queen-Mother (for her twin sons)
26. Atta Panin (Atta the Elder), and
27. Atta Biwom, d 1866 (Atta the Younger)

IV *Amoako Atta Dynasty,* 1866-1912.

28. Amoako Atta I, 1866-88
29. Amoako Atta II, 1888-1911
30. Amoako Atta III, 1911-12 (deposed), died 1918.

V. *Ofori Atta Dynasty*, 1912.

31 The Hon Nana Sir Ofori Atta, K B.E , K M A C , 1912-1943
32. Nana Ofori Atta II, 1943

Note: The clan *(abusua)* of the Akim Abuakwa paramount stool is Asona (Nsonna in Fanti) The spoor or totem of the Asona clan is the Raven *(Anene, Akonkwaran)*, and the strong name *(mmerane, sablan)* of the clan is "The Indestructible Legions", "*Asona Werempe Akwa, Adodow*", and it is said of them·

"Asona! Horde irrespressible!
Multitudinous Legions!
Clan indestructible!
Legions who never desert their cities!
Red terrific Serpent!
Completely the Queen's progeny,
Lineage of Heaven's God,
Before whom no battalions stand!
White-crested Raven
Feeding on the meat of his compeers!"

Appendix D

KINGS AND THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ASANTE

No. Names of Kings	Period	Sisters (Nieces)	Sisters' husbands	Nephews	Nieces
1. Kwabia Anwamfi (Ahw.)	About 1600–1630(?)	—	—	—	—
2. Oti Akenten	1631–1662	—	—	—	—
3. Obiri Yeboa Manwu	1663–1697	Manu	Owusu Panini	Osee Tutu	Nyako Kosiamoa
4. Osue Tetu Osee Tutu	1700–1730	Nyako Kosiamoa	Aduamensa or Adu Gyamfi	Opoku Ware	Nketeawa Tim Abamu
5. Opoku Ware	1731–1749	Nketeawa Tim Abamu	Apebooso 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	Mampon Asumgyima	—	Kwadu Yiadom
		Kwadu Yiadom (Niece)	Mampon Safo I.	Osee Kwame Panyin	Amma Seewa
			Adu Twum	Opoku Kwame	Ya Odifie
				Opoku Fofie	Akua Kru
			Asokore Mampon Owusu Ansa	Osee Asibe (Diasibe)	
				Osee Du	
			Anow Owusu Yaw	Osee Yaw Akoto	

8. Osee Kwame Panyin	1781–1799	Amma Seewa	Apebooso Apaw	Kyenkye Hene	Afua Sapon
9. Opoku Fofie	1799, 60 days			Kwame Kusi	
10. Osee Asibe, Bonsu	1800–1824		Boakye Yam Kuma	Kwaku Dua Kwame Boaten	
11. Osee Yaw Akoto	1824–1837				
12. Kwaku Dua I	1838–1868	Afua Sapon	Owusu Gyamedua	Osee Kwadwo	Afua Kobiri Ya Afere († 1883)
		Afua Kobiri (Niece)	Kofi Ntı	Kwabena Nini Kofi Karikari Owusu Mensa (Bonsu)	Ya Kyea Akua Afriyie
		Ya Afere (Niece)	AberenkeseKamkam	Kwame Nantwi	Akua Afriyie Akwasiwa Odee
			Asabi Boakye	Yaw Twereboanna Kwame Boaten Kwaku Nkroma Akwasi Badu Kwaku Duko	Ya Kwadu Akwasiwa Berenya Afua Sapon
13. Kofi Karikari	1868–1874	Ya Kyea	Akwasi Gyammibi (Afriyie)	Kwabena Kyeretwie	Akua Afriyie
				Kwaku Dua Kuma Agyeman Perempe	Akua Bakoma
14. Mensa Bonsu	1874–1883			Agyeman Badu	
15. Kwaku Dua II	1884, 6 weeks	Kwadu Somprem Takyiaw	— —		
16. Agyaman (Dua) Porompo	1888–1895	Akua Fokuo (?)	Kwabena Awua		Akua Afiriye (?)