MISSION
FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE TO ASHANTEE

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TO ASHANTEE
T. EDWARD
BOWDICH
THIRD EDITION
Edited, with Notes
W.E.
and an Introduction by F WARD
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PREFACE
THIS book is a reprint of Bowdich's first edition of 1819, complete except for the omission of the
frontispiece map and four of the plates.
The map is replaced by a modern map of the path from Cape Coast to Kumasi, which should make
Bowdich's journey easier to follow. All of Bowdich's plates in the 1819 edition were in colour; only the
biggest of
them is here reproduced in colour, the rest in black and white.
"Bowdich's narrative makes no pretence at impartiality, and I have
tried to fill in the background and where necessary give the other side of the story, by quoting from papers
preserved in the Public Record Office in London. I have added notes freely by way of comment on
Bowdich's account of the mission, and much less freely to the end of his section on the history of Ashanti. I
have not thought it necessary to 2: comment on the later sections of the book.
I have to thank the staff of the Public Record Office for their help and
guidance among the papers of the period. The transcripts of Crown copyright records in the Public Record
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of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.
W.E.F.W.
1965
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THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH was born in Bristol on 20 June 1791. He was educated in that city, and showed himself a man of a lively mind, interested in geography and natural history and all branches of science. We are told that he was also noted at school for his skill in horsemanship; an accomplishment which it seems from p. 67 he found useful in Kumasi. In 1813 he married Sarah Wallis. His uncle, John Hope Smith, was a very senior officer in the service of the African Company, and procured him a writership in the Company's service. His application was approved in October 1814, but it was nearly a year before he received his commission. He was very angry at this delay, and still angrier when he found that he would not be allowed to take his wife out with him on the ship, but his protests were unavailing, and he sailed alone. We have no record of the date of his sailing or his arrival at Cape Coast. He says himself that he stayed long enough on the coast to prove that his conduct as an officer deserved better treatment; and in May 1816 he returned on leave to England. He must have passed his wife on the high seas, for she arrived at Cape Coast on 6 September.

The writer of the very laudatory article in the Dictionary of National Biography says that the Company appointed him to lead the mission to Ashanti, but that the Council at Cape Coast thought him too young for such a responsibility and appointed Frederick James to the command. It seems improbable that the Company would appoint such a very junior officer to such a difficult and responsible position as the command of the very first embassy it had ever sent into the interior; even though it had just appointed his uncle to be Governor in Chief at Cape Coast. The wording of the despatch which Bowdich prints on page 5 seems to leave the choice entirely to the Governor, though he chose four men instead of the three which the Committee suggested. Bowdich left Cape Coast with the mission as scientific officer, but during its stay at Kumasi he took charge of it and secured the recall of his chief, Frederick James. His own comment is, "What the hopes of the mission were, at the moment I performed an act of duty in rescuing it, may be seen even from Mr. James's own confession in his public despatch, although the insults and outrages his imbecility had brought upon us were concealed."

After the mission to Ashanti, Bowdich returned to England, and quarrelled violently with the African Committee for what he considered its parsimony. He published a pamphlet, The African Committee, which the D.N.B. says "made such an exposure of the management of their possessions that the Government was compelled to take them into its own hands." This is giving Bowdich too much credit. A parliamentary committee had already reported in 1817 that although the Company should continue to administer the Gold Coast settlements, it should do so under a Governor appointed by the Crown. A Bill to this effect was actually introduced in 1819, but was dropped, and replaced by a more radical Act, under which the Company was altogether abolished and its settlements vested in the Crown. Nor is Bowdich's pamphlet nearly as damaging as the D.N.B. suggests. The copy in the Colonial Office library is interleaved with copious annotations by Simon Cock. Simon Cock was the secretary of the African Committee in the time of Bowdich and of Dupuis. Bowdich himself gives him a good character: he says that he has always found Cock "anxiously disposed to be just, and to reform a service he knows to be degraded, as far as he may dare do so. Mr. Cock, to speak vulgarly, is placed between two fires, the Committee and their dependants; his disposition urges him to rescue the latter, but his interest commands him not to offend the former."
The Public Record Office contains a good deal of Cock's routine

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correspondence with the Colonial Office and the Treasury, and he appears always as a conscientious and efficient civil servant. Even without Cock's assistance, the modern reader will consider that Bowdich makes a very poor case. He asks that on the strength of his service in the Ashanti mission, he should be appointed a member of the Council at Cape Coast, commander of the troops there, with the brevet rank of captain, with a salary of at least £500 a year paid in sterling in England (not in goods on the Coast, as was the usual practice), and with permission to publish accounts of the various scientific and exploring missions which he hopes to launch. The Committee naturally refused to promote him over the heads of so many officers to one of the five plums in the service; whereupon he turned to saying that a service so full of incompetence and corruption was not worth belonging to. Cock does not attempt to deny that the service is far from perfect; but, he says, "Bad as the service is, Mr. Bowdich would have gladly joined it; and the public would never have heard of his opinions and disgust of it, if the Committee had complied with his terms."

As to the Committee's parsimony, Bowdich says that the least they should have given him was a gratuity of £50; whereas they gave him only £200, and he had to spend half of that on his homeward passage. Cock comments that "his coming home was his own affair" -that is, he was not nearly due for leave, but chose to come home early so as to publish his book; and moreover, he resigned the service. Nor, says Cock, does he mention another material fact: the Committee gave him "permission to remain in England to publish his book, and to use the public documents for that purpose. He got £500 for the work." Then, they offered to reinstate him in his rank and send him out again, but that was not good enough for what Cock justly calls "the arrogant temper and boundless vanity of Mr. Bowdich." In one place, Bowdich sinks very low. He prints a lengthy footnote attacking Mr. James, and quotes a passage from "the Voyage au Guinie, published in France some years ago." The gist of the passage is that there are opportunities for French commerce with the Dutch and English settlements on the Gold Coast; and the concluding sentence is, "J'ai ete t~moin d'un traité de vingt nègrillons qui a été fait entre le commandant du fort anglais

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James d'Akra, et le capitaine du navire l'Aimable Esther" On this, Cock makes a damaging comment: "The object of putting the word "James" in italics seems to be to convey the idea that the fort was commanded by Mr. James; and the suppression of the date of the work would lead to the conclusion that the contract for slaves was since the British slave trade was abolished. The fact is that the work alludes to an earlier period, and that the fort at Accra is called Fort James. The paragraph therefore can have no allusion to Mr. James."

Indeed, if that was not what Bowdich meant to suggest, what did he mean?

Bowdich in fact had not the temperament to be a member of a disciplined service, in which much of the work is necessarily routine, and in which regulations have to be observed and seniority cannot be entirely ignored. He was an individualist, and his main interest was in collecting information: information on geography, language, customs, history, music, art, architecture - anything that came under his observant eye. He cut his connection with the Company in disgust, and entered the more congenial field of science and discovery. He corresponded with the most eminent men of his day in this field: with Humboldt, Major Rennell, Sir Joseph Banks, and the savants of the Institut at Paris. In his first book, he included a short description of the Gaboon (pp. 422-452), made while his ship touched there on his way back to England. After leaving the Company, he made expeditions to other countries, and published other descriptive works.

He died in the Gambia on 10 January 1824 while still eagerly amassing knowledge. He was only 32. He was survived by his widow and three children. One of them was a daughter, whom he touchingly named Tedlie Hutchison after his two companions on the Ashanti mission. This daughter published a second edition of her father's Mission to Ashantee in 1873, with a biographical introduction. She omitted the illustrations and a good many of the appendices; Hutchison's diary too was omitted.

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BOWDICH AS AN AUTHOR

Bowdich's massive volume is divided into several distinct sections. The first 158 pages give an account of the mission's journey and the negotiations at Kumasi. The second section, nearly twice as long, describes the Ashanti country and people, with a digression on Gaboon, which Bowdich visited on his way home from the Gold Coast to England. The last fifty pages are taken up with a series of appendixes. The author
shows himself to be a well-educated man with an omnivorous curiosity; but our first impression is that his book is little more than a jumble of superficial information, much of it of little interest to a modern reader. We have to bear in mind that when Bowdich and his companions, first of all Englishmen, visited Kumasi only two years after the battle of Waterloo there was (as he says in his introduction) a curiosity throughout Europe, proportionate to the ignorance of the interior of Africa. The age of African exploration was beginning. Mungo Park, having seen with awe and delight the eastward-flowing Niger in 1796, had vanished on his second expedition in 1805, and no certain news of his fate had yet reached Europe. The British Government had financed Major Peddie's expedition in 1816, and he too was still missing when Bowdich wrote. Ex Africa semper aliquid novi; the huge blank space on the map of Africa was a challenge to the Europe of that day as great as that of the Poles, Everest, or space-travel to our own generation. Gold and ivory were known to exist: but who could tell what else? There were ancient legends about great lakes and mountains, about civilized monarchies, about Prester John; no one knew how much truth there might be in these tales. Any scrap of information from the interior of Africa was eagerly discussed. Nevertheless, to a modern reader the main interest of Bowdich's book is the story of his mission, and his description of what he saw with his own eyes in Kumasi at a time when the Ashanti kingdom was at the height of its power. Bowdich does for Ashanti what Ibn Batuta does for Mali.

In telling the story of the mission, Bowdich writes quite openly as a partisan. Within a week after the mission's arrival at Kumasi, Bowdich

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himself had taken the words out of the mouth of his chief, Mr. James; and from that moment he writes to justify his action, with no attempt to be fair to Mr. James. He prints the letters which he and his two colleagues wrote to the Governor, with the Governor's replies; and he transcribes unimportant diary entries about such trivialities as gifts of sheep and plantains, sadly letting down the tension of his narrative.

To do him justice, we must note that he has omitted in his book some of the most damaging criticisms that he and his colleagues made against their chief. It is less satisfactory to note that he has rearranged some of his material, so that the letters as printed are not in the form in which they were written. For example, the sentence on page 52, "We again affirm positively "was originally written to follow the sentence on page 65 which ends, ". which we are resolute in repeating Mr. James has not." A few lines of the letter have been outfitted between the two sentences. After this, the letter continues with the passage from "Mr. Bowdich continued standing " on page 50 to " you shall have a messenger." on page 52; then there is another omission, and the printed text is resumed at "Referring to our detail " on page 52. Thus, the material which Bowdich has printed in two separate letters dated 22 and 24 May originally stood in a different order. There were two separate letters written on those two dates, but a good deal of what Bowdich says was written on the 22nd was really written on the 24th. The rearrangement is made only in passages of comment, and does not affect the accuracy of the narrative. There is no dispute over the essential fact that when Mr. James was shown the actual Notes for the forts he had no explanation to offer, and Bowdich publicly took the negotiation out of his hands. All the same, if Bowdich wished to print his letters to the Governor, he should have printed them as they stood. The point of printing heading, date, superscription and signature is to guarantee authenticity: it is a way of saying, "This is the account we wrote on the very day, when the events and our reflections on them were fresh; this is what we felt at the time." But if we find that the text is not as written on the very day, but as edited and rearranged some weeks later, the guarantee of authenticity vanishes, and so does some of our confidence in the author.

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The most striking event in the negotiations was the dramatic moment on the afternoon of Thursday 22 May when Bowdich took the conduct of the embassy out of the hands of his chief. He claims that in doing so he pleased the Asantehene; it is certain that he convinced the Governor at Cape Coast, for James was recalled and Bowdich appointed to succeed him in charge of the mission. It is unusual for a subaltern thus to supersede his chief. What was it that led the Governor and Council at Cape Coast to accept Bowdich's account, even though it was supported by Hutchison and Tedlie? Why did they recall James, and if they recalled James, why were they content to leave Bowdich in charge, instead of sending up another superior officer to take over? On these matters, Bowdich's book gives us no help; we have to seek information elsewhere.

There are other points on which we are curious. What led the Committee of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa to plan an embassy to Ashanti in 1817? What sort of existence did the four officers lead
after the three had so publicly dissociated themselves from their chief? And what was the sequel to their accusations against him?

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

THE Colonial Office and Treasury files in the Record Office in London are much more informative about the Bowdich mission than about that of Dupuis three years later. Three Colonial Office files, C.O.267/42-44, contain letters and despatches on affairs of the African Committee concerning the mission. There are relevant papers in a number of Treasury files in the T.70 series: 1600-1603, 74, 150 and 154. But, most fruitful of all, there are three files T.70/40-42 separately indexed under the head "Ashanti Mission" These contain copies of all the most important documents concerning the mission, beginning with the instructions given to it before its departure, and ending with its return to Cape Coast They are in contemporary hands, and are evidently copies made for official use at the time: the sort of complete dossier on the Bowdich INTRODUCTION TO THIRD EDITION  
mission which the Treasury clerks later produced on the Dupuis mission, and which was lost. With this full documentation it is easy to fill in the background to Bowdich's narrative; indeed, it would be easy to write a completely fresh narrative to replace his. I shall quote freely from these papers. They are capricious in punctuation, using commas, dashes and semi-colons indiscriminately. Their spelling and capitalization are of their period: "expences" with a c, and words like "favor" and "honor" spelt in the way which America retains but Britain has abandoned. I have modernized the spelling and punctuation, and have restrained the writer's exuberance in the matter of capital letters.

ORIGINS OF THE MISSION

According to Claridge (i, 286), the Asantehene himself had suggested to Colonel Torrane in 1807 that a British Resident should be stationed in Kumasi. No action had been taken on this suggestion. The earliest beginning of the James-Bowdich mission is to be found in a letter which Simon Cock, the secretary of the African Company, received in October 1815 from an old gentleman, the Rev. Miles Wynne.  

Accept my best thanks for your kind attention in furnishing me with one of the certificates which the African Committee are endeavouring, through their Governor on the Gold Coast, to circulate into the interior of that country. Most heartily indeed do I wish success to their endeavours, in extending and improving a commerce which may be more congenial to the feelings of our countrymen than the slave trade has been for some years past. I had it in contemplation, seeing that different attempts are making to penetrate into the interior in the same laudable view, to have submitted to the Committee their recommending to the Governor and Council to appoint an embassy of two or three of their officers, of some standing in the service, to wait personally on the King of Ashantee: to have explained to him, and through him (and his leading men) to his subjects at large, the great object that Europeans in general, but the British nation in particular has had in abolishing the slave trade, and their further views in promoting a commerce which may ultimately establish the

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Africans as a civilized people, and may reconcile them to the abolition of the slave trade. It is now more than half a century since I first served the Committee as a writer in Africa; but it is so many years since I left that country that I am not competent to offer an opinion so well as those acquainted with it in later years.  

Pray have the goodness to submit my opinion to Mr. Swanzy; and should he appear to countenance the idea here thrown out, he is extremely welcome to make my sentiments known to the African Board.*

The certificates which Mr. Wynne refers to were documents, written in English and Arabic, to the effect that Major Peddie and his companions were sponsored by the British Government, and had no other object than the extension of peaceful commerce; any African chief or ruler was asked to help them to get safely back to the coast.  

Another motive for sending a British mission to Ashanti was supplied by a despatch which Mr. Charles MacCarthy (later Sir Charles), Governor of Freetown, sent to the Colonial Office on 2 January 1816:  

The newly appointed Dutch Governor on the Gold Coast, General Daendels, had called at Freetown on his way to take up his duties:  

It appears to be the intention of the General to establish his residence in Axim,
which he considers better situated to encourage commercial enterprises in the interior of Africa by means of the river Ancoverl. He seems very sanguine in his expectations of establishing an intercourse with the Assiantes, without the interference of the Fantees, who have hitherto thrown considerable difficulties in the trade, wishing to remain the sole factors between the Europeans and the natives in the interior. I understand from a British merchant who has long resided on the Gold Coast (Mr. Bolo) and is now returning to Europe, that the Assiantes in considerable force lately came down to Axim and were encamped there at the period he left it, about six weeks past: that they appeared resolved, after going back to their country, to return again without any regard to the endeavours of the Fantees. He states these people of a superior race with regard to civilization than other tribes, and that they are supplied with European commodities by caravans from the Mediterranean.

General Daendels intends to propose to Governor White at Cape Coast Castle to establish factories also in the same river, and to carry on trade on the most liberal plan between the two nations.

* T.70/1600
† CO.267/42.
I Ancobra.

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There is no explicit mention here of an embassy from the Dutch to Ashanti; but if General Daendels was really determined to circumvent the Fante middlemen and get into direct touch with Ashanti, some sort of mission would certainly be necessary. We shall hear more of General Daendels, who is represented, perhaps quite unfairly, as a sinister figure in the background of the Bowdich mission. All through the early months of 1816, an Ashanti army was encamped near the coast. One of the Colonial Office papers, C.O.267/43, gives a vivid account, amounting in places to a day-to-day record, of the anxieties and sufferings of the coast people. The British and Dutch were painfully conscious of their own feebleness in men and fire-power, and their common anxiety drew them closer together. Two Dutch officers, Mr. Van Neck and Mr. Huydecoper, came to Cape Coast to attend the interview on 21 March at which the Ashanti delegates were assured that the three Akim and Akaapim chiefs they sought were not sheltering under the protection of the forts. These events are summarised by Claridge, i, 275-8.

The Company in London was pressed on all sides to try and establish direct relations with Ashanti so as to avoid the nuisance of being constantly involved with Ashanti as tenants and satellites of the Fante. In November 1816 the Admiralty transmitted to the Colonial Office a report from the senior naval officer on the West African station, Captain Sir James Yeo, H.M.S. Inconstant*:

3

The people of the coast called Fantees have done everything in their power to prevent the Ashantees, natives of the interior, from having any communication with it; as by excluding them from the trade, they act as brokers between the Ashantees and the European merchants. They are a vile, abandoned set of people and rob both one and the other; and what is more extraordinary, we have countenanced them in it, although it is both unjust to the Ashantees and in direct opposition to our commercial interests, as a free trade with the natives of the interior would be of great national importance, and which the King of the Ashantees is most anxious to establish. Alliances with the chiefs by Residents in the principal towns could easily be formed. A Major whom I saw at Cape Coast Castle was on the point of proceeding to the capital of the Ashantees when the then Governor Torrane died, and this laudable undertaking was relinquished.

He goes on to describe the low esteem in which the coast peoples hold the Europeans. The British trade in particular is suffering because British merchants are forbidden by law to sell guns and gunpowder to Africans; this did not matter as long as the Napoleonic war lasted and British sea-power secured a monopoly for British ships, but since the end of the war and the abolition of the slave trade, the whole coast is inundated with French, Dutch, American and other flags, and they are abundantly supplied with arms and powder, which enables them to undersell our own merchants, whose trade is falling off rapidly.
By the time the gallant captain wrote this bluntly-worded report, the immediate threat from the Ashanti army had ceased. As early as 27 March, the Governor and Council at Cape Coast had felt able to write hopefully:

4

From present appearances we have not a doubt our negotiations with the Ashantees will terminate most amicably. At all events, Gentlemen, determined as we are to use our best endeavours to make friends of them, we are fully prepared to meet them as enemies.

This despatch is signed by "Edward Wm. White, Fredk. James, Win. Mollan." Mr. White was the gallant defender of Anomabu fort in 1806, and had been wounded in the action; he was now Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast. Frederick James was commandant of James Fort, Accrat, next but two in seniority to White; in between them stood Joseph Dawson and John Hope Smith. White was on the verge of retirement; he went on leave, pending retirement, towards the end of April 1816, a month after signing the hopeful but resolute despatch. Mollan went with him on the same leave ship; he was next in seniority below James. The Committee in London now had to decide whom to appoint as his successor. The rank list of 4 November 1816, after White's retirement, is

* C.O.267/43.

† Not named after him, but after James, Duke of York, later King James II.

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given in T.70/1601. First comes Joseph Dawson, commissioned on 28 July 1789, then John Hope Smith, commissioned 5 June 1800, third Frederick James, 3 October 1800. On grounds of seniority, Dawson had a strong claim, and in White's absence he was already acting as Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast. The question was whether he was capable of filling the post adequately in such difficult times. The decision to send a mission to Kumasi had been taken; the presents for the Asantehene had been ordered; the instructions to the Governor were sent in November 1816. The choice of the right man to succeed White was a matter of the first importance.

To guide them in their choice, the Committee decided to find out from their officers on leave what their opinion was of their seniors: a method open to obvious disadvantages, but perhaps necessary in those days of slow communications. Pages and pages of T.70/1601 are filled with the minutes of these interviews, and a few extracts will throw a light on some of the personalities involved in these delicate discussions.

5

2 September 1816. Mr. Bowdich attended the committee. Being informed of the object of the Committee's requiring his attendance, namely to obtain information, Mr. Bowdich expressed his readiness to give any information in his power, but his apprehension that the short period of his residence on the Coast and consequent deficient means of observation would make anything he could say but little entitled to the attention of the Committee. Mr. Bowdich does not think the officers in the service consider his (Dawson's) talents equal to those of Mr. White: his private character is quite equal, that is, unexceptionable. Being asked if he thought Mr. Dawson competent to be Governor-in-Chief assisted by a Council, Mr. Bowdich proceeded to speak. Mr. Smith is a man of talent and unimpeachable character.

Mr. James also has the reputation of being a man of ability and irreproachable character. Mr. Bowdich does not think that the talents of Mr. Dawson are equal to cope with those of General Daendels if circumstances should arise to place the two forts in competition.

Mr. Miles Dyonon attended. Was 14 years on the Coast, has not been there during the last seven years. He was in Council. Mr. John Hope Smith is a man of very good private character, rather clever than otherwise. Mr. Dawson is a man of excellent private character, but no talent. Thinks Mr. Dawson the most unfit man that he knows in the service for commander in chief.

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Mr. Innis considers Mr. John Hope Smith a man of great talent and good character.

Does not think Mr. Dawson equal to Mr. Smith. He thinks Mr. J. H. Smith and Mr. James the only two men of talents in the Council. Mr James has been engaged in speculations; in money matters he has not
been able to keep his word, but in other respects he is a man of veracity. Mr. Dawson is very deaf and has a
defect in one
eye; he certainly thinks Mr. Dawson has not the requisite talents for chief Governor.
At another sitting, six weeks later, William Mollan attended the Committee, and agreed with Innis that
Dawson was deaf and half blind, too timid to be Governor-in-Chief at a time of crisis. There seemed to be
general agreement that Dawson would in practice lean heavily on Hope Smith, and that by himself he
would be quite unable to deal with the formidable General Daendels. At a meeting on 18 October, the
Committee decided to override Dawson's eleven years of seniority, and appoint Hope Smith to be Governor
of Cape Coast and Governor-in-Chief of its settlements on the Gold Coast.
General Daendels seems indeed to have tried to work in harmony with his British rivals. On 21 April 1816,
a despatch signed by Dawson, Hope Smith and James reports:

6
A few days past, General Daendels informed Mr. White that it was his intention to send an officer of colour
to the King of Ashantee, and proposed that one should be sent from us, being of opinion that such embassy
would be of general good to the country. We intend making known to the General that we propose meeting
his wishes. The General being well provided with presents and we having none to give, we beg you will
send by earliest opportunity to the amount of £100 of such
articles as Mr. White may inform you will be acceptable to the King.
(White was sailing on the ship which carried the despatch, so he would be available for consultations in
London.) In the same despatch, they report that Cape Coast town has paid 100 ounces of gold tQ the King
in settlement of all his demands, and that the necessary oaths of friendship had been taken on both sides.
The moment seemed propitious for an embassy to Kumasi. But General Daendels did not feel inclined to
wait indefinitely. On 9th May, Dawson and Smith report furthert:

* T.70/1601. I T.70/6601.

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On the 24th ultimo, General Daendels sent an officer of colour to the King of Ashante with a handsome
present. We mentioned his intentions in a postscript of our letter of 21 April. We have made known to the
principal Ashantees our requesting you, Gentlemen, to send a suitable present for their King: which seemed
gratifying
to them.
Thus, the Dutch mission left Elmina on 24 April 1816; the British mission as Bowdich reports (page 14),
did not get away from Cape Coast until 22 April 1817. The General by his energy had gained a year's start.
The obvious tactics for the British were to make up for this disadvantage by outdoing the Dutch embassy in
splendour.
The Committee certainly applied itself energetically to this task. The same file T.70/1601 contains the
invoice for the presents which the mission was to take. The most expensive item is:

A nine-
foot umbrella made of superfine scarlet broadcloth lined with various colours, a screw joint top, tips
and bottom, the furniture gilt in best manner festooned drapery suspended with two rows of rich fringe
between the festoons, gold and silk tassels, the outside seams covered with gold lace, a richly gilt elephant
and castle screwed at top, an iron varnished spike at bottom, the bones covered with
ribbon and the whole decorated in the most superb style.
This work of art cost a hundred guineas. The total cost of the presents was £335.7.0. The mission was to
consist of four Europeans, and with its carriers and hammockmen, the carpenter, bricklayer and cooper (p.
10) and two soldiers, its total strength was 130 men. The Asantehene had already received a visit from Mr.
Huydecooper, who was the "officer of colour" referred to in document 7. He had stayed nearly a year in
Kumasi, and after him General Daendels had sent the unnamed” mulatto” mentioned on page 45. In his
pamphlet The African Committee, Bowdich speaks slightingly of Mr. Huydecooper, saying that he found
out very little about the country; but Simon Cock had seen his report, and treats him with great respect. The
Committee in London could only hope that their mission and the expensive presents it carried would
outshine General Daendels' effort.

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On pages 5-8 Bowdich prints the despatch in which the Committee instructs its new Governor to arrange the mission. As we should expect, it leaves the choice of the men to him. The full text is given in T.70/40; it is dated 15 November 1816, nearly a month after Hope Smith's appointment as Governor-in-Chief. He would have no difficulty in picking the junior members of the mission. Dr. Tedlie was a young man; Bowdich tells us that he died at the age of 26 before the book was published in 1819. William Hutchison was a junior in the service; he appears in the rank list of 1 June 1816 as having been commissioned on 8 October 1815, and was then 32nd in rank out of a total list of 41.

Bowdich seems to have been commissioned in October 1815, and was thus exactly on a level with Hutchison. But he does not appear in the rank lists of 1 June and 4 November 1816. On 9 May 1816, Dawson and Hope Smith write (T.70/1601) that they are sending him home on leave:

Mr. Bowdich a few days ago received a letter via Sierra Leone from his friends, which informed him that his presence was indispensably necessary in England. We trust, Gentlemen, you will sanction our granting him his discharge, and beg leave to recommend him in very strong terms, as he would be a desirable officer in your service. It is his intention to return to this country immediately after he gets his affairs arranged. We hope, Gentlemen, you will be favourable to him.

The wording rather suggests that he was being given exceptional treatment, and that the Committee might conceivably hold that he was vacating his post. He was in fact being given leave for his private affairs while still in his first tour of service, which was no doubt unusual. As we have seen, he attended the Committee in London to tell the members what he thought of their senior officers on the Coast. While he was attending the Committee, his wife was on the way out to Africa, and we learn from a despatch of 4 October 1816 that she arrived there on 6 September.

Bowdich stayed three months in England, and on his return to the Coast was attached to the Ashanti mission as a scientist (p. 9). As late as August 1818 he was still uncertain of his standing. On 1 August 1818 Simon Cock writes to him (T.70/74) pressing for his report. He adds that

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he has already explained orally why Bowdich's name does not appear in the rank list; and if Bowdich is not satisfied with this and wants a written explanation, he had better write in to ask for one. WAe do not know the reason; but there may be a very simple explanation. The Committee was in the habit of revising the rank list every few months, and it seems to have made a practice of striking off the name of any officer who was not on active duty in Africa. Thus William Mollan, who ranked immediately after Frederick James, that is two steps down from Hope Smith, went on leave in April 1816, and his name does not appear in the rank lists of June and November of that year; but he reappears in his old place when he is back on duty. In June and November 1816 and in August 1818, Bowdich was on leave in England, and as it happens, we have no rank list issued during his short service in Africa.

Hope Smith had no special difficulty over Bowdich, Hutchison and Tedlie; and the only comment we need make is that if Hutchison was (as seems probable) a young man, it seems strange that Hope Smith should not have selected someone with a good deal more than eighteen months' experience on the Coast to fill the important post of Resident at Kumasi.

But selecting an officer to be the head of the mission was a very different matter, and Hope Smith must have been much relieved, and not a little surprised, when his own second in command volunteered his services. The young men, of course, will go where they are sent; but it is not so easy to order a senior officer to undertake the task. For one thing, there is the inevitable hardship of the journey, so vividly described by Bowdich on pages 152-7. Then there is the risk, which James at any rate felt was a very real one. But much more important was the fact that the senior officers were in command of forts or in other key positions, and that besides being officers of the Company they were entitled to the profits they could make from their private trading. It would be difficult to order one of these senior officers to undertake a mission which would mean his being away for three or four months, not only from his post of duty, but from his private perquisites. James's voluntary offer solved the problem. He was only four months junior in the service to Hope Smith himself, Governor of Accra and a member of Council. It must have been common knowledge that (as Mr. Innis told the Committee in London) he had been engaged in speculations and was rather hard up; the more creditable of him to volunteer his services, surely?

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Bowdich prints (9-13) Hope Smith's letter of instructions to James. He does not print the draft treaty which is referred to on page 12; this is given in T.70/40:

10

(1) There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between all British subjects in this country and the subjects of the King of Ashantee.

(2) That the same shall exist between the subjects of the King of Ashantee and all natives of Africa residing under the protection of the Company's forts and settlements on the Gold Coast, and it is hereby agreed that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

(3) The King of Ashantee agrees to permit an officer to reside constantly at his capital for the purpose of keeping up communication with the Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast Castle.

(4) In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed that in case of aggression on the part of the natives under British protection, the King will complain thereof to the Governor-in-Chief to obtain redress, and that he will in no case resort to hostilities without as much as possible endeavouring to effect an amicable arrangement.

(5) The Governors of the respective forts will at all times afford every protection in their power to the persons and property of the people of Ashantee who may resort to the waterside.

(6) The Governor-in-Chief reserves to himself the right of punishing any Ashantees guilty of trifling offences, but in case of any crime of magnitude, he will send the offender to the King to be dealt with according to the law of his country.

The treaty which Bowdich secured (126-8) is based very closely on this draft, and where it departs from it, does so in a way to make it still more favourable to British desires. No wonder the Governor and the Committee in London were pleased with it.

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WHAT HAPPENED IN KUMASI?

BOWDICH's account of the events in Kumasi is frankly partisan. We have two other sources of information: one is the version of his account which is preserved in the files, and the other is James's own account of the mission's early days up to the time of his own recall. This account is preserved in T.70./40. Since the alternative Bowdich version in the files is not only differently arranged from the printed version, but also contains passages (some of them important) which are omitted from the printed book, it seems likely that it represents Bowdich's original draft which he submitted to the Governor. I shall call this Bowdich 0 (for "original ") to distinguish it from Bowdich P (for "published"). It may be convenient to summarize the events of the first part of the mission; the sources do not disagree on the chronology, but it is not always easy from Bowdich's book to keep track of the dates.

Monday 19 May: party arrives in Kumasi.

Tuesday 20 May: first public audience in the morning (pp. 43, 44); the matter of the Notes for the forts is raised, but not pressed at this stage.

Semi-private visit to the King to display the presents: pp. 44, 45. Wednesday 21 May: no public business; visit by the King's sisters; Mr. James indisposed (pp. 45, 46).

Thursday 22 May: stormy interview in the afternoon, when the Notes are produced and Bowdich intervenes to prevent the collapse of the negotiations (pp. 47-51). A short interview in the evening: Will you swear that you mean no harm? We will. (Not mentioned by Bowdich P).

Friday 23 May: The party swears this on the prayer-book. The King sends gifts in the afternoon. (p. 56)

Saturday 24 May: Morning meeting, at which the Notes are again discussed, and there is a stormy scene (pp. 56-9). Bowdich again intervenes; there is a short adjournment, after which Bowdich again takes up the speech after an ineffective attempt by James. (pp. 59-64).

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While these facts are agreed, it is clear that James and Bowdich disagreed in their assessment of the situation; and even though the Governor was Bowdich's uncle, he could not be expected to recall James merely on the strength of the letters which Bowdich has printed. It is necessary to compare Bowdich's printed account with his original version, and with James's own story. Here is an extract from James's despatches:

11
James to Hope Smith, 22 May (T.70/41):
After a most fatiguing journey of 27 days we reached the capital on the 19th inst., and were received with a good deal of form by the King and his caboceers.
On Tuesday morning we were ordered to attend a public audience, when we were asked the purport of our visit to this capital; there appeared much suspicion and cautious diffidence attached to this question; it was therefore necessary to be guarded in my answer. I told him that having heard of his great power and the extensive trade his country carried on, it had been long the wish of the Committee (the nature of which I explained) to send an embassy, but they had been prevented by a stoppage of the paths, until his army, by conquering all the intermediate country between this and Fantee, had enabled you to despatch the present expedition with safety.

That the sole view of our visit was to establish or rather strengthen the friendship and harmony which existed between himself and the British nation, and the towns under their protection, and to extend the trade between the two powers as much as possible. I told him that England was the greatest nation of Europe: as a proof of which, I mentioned a twenty-two years war, during which his people had not seen a foreign vessel, and that he was the head of a great nation here, and that, when two such were joined in amity and friendship it was for the interest of both. I told him we had given a striking proof of our confidence in his honour by entering his country without any previous notice and stated, as a further proof, your wish that an officer should reside here constantly to prevent those mistakes which must ever arise from a communication through verbal messages.

He enquired respecting Amooney's and the other Notes. I told him, as a mark of vassalage they had each given up four ackies* of their pay to him, reserving the remainder as a subsistence. With this he was not at all satisfied, saying that as he had conquered the whole track to the forts, they became his: from this I concluded his meaning to be, that as he had conquered the Fantees, whatever emoluments they received from the forts should by right of conquest be transferred to him.

In the present suspicious state of the King's mind respecting us, I fear that it would be impolitic to make the enquiries ordered in your instructions. I think that it will be more prudent to leave them to time: Mr. Hutchison, if he remain, will be able from time to time to obtain such information as they can give, without creating that suspicion which would certainly arise from any questions put at the present moment. We cannot for a moment doubt to whom we are indebted for the unfavourable impressions of our intentions. No plea has yet been given me to speak of the man in the terms he deserves; the first favourable opportunity which is afforded me, I shall take hold of. Till one occur, I must be silent on that head.* He has a mulatto man here at present, whom he despatched on 10 April to be beforehand with us.

22 May (but this should surely be 23 May?): After closing my letter of yesterday we were summoned to attend the King, when the Notes from Amooney and Aduco were produced, and I was requested to explain their contents. This I did, with which the King appeared much displeased. He said that by right of conquest, whatever Notes were held by the Fantees devolved to him, and that their offering the pitiful sum of four ackies and your sanctioning such a transaction was putting shame on his face and breaking his heart. He deduced (adduced?) many instances of similar circumstances when the Notes had been transferred to him: among others, that the Notes he now holds from Danish and Dutch Accra formerly belonged to an Akim caboceer whom he had fought and conquered, and that the Notes were immediately given to him: that in like manner the pay he received from Ehina formerly belonged to a caboceer in the Dinkirah country, whom his ancestor had killed, and that his pay was in like manner transferred to him. He harped a good deal on the sum he received from Accra, and that Headquarters should only offer him four ackies. He said that we had come to his capital with every expression of friendship and good will towards him, and contradicted our assertions by insulting him with so paltry a
Bearing in mind your conversation on the subject of these Notes, I endeavoured to parry the attack by stating that it was not you who offered him the sum of four ackies, but the Fantee caboceers; who had requested you to make these Notes and deduct them from their pay as an acknowledgment of their faith and allegiance towards him: that the pay he received from the British Government was that which had hitherto been paid at Accra, and which he would in future receive at Headquarters. He was far from satisfied with this explanation: said that your sanctioning such a transaction belied our offers of friendship, and convinced him that the English were wholly on the part of the Fantees against him.

(He suggested leaving this affair till the mission returned to Cape Coast. He would then discuss it with Smith, and "the affair could be amicably settled")

Recollecting your positively saying that Amooney and Aduco should not give up the whole of their Notes, whatever might be the consequence, deterred me from offering to communicate with you immediately, as I conceived a refusal on our part might endanger our personal safety, at all events frustrate the whole intentions of the mission. He was still dissatisfied, and assured us our presence alone prevented his All these veiled allusions are no doubt to the Dutch Governor, General Daendels.

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despaching another army against the Fantees, and that unless the Notes were transferred to him, a renewal of war was inevitable. Mr. Bowdich proposed an immediate communication, which I also saw was the only resource; but at that moment, like most Blacks' palaces, there were too many talkers to get a word in.

Soon after, the King rose to leave us, when I proposed immediately sending messengers to communicate his sentiments to you.

At this moment, Mr. Bowdich rose, I must say with some warmth: accused me of making him and the other gentlemen mere cyphers throughout the whole affair, and that he would take upon himself to act in the present business: that I had been sick, and wished to return to Cape Coast, but that he and the other gentlemen would remain until they had communicated with you and had the affair settled. With this we parted and returned home.

On our first interview, I requested Mr. Bowdich would assist me with any idea which might occur to him during our conference. On our return home, I begged he would explain in what manner I had treated him with disrespect, or (as he termed it) made a cypher of him. He replied, that during the whole journey I had done so by not communicating my intentions to him and acquainting him in form of any circumstances that occurred; that from Dumpassie I had sent a message to the King and received an answer without acquainting him and the other gentlemen; and that when the King sent a present of a sheep and some gold (there being a dispute with our guide respecting the former) I had said the King gave the sheep to me, not Quamina, instead of using the word us, and that I had taken the gold individually myself. Such are the causes of complaint against me.

How far it was the intention of the Council that I should consult these gentlemen accompanying the mission, I am at a loss to determine; certainly your instructions do not hint at anything of the kind. I therefore beg you will give me your sentiments on this head, as under Mr. Bowdich I cannot act.

Respecting the Notes, nothing but their delivery in full will in my opinion satisfy the King, and a refusal on your part will certainly defeat every object of the mission, and in all probability involve us in difficulties which we shall not be able to surmount. Indeed, our return may be doubtful, such appears the settled resolution of the King that the transfer of the Notes, or war, must be the result.

In the evening we were again summoned; and after various frivolous questions respecting our age etc we were asked if we had any objection to make oath as to our friendly intentions towards him. To this we replied that we had none, but would comply with pleasure. A shower of rain put an end to the conference, to be renewed this morning.

- 23 May. At half-past twelve o'clock we were summoned, and were conducted to a large tree on the outskirts of the town, where we found the Moors and King's lin. guists assembled. The Koran was produced, and we were requested to swear on that, that our intentions towards the King were good and friendly. We objected to swear
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on that book as being contrary to our religion, but offered to do so on our own prayer-book, not having a Bible with me. I was then told that all that was necessary was to lay my hand three times on the book and declare that my friendship was sincere, and that there was nothing in the articles I had brought the King that would hurt him. With this I complied, and each gentleman followed the same routine, in addition offering to drink a glass from every bottle I had presented to the King.

This appeared to clear up every suspicion respecting us; the Moors sung an anthem, and the linguists thanked us cordially for our condescension.

(He records the arrival of the King's presents, as related on page 56 of Bowdich; and continues):

24 May. This morning we were again summoned, and the subject of the Notes was again resumed. After some conference with the Cape Coast messengers, and Amouney's, the whole of the Generals and Captains arose, and in a most solemn manner swore that unless the King was satisfied by the Notes being given up, they would immediately proceed to the Fantee country and put everyone to the sword, Cape Coast town included. Several of the captains, after swearing on the King, turned to us and shook their cutlasses in a most threatening manner. I have seen a good deal in Dahomy and other parts, but never did I experience a more alarming scene than the one now exhibited.

In the afternoon we were again sent for, and received in a pleasing and affable manner by the King in private, when he assured us of his conviction of your goodwill towards him; but that the Fantees were endeavouring to change your sentiments, and that they had so far succeeded as regarded the two Notes of four ackies: that all he demanded was Amouney's and Aducoe's Notes in full, and that then he would comply with anything you required, and that the whole trade of his country should centre among the English.

Such, Sir, is the serious crisis to which these Notes have arrived, and I conceive there cannot be a moment's consideration how to act in so serious an affair. If the Notes are not immediately given up, war will come; Cape Coast town will be attacked; the Castle will naturally defend it; a number of the enemy will be killed; and we shall fall a sacrifice to this enraged multitude of savages. Aduco in my opinion cannot be of any service to the British nation; nor, while we are friends with the King of Ashantee, can he do us any injury. Therefore, depriving him of his Note can be of little consequence, when so urgent a call demands it. Amouney is certainly entitled to a Note, which if given up can be renewed by the Company without the 'King knowing anything about it. Should you however deem it necessary to continue both, the expenses to the Company will be trifling when brought in competition with the whole objects of the mission: avoiding a war and in all probability the sacrifice of four officers. Any diminution of the Notes will only make matters worse, as the King is already in possession of their amount from their own messengers.

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It is only fair to Mr. James that we should give this lengthy extract from his reports and set it beside Bowdich's rival account. The two men are in general agreement on the facts. James does not come well out of the comparison. It is clear that he did, as Bowdich says, allow himself to be silenced by the clamour in the assembly. He says that "there were too many talkers to get a word in"; but Bowdich managed to get a hearing though James could not. He seems to have been more fearful than Bowdich, and very anxious for the personal safety of the party. Bowdich's footnote on pages 52-3 is quoted from this same letter. As to the way in which he treated his officers, we might perhaps be inclined to dismiss Bowdich's instances: "The King sent the sheep to me, not to Quamina" instead of saying that the sheep was sent to us, not to Quamina and so forth. But in this letter, James, condemns himself: "You didn't tell me I was to consult my colleagues; of course I will consult them if you order me to." That is not the language of Nelson or Drake. The man who thinks in those terms is unfit to command an outpost.

But in the affair of the Notes, James had difficulties of which Bowdich knew nothing. He was tied by the Governor's oral instructions: Amouney of Anomabu and Aduco of Abora were not to give up the whole of
their Notes, "whatever might be the consequence." As Claridge says (i, 293-6), this whole affair of the Notes is very mysterious, and the Governor's explanation (printed by Bowdich on pages 77-8) deepens the mystery instead of explaining it. It is extraordinary that Hope Smith should imagine that the Asantehene would ever be content 'With four ackies, and it is impossible to guess why he was so determined not to cut down Amooney and Aduco. We may have more sympathy with James's situation in the assembly than his colleagues had. When he had private instructions that the Governor was prepared for war rather than deprive Amooney and Aduco-for what else can the phrase "whatever might be the consequence" mean, if not war?-and the Ashanti assembly was clamorously demanding war, and he had private information that if war was declared he and his colleagues would all be killed, he may be excused for hesitating, and for telling Bowdich (p. 49) that "he knew the Governor's private sentiments best." It was all very well for Bowdich to

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leap up and tell the King that he was quite sure the Governor could not have meant anything like what the King supposed, and that if a letter were sent down to Cape Coast, the matter would be cleared up at once and everyone would be satisfied. Bowdich knew nothing about it. James knew that-for whatever extraordinary reason the Governor did mean just what the King supposed: Amooney and Aduco were to continue receiving the greater part of their pay, and only one-sixteenth of it would be transferred to Kumasi as a token acknowledgment of their subjection. Bowdich 0 gives a good deal of information which is omitted in Bowdich P. This passage begins on p. 65 of the book, immediately after the first sentence, "diffidently await your decision."

12
We must claim this momentary calm of the King to ourselves, because it only affords us the credit, or rather the justification, of having done our duty: which we are resolute in repeating Mr. James has not; and we are ready to prove before you that his confessed intention was not to execute his trust honourably: and when necessary, that he is not a faithful officer to the Committee. His own linguist was obliged to interpret this, in his master's presence: 'The King says you speak well; he likes you three! but he does not like that old man.' What has been said through Mr. Bowdich is here reported faithfully. We have not committed the Governor or ourselves. We again pledge our honour as officers and gentlemen and volunteer our affidavits. Mr. Bowdich continued standing before the King, and declared that the Governor.

Then follows this passage from the middle of p. 50 to ", at the expense of the treaty, and every object of the mission" on p. 52. The passage continues immediately: "Mr. James became nervous and dissatisfied before we had performed half our journey. He suffered much from his legs, that he could not walk at all; and this, from the continued obstructions to a hammock and delays certainly only necessary from Mr. James's infirmity, caused us to consume twice the time we ought to have done in performing a journey of only 150 miles, as will be shewn by our daily observations and (as we preferred walking both for comfort and despatch) a pretty accurate course and distance. After the severe attack of the fevers at Doompassee, Mr. James invariably desponded of the success of the mission, and spoke of nothing but his anxiety to return."

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Then follows the passage which begins at "Referring to our detail on p. 52 and ends at " every conciliatory circumstance," at the top of p. 54; and the account continues:

It is not our personal feelings that have excited our vigilance of Mr. James's measures, though they have been deeply wounded as officers and gentlemen by his assumption of the whole dignity, the whole confidence of the mission. Every message has been kept from us, though equally at hazard with himself, both in life and reputation. We have been treated as instruments, not as colleagues, and we have been degraded in the eyes of the natives. We diverted our chagrin by a closer attendance to the scientific objects of the mission, and resolved to suppress our feelings until its termination, and to appeal to the comparative industry of our reports. We were roused by Mr. James following up a private declaration to Mr. Tedlie of his anxiety and determination to return speedily, and of his despondency of the consummation of the mission, by a confession of the two reasons which alone induced him to volunteer his services. The first we
reserve for the Committee, in case of appeal; we would condemn Mr. James by it alone, as we certainly could do; but rest solely on circumstances more closely connected with the mission. The second, we should be wanting in our duty to you, rather than to ourselves, if we did not declare; we should otherwise be content to appeal to you by our own actions, unsupported by Mr. James's confessions. Mr. James avowed that his second reason for coming was, that the Governor wished very unjustly to attract the Ashantee trade to Cape Coast, and to induce the making a more direct path for that purpose: that he had determined to prevent this, and to lead it to Accra, and confessed that he was then negotiating a private interview for that purpose. This was before any of our feelings had escaped, before the public interest demanded their avowal: when Mr. James was in the habit of communicating his private thoughts to Mr. Tedlie individually, as he dressed his legs in the morning. He added, that he had sent his private presents to the King's family, to some amount, which we know from a chance sight of them, and hearing their various acknowledgements. For the truth of this, Mr. Henry Tedlie pledges his honour and volunteers his affidavit. Mr. Bowdich immediately declared to us, that he would in consequence protest against all private intercourse, the very first occasion; and if compelled, even before the King. We volunteered our support, feeling the circumstances imposed it as a public duty. We did not imagine that Mr. James's want of energy (no longer inexplicable) would have demanded our public dissent so immediately after.

Then follows the passage from "We do not presume to enter our opinions" on p. 54 to the end of the letter on p. 55. In an appendix to the letter we have Dr. Tedlie's indent for more medical supplies:

- Oil of peppermint
- Sweet spirits of nitre
- Ether
- Blue ointment and lint for Mr. James's legs
- Blue pill
- Cream of tartar
- Dover's powder
- Jalap
- A truss for the head

General for an inguinal rupture on the right side.

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I am indebted to Dr. Arthur Barron for the conjecture that poor Mr. James may have been suffering from varicose ulcers.

Here there was matter indeed to rouse the Governor's indignation. The direct path and the encouragement of trade between Kumasi and Cape Coast was a prime object of the mission; and here was the head of the mission doing his best to torpedo the scheme. Moreover, in those days of Company government, the Governor had a direct personal interest in attracting as much trade as possible. The more trade that was diverted from Cape Coast to Accra, the bigger would be the profits and the perquisites of the Governor of Accra and the smaller those of the Governor-in-Chief at Cape Coast. Mr. James was not merely betraying Government policy; he was striking at Hope Smith's personal financial interests.

The Governor of a Crown colony would have been very annoyed if any of his officers had kept information from him and reserved it for use in London, as Bowdich and his colleagues proposed doing in the matter of James's first reason for coming on the mission. But a Company which encouraged its junior officers to tell its Committee what they thought of their seniors evidently had different ideas of loyalty and service etiquette from those accepted in Government service. We have no record of Hope Smith's reply to the letter printed as document 12.

But T.70/41 contains Tedlie's original record of the conversation. It will be noted that it occurred on Wednesday 21 May, a day on which no public business was done, and before Bowdich's intervention: as Bowdich says, "before any of our feelings had escaped, before the public interest demanded their avowal." Its fresh and vivid style is a great relief after the stately language of the official correspondence:

Wednesday 21 May. After Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Hutchison had retired from breakfast, Mr. James requested me to stop and dress his legs when the things were removed. I remained, and we entered into the following conversation. Mr. James said, "Well, if I had not been an ass I would not have volunteered on this expedition, after having been advised against it. It has almost, I may say, completely knocked me up." I desired to know why he regretted having volunteered. He said, "This fever that, I had at Doompassy has weakened me very much, and my legs have got worse." I observed that his legs had certainly not got worse since he left Doompassy, and they were mending during the time he stopped there, even although he had the fever. "If," said he, "I had been as
wise as I am old, I would not have come. I was very snug in Accra Fort, and I wish to God I was safe back there again." I told him, he should have weighed these things before he offered his services on the mission. He said he had weighed them; but he had two very good reasons for coming. "I have two very good reasons for offering my services, two very good reasons. The first is, I have been very badly used by the Committee, shamefully used; and they want to take Accra Fort from me." I said, "They will surely not do that!" He continued, "Do that! They have done tantamount to that already. They have put William Mollan over my head, and I know they intend to do that too. But, by God, they had better take care what they are about. I have those I can depend on; they had better let me alone. I will never take a windward fort. I would rather see them all in hell than take a windward fort. Even if they do, I can publish a few facts that will astonish them.

They had better let me and Accra Fort alone. I'm not the poor wretched mortal they take me for; I have friends that I can depend on. I have friends even in England that would make them shake in their shoes; and I wished to have this to put in among the rest of my services, and then let the world see how they have served me.

My second reason is, the Governor wished to bring the Ashantee trade to Cape Coast, and wants a direct path. This I think very unjust. I have been very unfortunate, and I want to bring it to Accra. At all events I'll prevent it. I'll have my share of the trade; indeed, I'm endeavouring to get a private interview with the King for that purpose." I did not make any reply to these observations. After a short silence he said, "Indeed, I do not think we will be able to fulfil a single object of the mission. Everything appears unfavourable; the King and the people are very suspicious of us; they are very suspicious at any rate, and taking the bearings by compass was improper on our part."

I bid him good morning, and considered what he had been saying. I thought it my duty to communicate it to Mr. Bowdich and Mr. Hutchison, as it affected the views of the Committee; which I did in the course of the morning.

When we returned from our morning walk, I observed a piece of silk handkerchief lying on Mr. James's bed. I took it up and was looking at it; he said, "That's some of what I have been making dashes of to the King's women."

Later on, there is another extract from Tedlie's diary, dated Friday 13 June:

14 When Mr. Bowdich, Mr. Hutchison and myself returned from writing the King's letter to the Governor*, I went into Mr. James's room. Quarshie had been telling him

* This letter is not printed by Bowdich, and there is no copy of it in the file. It was evidently a short business letter asking the price of guns and other trade goods. The King of course wanted his rent paid in goods, not in gold; and it was essential that he should know the market prices. This visit is mentioned on p. 74.

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the purport of the King's letter, and retired when I went in. I told Mr. James the King was about to send a letter to the Governor to enquire the price of guns, gunpowder and other articles of trade. Mr. James said, "I could have told him all that without the trouble of sending a messenger. I could have told him more: that he will not get what he wants at Cape Coast. He wants 300 ounces; he could have that much powder from Accra." I asked if his dividend of powder came to as much as that? He said, No, but he had 200 ounces worth of powder and he could make up the rest in goods. "Cape Coast has too much trade already; it should be more fairly divided, and I may as well have some of the gold while it is going. I intend to let him know privately that I can supply him with powder. They cannot supply him with guns at Cape Coast; I can tell him where he can have as many as he wants. The Danes have plenty." I said, "But we are not sent by the Danes, we did not come to extend the Danish commerce." He answered, "No, but the Danes are the only holders of guns in the country."

Tedlie pledges his word of honour that his account is true, and offers to swear an affidavit on his return. Indeed, if it is not true, England lost a first-rate novelist by his death two years later.

As we have seen in document 3, the British at this time were forbidden by Order in Council to sell firearms, though they still sold gunpowder. In T.70/41 we have a letter from Hope Smith to Bowdich in reply to the letter of 13 June. He says he can supply 200 to 300 ounces of powder, but "Guns are scarce, and I do not think he will at present be able to procure any considerable quantity." In T.70/150 we have the minutes of a meeting of the African Committee, at which it was resolved that the attention of Lord Bathurst (Secretary
of State for the Colonies) should be drawn to the Committee's grave suspicions that General Daendels was
conniving at the slave trade;

and that the Secretary also state to his Lordship the opinion of the Committee that every ascendancy which
General Daendels may have acquired with the natives is principally to be attributed to the power which he
possesses of supplying them with arms and gunpowder to any amount, from which the British traders are
restricted
by the existing Orders in Council.
This meeting was held on 16 May 1817, while James and his colleagues were making their painful way
towards Kumasi. On 26 September, the Committee was able to write to Hope Smith,

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Before this reaches you, you will have heard that, upon our pressing solicitation, the Lords of the Council
have at length consented to permit the exportation of arms and gunpowder; the British trade is therefore
now placed upon the most advantageous footing, so far as regards the supply of goods.
It seems then that James was wrong when he said that only the Danes were able to supply guns in large
numbers. But of course, the Danes at Christiansborg were his close neighbours. No doubt if he had been
successful in attracting the Ashanti trade to Accra, benefiting the Danes as well as himself, he would have
been able to make a comfortable business arrangement with the Danes; they would have sold the guns, and
paid him a commission on the sales.
James was right however when he said that the Committee were putting William Mollan, four years his
junior, over his head. On 12 September 1817 (T.70/150) the Committee appointed William Mollan to be
vice-president of the Council and to command at Anomabu. Both these positions had been held by Hope
Smith before his recent promotion. There is no evidence of any attempt to deprive James of the fort where
he was so "very snug" The British forts to windward-that is, to westward---of Cape Coast at this time were
Kommenda, Sekondi, Dixcove and Fort Apollonia at Beyin. In the rank list of 4 November 1816
(T.70/1601) the commandants of all these four forts were junior to those of the other four, Cape Coast,
Anomabu, Tantumkweri, and Accra: presumably because their trade was less lucrative. It would clearly
have been a step downward for James to have accepted the command of a windward fort.
Of course, in talking with this indiscreet freedom to the young doctor, James had cooked his own goose. So
that was why he had been so eager to take command of the expedition! With no thought of the public
service, but solely to help him in his intrigues against the Committee, and to put a stop to any chance of
attracting the Ashanti trade to Cape Coast at the expense of Accra. No doubt it never entered his head that
the doctor would repeat his confidences; and we can imagine that the poor young man must have passed a
horrible morning in wondering

Agreeable to my letter of 22 May, I have been under the necessity of asking a loan of 12 oz. gold from the
King, which I did about ten days ago, and I was informed that he has -ordered his head linguist to give me
that sum. After repeated messages to the said linguist, he attended me the day before yesterday*, when I
offered to return him the gold on receipt of a supply from you, or draw on you for any article he might
prefer in payment. He desired powder and guns. The latter article I told him were very scarce, but I would
mention it in my letter, and if to be had I was convinced you would obtain them for him. He then asked
at what rate I would give these articles. I replied, at the same rate as they were sold; to which he objected,
saying if I would give him the Company's ounce kegs at one ounce and guns at five for two ounces, he
would furnish the gold, and not otherwise; and with this he left me. An Ashantee captain who was present
then advised me to request an interview with the King, and ask him personally for the gold: and not to
make any parade (as the linguist would in all probability endeavour to prevent the interview) but to go
alone, which would remove any suspicion of my business. Agreeable to this advice I walked to the King's house, after first requesting an audience, which was granted.

He goes on to describe how the King first asked him to wait while he tried a case, and eventually sent an apologetic message that the case looked like going on a long time yet, so James had better not wait any longer but return home.

On my return to our house I received a copy of a protest from Messrs. Bowdich, Hutchison and Tedlie, of which I send you a copy, and my answer. My sole motive in visiting the King was to obtain the gold, my people having been three days without subsistence; and I am reduced to the last ackey to purchase provisions for ourselves.

Thus, Sir, you will perceive that my exertions to furnish both is (sic) repaid by an accusation of "dishonourable purposes, and acting unfaithful to an honourable trust" by officers placed under my command by you, and so much my inferiors in rank. Still in a very weak state of health, with every anxiety for the success of the

That is on Friday, 13 June

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mission under my direction, and my feelings and honour wounded by the officers under me, you may judge how insupportable my situation must be; indeed so much so, that if our stay is to be prolonged, I must beg you to recall either Mr. Bowdich or myself.

In the evening I was called to attend the King, and then requested the loan, being entirely destitute of gold to pay my expenses, and that I could not expect a supply from you in less than ten days or a fortnight. He replied that he had ordered his linguist to give me the gold, and that I must arrange with him: that he should bring with him a keg which had been purchased for one ounce at Cape Coast, and that if I would give that, it should be sent down as a measure. Hard necessity obliges me to accede to these terms. He was to have come this morning; I have not yet seen him.

16 June. At one o'clock we were summoned to attend the King, when the three gentlemen took their seats apart from me. The King immediately observed it and asked the reason. Mr. Bowdich rose and said, "that they could not sit or act with me, as I was doing wrong; that I had visited the King without them, and that I was neither the friend to my country, to you, or to the King of Ashantee." Mr. Tedlie declared in a most solemn manner, "that I had said I would not follow your instructions, but turn the whole of the trade to Accra." On this subject, I shall put them to a more serious oath. I was reviled as a traitor repeatedly, and particu larly that "I was not the King's friend.'

Conscious integrity alone bears me up against such virulence. Fortunately I am well known to a good many Ashantees, or the consequences might prove the most serious.

There follow long and earnest protestations of innocence, and of zeal for the public service; he hopes that the Governor will recall either the whole party "or one of its individuals, which I trust will be myself."

There is a good deal of dramatic irony here. Little did he know that the Governor had read a copy of Tedlie's account (document 13) and that his letter of recall was then being drafted. Bowdich and his colleagues had already protested against James's request for a loan. They thought his visit to the King was concerned with his attempt to draw the trade away to Accra; and Bowdich had declared (document 12) that he would protest, if necessary in public and before the King, against any more private interviews. This is Bowdich's account, given in T.70/41, of the events of the week-end:

18

On Sunday afternoon (the 15th) we were surprised for a moment to see Mr. James walk out, but we immediately ascertained that it was for the purpose of the private

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interview. He acknowledged he had been negotiating for the purpose of tempting the King to send the 300 ounces to Accra instead of Cape Coast. He effects the interview through his gold-taker, who had until that moment been imposed on us as the Accra linguist.
The letter goes on to praise this man Quashie's skill as a diplomat; he is "the most superior native we have ever seen"; and we have reason to feel obliged to this man for his conduct on the impulse of conviction* but we know, fidelity to his master is the most prominent of his good qualities.

The point is, Quashie is not a servant of the Company; he is in Mr. James's private employment as his personal gold-taker at James Fort. Being an Accra man, he has just as much interest as James himself in attracting the trade to Accra; so that his personal loyalty and his own interests pull him in the same direction.

The letter describes their public protest:

Mr. James's gold-taker was obliged to confess that his master had offered to supply the 300 ounces of gunpowder and goods to the King, after he knew we were writing the letter for him to the Governor, but that he could reduce the price sufficient to induce the King. The King impressively declared that he thought Mr. James was very wrong, because he tried to borrow gold in the Governor's name without telling us, as he had pretended to him: and because he would not speak for himself, when he begged him to do so, against what we said about the Governor's orders and the trade going to Cape Coast and not to Accra. He added, "he begged our pardon for letting Mr. James come to see him alone, that he was very sorry he had done so, and would finish his letter to the Governor directly." We know this letter was to have been superseded by Mr. James's private letter to Accra.

Bowdich and his friends thought James's request for a loan undignified and unnecessary. On 3 June they had written,

19

We are subsisting of the gold the King dashed us, Mr. James having declined our offer of using it, and having, wholly unknown to us, applied to the King for a loan of 12 oz., but which, we believe, has not yet been granted. This we conceive should have been avoided as it was possible, for the sake of our dignity We must add, that from the small expenditure since our arrival here, in consequence of the daily dashes we have received, we cannot conceive the necessity for this injudicious request of a loan from the King, which has kept the people away from us, from the

* A clear reference to the passage on page 51.

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impression that we have nothing of our own: and, we can say from the authority of a private message, much displeased the King. It has certainly wounded our dignity, and should have been avoided, at least by a delay of expensive private purchases, for which there is yet plenty of time We wish we might have dismissed our hammock-men.*

It would seem from Hope Smith's reference on page 79 to a loan from the King, that this report reached Cape Coast in time to add to the indictment against James. Poor Mr. James; as he himself discovered, he ought never to have gone to Kumasi at all. Life must have been very miserable from that time until 5 July, when he received his letter of recall. In T.70/41 the Treasury clerks have laboriously copied out, not only the protest he received against his private interview, and his answer to it, but a series of furious little notes exchanged between James and his colleagues, of which these two are typical:

20

Gentlemen-Will you inform me in what manner you propose to subsist the hammockmen? I have not four ackies gold in my possession, and they are now before me complaining of hunger.

Sir-You have always told us that you were not instructed to consult us, and now you only do so because you have no alternative. If you reflect, you will not expect us to involve ourselves in proceedings which we have not been acquainted with.

There was more wrangling when James left Kumasi on his solitary homeward march. He wanted to have the British flag carried before him on the march, and there was a dispute over which flag he should take. The mission had a silk flag which had cost fifteen guineas, and another flag made of ordinary bunting. James wanted to take the silk flag. Bowdich thought the ordinary one good enough:

21

Sir-Your returning to Cape Coast without a flag accompanying you should certainly be avoided; you will therefore receive the Resident's flag for the purpose of your journey, which can be returned by the
Governor if necessary. The silk flag being public property and part of the furniture committed to my charge, you will see must remain with the embassy. I have therefore sent the corporal to hand you the one and receive the other.

* T.70142.

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Sir-The flag you have sent is too large for the purpose of carrying in the hand. My situation entitles me to carry a flag when travelling. I must therefore keep the small one, which can be returned if the Governor thinks proper.

And after more wrangling James eventually closed the correspondence with this note:

Sir-Your being appointed to the head of the mission does not give you any authority over me; however, as I wish to avoid any kind of altercation, I send you the flag and shall procure materials to make one for my journey. I would not wish you to suppose that your threats have induced me to comply; they are of no consequence to me.

It sounds as if it were high time for both men to go on leave; Africa had got on their nerves.

On 12 July, James left Kumasi on his way back to Cape Coast, leaving Bowdich to enjoy his glory as head of the mission.

THE TREATY

The treaty which Bowdich secured, printed on pages 126-8, follows very closely the "sketch" which formed part of the Governor's instructions to the mission. We know from Dupuis' subsequent mission, and from the history of Hope Smith's later dealings with Ashanti, that the treaty had very little importance; it was very far from being the glowing success that Bowdich thought and the Committee in London accepted. How did the misunderstanding about "Dwabin" or Juaben arise? Juaben and Kumasi were old rivals, and their rivalry continued long after Bowdich's day. They often fought each other, but there were long periods of peace and friendship. No doubt the relationship varied according to the personalities of the two Kings.

On page 245, Bowdich says that Juaben was in his day an independent ally of Kumasi, but that the Asantehene was contemplating bringing it into subjection. It is possible that the Asantehene really did permit Juaben to be associated with him as an equal in the treaty, but by the time Dupuis arrived in Kumasi he felt able to say, "The King, who is the King? Am not I the..."

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King?" and dismiss any thought of associating the Juabenhen as an equal ally. For Bowdich, the mistake-if it was a mistake-was very natural. The Asantehene sent a formal message (p. 125) to the Juabenhen that the treaty was contemplated, and Bowdich paid a formal visit, finding the court of the Juabenhen as crowded as that of the Asantehene himself. Whatever the precise relationship between the two Kings at that moment, the Asantehene certainly seems to have behaved as if they were equals; though we must remember that courtesy might induce the Asantehene to treat his royal guest with attentions which went somewhat beyond strict etiquette, and also that there may have been subtle distinctions in etiquette which Bowdich did not notice. Whatever the explanation, we cannot blame Bowdich for thinking that he was dealing with two independent Kings, especially as the Juabenhen signed the treaty as one of the contracting parties, not merely as a witness. (p. 128) It was all very well for the Asantehene to bluster to DUPUIS, three years later, that the Juabenhen had nothing to do with the treaty; but this signature is evidence which cannot be ignored.

Of course, as Dupuis found, the Governor's copy and the Asantehene's copy of the treaty did not exactly correspond. According to him, the Asantehene's copy contained no mention of Juaben. As far as I know, both copies of the treaty have disappeared. If Bowdich was preparing the treaty in duplicate, how was it that he omitted all mention of Juaben from one copy, and above all, why did he not secure the Juaben signature to both copies?

There were other discrepancies between the two copies. In article 4, the Asantehene's copy read simply.

In order to avert the horrors of war, it is agreed, that in any case of aggression on the natives under British protection, the king shall complain thereof to the Governor in Chief to obtain redress, and that he will in no instance resort to hostilities without endeavouring as much as possible to effect an amicable arrangement.

Thus, whereas at the bottom of page 125, Bowdich explains that he has "reconciled the point of the Amissa palaver" and given the Governor an "opportunity of mediation" through the wording of article 4, the article as it stood in the Asantehene's copy did not contain the necessary phrases.
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It is perhaps a small matter that in one copy of the treaty, the Kings agree to "commit children" to Cape Coast for education, and in the other copy, they agree to "commit their children" This article of the treaty was anyway a dead letter. But another serious discrepancy, not indeed between the two copies of the treaty, but between the letter of the treaty and the Asantehene's understanding of it, was that the Asantehene was confident that Bowdich had explained to him that whoever broke the treaty must pay a fine of gold to the other side, whereas the treaty itself contains no mention of this. It seems extraordinary that such a misunderstanding can have arisen, seeing that Bowdich expressly says (p. 106) that the Ashanti proposed such a fine but he refused it. Had it not been for this express mention, we could easily have imagined that either Bowdich himself, or the African interpreter, might have let the idea fall as an illustration of the sanctity of the reciprocal obligations which the treaty imposed, without the slightest intention of writing it into the text of the treaty. This possibility is suggested by Ward (173) and Claridge (i, 321); but how can we accept the possibility when Bowdich expressly says, "They suggested it, but I refused it."? Dupuis had a simple explanation; he thought Bowdich a liar. That I think is much too strong. I think Bowdich was eaten up with vanity, and was so anxious to secure the glory of making the first treaty with Ashanti that he allowed himself to be grossly careless as a diplomat and as a copyist. If the Committee had seen the two copies of his treaty side by side, they would surely never have offered to reinstate him in his rank and send him out again as a writer.

The last important weakness in Bowdich's treaty, as in the draft which formed part of James's instructions, is the distinction drawn between "crimes of magnitude" and "secondary offences" Much trouble was to arise from the fact that the British and Ashanti conceptions of major and minor offences were very different. We might have expected Hope Smith, as an experienced Coaster, to have foreseen something of this, and Bowdich as a keen student of customs to have made some attempt to classify offences into major and minor. He had noticed (p. 76) that a man was executed for picking up some of his own gold.

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which he had just dropped in the market place; we should have thought that this might open his eyes to the fact that Ashanti and British had very different ideas of crime.

THE SEQUEL TO THE TREATY

At first, everyone was happy with the new treaty. On 26 January 1818, Hope Smith writes (T.70/1603) to William Mollan at Anomabu, H. A. Adamson at Tantum, and W. B. Sewell at Komenda:

22

The King of Ashantee has through the Resident at Coomassie again expressed his perfect satisfaction of the treaty lately concluded, and of the honourable views and intentions of the British in their negotiations with him. Anxious therefore to take every possible means to secure the observance of the treaty, and in order to make it the more binding on the people in the Fantee country, who are more immediately affected by it, the King has made known his wish, that a proper person be appointed by the caboceer of each town, to repair to Ashantee, where the treaty is to be read and explained to them in his presence. You will therefore desire the Annamaboes, the Tantums and the Commendas to select a person for the purpose. The whole of the deputies are to assemble here in seven days from the present date, and proceed from hence to Coomassie with the messenger whom I may appoint to accompany them.

But disputes were not long in arising. There is a good deal of correspondence in T.70/41 over a case which occurred in Cape Coast just before Bowdich and Tedlie returned from Kumasi. On 1 October, the King writes to the Governor to say that "the King of Cape Coast has broken the law. I wish you to inform him that I wish him to settle the palaver soon, to save me the necessity of sending a force to oblige him to do so." The Ashanti version of the story was that an Ashanti and a Cape Coast man had words about a debt, and the case was heard by Abrooofro, King of Cape Coast. He gave judgment in favour of the Favite, and told the Ashanti, "If you are saucy, the Governor will put you in the slave hole till you die, if I tell him to." This, said the Asantehene, is an insult; and he must pay 210 oz of gold, plus forty oz to the royal linguists.
On 2 November, Hope Smith replied through Hutchison, the Resident:

From his inquiries, it seems that the King is misinformed. The quarrel was not between an Ashanti and a Fante, but between two Fante men. The creditor had sold the debtor's niece, and the King of Cape Coast applied to have him confined in the castle until he produced her. The man swore on the head of the Asantehene that he must not be imprisoned but must be sent to Kumasi with 21.0 oz of gold. This swearing of the King's oath made the Ashanti officials, in Cape Coast take up the case.

The people of Cape Coast are under my immediate authority, and if they offend shall not escape punishment. In the present instance, as they have not in the least transgressed, they have a claim to my protection, which they certainly shall receive in case of need.

He mentions that he has another similar case. An Ashanti boy had words with a woman in Cape Coast market, and swore on the King that she must go with him to Ado Bradie (the chief Ashanti representative in Cape Coast), who heard the case and threatened to cut off the woman's lips for abusing the King. The Governor had her brought into the castle for protection, and Ado Bradie then suggested commuting the mutilation into a fine or pacification fee.

I however considered the affair of so trifling a nature, that after having insured the safety of the woman, I dismissed it without further notice, with which I believe Ado was not altogether satisfied.

This document raises three clear questions. First: what is a major issue, and what a minor? Hope Smith thought this case of the market woman "trifling"; the Ashanti disagreed. Second: how far are the people of Cape Coast under the Governor's immediate authority and entitled to his protection? Third: is every dispute to be referred to the courts at Kumasi, merely because one of the parties, even if not an Ashanti.

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swears the King's oath? We have to remember that swearing the King's oath was the recognized formula for demanding to have the case transferred to Kumasi; it was the appeal to Caesar.

Ado Bradie was certainly far from satisfied. So was the Asantehene.

On 17 November he replied to the Governor:

The treaty of alliance entered into by us makes me appeal to you in any difference that may arise among the people or traders from this country and the coast. I am anxious to maintain the friendly intercourse so recently entered into. But Abroofro King of Cape Coast town having an affair to settle between two persons, an oath was taken on my head, which Abroofro vainly endeavoured to compromise by settling it without your knowledge. For this purpose he gave my messengers (gifts specified in great detail.) "Finding this in vain, an appeal was made to you, Sir, for satisfaction. But as I think you were not aware of this previous circumstance, I hope you will give the matter another hearing, as I am extremely anxious that this affair should be settled. Abroofro must have known he was in the wrong, or why attempt to bribe my messengers with such things. . ?

The Asantehene has tacitly dropped the plea that one of the parties was an Ashanti. Even if both are Fante, an appeal has been made to his courts, and the case is now out of Abroofro's jurisdiction. If Abroofro insists on retaining it, he is committing lese-majeste, and must suffer for it. The Asantehene is not yet claiming that the Governor is breaking the
treaty in siding with Abroofro, but the implication is surely plain.

This case dragged on. On 26 January 1818, Hutchison wrote again from Kumasi to the Governor:

The King stated that the people of Amissa (an interim Fantee town) had paid more than ten ounces of gold for the same offence that Abroofro was charged with; and that Cape Coast town was larger and ought to pay the same. They (i.e. the Ashanti) had formed the erroneous opinion that the fort would advance money to assist the town in this affair, but I assured them not a particle of gold could be given to uphold such a direful engine of power, to which someone, almost every week becomes the victim in this place.
Abrooro meanwhile sent to Kumasi a token payment of six ounces of gunpowder and six ackies of rum. In reply to the above letter, the Governor instructed the Secretary, Tasker Williams (afterwards taken prisoner by the Ashanti at Nsamankow) to say that he would not lift a finger to persuade Abrooro to increase this token payment:

You are directed again strongly and explicitly to express to the King, as the sentiments of the Governor-in-Chief, and from which he is determined not to swerve, that no affair similar to that of Abrooro will again, even in the slightest degree, be countenanced; and should it ever be attempted on any natives under the protection of the British flag, the justice of their cause will be supported to the utmost.

It is difficult to see why Hope Smith was so uncompromising, both in giving his support to the Fante chiefs and in regarding Cape Coast as “under his immediate authority.” He was laying the foundation for many quarrels. Luckily for him, the Asantehene was on the point of leaving Kumasi for the Gyaman war, which gave Cape Coast town and the Governor a respite until the war was over. Dupuis arrived in time to witness the resumption of difficulties.

Hutchison offered to accompany the King to war, if the Governor would permit it; but the Asantehene thought it better not (T.70/1603):

(23 November 1817) The King having assured himself of my willingness to accompany him should I receive your permission, bid me thank my countrymen for the support he had received from them. But lest any accident should occur, or it might be imputed to him, and as he did not wish to have any difference with the English, His Majesty signified his pleasure that I should return to Cape Coast until the war was over, when he hoped you, Sir, would allow me to return to Ashantee.

Incidentally, the Asantehene told Dupuis later that the initiative came from Hutchison: “When the white man heard that (I was going to war) he said, Now I must go down to the water side; and the King, thinking that to be right, let him go.” But this is of no importance.

These uncertainties over the status of Cape Coast town and the distinction between major and minor offences made Bowdich’s treaty quite valueless. As soon as the Asantehene was at leisure again after the end of the Gyaman war, the misunderstandings began, and they were heightened when it was discovered that the two copies of the treaty did not agree. There followed the unhappy story of the Dupuis mission, and within a few years the British and the Ashanti were, quite unnecessarily, at war.

Hope Smith had his critics. One of them was a certain J. H. Holden, who was deputy surveyor at Cape Coast, 32nd in the rank list of 1 October 1818. In T.70/1603 there is a rambling paper which this gentleman sent to the Committee in London to defend himself against some strictures which Hope Smith had passed on his conduct:

The whole of the back country from the borders of the Dinkarah country to the kingdom of Ohio (?) is in a state of savage hostility; neither did our dashing embassy to Ashantee plant that load of amity and friendly intercourse which we were led to expect from the flowery reports of the historian Bowdich. Indeed, there are some amongst us who doubt whether it did not do more mischief than can be remedied in a short time.

The Act also which prohibits Governors and commanders of British forts and settlements from allowing any nation to trade in slaves within the jurisdiction of their respective forts and settlements is entirely disregarded by the Governor-in-Chief (J. Hope Smith); Spaniards are allowed to trade for slaves with impunity under the walls of Cape Coast castle. At this very moment there is a man (a native of Ireland) and second mate of an armed Spanish schooner now at anchor at Mooree (within five miles of this castle) trading for slaves with Aggery the King of Cape Coast town and De Graft the fort linguist, both enjoying liberal salaries from the castle.
We must not put too much weight on this bitter outpouring of a man with a grievance. We may note that he is not inclined to take young Mr. Bowdich at his own valuation. As for the slaving, he does not allege that it is carried on at Cape Coast, but at Mori, five miles away, which was certainly far outside Hope Smith's reach. This paper from Mr. Holden must have been in the Committee's mind when it addressed a series of questions to Bowdich on his return: he has printed the questions and his answers on pp. 25-28 of his The African Committee. Bowdich says that "numberless Spanish vessels" anchor off Mori for slaving. He

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has never heard of any mate of a Spanish slaver visiting Cape Coast, and he is positive that no slaving is carried on in Cape Coast town. He does not think that Aggrey or De Graft could have supplied slaves without the Governor's knowledge, and the Governor would have dismissed them from their posts. (We note that he is not so positive on this point; and we wonder if the Governor could have dismissed Aggrey from his post as King of Cape Coast?) "The famous mulatto slave trader" Sam Brew, whom Hope Smith will not allow to enter Cape Coast town, "has expended a considerable sum" to induce the Asantehene to intercede for him. Meanwhile, he has taken possession of the abandoned Dutch fort at Mori, and to Bowdich's knowledge, a thousand slaves were sent from Kumasi to be shipped from Mori in Spanish slavers during his own stay in Kumasi. General Daendels told Bowdich that he had no more power to turn Brew and his men out of Mori than the British had.

Those were difficult days. The Danes and the British had abandoned the slave trade, and no alternative trade was yet in sight. But the organization for supplying slaves was still in full working order, and it was evident that the market was far from sated. If two important dealers chose to retire from business, was that any reason why others should not continue, and make good profits for themselves and everyone else all down the line? It was beyond the comprehension of the Asantehene and of the traders like Sam Brew. The British had not yet enough force to compel the trade to cease. The Government in London was busy negotiating treaties with Holland and other countries, and Lord Castlereagh at the Foreign Office was planning to set up a mixed tribunal of British, Dutch, Spanish and other assessors at Sierra Leone to try ships' captains accused of slaving. But this machinery had hardly yet begun to work; and meanwhile, Hope Smith and General Daendels and their colleagues had to do the best they could with utterly inadequate forces. Bowdich tells us that Royal Navy captains in his day dared not move the Spanish slavers away from Mori; their orders did not yet authorize them to interfere with foreign vessels. Two years later, the Record Office files are full of reports sent in by naval officers of their actions against Spanish and Portuguese and other slavers, and gallant reading they make. But not in Bowdich's day.

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GENERAL DAENDELS

THE Dutch Governor General Daendels is an interesting character; and his career would be worth investigating in the archives at The Hague. It is clear from document 2 that he was a man of ideas. It was a very long time since any attempt had been made to penetrate to the interior by the route of the Ancobra river, and it seems that he would have liked a joint Anglo-Dutch effort to be made in that direction. Then in March 1816 we find him cooperating with the British in their negotiations with the Ashanti commander at Cape Coast; and immediately afterwards, he proposes a joint mission to Kumasi, an invitation which the British had neither the authority nor the funds to accept. Bowdich and his colleagues regarded the Dutch embassy in Kumasi as dangerous rivals; and from the passages I have printed from Bowdich on the note on page 87, it seems that the Asantehene was quite ready to encourage them in the idea, playing off British and Dutch against each other. At one point (see note on page 67) Bowdich 0 speaks of "the conviction or confession of the present carrying on of the slave trade by General Daendels." There is nothing in the papers we have which could be so described, but evidently Bowdich was by this time convinced.

He carried conviction to the Governor and the Committee; especially so as his opinion was confirmed by a Dutch officer, ir. H. Milet. Mr. Milet had been secretary to the Dutch Government on the Gold Coast; he was Tasker Williams's opposite number, so to speak. He quarrelled with his Governor, General Daendels, and came over to the British, accusing the General of conniving at the slave trade. In T.70/74 there is a letter of 2 August 1817 in which Simon Cock lays this information before the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst:
In submitting Mr. Milet's declarations to your Lordship, the Committee are sensible that his statements are to be received with caution, being made by an individual between whom and General Daendels there appears to exist the utmost enmity. But as it is certain that slave ships have been supplied with canoes, water etc. at Elmina, which could not have occurred without the permission of General Daendels, and as the British Governor and Council at Cape Coast attach full credit to Mr. Milet's statements, and deem the General to be a most dangerous character the Committee have no doubt that what is stated by Mr. Milet is strictly true; and that therefore it is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of tranquillity and the suppression of the slave trade on the Gold Coast, that some decided measures should be taken to put an end to the proceedings of General Daendels. We do not know the sequel. But the General did not stay long on the Coast; before the end of 1818 there is a passing reference in one of the despatches to the sale of the General's effects. There is certainly a prima facie case against him but on the information we have, it is impossible to say if there is anything more.

WHAT HAPPENED TO FREDERICK JAMES?
Poor Mr. James set out on his solitary march back to Cape Coast on 12 July. We do not know whether he carried the home-made flag which he said he would make, or whether Bowdich relented and let him take one of the mission's flags. He received a cold welcome. T.70/42 contains the letter which Hope Smith wrote him on 23 July, immediately after his return to Cape Coast. (He made much better time on his homeward than his outward journey; either his legs were better, or his hammock-men were eager to get back home.)

I send you various papers received from Ashantee that you may have time to prepare your defence before the return of the officers who are now there. Among other charges is a very material one, that of betraying your trust by attempting to defeat the main object of the mission; which is the extension of our commercial intercourse with the interior, to be facilitated by a direct communication with Headquarters. It was my desire on your going to Accra in the month of May last, that you would engage an intelligent native of that place to accompany the mission, agreeable to the Committee's orders, which you were acquainted with. The man whom you brought with you on your return I understood from you to be the linguist of your fort, and therefore considered him attached to the mission in his public capacity. The reverse however proved to be the case, as he was found to be your private servant, and therefore independent of the mission. You will of course account for this circumstance.

James answered this letter two days later. He asked permission, which was granted, to take the papers to Accra with him to study at leisure. But he took the opportunity of dealing with the point about Quashie:

I beg leave to say that the man I selected from Accra town has from the first been attached to the mission, and is still in Coomassie. I preferred him to the linguist of James Fort, on account of his being better versed in the Ashantee language. I mentioned this on my arrival in April, and presume you misunderstood me. Very well; but he is evading the real point, which is, that as long as James himself was in Kumasi, Quashie was working in his interests and the interests of Accra, not in the interests of the mission and of the Governor-in-Chief.

Poor Mr. James arrived back in Cape Coast at an unfortunate time. He had already incurred censure on another matter. In T.70/74 there is a despatch of 26 September 1817, written by Simon Cock to the Governor at a time when the Committee was still awaiting news of the mission. It hopes that the mission will have removed "any impression which it may have been the endeavour of General Daendels to make in that quarter to the prejudice of the English." It goes on to say that every officer in the Gold Coast service must be careful to give the Ashanti no cause to complain of British bad faith. And later on there is a paragraph about Mr. James, referring to some transaction of which we know nothing more than the despatch tells us:
We approve of your application of the 20 oz. of gold received by Mr. James from the Aceras, but deem the conduct of that gentleman extremely reprehensible in not having made the circumstance the subject of a particular formal representation to you, in order that you might at the time have reported the affair to us and learnt our sentiments upon it; since it furnishes grounds to conclude that the money (which had been two years in his possession) would have remained with him to this day had it not been for the accidental mention of the circumstance at this Board; and we desire you expressly to understand, and to give it to be understood, that we shall consider any person guilty of similar misconduct unfit to continue in the service; for we cannot conceive a more dangerous principle than that of allowing a governor to derive emolument from the coercion of the natives.

There had evidently been some trouble at Accra, and James had succeeded in obtaining a fine of 20 oz of gold from the townspeople, which he should obviously have paid into the Company's funds. It was unlucky for him that the fresh charges against him should have been made at a time when he had thus so recently attracted the extremely unfavourable attention of the Company in London.

There are no details in the file of the investigation into James's conduct. But the result is clear. In T.70/150 there is a letter written by Simon Cock on 29 January 1818 to James's anxious father in Birmingham:

33 The affair between your son and Mr. Bowdich and the other gentlemen who accompanied him to Cummazee, the court of the King of Ashantee, occupies at least a hundred pages of papers, but the substance is this: They accuse your son of abusing the confidence of the Governor and Council by endeavouring privately to persuade the King of Ashantee to open a path down to Accra, instead of down to the Gold Coast*, which he denies. Next Friday the Committee will proceed upon the examination of the subject. I do not think that your coming up to town could answer any good purpose. You may rely that the Committee will not come to any unfavourable decision against your son without the clearest evidence of his having misconducted himself.

But poor Mr. James senior heard nothing more, and on 11 September he wrote to Simon Cock (T.70/1603) begging for details, and above all, for the Committee's decision. To this, Cock replied on the 22nd (T.70/74):

34 The latest intelligence which the Committee have received respecting your son is dated 21 February. In their letter of that date, the Governor and Council say, "We have to advise you of several changes which have taken place within these few days. Mr. James has resigned the service. Mr. James Mollan has resigned the command of Apollonia Fort, etc." The decision of the Governor and Council, upon the investigation of your son's conduct, was that he had misconducted himself: and they therefore resolved to deprive him of his rank as a member of that Board for twelve months from the 17 November. This Committee has not taken any further step in the matter.

As it happens, we have however another glimpse into the James case from an unexpected quarter. In T.70/1603 there are the papers of a quarrel between Dawson and Hope Smith. Dawson, as we have seen, was eleven years Hope Smith's senior in the service, and had hoped for the post of Governor-in-Chief; but Hope Smith was promoted over his head. Dawson was commandant at Anomabu, which was regarded as a good post. At the end of 1817 he resigned his command of Anomabu, and was posted to James Fort, Accra, in succession to James. As soon as he had...
made his decision he repented of it and tried to withdraw; but it was too late. There are two letters from Hope Smith to Dawson in the file:

1 January 1818. The instructions received from the Committee in January last as to the arrangements to be made in the service in the event of your resigning the command of Annamaboe Fort have already been acted upon. The appointment of Mr. Mollan to the command of that Fort, and the necessary directions for the removal of Mr. James to Commenda having been forwarded prior to the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo, and that consequently it is out of the power of the Governor to accord with your wish to recall your resignation.

It is clear that they had all been waiting for the old man to go. Dawson however was stubborn; he would not go to Accra. So the next day Hope Smith had to write to him again:

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2 January 1818. Mr. Mollan was yesterday appointed to the command of Annamaboe Fort prior to your letter being received; and a public letter was written to Mr. James on the 31 December, and forwarded by opportunity of the schooner George and James informing him of his removal to Commenda Fort.

We have no further concern with the quarrel between Dawson and Hope Smith. It is clear from this what had happened. James was deposed from his seat on the Council for twelve months, and was transferred from his senior post as commandant of Accra to the junior post of commandant of Kommenda. He had declared furiously to Dr. Tedlie that he would never take a windward fort; he would rather see them all in hell than take a windward fort. But he was now ordered to take a windward fort; so he resigned the service. Mr. Innis told the Committee that James was a man of his word, except perhaps in money matters. So he proved; he kept his word here.

That is really the end of the story. James resigns the service in disgrace. Bowdich comes home to see his book through the press and to quarrel bitterly with the Committee. His uncle the Governor continues to rule in a somewhat uneasy peace, until the Asantehene returns from the Gyaman war and a new crop of palavers arises. Poor young Dr. Tedlie dies on 9 September 1818; Hutchison returns to Cape Coast and is appointed storekeeper there. On 13 November 1818, Simon Cock writes a despatch (T.70/1603) to Hope Smith, in which we catch the last reference to the James affair:

Mr. W. Hutton and Mr. Fredk. James being in London, and having appeared to us on the subject of your proceedings, it is only necessary for us to say on this occasion that if we should see cause to depart from your decisions respecting these gentlemen, it will be made known to you.

Apparently the Committee never did see cause; for silence falls.

What was the upshot of it all? The Treaty was worthless through its ambiguities, and Hope Smith's later conduct gave the Ashanti some

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justification for holding that the British violated it. It was soon superseded by Dupuis' treaty, and that treaty too was overtaken by events when Sir Charles MacCarthy led his troops into action at Nsamankow. The policy, which Bowdich and Dupuis-both advocated, of making Ashanti an ally was hardly ever followed; it was Hope Smith's attitude of suspicion which prevailed. Within a few years the Company itself was dissolved. The Bowdich-James episode is of very little importance, and the mission led to nothing. What is valuable to us is Bowdich's vivid description of the Ashanti kingdom at the height of its power, and the light which his narrative throws on practices and personalities in the last years of Company government on the West Coast.

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NOTES
Inta, or rather Nta, is the name of the ancestral nation from whom the Akan of today (Ashanti, Fante, Akim and others) are descended; and it is the name by which the Ashanti still call the Gonja, who live north of them on the Black Volta.

Major Peddie was the leader of a large expedition, officially sponsored, which set out from Senegal to follow up the work of Mungo Park and explore the Niger. The expedition had bad luck. Some people on the Coast thought it a mistake to send such a large party, for its size would alarm the African chiefs and arouse hostility; and this in fact happened. Major Peddie died soon after the expedition started; the command devolved first on Captain Campbell and then on Dr. Gray, and the survivors of the expedition, after being detained a long while in the interior, straggled back to the coast of Portuguese Guinea and were picked up and brought to Sierra Leone. But this was after Bowdich's time; when his expedition was being planned, nothing was yet known of Major Peddie's fate. There are papers about Major Peddie's expedition in the files which provide material on Bowdich and Dupuis.

It seems strange that there was no direct path from Cape Coast to the interior. Dupuis too had to begin by going to Mori; and even for this stretch of the journey there was no land path; you had to go along the beach, which was very rocky and difficult. The people of the coast towns travelled by canoe. No wonder that the Governor placed a direct path from Kumasi to Cape Coast high on his list of priorities.

James's journal gives a different list of the hamlets between Anomabu and Paintri's croom, now called Dunkwa. His list is: Attah Sumasee, Quacrecom, Comquai, Asim, Adaintree, Adamadie, Ado Mensah, Adoomadie, Asaugah. The last of these is presumably the same as the Assoquah mentioned on p. 16; the rest seem to have no counterparts.

James says in his journal that from Paintri's croom they were warned there was a four days march before they would reach the next hamlet. The next halting-place he mentions is Fosu. The "shrill screeching" came from the so-called "tree-bear", a species of hyrax. Its terrifying scream is its only defensive weapon.

James does not mention Prasu; he mentions a place called Bosompim between the river and "Kickiwherre", nowadays spelt Chichiwere. Bowdich gives Pagga, Atobiasee and Asharaman as the hamlets on this day: James gives them as Ncomassie, Pagoh, Kwamin, and Sasaman. For the next day, Sunday, the two accounts agree.

Kwisa, Fomena and Dompoasi are Adansi towns rather than Ashanti in the strict sense; but from the river Pra onwards, the party were for practical purposes in Ashanti territory.

James gives Kingabousso instead of Tiabosoo; probably the same name. Between Esiankwanta and Dadiase, James gives Kangansah instead of Dattiasoo. Bowdich's "Modjawee" is no doubt Bojaiwa, which lies a little to the east of the main path.

Instead of the three large crooms between Korraman and Assiminia (Asumegya), James has two: Taymah and Guahinso. The word croom, so constantly used for "hamlet" is an anglicization of the Akan kurom' for kuro mu. Kuro means a hamlet, and mu means in, or into. Beyond Asumegya,
James is again in disagreement: he mentions Napasued, Adjiman (perhaps the same as Bowdich's Agemum) and Ashantemanya, where he says they stopped for the night.

31 James agrees as to Agogo and Patiasu, but gives "Agokoe" instead of Oyoko. These large-scale discrepancies between James and Bowdich are surprising. It is clear that the two men were often asking different guides for the name of the place they saw, and writing the name down independently, with no attempt at keeping in touch with each other. James's journal, which is in T.70/40, is a much more perfunctory sort of document than Bowdich's carefully surveyed route. I would prefer Bowdich; indeed, it is strange that James did not leave this part of the business to Bowdich entirely.

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33 James's journal gives the background to the horrible sight of the man being led to execution: "I this day (22 June) learned who he was, and for what crime he suffered. He was a native of Annamaboe, who having a dispute with an Ashantee waylaid him and shot him. The King ordered strait enquiry to be made, and after much trouble he was discovered and delivered up to the King, who ordered him to be tortured and executed. His head was taken off on the night of the 19th.

38 Saphies were amulets, usually scraps of paper with a text from the Koran, enclosed in a leather case. The sanko (more correctly osanku) is a stringed instrument, illustrated in drawing No. 5 after page 306. The word is now used to mean a guitar or piano or any other stringed instrument.

39 The Ocrahs (okara) were slaves chosen to be their masters' favourite companions and trusted confidants. During the master's life-time, an okara led a very pleasant existence; he might rise to a very eminent position, was treated by his master as a familiar friend and by the outside world with the respect due to his master's rank. He could marry, and if his wife was a free woman, her children would be born free. The one cloud in the sky was that he was doomed to be sacrificed when his master died, so that he might continue to serve him in the spirit world.

40 The strong name of a chief is a name which he has taken in commemoration of some feat of arms or other memorable deed. Thus, in 1818 chief Offe Akwesim of Kokofu led a forlorn hope which broke through the ranks of the Gyaman army and reached the stream behind them; in commemoration of this he took the strong name of Okogyeasuo, "he who fights to get to the water" Every chief has kwadwumfo or minstrels, whose business it is to recite in his ear the strong names which he and his ancestors have acquired.

48 In T.70/40, after "but we came to make a fool of him" there is an additional sentence: "Mr. James equivocated and we declare that the King smiled at his trepidation."

51 After, "We shook hands and retired", Bowdich 0 has a passage omitted from the printed version: "On our return to the house we reasoned with Mr. James on the whole circumstances, who certainly did not meet our appeal with the spirit of injured dignity, but with an humiliation, we could not have insulted a superior officer by encouraging or accepting: we assured him of the continuance of our public respect, that we should confess our act forthwith to the Governor and Council, and diffidently await their decision. All the Fantees " (T.70/41)

52 This quotation from James's letters to Hope Smith (in T.70/42) gives the context of Bowdich's footnote: " .26 May. This morning we waited on the King, to request that he would give us a messenger to carry our letters to you, and that he would allow the porters to return. He immediately appointed two messengers, and desired I would appoint one, together with Amooney's and Pentie's, to accompany him.

I ordered Quatchie, Joe Agergy's brother, as being the most intelligent of the whole; to these, a long and peremptory message was given to the Fantees, and he informed
us he should again send for us in the course of the day to write a letter to you, which he would dictate. In the afternoon, we attended the King, and commenced the letter above spoken of, to be concluded tomorrow. The Government of this country killed by our forts, our lives are to be the forfeit.*

27 May. We this day attended, and finished the letter. He was pleasant and affable as he always is in private. It is a strange repetition, but precisely his diction, translated as near as I could. The porters have been detained till now; he has promised to let them go tomorrow. 28th. We are now called to close the King's letter, therefore I must conclude. I am, Sir, etc. Fredk. James. P.S. We have just returned from the King, who requested me to add a postscript respecting information he had received on the slave trade. A pacific answer will be necessary respecting the latter."

57 Line 3 from the -bottom; in the version in T.70/41 after " seated under their umbrellas" comes the parenthesis, "(some exceeding our present in size)"

60 In T.70/41, after" the King rose abruptly from his chair" comes the parenthesis "(which is of a black wood and embossed most extravagantly with gold.)"

63 Line 10, in 0 we read, "he liked the three new white men." In line 13, 0 adds a clause complimentary to James: " change of sentiment, to which Mr. James certainly contributed a full part."

67 After " . and to seal it in his presence", 0 adds: "Mr. James has given you the sense of these sentiments, and the confession or the conviction of the present carrying on of the slave trade by General Daendels with him will make its due impression on your minds. A long prayer "There is nothing, either in the letter as printed by Bowdich on 68-72, or in the longer paraphrase and the postscript given in 0 (T.70/42) which could be construed into a "confession or conviction" of slave trading by General Daendels. There may have been a private covering note which is lost.

72 T.70/40 has a paraphrase of the letter printed on pages 68-72, which is evidently the letter referred to by James in the passage just quoted. Bowdich gives only three witnesses; but James also witnessed the letter, as indeed we should expect from what he says in his journal. Was it carelessness, or malice, that made Bowdich omit to insert James's name above his own on page 72? Though T.70/40 merely paraphrases the body of the letter, it inserts the postscript in full, which Bowdich omits: "The King begs me to add, that he has been informed that the cause of the abolition was his war with the Fantees, and that our idea was, that the one ceasing, the other would naturally do go. This information I have denied, and given as a reason the slaves in the West Indies were already too numerous. He begs application may be made to the King of England to renew the trade. He has also been informed that the King of England not only refuses to purchase slaves himself, but

NOTES prevents the Dutch and other nations. That when he received this information it led him to believe everything else that was said to our prejudice: that our visit has in some degree removed these suspicions, and that the renewal of the slave trade will entirely do so.

The King begs you will not place too much dependence on the Fantees, as they are a deceitful set; but listen to him, who is willing to supply anything that is wanted.”

This is the postscript to which James wisely advised the Governor to send a pacific reply; the Governor's postscript on page 81 hardly meets the case.

74 13 June: this late visit was for the purpose of writing a short business letter, briefly paraphrased in T.70/41. The king wants guns and gunpowder; he expects that you will put the guns by for him, as many as you can, and charge him not like a trader but like his good brother. He again insists on his right to the two books in question, founding on the precedent of the Dutch books his head brother possessed himself of by conquest; but says if these books are given him he is still a young man, and will be one with our King, and a good friend to you. This is the letter referred to in document 14.

77 Bowdich does not print James's letter of recall. It is given in T.70/41: "Sir-The illness which you have experienced on your journey to Ashantee and the subsequent debility which it has caused may probably be the occasion of your anxiety to return; and as it is uncertain when the other officers composing the mission will be able to leave, it is my desire that on receiving this, you will deliver over
your instructions to the next in rank, and commence your journey hither as soon as possible. I send you by this opportunity 10 oz. gold for expenses. I am, etc. J. H. Smith.” The letter is distinctly cold.

78 Line 8 from the bottom: Warsaw is of course the modern Wassaw. This refers to correspondence which is preserved in T.70/42. On 13 May, Bowdich writes back from Dompoease explaining that James is too ill to write himself. On 23 May, Hope Smith writes to James, condoling with him on his ill health, and again emphasising the importance of having a direct path cut from Kumasi to Cape Coast, which James will realise all the more because of “the very circuitous route you have unavoidably been obliged to take to arrive at Ashantee.” James replies to this in a postscript to his letter of 22 May (the letters crossed): “The path to Warsaw, which is already cleared, would be nearly the direction in which a straight line would be drawn, as by Mr. Bowdich's observations we are due north of Chamah; consequently I do not think he would undertake another path. From thence may easily be cleared to Cape Coast, leaving Elmina to the south-west. It is my intention to return by this route, and take the bearings, distances, etc.”

85 Bowdich 0, in T.70/41, has some variant readings. After "the Commenda palaver" in line 1, it reads, "which from his firm declaration, that he 'will use his authority with the Elminas, and meet your wishes in everything but the oblivion of such insults as have aggravated the present case, wears so decided an aspect. ?

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In line 12, after “inconsistent with your dignity” it reads, "and the present established confidence and understanding. I did not discourage. "

Paragraph 2, line 8, after " captains of superior influence." it inserts: "To make this general compliment, and to avoid anything like an invidious act, I was compelled to purchase one piece of fine shirting and one piece of figured muslin from Mr. Hutchison, for which I have credited him two ounces. I made a point

The Company's officers were paid in goods, not in cash.

Two lines lower down, for "the Inta country” 0 reads "the Dunko country.”

Odonko is a general Akan term for a slave, and the British, anglicising the word into Dunko or Donko, imagined it to refer to a tribe. The Ashanti used the word to refer vaguely to the Gonja or Dagomba countries, or places further north, whencs they were accustomed to obtain slaves.

Three lines lower, instead of "dismiss the remaining Fantees” 0 reads, "dismiss two of our three sets of hammockmen.”

In the next line, after “ our dignity” 0 inserts, "more especially than our comfort,”

86 Lines 2 to 4, instead of "I secured one to be punished” O reads, "I secured with the assistance of Mr Hutchinson and Mr Tedlie and the two soldiers, and inflicted one dozen lashes on one, who encouraged the others by persisting in some insulting indecencies, in contempt of my remonstrances through the linguist and the corporal.”

Line 10, instead of "I shall request the King . own people” 0 reads, "I shall accept the King’s offer of furnishing me with twelve bearers for our luggage, or any number of men,”

Line 12, after” favours oeconomy ”, 0 reads,” impresses a confidence, and without seeking it, will afford us an escort for the Warsaw path at least, convenient to our comfort. The frequent presents. ”

87 T.70/41 gives a fuller version of this letter. Bowdich has reproduced the main part of the letter correctly, but has omitted the opening paragraph and the postscript.

The letter begins:

"The Elmina Governor sent me word that the English and Dutch were as one, that he heard I was going to do harm to the Commendas but he begged I would not. He sent word that if I hurt the English fort at Commenda it would put shame on his face, but if I would let him know what I wished, he would try and settle the palaver.

The Dutch Governor sent to the Commenda people to persuade them to settle what was right, but they told him the King of Ashantee was not their master."
The King has sent a captain back with the last Dutch ambassador for the purpose of settling this palaver.
The King did order Mr. Hydecoper to write that letter.
This palaver however now rests with you.
There is a long postscript:
"The reason the King has such a good name with the Dutch is, that the Denkera
caboceer many years ago went to the fort at Elmina and say, 'You must trust me with plenty of powder and
guns to go and kill the King of Ashantee and

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his people.' The Governor did so. Then the King, having conquered Denkera, sent to Elmina and said,
'Well, I have killed this man, but I will pay his debts'—which he did for the powder and guns. This the Dutch
Governor wrote home to his King, who said he had never met with so great a man before: and it was
entered in the great book, and all the Dutch Governors since look at that and so it makes them his friends.
Thus, he wishes his friendship to be commemorated by a public entry in your great book at Cape Coast.
Now he and the English are one, and you must write to England for a crown and clothes like his brother the
King of England—a crown etc that he may always fight his enemies in the clothes of his great brother, whose
flags recently presented he shall always fight under from this time against all his enemies. He never cheats
the Dutch and the Dutch never cheat or do wrong to him. Whenever he sends to Elmina for powder and
guns, he has it directly. So as you and he are now one, you must always supply him at the moment. He does
not want so much powder to fight and kill people, but because he makes great custom, to honour all his
captains and great men when they die, and this is every week."
This postscript explains the last sentence in Hope Smith's letter on page 102.
106 "The mulatto Brue" mentioned in the footnote was a Cape Coast man, Sam Brew.
He had a big house in the bush outside Cape Coast (conveniently out of gunshot from the castle) and was a
nuisance to the British authorities. They knew perfectly well that he would deal in slaves wherever he could
find a buyer; on the other hand, he had so much influence that they could not ignore him. If General
Daendels really was conniving at the slave trade, the slaves were supplied by Sam Brew. A few months
after this time, Brew went too far, and Hope Smith actually banished him from Cape Coast altogether. On 2
January 1818, Hutchison writes to Hope Smith from Kumasi (T.70/1603): "I am instructed by the King to
offer his respects to you. His Majesty is extremely sorry he should have occasioned you any trouble about
Brew; his messengers have misrepresented the affair altogether. Brew having implored the mercy of the
King through his messengers, who embraced His Majesty's feet, made him solicitous about him. His
Majesty resigns the Cape Coast affair entirely to you, and wishes you will shew your goodwill to him by
listening to his request, and allow Brew to return to Cape Coast. " Brew's name occurs often in the papers
of the period. See also Claridge, i, 339; from Brew's general character, I think "wilful treachery and fear of
the enemy" much more likely than "carelessness or ignorance only." Sam Brew knew his way about well
enough.
102 Claridge, i, 297, thinks that Amissa might quite reasonably be regarded, like
Kommenda, as being under British influence. There is a letter from Hutchison to Hope Smith in T. 70/1603
of 26 January 1818, from which we learn that Amissa paid "more than 10 oz. of gold" for offending the
King; presumably on this occasion.
112 The certificate is not reproduced in this edition. 113 The castle linguist De Graff (or De Graft, as
Dupuis spells the name) had fought
bravely at the siege of Anomabu in 1806. Bowdich flatters himself that De Graft
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was in the King's favour; whether that is true or not, he had fallen thoroughly out
of favour by the time of Dupuis' visit to Kumasi in 1820.
114 It is to be noted that the submission of Kommenda is declared to be made through
the Governor-in-Chief. With this in black and white before him, how could Hope Smith disclaim all
responsibility for the Kommenda people in the subsequent
palaver three years later?
121 This letter is more evidence that the King regarded Hope Smith as being responsible for the
Kommenda people.
125 Bowdich deceived himself when he thought he had secured for the Governor the
opportunity of mediation without any responsibility. In Ashanti eyes, one involved
the other.

136 In line 9 from the bottom T.70/40 inserts, between the portmanteaus and the sextant, an additional item: "two small camp beds for the woods" From Bowdich's account of his homeward march, the camp beds do not seem to have added greatly to his comfort.

139 In T.70/41, a phrase is inserted after the loss of his retainer at Cape Coast: Iand the King's angrily forbidding him to insult us by continuing the custom for him (though we had not regarded it) would hurry."

145 "Drinking doom" is the phrase used to describe a species of trial by ordeal. Some sort of medicine or magic drink was given to the accused; if he were innocent, the stomach would retain it, if guilty, he would choke, or vomit it up. In T.70/1603 there are papers recording the horror of the Governor and Council at learning that the commandant of one of the British forts was allowing" drinking doom" to take place in his fort under British supervision, and charging a fee for it. His defence was substantially: "Everybody knows that the thing goes on, and will go on whether we take notice of it or not. If we supervise the proceedings, we can at least make sure that there is no cheating or trickery; and why should we not charge a fee for our trouble?" There were of course variations in the procedure; some kinds of "doom" would choke the accused, others would be vomited up; some acted alone, others only after a drink of water.

147 The Committee afterwards took exception to this gift to the British Museum; they said it was made to the Committee. In Bowdich's polemical pamphlet The African Committee, the Museum's letter of thanks is printed; and Simon Cock has annotated it: "It appears by the despatches of the Governor and Council that these were sent to the Committee, but Mr. B., being the bearer, though fit to present them to the Museum in his own name without their consent."

229 For these Akan families, see Rattray, Ashanti, pp. 45-85.

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231 Osei Tutu was not the founder of Kumasi, which existed before his time under the name of Kwaman. But it is true that with the assistance of Okomfo Anokye he made it the national capital.

232 Juaben seems to have established itself in reasonable security before the central Ashanti states were free from their preoccupation with the Doma war. Bowdich's Sai Apokoo is presumably Opoku Ware.

233 See note on p. 87. This war against Ntim Gyakari of Denkyera was the Ashanti war of liberation. Recent writers (Journal of African History, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 83-95) have enabled us to revise the chronology; they suggest that Osei Tutu died in 1712, that his successor, un-named, was killed by the Akim, in about 1717, and that Opoku Ware reigned from 1720 to 1750.

236 It is impossible for the founder of Juaben to have died as recently as this; Juaben was older than Bowdich thought.

241 See Ward, 157-9. All this tradition recorded by Bowdich needs to be carefully collated with the traditions of Akim Abooakwa and Akim Kotoku.

246 Give him chalk: the winner of a law-suit has his shoulder smeared with white clay. Sai Acotoo is Osei Yaw Akoto, who did succeed his brother in 1824.

250 Compare this estimate of the character of the commoners in Ashanti with what the King says in his letter to Hope Smith on pp. 120, 121.

255 This custom of restoring slaves and runaways from friendly countries might have warned the British to expect trouble if runaways came to them from Ashanti, as of course they did.

MISSION
TO
ASHANTEE.
MISSION
FROM CAPE COAST CASTLE
TO
ASHANTEE,
WITH A
STATISTICAL ACCOUNT OF THAT KINGDOM,
AND
GEOGRAHICAL NOTICES OF OTHER PARTS
OF THE
INTERIOR OF AFRICA.
BY T. EDWARD BOWDICH, ESQ.
CONDUCTOR.
Quod si prae metu et formidine pedem referemus, ista omnia nobis adversa
futura sunt."
LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET
1819.

INTRODUCTION
A CURIOSITY throughout Europe, proportionate to the ignorance of the interior of Africa, exacts the
publication of the proceedings and researches of every Exploratory Mission, from its Conductor, as a duty
to the Public: "mandat fieri sibi talia."
The Public, in acknowledgment of the performance of the duty, reflecting that it constrains literary effo
rts which the Author otherwise might never have presumed to expose, should sympathise in his diffidence and
anxiety, and receive and review them as a task imposed, and not as a spontaneous essay.
If this indulgence is due even to gentlemen who have had the most enviable opportunities of qualifying
themselves at the expense of a liberal Government, it is surely secure to one who never enjoyed those
advantages; but, being suddenly called to the immediate conduct of a Mission, originated by a public Board
of cry contracted means, when estranged from all facilities, had no resource to aid his realization of the
scientific desiderata, beyond the acquirements common to most private gentlemen.
The vessel in which I am making my passage to England having been chartered to trade in the River
Gaboon, which is immediately on the Line, I diverted a tedious delay of seven weeks in so

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

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### Empo3ngwa Music

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## ERRATA

Page 9.- After Frederick James, Esq. add, Member of Council, and Governor of Accra. Page 72.- For dated, read dictated.

## GLOSSARY

Croom. A town or village.
Caboceer. A chief or magistrate.
Pynin. An elder or counsellor.
Palaver. A dispute, debate, argument, or suit.
Book or Note. A certificate of a monthly pension of the African Committee, paid in trade to the Fantee Kings and Chiefs in the neighbourhood of the British settlements, in consideration of their attachment, influence, and services; which Books or Notes were claimed by the King of Ashantee, as his by right of conquest.
Stool. Throne, seat in council, inheritance.
Custom. A festival, carnival, public ceremony, funeral rite.
Panyar. To seize or kidnap.
A Benda. Two ounces four ackles, or £9, currency.
A Periguin. Two ounces eight ackies, or £10, currency.
An Ackie. Five shillings currency.
A Tokoo. Ten pence.
A Dash. A present.

MISSION
TO ASHANTEE,
PART I.

KUMASI
THE PATH FROM
CAPE COAST TO KUMASI
BEKWAI 
KOKOFU ASUMEJA
AMOAF
KWAMAN
TAILS OF FET
0 0 F E
CLLS
0 FO FE ET
025
MILES
ANSA
CONTINUED OVERLEAF

CHICHIWERE DAMANG,
FANTI NYANKUMASI (Pairt's croom),
ADUMFA
GULF OF GUINEA
FEET 1 G 1
0 2 5 10
MILES
Based on Gold Coast Ordinance Survey, 1st Ed. 1925.

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

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

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

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

By the store ship which arrived in 1817, the African Committee forwarded liberal and suitable presents, and associated scientific with the

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

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

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

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

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endeavour to obtain the fullest information of the countries beyond, in each direction; particularly whether any high mountains, lakes, or large rivers are known; and the width, depth, course, and direction of the latter; and whether the water, as well of the lakes as the rivers, is salt or fresh: and how far, and under what circumstances, white men may travel with safety, especially in a northerly direction. They should collect the most accurate information possible of the extent, population, and resources of the Ashantee dominions, and should report fully their opinion of the inhabitants, and of the progress they may have made in the arts of civilized life. They should be directed also, to procure and bring away (with the consent of the chiefs) any specimens of vegetable and mineral productions they may be able: and to ascertain where and how the natives collect the gold, and the extent to which the trade in that article, and in ivory, might be carried on. It would, we conceive, be a most important advantage, if the King of Ashantee, and some of his chiefs, could be prevailed upon to send one or more of their children to the Cape, to be educated at the expense of the Committee (to be attended by their own servants, if required), under the guarantee of the Governor and Council for their personal safety, and that they should be sent back when required.
Another great object would be, to prevail upon the King to form, and keep open, a path not less than six feet wide, from his capital, as far as his territories extend towards Cape Coast, you engaging on the part of the Committee, to continue it from that point to Cape Coast, which we presume may be done at a very small expense, by means of monthly allowances to the chiefs of such villages as be in that line; upon condition that they shall not allow the path to be overgrown with underwood, or otherwise obstructed.

MISSION TO ASHANTE.

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

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

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

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

MISSION TO ASHANTE.

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

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

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

MISSION TO ASHANTE.
Cape Coast Castle, April 19th, 1817
FREDERICK JAMES, ESQ.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the course of your stay in the Ashantee country, you will embrace every occasion of becoming acquainted with the politics of that nation, of ascertaining its extent and boundaries, the power of the King over the lives and property of his subjects, the probable force he could bring into the field, the number of his allies, the sources and amount of his revenues. Whether he is tributary to any other power, and what nations in his neighbourhood are tributary to him? The amount of tribute, and in what articles paid? The rule of succession to the throne? What are the punishments for crimes of all descriptions? Who are the persons of most consequence next to the King? The names of their offices, and the extent of their power: by whom, or how paid? What are the most prominent features in the character, manners, and habits of the people, &c. &c. &c.?

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

Of what nation are the Moors that frequent the Ashantee country, and for what purpose do they go there? Ascertain the current medium of exchange, whether gold, or cowries; also the usual prices at which the Ashantees sell the goods they purchase from the Europeans on the sea coast, and the extent of their commercial relations with the Interior.

You will enquire whether any European travellers have ever been seen or heard of in any of the countries to the northward; and what became of them? Whether any thing be known of the river Niger, or Joliba, as it is called by the natives? This information you will probably obtain from the Moors. Ascertain the position of the Doncoe country, and the city of Kong; also the mountains of that name. Refer to Park's Travels, and acquire as much information as possible of the regions lying between Ashantee and
the last places he visited. In short, leave nothing undone that may add to our present imperfect geographical
knowledge of the Interior.
You will receive herewith copies of certificates relative to Major Pedde's expedition, which you will
distribute amongst any persons you find travelling into the Interior from Ashantee.
It would be of the first importance to have a road cut directly down to Cape Coast; and this you will urge to
the King in the

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
strongest manner. Your observations will, of course, enable you to point out the proper directions.
I inclose a sketch of a treaty, and it would be highly desirable if you could procure its ratification by the
King. He might perhaps make some objection at first, but, may be persuaded at length, by your address, and
reasoning. If he wished any trifling alteration made, you might use your discretion in this respect.
You will acquaint the King, it is my wish that in future he receive his company's pay at this Castle, and not
at Accra, as formerly. Should he say any thing of an increase to his present allowance, you may give him
hopes that it will be granted to a reasonable extent, provided the objects of this Mission be fulfilled, and
after twelve months experience shall have proved the sincerity of his friendship to the British Government,
and to the natives resident under its protection at the various forts on the Coast.
From the jealous disposition of the natives of Africa, it is highly probable, that in the prosecution of your
enquiries, you will be subject to many unfavourable suspicions. These you will take all possible care to
remove, by the most candid explanations on every point that may be required.
You will particularly explain to the King, the ill treatment the people of Cape Coast have experienced from
those of Elmina, which has added very much to the distresses they have for some time suffered from the
extreme scarcity of provisions; and there is reason to believe, that this unjust persecution has been induced,
from their presuming on their connection with the Ashantees. Being perfectly aware that it has been done
without the concurrence of the King; I have no doubt but he will, by a proper representation
of the affair
from you, exert his influence, and prevent what is at present to be apprehended, and what the

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Elminas are endevouring to provoke a war between the two people.
In all cases not provided for in these Instructions, you have of course a discretionary power, which I am
convinced you will make use of with deliberation and prudence, and with becoming zeal for the service
upon which you are employed.
Wishing you a prosperous journey and a safe return,
I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant, JOHN HOPE SMITH.

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CHAPTER 11.
The Route, and Reception of the Mission.
The Mission left Cape Coast Castle on the morning of the 22d of April, with the intention of quitting the
water side at Moree, three miles and a half to the eastward; but on reaching it, we were told that the path
thence to Payntree's croom, always bad, was then impassable from the rains; and that we must proceed to
Annamaboe before we struck into the bush for the Interior.
The reluctance of the carriers, who had been pressed into the service by the authorities of the town, became
thus early almost insuperable; the consideration of pay and subsistence, and the reflection, that the dearth
inflicted by the invasions the Mission was to deprecate, allowed them but a bare existence at home, were
entirely lost in their aversion to thine undertaking, which was equally influenced by jealousy and indolence:
eleven deserted the first day; and the slender authority of the King and caboceros of Annamaboe, delayed
the procuring of others to replace them until the next evening. One party was then started, attended by a
soldier and a messenger, as they persisted in laying down their loads, even in the town; and many of the
AnnaLiaabovs who had been procured, after lifting their packuiges, which were of moderate weight, walked
off again, with the most insolent indifference. The devices by which these, people displayed their ill will
were pecu-

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

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

Passing through Tachradi, which scarcely existed but in name, we ascended a gentle rising, with a small croom, called Acroofroom, on the left hand. The astonishment of its miserable inhabitants engaging our attention, the extensive area of the summit burst upon us with the more effect. It was environed by small groves; and clumps of cotton trees rose so happily in frequent spots, as to afford all the scenery of a romantic little park; the broken rays of the sun stealing through the small trees in the distance, to make the deep shade of the foreground more imposing. The path then became more hilly, and the landscape fuller of wood: our descents and risings frequently through long vistas, so richly gilded with the sun on the summits, that, impressed with the description of Issert, we naturally yielded to the expectation, in ascending each eminence, that it would afford us the delightful prospect of an open country; but we were disappointed, and passing through Dunasee and Assoquab, both small crooms, the latter situated on a long level, about three miles and a half from Acroofroom, we shortly after arrived at Payntree's.

On the higher hills the soil was generally gravel, with large stones; on the lesser, white flint and whinstone abounded: the levels presented few stones, and the earth was black, strong, and rich, producing grass from four to ten feet high. The country was very thinly inhabited, and more sparingly cultivated, the cassada frequent, but producing little from the want of cultivation. I made Payntree's croom barely fifteen miles from Annamaboe; judging from time, it was guessed to be eighteen or twenty; but the impediments which the path almost incessantly presented to a hammock, the inequalities of the ground, and many delays which insensibly consumed the time, conspired to make such a calculation of distance very fallacious. The plan I adopted throughout, though laborious, entitled me to more confidence; and the observations confirmed the pretension. Mr. Tedlie, who was always just ahead of myself, took the angles of the path by his compass, which I pencilled as he uttered them, with their several lengths, allowing four yards and a half for every six paces. It is allowed too by the natives to be an easy four hours walk. Several hours elapsed before all the carriers came up; most of those who had been started by us the preceding day, slept in the bush, and one more had deserted. The prevailing courses and their proportions were N.; N. bW.; N. N.W.; N.N. E.-1: the rest of the distance being made up of small lengths, in every point of the compass, from S.W. to S.E.;

MISSION TO ASHANTE.

the variation 17 °W. The latitude of Payntree, by two altitudes of the sun, was 520' 30" N.; the longitude, by the course and distance, as afterwards corrected, 10 471 W.

We received the compliments of Payntree and several caboceers, under a large tree, and were then conducted to a neat and comfortable dwelling, which had been prepared for us: a small square area afforded a shed for cooking in on one side, and a sleeping room in each of the others, open in front, but well thatched, and very clean. From this we passed to our sitting room, the floor of which was elevated about two feet from the ground. The croom was prettily situated on a level, encircled by very fine trees, and consisted of a very broad and well cleaned street of small huts, framed of bamboo, and neatly thatched. Just beyond the north end of the croom, there was a stream running to the N. N. E and more than a mile of marshy ground was distinguished by the deeper shade and luxuriance of the foliage. We observed a great number of small birds, which were even more beautiful from their delicate symmetry, than their brilliant plumage: they were generally green, with black wings, and their nests hanging from the trees.
The Ashantee captain, who expected to continue there some months, on the king's business, sent us a sheep, pleading the scarcity, and his being a stranger, as apologies for so small a present. Old Payntree was attentive and obliging; he dashed us some fowls, yams, and palm wine. We remained there the next day, to allow our people to procure four days subsistence, as they would not be able to meet with provision on the path during that period.

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

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

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

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

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much higher. The bearers had all settled themselves here, and not contented with a long rest, refused for some time to proceed until the next day; several were intoxicated with the rum from some ankers they had designedly broken. We started again however about half past three, and almost immediately entered a large forest impervious to the sun; the risings were frequent but gentle; the path, crooked and overgrown, presented such constant obstacles to a hammock, that Mr. Hutchison, Mr. Tedlie, and myself, were glad to dismount, and found it was much more comfortable as well as more expeditious to walk; the only inconvenience was the troops of large black ants, which were too thick to be avoided, and stung us sadly.

We passed two little streams running E. N. E. About six miles from Cottacoomacasa we found all the baggage, the people making their fires, and settling themselves for the night; it was almost dark; Quamina, our Ashantee guide, had gone on without us, and Mr. James we knew must be far behind; we therefore determined to halt for the night, and our hammocks were slung to the trees. The distance marched this day was twelve miles. The longitude of Cottacoomacasa was one mile E. of that of Payntree by account, that of our resting place 1° 46' 30" W and the lat. 50 28' N.

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

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

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We proceeded again at one o'clock, and passing through a small river, Assooneara, running eastward, we came to a second, called Okée, running in the same direction to the Amissa, which falls into the sea between Annamaboe and Tantum. We passed five or six swamps, one nearly half a mile long; in these the
soil was a dark clay, but otherwise gravelly. We halted in the woods at a spot where our guide Quamina was busied in cutting down the underwood to accommodate himself and his women; the bearers, resolute in their perverseness, had gone on with our provisions and clothes. The ground of our resting place was very damp, and swarmed with reptiles and insects; we had great difficulty in keeping up our fires, which we were the more anxious to do after a visit from a panther: an animal which, the natives say, resembles a small pig, and inhabits the trees, continued a shrill screeching through the night; and occasionally a wild hog bounced by, snorting through the forest, as if closely pursued. This day's distance was eight miles, and the course N. I N. b. E. - , Lat. and long. by account 5034.' N. and 1048 W. Thermometer in shade 6 A. M. 74.

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

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of fallen trees presented constant barriers to our progress, and increased our fatigue from the labour of scaling them: we were also frequently obliged to wait the cutting away of the underwood before we could proceed., even on foot. The large trees were covered with parasites and convolvuli, and the climbing plants, like small cables, Iscending the trunks to some height, abruptly shot downwards, crossed to the opposite trees, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists and turnings, that it soon became impossible to trace them in the general entanglement. We passed through two small streams running S. and several swamps, richly covered with palm trees. Parrots and crown birds were numerous. At the end of ten miles we came to a small river called Quatao, four yards wide, also running eastward to the Amissa; and immediately after to a few sheds bearing the same name, where we found the last party of the bearers all lying down, and a soldier ineffectually endeavouring to rouse them: we started them with difficulty. A mile and a half thence we met with the Okee again, running over its rocky bed in a transparent stream, which reflected the richest foliage; its course S.W I W., the breadth nine yards, and we stepped across it from rock to rock. We soon afterwards walked through the Antoonso, a smaller river running W.S.W., which probably crossed the path to the eastward in one of the small streams near Cottacoomicasa, as every report confirmed its also running to the Amissa; it was very near Fousou, where we bad scarcely arrived, before the Fantees, such was their perverseness, insisted upon going on, the Cape Coast messengers either had no influence or would not exert it; we soon stopped them with the assistance of Quamina, our Ashantee guide, Mr. James not coming up until late in the evening. Fousou was formerly a large town, but had been destroyed by the Ashantee invasion of 1807; it presented but a few sheds, in one of which we observed the Ashantee traders to deposit yams and plantains to subsist them on their return; so severe was the scarcity in the Fantee country : we could purchase nothing, and were admitted to the best hovel with reluctance. This day's distance was 14 miles. The courses N. -L N. N.W. I N. b W. . The latitude of Fousou by observation, was 5' 43' 20" N. and the longitude by account 1` 52' W. The next morning, the 29th of April, we marched seven miles to Ancomassa, a name given to half a dozen sheds; the path was still of the same rugged nature, and the gloom unvaried. A strong fragrance was emitted from the decaying plants and trees of the mimosa kind whilst others in the same incipient state of putrefaction were very offensive. We passed through two small rivers, Betensin and Soubin, six yards wide, and shallow; they both ran eastward to the Owa, of which I could not learn more than that it emptied itself into the Boosemprap. We proceeded at four o'clock, and had not gone two miles on our gloomy route before it became dark. The path was level, but very swampy, and generally covered with water. The fire-flies spangled the herbage in every direction, and from the strength of their light, alternately excited the apprehension of wild beasts, and the hope that we approached the resting place our guide, whom we never saw after starting, had told us of in the morning. The greatest fear of the people was of the spirits of the woods, (whom Mr. Park's interpreter, Johnson, propitiated by a sacrifice between Jing and Gangaddi) and the discordant yells in
which they rivalled each other to keep up their courage, mingled with the howls and screeches from the forest, imposed a degree of horror on this dismal scene, which associated it with the imaginations of Dante. Three or four times we suddenly emerged from the most awful gloom into extensive areas, on which the stars shed a brilliancy of light gradually softened into the deep shade which

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encompassed them; they were the sites of large and populous crooms destroyed in the Ashantee invasions. About nine o'clock we discovered a few miserable shads, which the noise of the bearers, who had long arrived, convinced us to be Accomfodey. We had passed two small rivers, the Aprinisee and Annuia, both running to the Boosempra. This day's distance was 11 miles, and the courses N. -I- N. bW X. The lat. and long. by account 5° 49' N. and 1 55° W Thermometer 11 a. in. 80.

We marched early the next morning. The scenery of the forest, excepting on the banks of the small rivers, was very naked of foliage, and only presented a harsh and ragged confusion of stems and branches intricately blended. We passed a small river soon after leaving Accomfodey, bearing the same name and running eastward; and shortly after another, six yards wide and two feet deep (the Berrakoo), running N. E. to the Boosempra. The path was sometimes trackless, and appeared to have been little used since the invasion of 1807; several human skulls were scattered through this dark solitude, the relics of the butchery. We halted about two o'clock by Mr. James's direction, and passed the night in the forest. This day's distance was eight miles, the prevailing courses N. , N. b W - , N.N.W. - , N.b E. 4. The latitude and longitude by account 5° 53' N. 1° 55' W Thermometer 2 p. m 881-, 7 p. m. 82.-.

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

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

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

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

The scene brightened from our crossing the Boosempra; the path improved, and Prasoo, the first town, only three quarters of a mile from the river, presented a wide and clean street of tolerably regular houses; the inhabitants clean and cheerful, left their various occupations to gratify their curiosity, and saluted us in a friendly and respectful manner: indeed the Assins may be considered, collectively, a more mannerly and orderly people than the Ashantees. Kickiwherree, one mile and a half distant, was a larger town, not so regular, but presenting the same neat appearance, improved by the white-washing of many of the houses.
We halted here under the ganiant tree, used, generally speaking, for recreation only, palavers being talked in the open fronts of the houses. We were conducted to a comfortable dwelling, affording us four very clean rooms, about 12 feet by 7, in which there were shelves containing many articles of superior domestic comfort; a curtain or skreen of bamboo let down in the open front, and the floors raised about a foot and half from the ground, were washed daily with an earth of the neighbourhood, which coloured them Etruscan red. The iron stone abounded. Kickiwherree was 7 miles from the previous resting place, and the prevailing courses N. N.b.W. - The latitude by observation was 50° 56' 40" N; the longitude by account 1° 57' W. - Thermometer 8 a. m. 77; 1 p.m. 91.

My observations had not been so frequent as I wished; the nature of the country, and the season of the year were both very unfavourable to them. I worked the double altitudes, invariably by Dr. Pemberton's rule in Keith's trigonometry, which requires no assumed latitude, and is in all cases accurate. Mr. James having determined to rest the next day at Kickiwherree, we did not proceed until Saturday the 3rd of May. We passed through a small river close to the town, called the Ading, six yards wide and two feet deep; and soon after a second, the Animiasoo, nine yards wide, and three feet deep, both running to the Boosempr; close to the latter was a large croom of the same name, the seat of Cheboo's government, Pagga and Atobiasee were also large crooms near each other, and within four miles of Kickiwherree. At Atobiasee was a small river called Prensa, five yards wide, and two feet deep, which ran B.S.E. to the Boosempr; two miles thence we came to Beccuama, a very old croom, with a river nine yards wide, called Prapong, running B. by S. to the Boosempr; and at the end of nine miles we halted at Asharaman, a small croom on an eminence, where the Assins under Apootey and Cheboo, first engaged the Ashantees in 1807. There was a small plot of corn near this croom, the first we had seen since we left Payntree, though every croom was surrounded by a tract of cultivated land, or plantation of plantains. The path continued through forest. Distance 8 miles. Courses N. - Latitude by observation, 5° 59' 20" Longitude by course and distance 10.57' 40" W. - Thermometer 6 a. m. 76, p. m. 89.

The next day we passed through Ansa, a large croom, where Amoo had governed; north-west of which, at a little distance, was Abooboo, the residence of his enemy Apootey. A small river near Ansa, called Parakoomee, eleven yards wide, and three feet deep, ran south to a larger, called Ofim or Foom, which rises six days northward of Coomassie, and falls into the Boosempra some miles westward of our crossing. The path was very swampy, and we did not reach Akrofroom until three o'clock: this was by far the largest croom we had seen. The heavy rains during the night floated us in our lodgings, and, as Quamina reported, rendered the path to Moisee impassable for the next day; consequently we did not proceed until Tuesday the 6th. Distance 12 miles. Courses N.e, N.N.W. - Latitude by observation, 6° 3' 40" Longitude by course and distance 10° 20' 70" W. - Thermometer 6 a. m. 76, p. m. 89.

We passed the northern boundary the next morning; the ascent was a mile and a half in length, and very rocky; a small river called the Bohrien ran S.W to the Jim, which falls into the Ofim: the water of the Bohmen is said to instil eloquence, and numerous Ashantees repair annually to drink of it; it flowed in a very clear stream, over a bed of gravel, and was three feet deep, and eight yards broad. The expectation of an open country was again disappointed: I bore several eminent points, in the hope of being able to do so again at some distance, and of thus, with the intermediate course, checking the distance computed by paces;
but the forest soon shut them out entirely. The first Ashantee croom was Quesha; and we soon after passed through Fohmannee, which had been a very considerable town. We stopped there awhile at the request of a venerable old man, who regaled us with some palm wine and fruit: his manners were very pleasing, and made it more painful to us to hear that his life was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the king to commiserate his infirmities so far as to allow him to be executed at his own croom, and to be spared the fatigue of a journey to the capital: he conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over the log with an emotion of dignity rather than shame: his head arrived at Coomassie the day after we had. On ascending the hill, the soil became a dark brown clay, and very productive. We passed the first large plantation of corn we had seen since we left Payntree, and halted at Doompassee. Distance 6 miles. Courses N. - N. N. W 1. N. W. -: Latitude by observation, 6° 11' 30".

Doompassee had been a very large croom, but the caboceer having intrigued with one of Sai Cudjoe's wives, who had permission to visit her family in this place, the greater part of it was destroyed in consequence, and the caboceer decapitated: the woman possessing irresistible art in practising upon the numerous admirers of her beauty, the king spared her life, and employed her thenceforth to inveigle those distant caboceers, whose lives or properties were desirable to him. It was the most industrious town on the path; cloths, beads, and pottery were manufacturing in all directions, and the blacksmiths' forges were always at work. The intelligence of the beginning of the King's fetish week, and Mr. James's attack of fever, delayed us at Doompassee, and a messenger was dispatched in the interim to announce our approach. During our stay, I observed an eclipse of Jupiter's first satellite, which gave the longitude 20° 6' W. We did not leave Doompassee until the 14th of May; after two miles, passing a small stream running N. W we ascended a high hill, on which a large croom, called Tiabosoo, was situated. I looked into a pit here six feet deep; the first stratum was vegetable mould, the second gravel, the third, a kind of potter's clay, and the remaining of brittle stone of a reddish brown, resembling that they call cabouc in the East Indies. The next croom was Sanquanta, where the path took an easterly direction, and about seven miles from Doompassee we passed Datisoo, where large quantities of pottery were manufacturing, exclusively: it was not more than a mile distant from Dadawasee, where we found a messenger from the king, expressing his regret that we had come up in the rainy season, as he had heard it was a very unhealthy one for white men, and appointing us to enter the capital on the Monday following: he sent us a present of a sheep, forty yams, and two ounces of gold for our table; he had also given six ackies to our messenger, who returned at the same time. The path had been cleared by the king's order, the plantations became more frequent and extensive, and numerous paths branching off from that we travelled, shewed that the country was thickly inhabited, and the intercourse of the various parts direct and necessary for an interchange of manufacture and produce: the crooms hitherto had appeared insulated. The Acassey or blue dye plant grew profusely. Distance seven miles. Courses N. , N. bW. - N. N. W. +, N. N B. - L Latitude by observation 60° 16' 20" N. long: C and D 2° 7' 30" W. The next day, leaving Dadawasee, close to which was another large croom called Modjawee, we descended a very steep hill, and passed the Dankaran or Mankaran, a small river, in the rainy season eleven yards wide and four feet deep, running to the Birrim: not far from this river was Sahnfoo, and a short distance from that croom, a smaller river called Yansee, running N. N. W. We then passed through Korraman, near which was the small river Dansaabow, running westward, and three other large crooms,

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Aquinasee (having a neatly fenced burial ground,) Amafou, and Agabimah; crossing another small river called Soubirree, near the latter, we reached Assiminia, distant eight miles from Dadawasee. The path was frequently eight feet wide, and kept as neatly as that of a garden in the environs of the crooms, which now disclosed themselves very prettily at some distance. Courses N. X, N. bE. - L N. N. E. 4. Latitude by observation 6° 22', longitude C and D 20° 7' 50" WThere was a violent tornado in the night, during almost the whole of which the rain continued in torrents, increasing the small streams near the town from ankle to three feet deep. Almost all the inhabitants were employed in weaving the staple manufacture of Assiminia,
which was formerly of much greater extent. Mr. James rested here the whole of the next day, and on Saturday we proceeded through Boposoo (on a very high hill), Agemum, Yoko, and Abountum; near which we crossed the Biaqua, running west to the Jim, and about seven yards wide and two feet deep; between this and Sarassou, where we halted, were two large crooms, Pootooaga and Fiasou. The path was continually well cleared: each croom presented one wide central street, with the ganian or cachou trees at the extremities. The soil ceased to be sandy, and became a reddish earth: we observed some quartz, but sflex prevailed. Distance 11 miles. Courses N.j, N. N. E.-. Lat. by observation, 6'30' 20". Long. C. and D. 2° 6' 30."

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

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

Two miles from Agogoo, we crossed the marsh which insulates Coomassie; the breadth at that part forty yards, and the depth three feet. Being within a mile of the capital, our approach was announced to the king, who desired us by his messengers to rest at a little croom, called Patissoo, until he had finished washing, when captains would be deputed to conduct us to his presence. Distance 61 miles. Courses N.-, N. N.W.. We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exerted with a zeal bordering on phrenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry, confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing

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from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze; and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs. Their followers kept up the firing around us in the rear. The dress of the captains (see drawing, No. I.) was a war cap, with gilded rams horns projecting in front, the sides extended beyond all proportion by immense plumes of eagles feathers, and fastened under the chin with bands of cowries. Their vest was of red cloth, covered with fetishes and saphies 1 in gold and silver; and embroidered cases of almost every colour, which flapped against their bodies as they moved, intermixed with small brass bells, the horns and tails of animals, shells, and knives; long leopards tails hung down their backs, over a small bow covered with fetishes. They wore loose cotton trowsers, with immense boots of a dull red leather, coming half way up the thigh, and fastened by small chains to their cartouch or waist belt; these were also ornamented with bells, horses tails, strings of amulets, and innumerable shreds of leather; a small quiver of poisoned arrows hung from their right wrist, and they held a long iron chain between their teeth, with a scrap of Moorish writing affixed to the end of it. A small spear was in their left hands, covered with red cloth and silk tassels; their black countenances heightened the effect of this attire, and completed a figure scarcely human.

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

* Scraps of Moorish writing, as charms against evil.
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rose one above another: the large open porches of the houses, like the fronts of stages in small theatres, were filled with the better sort of females and children, all impatient to behold white men for the first time; their exclamations were drowned in the firing and music, but their gestures were in character with the scene. When we reached the palace, about half a mile from the place where we entered, we were again halted, and an open file was made, through which the bearers were passed, to deposit the presents and baggage in the house assigned to us. Here we were gratified by observing several of the caboceers pass by with their trains, the novel splendour of which astonished us. The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies; whilst the immense umbrellas, made to sink and rise from the jerks of the bearers, and the large fans waving around, refreshed us with small currents of air, under a burning sun, clouds of dust, and a density of atmosphere almost suffocating. We were then squeezed, at the same funeral pace, up a long street, to an open-fronted house, where we were desired by a royal messenger to wait a further invitation from the king. Here our attention was forced from the astonishment of the crowd to a most inhuman spectacle, which was paraded before us for some minutes; it was a man whom they were tormenting previous to sacrifice; his hands were pinioned behind him, a knife was passed through his cheeks, to which his lips were noosed like the figure of 8; one ear was cut off and carried before him, the other hung to his head by a small bit of skin; there were several gashes in his back, and a knife was thrust under each shoulder blade; he was led with a cord passed through his nose, by men disfigured with immense caps of shaggy black skins, and drums beat before him; the feeling this horrid barbarity excited must be imagined. We were soon released by permission to proceed to the king, and passed through a very broad street, about a quarter of a mile long, to the market place. Our observations en passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us: an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificence and novelty. The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected, with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massy gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielded for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious; and a pleasing instrument, like a bagpipe without the drone, was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most shewy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold; they were of various shapes, but mostly dome; and the valances (in some of which small looking glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopard skins, and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides.

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Innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the glare, by contrasting the sober colouring of nature. 1 "Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit."
The king's messengers, with gold breast plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer, which, as their household
suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.

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

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

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

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

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

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observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they seemed generally of that manufacture. The executioner, a man of an immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him, clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The king's four linguists were encircled by a splendor inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles like fasces. The keeper of the treasury, added to his own magnificence by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow pan, boxes, scales and weights, were of solid gold. A delay- of some minutes whilst we severally approached to receive the king's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him; his deportment first excited my attention; native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous was a curious spectacle: his manners were majestic, yet courteous; and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch; he appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggy beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over- his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold ; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk ; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggy beads, and his ankle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sanka's, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of

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

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

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

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

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

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CHAPTER III.
Proceedings and Incidents until the Third Dispatch to Cape Coast Castle.
Coomassie, May 22nd, 1817.
To THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, CAPE COAST CASTLE.
GENTLEMEN,

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

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

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At Dadasey, on Wednesday the 14th instant, we received a present from the King, of two ounces of gold, a sheep, and thirty yams, with a second appointment to enter his capital the succeeding Monday. When within a short distance, the messenger who announced us, returned, to desire us to wait at a croun until the King had washed. We were permitted to enter soon after two o'clock, and the King received us with the most encouraging courtesy, and the most flattering distinction. We paid our respects in turn, (passing along a surprising extent of line) to the principal caboceers, many of remote, and several of Moorish territories; and all of these encircled by retinues astonishing to us from their numbers, order, and decorations. We were then requested to remove to a distant tree to receive their salutes; which procession, though simply transient, continued until past eight o'clock. It was indescribably imposing from the variety, magnificence, and etiquette: its faint outline in Mr. Bowdich's report, will impart our impression of the power and influence of the monarch we are sent to conciliate. The King as he passed, repeated his former condescensions.
The next morning (Tuesday) the King sent to us to come and speak our palaver in the market place, that all
the people might hear it: we found him encircled by the most splendid insignia, and surrounded by his
caboceers; we were received graciously. Mr. James, through his linguist, declared to the King's, (who are
alone allowed to speak to him in public) that the objects of the Mission were friendship and commerce;
impressed the consequence of our nation, and the good feelings of the Committee and Governor towards
the King, as would be testified by our presents; he submitted the wish of a Residency, and of a direct path.
The King enquired if we were to settle the Commenda palaver; the reply was, no I He rejoined," that he
wished the Governor of Cape Coast

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

Soon after we returned to our house, the King's linguist delivered this message. " The King knows very
well the King of England has sent him presents; if you wish to be friends with him you must bring these
presents to his own house, and shew them to him and his friends, and not give them before all the people."
This, in our judgment was a policy, to prevent any favourable bias of the body of caboceers and people
anticipating the King's and his councils satisfaction of our motives and professions.
We attended: all the curiosity the packages excited could not incline the King to regard them, until he had
desired distinctly to understand who had sent them, the King of England, or the Governor. He was told, the
Company to whom the forts belonged under the King; the interpreter seemed to render it the King
individually; it was more intelligible, and the agreeable impression it made was striking. The presents were
displayed. Nothing could surpass the Kings surprise and pleasure, but his warm yet dignified avowal of his
obligations. " Englishmen," said he, admiring the workmanship of the different articles, " know how to do
every thing proper," turning to his favourites with a smile as auspicious to our interests, as mortal
to the
intrigues of our rival. Much of

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the glass was broken: Mr. James expressed his regret, and offered to procure more; the King replied, " the
path we had come was bad and overgrown, that we had many people to look after;" and waved our excuses
with superior courtesy. He desired the linguists to say, " this shewed him that the English were a great
people, that they wished to be friends with him, to be as one with the Ashantees; that this made him much
pleasure to see, (and to repeat again and again,) " that he thanked the King of England, the Governor at
Cape Coast, and the officers who brought the present much, very much." He made very liberal presents of
liquor to our people, and delivered the distinct presents to his four principal caboceers in our sight.
We learned from Quashie, the Accra linguist, the favourable reports he had collected through his intimacy
with some of the principal men. All the caboceers, he said, had thought we had come for bad, to spy the
country; the King thought too a little, but much fetish was made, and all shewed that we meant well,
and now the King thought so; the mulatto sent by General Daendels, directly after Mr. Hydecoper, and who
arrived just before us, had sent to the King for a pass to go back, and the King told him, that he would give
him this message," that the King had thought to do good to the Dutch, but now he sees their white mens
faces, he should do good to the English." This mulatto man (who is not in the service, but a free
man of
Elmina town) visited us afterwards, and his complaints and sentiments confirmed these reports in our
favour.
On Wednesday morning the King's sisters (one the caboceer of the largest Ashantee town near the frontier)
paid us a visit of ceremony, and retired to receive our's in return; their manners were courteous and
dignified, and they were handed with a surprising politeness by the captains in attendance.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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and intellect, but, which was worse, he had thrown the whole onus of this invidious transaction on the shoulders of the Governor in chief, against whom the King's prejudice would be fatal to all, and whose interest in his honour was most flattering to the King, most auspicious to us, and the hopes of the Mission; not only the future prosperity, but the present security of the Settlements hung upon this, and the dagger was at this moment suspended from a cobweb. Mr. Bowdich urged this in the ear of Mr. James, urged the danger of leaving the King thus provoked, the fatal sacrifice of every object of the Mission, the discredit of the service, the disgrace of ourselves; Mr. James replied, " he knew the Governor's private sentiments best."

The Moors of authority seized the moment, and zealously fanned the flame which encircled us; for the King looking in vain for those testimonies of British feeling which presence of mind would have imposed, exclaimed, as he turned his ear from the Moors, " I know the English come to spy the country; they come to cheat me; they want war, they want war."

Mr. James said " No! we want trade. " The King impatiently continued, " They join the Fantees to put shame upon my face; I will send a captain to-morrow to take these books, and bring me the heads of all the Fantees under the forts; the white men know I can do this, I have only to speak to my captains. " The Dutch Governor does not cheat me; he does not shame me before the Fantees; he sends me the whole 4 oz. a month. The Danes do not shame me, and the English 4 ackies a month is nothing to me; I can send a captain for all; they wish war." He drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat exclaimed, "Shantee foo! Shantee foo! ah! ah!" then shaking his finger at us with the most angry aspect, would have burst from us with the exclamation, "If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me." Mr. James was silent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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troops before Annamaboe, or of the critical situation of the fort; that he has evinced a disposition to a sound understanding, by veiling every irritating retrospect, by acknowledging every conciliatory circumstance. We do not presume to enter our opinions into the important question of the King's demand of the whole of these two notes; we have advanced nothing but our assurance that the Governor will do what is right, and we have pledged our lives to convince the King of this; the importance of the Mission would have claimed a more valuable pledge.

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

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

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

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

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

(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDICH.
W. HUTCHISON.
HENRY TEDLIE.
Coomassie, May 24, 1817.
TO THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL, CAP, COAST CASTLE.
GENTLEMEN,

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

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

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

One bullock, 2 pigs, 8 oz. of gold, for Mr. James.
One sheep, 2 oz. 4 ackies of gold, for each of us.
To each of the numerous Fantee messengers, 10 ackies of gold.
To our cooks, a large assortment of pots and country vessels, 100 large billets of wood, 100 yams, 100 bunches of plantains, four of sugar cane, four (24 gallon) pots of palm oil, three jars of palm wine.
To the soldiers, 10 ackies of gold.
To the Accra linguist, 10 ackies of gold.

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

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

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

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barrels, crescents, &c. on the top; the shape generally a dome. Distinct and pompous retinues were placed around, with gold canes, spangled elephants tails to brush off the flies, gold headed swords, and embossed muskets, and many splendid novelties too numerous but for a particular report, which will not be neglected.

Each had the dignitaries of his own province or establishment to his right and left; and it was truly "Concilium in Concilio." When we recollected the insignificant, though neat appearance of the few Ashantee towns we had passed through on the southern frontier, and even the extent and superior character of the capital, this magnificence seemed the effect of enchantment. We have intruded this sketch to impress the power and resources of the monarch we are to conciliate, and to anticipate in some degree the delay of Mr. Bowdich's report, the transcription of which must yield to the present momentous communication. The King having decided a cause then in course, by which one of his captains was condemned to death for cowardice, ordered the question of the Annamaboe and Braffoe notes to be resumed. The several Fantee messengers were heard, the King of Annamaboe's, Amooeny's, and Payntree's (the interior caboceer)
having joined us in the path. They appeared all equivocation and embarrassment, as Quashie's interpretations confirmed; they were incompetent to answer the King's linguists, and unable to use the few uninterrupted intervals which were allowed them to any purpose: it seems they would not acknowledge what the full amount of these notes was. Mr. James was asked, he said "white men's heads were not like black men's,-and he could not recollect; but he thought 4 oz. and 2 oz." He did not offer to learn from the Governor. Several impassioned harangues were made by the King's linguists and counsellors: the King said, I' he had 4 oz. from Elmina, and 2 oz. from English Accra; was it not putting shame upon him to send

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

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

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

About two hours after, we were summoned, and, as is the etiquette, kept some time in waiting; in this interval, Mr. James said that our situation being very critical, it was a pity any difference should be observed, and that he thought it much better to be reconciled. Mr. Bowdich replied, that he could not think it possible our sentiments to be delivered to the King could differ at such a moment; that if they did we should assimilate ours to his as much as possible; but feeling the necessity for the greatest energy, for every address and argument for the conviction of the King, we must, for the public good, continue our assumption of the privilege of strengthening his declarations by our own until our recall, that we should be tender of his dignity, but that it being a difference on a point of public duty, we could not compound it, but would take the consequences. We were received; the King's aspect was
but as I see the white men's faces, I beg you to stay till to-morrow, when they can write to the Governor, and they will tell me themselves what he says: then if he does not send me Amooney's and the Braffoes' books, you shall go and kill all; that he had been obliged afterwards to dash them sheep and gold to make them stay until the white men got the Governor's letter. " Mr. James assured the King " that the King of England and the Governor wished to be friends with him, to do all that was right; and he thought in his own mind that the Governor would give up the books. " The King took no notice, and continued serious: the moment called for the most energetic appeal to his reason, for every imposing argument and circumstance. There was a long pause; Mr. Bowdich rose, and charged Mr. James's linguist to interpret truly. We took the precaution of making notes of this speech, feeling we should be particular where we pledge our honour, and volunteer our affidavit; it was as follows.

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

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

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

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

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

The King appeared much pleased, and made us a long speech. " The King says the Fantees are all rogues, the Governor knows that very well; the King thinks they always put bad palaver in the Governor's head, he always tells his captains so; he is sure you come to do him right. The King wishes all good for the English; he swears by God and by the fetish, that if the English could know how the Fantees serve him, and all the bad they do, they would say his palaver was good. The King speaks true." He then gave us an outline of the
Fantee war, which must have convinced even the most prejudiced, of his injuries and forbearance, and their injustice and cruelty. The King says, "if the English trust to him, he will take more care of the forts than the Fantees can, he will do them great good, he does not want to do nothing. He will send the English his trade; he will send them good gold like what he wears himself, (shewing his armlets,) not bad gold like he knows the Fantees make, his people don't know how to do that, the Fantees do it in their own houses before they give it to white men. If at any time the English in the forts are in want of any thing to eat, and send to him, he will send them every thing. To morrow is, Sunday, but the next day is Monday, then he will give you a proper messenger." We cannot do justice to the King's sentiments either in detail or in expression; they were incredibly liberal, and would have ennobled the most civilized monarch; they seemed to break the spell which has shut the Interior. He begged us to drink with him, and Mr. James agreed in the toast of "May the Ashantees and English always be one;" it pleased him, and he begged us to touch his glass with ours. He then turned suddenly to the Fantee messengers (who were trembling in the rear) and said, "you made me very angry with you, and I am very angry with you, but never mind, come and drink some of my liquor." Our critical situation demands the delivery of our sentiments on the subject of these notes; we do so with diffidence and respect. The services of the Braffoes, who hold the one, are merely nominal, their enmity nugatory from their political situation; the issuing of a fresh note to Amooney will be but a small addition to the expenditure, and even the expense of renewing them both cannot be weighed with the prevention of another Fantee war, of the destruction of a whole people, and the ruin of our Settlements in their defence, with the defeat of the intrigue and devices of our rival, and the acquisition of the confidence of a powerful and liberal monarch, whose influence may perfect the views of the British Government on the Interior. We hail the circumstances as auspicious, even in the present serious moment.

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Mr. James confesses that he desponds of consummating the objects of the Mission; we do not; we would be responsible for all of them, but we diffidently await your decision. We must claim this momentary calm of the King to ourselves, because it only affords us the credit, or rather the justification of having done our duty, which we are resolute in repeating Mr. James has not. What has been said through Mr. Bowdich is here reported faithfully; we have not committed the Governor or ourselves. Gentlemen, our situation is critical; if your answer determines the King on war, we are his prisoners; if, as we cannot doubt, the valour of our countrymen again retards his progress by defences as memorable as that of Annamaboe, we may be the victims of an irritated soldiery, though we feel it would be with the reluctance of a generous prince, who is not independent, but, unfortunately, controlled by a military despotism, which deposed his brother and invested him. But, Gentlemen, if in your better knowledge and reflection, you cannot consistently with your honour and your trust, meet the King's demand, the history of our country has fortified our minds with the illustrious example of a Vansittart, and his colleagues, who were situated as we are, when the dawn of British intercourse in India was scarcely more advanced than its dawn in Africa now; and their last request to their Council is our present conclusion to you--" Do not put our lives in competition with the honour and interests of our country."

We are, &c. &c.
(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDICH.
W. HUTCHISON.
HENRY TEDLIE.

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Coomassie, May 28th, 1817,
To THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL.
GENTLEMEN,
ON Sunday the King visited us at our quarters, and expressed much gratification with the trifles we presented him individually, and our solicitude in explaining some plates of botanical and natural history, which he sends for frequently.
On Monday we had a public audience before the Captains, (whose ill-will has been acknowledged,) when two messengers were ordered to accompany one of ours to Cape Coast, with the letters to the Governor, and were impressively sworn; they received their instructions in a speech from the linguist of nearly two hours; it seemed to be intended to conciliate the Captains at the same time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We are, &c. &c.

(Signed) T. E. BOWDICH.

H. TEDLIE.

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

SAi TooToo QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, to JoHN HoP, SMITH, Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.

Titiy King sends his compliments to the Governor, he thanks the King of England and him very much for the presents sent to him, he thinks them very handsome. The King's sisters and all his friends have seen them, and think them very handsome, and thank him. The King thanks his God and his fetish that he made
the Governor send the white men's faces for him to see, like he does now; he likes the English very much, and the Governor all the same as his brother.
The King of England has made war against all the other white people a long time, and killed all the people all about, and taken all the towns, French, Dutch, and Danish, all the towns, all about. The King of Ashantee has made war against all the people of the vater side, and all the black men all about, and taken all their towns.
When the King of England takes a French town, he says,

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"come, all this is mine, bring all your books, and give me all your pay," and if they don't do it, does the Governor think the King of England likes it? * So the King has beat the Fantees now two times, and taken all their towns, and they send and say to him, you are a great King, we want to serve you; but he says, Hah you want to serve me, then bring all your books, what you get from the forts, and then they send him four ackies, this vexes him too much.
The first time he made war against the Fantees, two great men in Assin quarrelled, so half the people came to Ashantee, half went to Fantee. The King said, what is the reason of this, so he sent his gold swords and canes to know why they did so, and the Fantees killed his messengers and took all their gold. After they fought with the Elminas and Accras, the Fantees sent word to the King they would serve him; the King sent word to the Assins, if it is true that the Fantees want to serve me, let me hear; after that they sent to say yes! they tired of fighting, and wanted to serve him, he said, well, give me some gold, what you get from the books, and then you shall hear what palaver I have got in my head, and we can be friends; then he sent some messengers, and after they waited more than two years, the Fantees sent word back, no! we don't want to serve the King, but only to make the path open and get good trade: this vexed the King too much.
Then the Fantees sent to a strong man, Cudjoe Coomah, and * This is an extraordinary impression, that all the towns in Europe are supported like those under the forts, holding notes from their governments for annual stipends.

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said, "come, let us put our heads together against the King;" after that, when the King heard this, he sent one, not a great man, but his own slave, and said, well you will do, go kill all the people, all the Aquapims, and Akims, and all; and so he killed all, and after he killed all he came and told him.
When he sent against Akim, the people in Akim sent word, that they told their head men not to vex the King, but they would not mind them, so he killed the head people, and the others begged his pardon.
When the King went to fight with the Fantees they sent this saucy word—we will kill you and your people, and stand on you; then they did not kill one Ashantee captain, but the King killed all the Fantee captains and people. They do not stand on him.
That time, after the King fought, all the Fantees sent word, well we will serve you, but you must not send more harm to hurt us, we don't want to fight more, but to make good friends with you. Then the King said, what caboceer lives at Cape Coast and Annamaboe, what books they get from the forts, let them send all, and then we can be friends. And the King sent word too, if my messengers go to Cape Coast fort, and if they bring pots of gold, and casks of goods, then I can't take that, but I must have the books.
After that the King sent word to the Governor of Cape Coast and the Governor of Annamaboe, well! you know I have killed all the Fantees, and I must have Adocoo's and Amooney's books, and I can make friends with you, good brother and good heart; but now they send four ackies, that is what makes the King's heart break out when he looks on the book and thinks of four ackies, and his captains swear that the Fantees are rogues and want to cheat him. When the white men see the Fantees do this, and the

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English officers bring him this four ackies, it makes him get up very angry, but he has no palaver with white men.
All Fantee is his, all the black man's country is his; he hears that white men bring all the things that come here; he wonders they do not fight with the Fantees, for he knows they cheat them. Now he sees white men, and he thanks God and his fetish for it.

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

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

The English fort at Accra gave a book to an Akim caboceer, called Aboigin Adjumawcon. The King killed him and took the book. The Dutch fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Curry Curry Apam. The Danish fort gave a book to another Akim caboceer, Arrawa Akim; the King killed all and took their books. This King, Sai, is young on the stool, but he keeps always in his head what old men say, for it is good, and his great men and linguists tell it him every morning. The King of England makes three great men, and sends one to Cape Coast, one to Annaniba, and one to Accra; Cape Coast is the same as England. The King gets two ounces from Accra every moon, and the English wish to give him only four ackies for the big fort at Cape Coast, and the same for Anambo; do white men think this proper? When the King killed the Dankara caboceer and got two ounces from Elmina, the Dutch Governor said, this is a proper King, we

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

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

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

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

Dated in the presence of,
T. EDWARD BOWDICH, WILLIAM HUTCHISON, HENReY TEDLIIE.

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

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

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

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

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

June 11. We were invited to attend the King's levee, on the Adai custom, and were presented with a flask of rum and a fat sheep. This walk was a great relief, for the longest court in our quarters was not more than 14 feet.

June 12. The King sent us a large Hio sheep to look at; it measured 4½ feet from the head to the insertion of the tail, which was two feet long, its height was three feet, and it was covered with coarse shaggy hair.

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

17. The King sent a present to our quarters of 2 ounces of gold to the officers.

20 ackies to our people.

10 ackies to our linguists.

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

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

21st. Bundahenna, one of the King's uncles, begged him for permission to go and make custom for some relatives whom he had lost in the last Fantee war, as he feared their spirits were beginning to trouble him. The King subscribed four ounces of gold, two ankers of rum, one barrel of powder, and four human victims for sacrifice, towards this custom. We received a present of 11 ackies of gold from Quatchie Quofies household.

26th. We received a present from a captain called O6ossa Cudjo, of 10 ackies of gold, and another from Jessinting, of the same quantity, a sheep and some plantains.

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

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

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July 2. A girl was beheaded for insolence to one of the King's sons, and a man for transgressing the law by picking up gold which he had dropped in the public market place, where all that falls is allowed to accumulate until the soil is washed on state emergencies.
3rd. This morning one of the King's sons (about 10 years of age) shot himself: his funeral custom was celebrated in the afternoon, and a smart fire of musquetry was kept up until sun-set, amidst dancing, singing, and revelry; two men and one girl were sacrificed, and their trunks and heads were left in the market place till dark. The mother of this child, a favourite wife of the King's, having added crime to a continued perversity of conduct, had been put to death; the boy was banished the King's presence from that time. This morning he had stolen into the palace for the first time, and the King desiring him to be removed, observing that he had, doubtless, as bad a head towards him as his mother had shewn; he replied, that if he could not be allowed to come and look at his father, he had better die; half an hour afterwards he destroyed himself privately, by directing a blunderbuss into his mouth, and discharging it with his foot. The keeper of the royal cemetry was this day imprisoned. His wife was soon after charged by the council with making fetish to turn the King's head; she replied that it meant no more than to make the King think better of her husband; but they insisted that she invoked the Fetish to make the King mad, and she was executed.

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

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CHAPTER III.

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

Cape Coast Castle, June 21, 1817.

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

The King has received a very erroneous impression of the affair of the Fantee notes, which I regret to hear was the cause of a serious disturbance: I am glad however to find that by your prompt mode of conduct, you were in some measure able to repress the unfavourable bias it seems to have occasioned, and I have no doubt that an explanation of the circumstance will effectually remove any remaining prejudice. This transaction was entirely between the Ashantee messengers and Fantees, negociated, and determined on by them at Abrah, and afterwards ratified here by their mutual consent. Hearing that messengers from the King were at Abrah, I invited them down, wishing through their medium to communicate with him concerning the conveyance of the presents I had received from the Committee. After some delay they arrived, and on their first interview made known their errand to the Fantees, and the manner it had been arranged, applying at the same time for two notes to be made out in favour of Zey, at four ackies each, which were to be deducted from the notes of Amooney and Adueco; not being perfectly satisfied from the representation of these people as to the justness of the claim, I delayed complying until it was stated to be a pledge of good faith and allegiance on the part of the Fantees, and a confirmation of the final adjustment of all differences between the two parties, and as such they were given them. The nature of the claim having been fully and satisfactorily explained, I have no hesitation in complying with the wishes of the King; and this I do the more readily, knowing that by the extension of his authority, good order and subjection will be better preserved. This will, I hope, evince to the King my friendly intention towards him; and you will impress upon his mind, that it is my earnest desire to cultivate his friendship, the establishment of which will be mutually beneficial; and in order that the union between us may be more closely cemented, I am particularly desirous that Mr. Hutchison be permitted to reside at Ashantee, which will be the means of preventing any interruption to the good understanding which, before you leave, will, I hope, be firmly settled.

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

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

I have sent you, by the King's messenger, 40 oz. of gold to defray
your expenses; should any loan have been granted by the King, you will of course repay him.
I send you a piece of muslin and 10 danes for presents to the Moors, whose friendship it will be highly
necessary to conciliate. I have also at your request, sent a dirk and umbrella, intended for the King's chief
captain and his favourite nephew.
Quamina, the Ashantee captain at Abrah, has refused to allow any letters to pass that place which may be
given in charge to Ashantee traders, on the plea that by so doing he would incur the displeasure of the
King; who, he says, expects that -especial messengers will be engaged here to proceed with all letters to the
capital. Not long ago a trader who had received a letter, was detained by him at Abrah, and the letter
returned. The expense of employing messengers here on every occasion would be material, which is quite
unnecessary, as opportunities almost daily occur for forwarding letters by the different traders going from
hence. I therefore hope your representation of this affair to the King, will induce him to countermand his
orders to Quamina, if any such have been given him.
I am, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,
JOHN HOPE SMITH.
To Thomas Edward Bowdich, Esq.
MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
JOHN HOPE SMITH, Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British
Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa, to SAi TooToo
QUAMINA, King of Ashantee.
SIR,
I HAVE received your letter of the 26th ult. and am happy to find that you are sincerely desirous of
cultivating the friendship of the British nation. Both inclination and duty urge me to reciprocate the
sentiments expressed by you, and I shall be anxious at all times to promote the harmony and good
understanding which, I hope, will now be established between us respectively, and which cannot fail to be
mutually advantageous.
I regret to find there has been so much trouble about the Fantee notes, and I am sorry you did not apply to
me in the first instance, as the affair should have been settled immediately to your satisfaction; but I knew
not of it, except from the Fantees having begged me to take four ackies per month from each note, which
they said they had agreed for with your messengers at Abrah.
I observe by the many instances quoted in your letter, that the notes of conquered countries have been
transferred to your ancestors, therefore it shall be the same on the present occasion. Herewith I send you
two notes, one for two oz. per month, formerly held by Amooney, also one from the caboceer at A b r ah for
two oz, the latter was only 12 ackies per month, and I have added 1 oz. 4 to it. These, and the notes you
hold from Accra, will make your Company's pay six oz. per month, which shall be regularly paid at the
Castle.
I hope my ready compliance with your wishes will convince you of the good will of the British nation, but I
have every reason to believe that attempts have been made to prejudice you against it,
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however your own good understanding will readily suggest to you that the only motive is jealousy in trade.
The conduct of the English you will always find very different; they enter into fair competition with the
other European residents here, but they never, by clandestine means or false assertions, endeavour to injure
their character with the natives of this country.
I have learned with regret that the people of Elmina are using their influence to induce you to make a
palaver with the Commendas. They are a mere handful of people, extremely poor and not worth your
notice; besides they are under my protection, therefore I hope you will not think further of the affair, and I
shall consider your compliance in this instance, as the greatest possible proof of the sincerity of your
intentions towards the English.
I wish you health and happiness, and I hope you will reign many years, enjoying the love of your subjects,
and the respect of all the Europeans resident in this country.
I am, Sir,
your faithful friend,
(Signed) J. H. SMITH.
Cape Coast Castle, 20th June, 1817.
P. S. The abolition of the slave trade was an act of the King and the Parliament in England, in which the government in this country had no concern.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

Coomasnig, JAdy 9, 1817.
To JOHN HoPE SMITH, Esq. GOVEROR IN CHIEF, &c. &C. &C.

SIR,

TH Emessengers returned on Saturday the 5th instant.

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

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

The next audience did not take place until Monday, Mr. James being present. I did justice to the utmost of my ability to your impressive letter; the effect was honourable to you, and encour-
political interests, with the imposing one of securing justice to the Ashantee traders. Lastly, I introduced the Treaty, as a pledge from the King to give force to your application to the Government at home, for the increase of his pay; for, as he continued to dwell on the grant of 4 ounces from Elmina, I availed myself of this liberty of my instructions, to divert the impression, and to propitiate his ratification of the Treaty. I considered the pretence of your being obliged to address the British Government on the subject, as preservative of the opportunity of judging of the sincerity of his professions, and of the duration of the union.

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

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

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

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

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

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

I shall request the King to furnish me with his own people, on the conclusion of the business of the Embassy. Such an arrange. ment favours ccence, and impresses the confidence I affect. The frequent presents had enabled me to present the Fantees with large supplies of plantains and hogs; and on paying them their arrears, which I did the same evening I received your gold, I gave them a bullock which fell to my share in a division with Mr. James.

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

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

I am, with respect, Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
T. E. BOWDICH.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
Sai TOOTO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, to
John Hope Smith, Esquire, Governor in Chief of the British
Settlements on the Gold Coast of Africa.

THE Commenda palaver now rests with you and the King of Ashantee only, the Dutch Governor has no
more to do with it, so the King recalls the captain sent to him, and sends a proper messenger to treat with
you individually.
The conduct and messages of the Commendas have been so irritating and insolent to the King, that nothing
but believing you to be his good friend, could induce him to treat at all with them, or do any thing but kill
them; but for your sake, he will settle the palaver, and you must help him properly.
The King wants to begin the union without any palaver remaining, and as this Commenda palaver is the
only one, it must be settled, and if you do this, he will take care the Elminas shall not do wrong to the
Fantees, but he will help you in all your palavers.
The Elminas are always sending him messages about the insulting conduct and expressions of the
Commendas towards him, and this is very vexatious to him, so he wishes to put an end to it with your
help.
Adoo Bradie, his favorite nephew, the son of the former King Sai Quamina, is sent with a proper captain,
Quantree, to help you settle the palaver.
Two thousand ounces is the demand.
The origin of the palaver is, that after the King returned from his own campaign against the Fantees, the
Commendas went to the Elminas and said, "well, you help'd the King, and now he is gone back we will
fight for it."
Again, when a war was about to take place between the Cape Coast people and the Elminas, the
Commendas went to the latter and said, well, we will help you if you will give us plenty of
powder to fight for you: they did so, and immediately the Commendas used it to seize 98 Elminas, and sold
them as slaves--this the King thinks you will say is very bad.
The Cape Coast people and the Fantees having joined against the Elminas, they sent to tell the King,
stating, when he demanded the reason, that it was because they had not resisted him when he came down
against the Fantees; adding, that the Commendas, who were their natural allies before, had now joined their
enemies, and begging the King to revenge this act of perfidy. The King much angered, immediately sent a
captain for the purpose of their destruction (Yaquokroko,) but the Dutch governor sent to him, and then
sent to the King to beg him to stop, because the English and Dutch being one, it would put shame on his
face.
Col. Torrane by giving up Cheeboo, induced the King to consider the Cape Coast people as his friends, and
they took fetish accordingly, but their joining the Fantees afterwards to fight against Elmina for assisting
the King, has made him distrust them always since.
He considers his favourite nephew as the adopted son of Col. Torrane, to whom he gave him, and the
Colonel gave him English clothes, so he is all the same as a Cape Coast Boy.
Col. Torrane being dead, he considers his nephew to stand in the same relation to you, and that he is
therefore the proper messenger to send to you about this palaver.
You must write in your great book, that the King is your good friend, that he likes you too much, that he
thanks God very much, so that every future Governor may read that in the Cape Coast Books.
The mark X of Sai Tootoo, King of Ashantee,
Present. Per T. E. BoWDICH.

WM. HUTCHISON.
HENRY TED LE.
Coomaske, July 9th, 1817.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
Coomasie, JuY 12th, 1817.
John HoP. SMITH, ESQUIRE, GOVERNOR IN CirEr, &c. &c.
SIR,
I AM just returned from reading your letter to the King, and extracts from that to myself, before the assembly of the captains: the effect was satisfactory; and Quamina Bootaqua is ordered up to answer for his conduct. The King enquired if the pay now due on the two notes would be liquidated on application; I replied, immediately; he is anxious for it, on account of the approaching yam custom.
I am, &c.
(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDICH.
I will not continue to copy the rude diary before submitted, it is only a register of dull or disgusting circumstances, illnesses, human sacrifices, and ceremonious visits. I would not anticipate the better arrangement of my reports, or break the thread of the correspondence on the political difficulties opposed to the Mission. I will abridge some passages of my diary, merely to give an idea of the nature of our conversations, ana the biography of the leading men. Mr. Hutchison has sent me copious extracts from his diary, as Resident, his leisure and tranquillity having afforded him better opportunities of social intercourse and domestic observation, than I had, or could afford time to cultivate, without neglecting my reports. I shall adjoin these extracts, expecting they will contribute to the rational entertainment of the public, and to the credit of an active and intelligent officer.
A captain called Asofoo, sent us a present of seven ackies of gold, and we also received twelve from Amanquatei, and three from our house master. On the 9th of July the King sent us ten ackies of gold, and repeated his satisfaction of the result of the late correspondence, and daily presents of meat and fruits from various quarters, evinced the better opinion of his chiefs.
I paid my first private visit to Baba the chief Moor, and took some pens, paper, ink, and pencils with me as a present; the paper and pencils were much esteemed, but he preferred his reed and vegetable ink. He received me courteously, and was contemplating a curiously intricate figure like a horoscope; the ms. was filled with them; he laid his finger on it, and said, if you have any hard palaver, this can make me settle it for you when no other person can; or if you have any dear friend in England you wish to see, tell me the name, and this shall bring him to you. I thanked him, observing, that when Englishmen knew their palaver was right, they always left it to God, and that England was too good a place for me to wish any one I regarded to leave it. His disciples and pupils were writing on wooden boards, like those Mr. Park describes. When a charm was applied for, one of the oldest wrote the body of it, and gave it to Baba, who added a sort of cabalistical mark, and gave it a mysterious fold; the credulous native snatched it eagerly as it was held out to him, paid the gold, and hurried away to enclose it in the richest case he could afford. I had a long conversation with Baba, and he begged me to visit him frequently; he was much gratified with the specimens of African Arabic at the end of Mr. Jackson's work, and read them fluently. I visited him the next day, when he sent hastily for a Moor, who he told me was very learned, and just come from Timbuctoo. This man expressing no surprise when he first saw me, Baba explained it, by telling me, spontaneously, that this Moor had seen three white men before, at Boussa. I eagerly enquired the particulars of the novelty, and they were again repeated to Baba, and were thus interpreted: "that some years ago, a vessel with masts, suddenly appeared on the Quolla or Niger near Boussa, with three white men, and some black. The natives encouraged by these strange men, took off provisions for sale, were well paid and received presents besides: it seems the vessel had anchored. The next day, perceiving the vessel going on, the natives hurried after her, (the Moor protested from their anxiety to save her from some sunken rocks, with which the Quolla abounds) but the white men mistaking, and thinking they pursued for a bad purpose, deterred them: The vessel soon after struck, the men jumped into the water and tried to swim, but could not, for the current, and were drowned. He thought some of their clothes were now at Wauwaw, but he did not believe there were any books or papers." This spontaneous narrative, so artlessly told, made a powerful impression on my mind. I saw the man frequently afterwards, his manners were very mild, and he never asked me for the most trifling present. He drew me a chart before he went away, and I dispatched some certificates for Major Peddie by him, endorsed with Baba's recommendations. I heard exactly the same thing afterwards from another Moor, but he had not been an eye witness. I begged Mr. Hutchison, when I left Coomassie, to note any other report on the subject of Mr. Park's death, and he afterwards sent me the ins. a translation of which is in the appendix. I continued to call on Baba three or four times a week; these visits afforded much information, for at each I found strange Moors just arrived from different parts of the
interior, sojourning with him. They always affected to deplore the ignorance of the Ashantees, and presumed it must be as irksome to me as to them. Baba telling one that I could speak different languages, he said that he would try me, and addressed me in several, all very uncouth to my ear.

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

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

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

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

Coomasie, loth Aug. 1817.

JOHN HoPE SMITH, EsQ. Governor in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

I am, &c. &c.

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

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

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

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

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

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

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for the officers; I could not sell them, but I would give him as much as I could, keeping in view that some of the four officers might be sick; he said that I was right, but he could not help coveting the greater part of the medicines; I viewed them all over five or six times, and asked me to give him some of them. I did give him as much innocent medicine as I could with propriety afford; he thanked me very much." I then shewed him the botanical books; he was astonished, held up his hand and exclaimed bah! at every brilliant or high coloured plant which he saw. All his attendants were closely arranged around: the two captains laid hold of a volume each, and were admiring the flowers; when either of them ejaculated an admiration, the King would seize it, and ask me what that tree was? After I had told him the use of them, I said all these trees grow in England; and the reason the English write all these in a book is, that they may know which is a good tree, and which is bad. He expressed the greatest astonishment at the flax (Linum), oaken " that we build our ships with," poppy " that makes a man sleep," and the sensitive plant (mimosa), which he pointed out and described himself. During this time he whispered to one of his attendants, who went out, and returned in a short time, with a bit of cloth containing 9 ackies of gold; the King presented it to me; I accepted it, and returned thanks. He then asked me if I would come and see him at any time he sent for me; I assured him I would do every thing to please him, consistent with my duty. He shook hands with me and went into his house. He returned in a short time, leading his sister by the hand, in a manner that would shame many beaux in Europe, saying, " this is the white doctor I told you of; go, and take his hand; you are sick, tell him your complaint, and he will do you good: the lady complied with his request. He then said " give me that gold I gave you, the cloth is not clean; I want to put it in a clean cloth for you." He then put it in a piece of rich silk, and after he returned the gold lie said " I like you; I like all the English very much; they are a proper people, and I wish to drink health with you." He retired to his own apartment, and returned with a flask of gin, and two servants with a silver vase and water and glasses; he helped himself and me, made a bow and said " Sai wishes you good health." I returned the bow, saying, I wish good health to the King, and hope he never will require any of my medicine: when this was explained to him he held out his glass to me, we touched and drank. He then took my hand, saying, " If I send my sister to you will you talk with her?" I assured him I would talk with and advise all the King's friends whenever he wished. After I gave all the medicine I could conveniently part with, be sent for a small Dutch liqueur case; he desired 10 or 12 of his attendants, and his eunuch, to keep in their heads what I said; and requested me to repeat again the use and dose of each medicine I gave him, with the proper time and method of using it. I did so. He placed his hand on his head saying " Sai recollects what the white doctor says;" then placing the medicines in the case himself said " that good for my head, that good for my belly, that good for my stomach," &c. One of the King's sisters sent a message that she wanted to come and see the white gentlemen; and shortly afterwards arrived with her stool and retinue, being head caboceer of a large town. After exchanging compliments, she complained that her left hand
pained her very much. I examined it, but must confess I could not see any thing the matter with it; however I rubbed a little liniment on her hand, which seemed to gratify her; she asked if I would come and see her in the evening? I answered yes. Quamina, our Ashantee guide, came to conduct me: he said I must dress, put on my sword and hat, as this woman was a caboceer, and the King's I

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

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

[The Governor's reply to my communication on the subject of the Commenda palaver, reached me on the 27th of August.]
Cape Coast Castle, Augst 11, 1817.
T. E. BowDICH, ESQ.

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

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

The King has no need to doubt in the least the sincerity of the Cape Coast people, they are his friends, and have every inclination to continue so; and I am convinced his nephew will, on his return, confirm this report to him.
I will make known to the Committee his request for a crown and clothes, and I have no doubt but it will be complied with.
I am, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,
JOHN HOPE SMITH.

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Coomassie, Jug. 29, 1817.
JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &C. &C. &C.

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

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

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

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

I considered that if I could get the treaty discussed and executed in this favourable interval, removing the Commenda palaver from the situation of an obstacle, and reserving it as the first proof of the King's...
disposition to coincide with you in what was reasonable and just, I might, on the receipt of dispatches, gain
the better terms for that people.
On Saturday the 22d instant, I was summoned to declare the articles of the treaty before the assembly of
captains, who were seated with their attendants and warriors in the large yard of the palace, with all the
imposing pomp and military parade, which had before been collected to subdue us, in the scene of the
declaration of war. The King’s sisters, with the females of his family, were seated, with their numerous
attendants, on an elevated floor behind. The deputies from the Fantee towns in the interior, were

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placed within hearing, and the crowd was almost impervious: the most ghastly trophies were mixed with
this blaze of ostentation. We were seated near the King immediately opposite to his linguists.
In reading the treaty, I paused after every article, leaving it to be formally repeated to the King through his
linguists, and then sat down whilst it was discussed by the assembly. It is not necessary to repeat the various
debates; and I will only notice that Amanquatedi, through his linguist, proposed the renewal of the Slave
Trade as a sine qua non; “this, however, as I had all along declared it to be impossible, was at length over-
ruled, but with considerable difficulty. It was also proposed to attach a fine to the infraction of the treaty;
but this I resisted as derogatory to the dignity of the contracting parties; and urged, that as the King and his
dignitaries would consider his oath as sacred, as you and the Government would mine, I considered no
infraction of the treaty could take place; though it might possibly be offended by the conduct of his
subjects, or of individuals under British protection, which was provided for, and must be visited
accordingly by the authorities pledged to the treaty.
I had declared from the first, that it would be expected that the King should swear in the form of his
country to the fulfilment and preservation of the treaty, and that his oath should be attested by his principal
captains, from my anxiety to fortify to the utmost, a * Presents from two Spanish slave ships were received through the Mulatto Brue on the 16th instant; they
were general, but I can only particularise the following: To the King, 3 pieces of cloth, 1 umbrella, and a
hat. To the chief linguist, 1 piece, do. 2 flashes liquor. To the 4th do. (Otce) I do. 2 ditto, do. To Odumata,
2 do. 2 ditto, do. To Quamina Bwa, agent for the purchase of the slaves, 2 pieces of cloth, I umbrella, and I Dane gun,
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measure not only valuable to commerce but to humanity, in averting the renewal of a war, recorded by
indelible marks of carnage and devastation.
At the moment I expected the King to execute the treaty, a fresh design was disclosed, in a long speech
from the chief linguist, setting forth the wrongs the King had just received from the people of Amissa, who
had scourged his messengers, and couched their insulting defiance in the foulest language; yet, he said, the
King did not want to invade the Fantee country for the sake of one town, and therefore I must stay and
assist him to settle that palaver; he would then readily swear to the treaty. I replied at length, declaring
particularly that I could not, and would not recognize the Amissa palaver; that the King vitiated the
compliments he had been pleased to pay me, in expecting me to be such a fool as to involve you in the
palaver of a people, over whom you neither possessed nor desired authority; and that if I had not a right to
think better of the King, I should view such a proposal as evasive of the treaty, and final to the hope of a
thorough understanding.
The chief linguist rejoined, that I had declared in announcing the treaty, that it was the wish of the British
Government to put an end to war, and for the King to have no occasion to trouble the Fantees; whereas, if
the people of Amissa were not persuaded to retract, the King must send a captain to destroy them, which
could be done at a word, and this perhaps would make another war. I urged that the Fantee towns under the
British forts must be considered distinctly, and that those, and those only, were viewed by the Government
and the treaty; yet, for the cause of humanity, I would request you, for the King, to advise the people of
Amissa better, through some medium, which I hoped might do good, but if disregarded, you could not even
repeat it: that was all I could
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promise, and if that was not enough, our negotiations were at an end. No! that was not enough, I must stay
and see the palaver settled.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that I have been able, privately, so far to conciliate the Moors, as to have witnessed their forward ance of the certificates to the Interior, with their own letters of recommendation indorsed.
MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
I advocated the merits desired, and successfully. arrival of the King's, and
of the Castle linguist, De Graff, as you I flatter myself this will anticipate the the Cape Coast messengers.
I am, &c. &c.
T. E. BOWDIC.}
Preliminaries of a General Treaty, to be made and entered into by
THomas EDWARD BoWDICzi, Esquire, for the Governor and Council of Cape Coast Castle, and on the
part of the British Government, with SAi TooToo QLAMINA, King of Ashantee and
its Dependencies.
1st. The King accepts the offer of the people of Commenda, through the Governor in Chief; namely, one
hundred and twenty ounces of gold for himself, and the customary fees to his ambassadors, as a settlement
in full of all demands.
2nd. The people of Commenda shall acknowledge their fealty to the King, and be entitled to all the benefits
of his protection.
3d. The King shall authorize some responsible captain to receive the gold, from the hands of the deputies of
the people of Commenda, at Cape Coast Castle.
4th. It is hereby agreed, that every palaver is now settled preparatory to the General Treaty, which shall be
executed forthwith.
Signed and sealed this twenty-ninth day of August, in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.
The mark of SAY TOOTOO QUAMINA. -< (L. S.)
In the presence of T. E. BOWDIC. (L. S.)
WILLIAM HUTCHISON.
HENRY TEDLIE.
ADOOCCE, Chief Linguist.
APoKoo, Keeper of the Treasury.
QIAMINA QUATCHIE, inguists to
QIASHEE APAINTREE, Lingist to the Mission.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
JExtract from Diary.-Monday, 25th August, we started after seven o'clock, and proceeding in a N. E.
direction, cr the marsh close to the town, where it was about two feet deep one hundred and fifty yards
broad. We travelled the path of Sallagha, through a beautiful country, abounding in neat cr (of which we
passed through seven), the sites spacious, and vironed by extensive plantations. The path was wide and so
nc direct, that the eye was always in advance through beautiful v: varied by gentle risings. The iron stone
still prevailed.
The King received us in the market place, and enquiring a ously if we had breakfasted, ordered
refreshment. After s conversation we were conducted to a house prepared for reception, where a relish was
served (sufficient for an army soups, stews, plantains, yams, rice, &c. (all excellently cool wine, spirits,
oranges, and every fruit. The messengers, soldi and servants were distinctly provided for. Declining the
offe beds, we walked out in the town, and conversed and played di with the Moors, who were reclining
under trees; the King joine( with cheerful affability, and seemed to have forgotten his ca About two o'clock
dinner was announced. We had been taL to prepare for a surprise, but it was exceeded. We were condu( to
the eastern side of the croom, to a door of green reeds, wbl excluded the crowd, and admitted us through a
short avenu( the King's garden, an area equal to one of the large square! London. The breezes were strong
and constant. In the cen four large umbrellas of new scarlet cloth were fixed, under wi was the King's
dining table (beighthened for the occasion) covered in the most imposing manner; his massy plate was
disposed, and silver forks, knives, and spoons (Colonel Torran were plentifully laid. The large silver waiter
supported a roast pig in the centre; the other dishes on the table were roasted duc

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

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

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

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

The head of an Akim caboceer arrived in Coomassie about this time. The King and the Ashantee government had proposed that every croom of Akim should pay 20 periguins of gold as an atonement for their late revolt. Ten periguins were advanced immediately by each, and the other moiety was excused until after the harvest; but Aboidedroo caboceer of Manasoo resolutely refused to pay a tokoo. The King's messengers, however, appealed to his people with so much address, that they rose upon their caboceer, killed him, and sent his head to the King, with the 20 periguins required.
T. E. BowDlcn, EsQ.

SIR,

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

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

efforts to recover him were ineffectual. This is the second offence of a similar nature that has occurred; the first person, I most assuredly should have punished, had he not ran past the sentry and made his escape. The King's displeasure will no doubt be excited when he hears of such acts of insolence, and I hope lie will issue such orders to his people, as will make them more circumspect in future.

I am, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

J. H. SMITH.

Coomasse, 31st August, 1817.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

I RECEIVED your letter last evening respecting the suicide of the Ashantee. I procured an audience this morning, and have just returned from the palace, where I had the honour to address you a letter, in the name of the King, on this, and other subjects. The messenger sent up by Adoo Bradie, was the brother of the deceased, and declared before the King upon oath, that he had been killed by the officers. The master (our landlord) proposed a fine to the captains assembled, but after the audience was gone through, the King retired to council, which is the form, and returning, dictated the sentiments I had the honour to communicate to you, and rebuked our house-master severely for his proposition. Of course I impressed the insult to the fort, as the superior consideration of your letter. The insolence of the lower orders here became insufferable, they proceeded even to pelting us with stones; after every effort on our part to conciliate them by the exhibition of the telescope and other novelties. As may be expected in a military government, they are beyond the King's control, out of the field. He declared however, that he would behead any man I would point out to him, and begged me to punish them as I thought proper: a summary chastisement of two inferior captains repressed this spirit. All the captains of consequence have become friendly and respectful; Apokoo was deputed in form yesterday, in the name of the whole, to thank me for my conduct in negotiating with the King. The Treaty will be brought forward to be executed in six days, before the annual assembly of Kings, caboceers, and captains. All the Kings tributaries and allies being compelled to attend him at the yam custom.

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

I am, with respect, Sir,

your most obedient Servant,

T. EDWARD BOWDICII.

Coomassie, 31st Aug. 1817.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

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

I am, with respect, Sir,
The King assures you, that, anticipating the permanent union of the English and Ashantees, so far from allowing the death of one man to retard it, he should take no notice if a thousand were flogged to death by you, as reported here, well knowing the insouciant disposition of the lower order of Ashantees, which is as vexatious to him as to you. He is satisfied however, that this man came to his death by his own hands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The King wishes you health and happiness.

The mark X of Sai Tootoo Quamina, &c. In the presence of WM. HuTcHIsOn.

HENRY TEDLIE.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

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

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

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

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

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

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

all his property for his presumption, and from a noble became a beggar.
The Moors now became friendly, and sent us some very good coffee, and choice pieces of meat.
Coomasie, Sept. 5th, 1817.
JOHN HOPE SMITH, ESQUIRE, GOVERNoR IN CHIEF, &c. &c.

SIR,
I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you, that the treaty was signed and sworn to yesterday, by the King of Ashantee, and this day, by the King of Dwabin. The whole of the caboceers, captains, and tributaries having arrived, the treaty was finally discussed on Saturday, and two of the four members of the Aristocracy, with the two oldest captains (Ashantee and Nabbra) were deputed to swear for that assembly, with the King, whose oaths (being very rare) are solemnized by the presence of his wives. The King sent a handsome procession of flags, guns, and music, to conduct us to the palace on the occasion; and meeting us in the outer square, preceded us to the innmost, where about 300 females were seated, in all the magnificence which a profusion of gold and silk could furnish. The splendour of this coup d'oeil made our surprise almost equal to theirs. We were seated with the King and the deputies, under the large umbrellas in the centre, and I was desired to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty, to an old linguist, peculiar to the women. The King displayed the presents to them; the flags were all sewn together, and wrapped around him as a cloth.

I was afterwards desired to stand before the King, and swear on my sword that I had declared the truth: I did so, with the Qther officers. The next form dictated was, that I should seat myself, and receive the oaths of the deputies, and lastly, of the King himself, for his brother the King of England. They advanced in turn, extending their gold swords close to my face, as they declared their oaths. I rose to receive the King's, all the women holding up two fingers, as their mark of approbation when he received the sword, and one of his counsellors kneeling beside him with a large stone on his head. The King swore very deliberately, that his words might be fully impressed on me, invoking God and the fetish to kill him; first, if he did not keep the law, if we had sworn true; and secondly, if he did not revenge the Ashantees to the full, if we had bad in our heads, and did not come for the purpose I avowed. The assurances, and the menaces of the oaths of the captains were equally forcible. The King sent an anker of rum to our people to drink on the occasion, and paid each captain the customary fee, of a periguin of gold on his oath.
The King having communicated my wish, by a formal message, to Boitinnee Quama, the King of Dwabin, who holds his temporary court on the north side of the town, I seconded it, by sending the canes to request an audience; at which I had again formally to declare the objects of the Embassy and the Treaty, which, after a great deal of form and enquiry, received his signature, with the attestations of his chief linguists, Quama Saphoh, and Kobara Saphoo, who are his principal counsellors. His court was equally crowded with the King of Ashantees, who sits on his right hand when he visits Dwabin; a reciprocal etiquette.
By an addition to the 4th article of the treaty, I reconciled the point of the Amiss-a-palaver; and the securing you the opportunity of mediation, (without attaching any thing like responsibility) I considered to be not only a precaution due to humanity, but a prudent and legitimate measure for the extension of our influence.

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

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

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

I am, with respect, Sir,
your most obedient Servant,
T. E. BOWDICH.

Treaty made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH, Esquire, in the name of the Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast of Africa; and on behalf of the British Government, with SAI TooToo QUAMIINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, and BOTINNEE QUAMA, King of Dwabin and its Dependencies.

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

2nd. The same shall exist between the subjects of the Kings of Ashantee and Dwabin, and all nations of Africa residing under the protection of the Company's Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast, and, it is hereby agreed, that there are no palavers now existing, and that neither party has any claim upon the other.

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

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

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

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

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

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

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.
9th. The Kings agree to commit their children to the care of the Governor in Chief, for education, at Cape Coast Castle, in the full confidence of the good intentions of the British government, and of the benefits to be derived therefrom.
10th. The Kings promise to direct diligent inquiries to be made respecting the officers attached to the Mission of Major John Peddie, and Captain Thomas Campbell; and to influence and oblige the neighbouring kingdoms and their tributaries, to befriend them as the subjects of the British government. Signed and sealed at Coomassie, this seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventeen.

The mark of SA'i TOOTOO QUAMINA k The mark of BOITINNEE QUAMA X THOMAS EDWARD BOWDICH.

(L. S.) (L. S.) (L. S.)

In the presence of WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Resident. HENRY TEDLIE, Assistant Surgeon. The mark of APoKoo

1Deputed from the General AssemODUMATA bly of caboceers and captains to

ABLAE J swear with the King.

ASHANCTEE
KABA SAPHOO Linguists to the King of QUAMINA SAPU-1O Dwabin.
QUASHEE APAINTREE , Accra Linguist.
QUASHFE Tom Cap QUAMINA QUATCHEE I Cape Coast Linguists.

MISSION TO ASHANTEE.

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

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

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the superiors exchanged visits at their houses; the one visited always accompanied the other some distance along the street on his way, where they exchanged blessings, and parted. The slaves who carried their small umbrellas over their heads, seemed thoroughly jaded by this incessant parading. The King regretted in one of his visits about this time, that they were not more frequent; he said, our conversation entertained him more than any thing else, because it told him of so many things black men never heard of, but when he wished to see us on that account, his great men checked him, and said, it did not become him as a great King to want us, but that he should only send his compliments, see us, and make us wait a long time when lie sent for us to the palace.

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CHAPTER VII.

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

On the 11th of September I received the Governor's reply to my letter of the 10th of August.
Cape Coast Castle, August 25, 1817.
T. E. BowDICH, EsQ.

SIR,
I HAVE received your letter of the 10th instant. The boy and girl shall be disposed of under the protection of the Government here, agreeable to the King's wishes.
The messenger (Ocranameah) has grossly misrepresented to the King, the reception he met with at Cape Coast; he was treated with the greatest civility during his stay, and on leaving, expressed himself gratified by the attention which had been shewn him.
For the King's satisfaction, I have subjoined a list of the articles I made him a present of: * the three first which I gave him, on taking leave, will, when produced, convince him how much he has been deceived, and prove to him, that his recommendation of the messenger was not unattended to.
The Buntooko war, I consider a mere pretext for getting rid of
* One piece of silk. 10 handkerchiefs of Dane. 1 umbrella. 4 gallons of rum. 20lbs. of pork. I basket of rice. Biscuit. 1 sheep.

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Coomassie, Sept. 16, 1817.
JoHN HoPE SMITH, ESQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &C. &C. &C.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of course I would not hear of any heads being cut off, though they all pressed it repeatedly, and doubtless would not have regarded sacrificing a few inferior captains to varnish their allegation; yet, I must declare, it is my firm opinion, and it is supported by the evidence of our private friends, that the King and his principal men merely intended Aboiawee to stop us, by placing his numbers before us and pleading the King's orders, not dreaming of any outrage, or that the impetuosity of this man, irritated by the loss of his retainer at Cape Coast, would hurry him to order his soldiers to assault us: he has not an atom of influence; but the King selected him as a near relative of his own, to succeed to Bakkee's stool, to which 1700 men are attached: the King repeatedly offered me his head. To resume, the King requested us to drink with him, and then to shake hands, begged us to resume our uniforms, and ordered his own people to attend us at our house. I renewed the subject of our departure. The King said this was a bad week, and he did not like us to go in it, he would thank me very much to stay till Monday, and then he could get a proper present ready.

Sunday too was the Adai custom, and then I must put Mr. Hutchison's hand in Adoocees's, and Adooce place it in his, and he would promise to take proper care of him before all the captains. Odumata and Adooce came forward to give me their hands, as a pledge of their responsibility. I said I could receive no one's hand but the King's on such an occasion, but I ordered Quashie Apaintree to do so, and it was sworn to. The King then said Adooceee had told him the Cape Coast messengers

* The man who hung himself.

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

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

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

I am, &c.

T. EDWARD BOWDICH.
(Signed)

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Coomasie, p. et. 1817.

To WILLIAM HUTCHISON, Esquire, British Resident.

SIR,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I am, Sir, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDIC.

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

There are only four direct descendants now living of the noble families which accompanied the emigration of Sai Tootoo, the founder of the Ashantee monarchy; none of them are wealthy, and Assaphi, who is one, is a beggar, wandering in the bush, having been disgraced from the highest favour, for the following fraud. An old linguist of the former King's (Sai Quamina) having died at a distant croom, the King, according to custom, sent Assaphi with four periguins of gold, and a quantity of expensive cloths and mats to bury him; Assaphi kept the gold, and substituted inferior cloths of his own. The wife urged the great and zealous services of her husband to Sai Quamina, and her indignation at such a mean acknowledgment as the King had sent. Assaphi returned, reported her gratitude, and that every thing had been handsomely done, to the credit of the King. The wife privately dug up the cloths buried with the corpse, and suspecting the fraud, secretly conveyed them to the King, with a full account. The King sent for Assaphi and again enquiring the particulars, with seeming indifference, suddenly required him to swear to the truth, which he advanced to do, when the King said no! you must not swear, and the woman was immediately discovered to him with all the cloths. He then confessed the particulars, was stripped of every thing, and is now the more despised for not killing himself; and the King could not put him to death, as the direct descendant of one of Sai Tootoo's peers. Part of the King's reproach to him was curious: "my brother's linguist did him great good, so when he and my brother, who now live with God, make God recollect all, and tell him the shame you put on him for me, in so burying him, God will kill me."

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

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A man of Assiminia, who had received medicine and advice from Mr. Tedlie on our march up, sent him a third present about this time, of fruit, vegetables, and wild deer, with the account that he was quite well.

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

Akrofroom, Sept. 26, 1817.
JOHN HoPE SMITH, EsQ. GoVERNOR IN CHIEF, &C. &C. &C.
S&R.

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

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

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

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

To the Government, four boys for education.

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

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

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

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

Accra linguist, one cloth, - 10 ditto.

Cape Coast linguists, two cloths, 10 ditto.

De Graaff's messenger, - 10 ditto.

The officers servants, - - 10 ditto.

The soldiers, - - 10 ditto.

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

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

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

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

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

The King has provided one of the best houses for Mr. Hutchison, very superior to any we could have raised
at so short a notice, and has anticipated every thing to make him comfortable, and respected; nothing could
be more considerate or kind, than his speech to him on my taking leave.
A messenger of the King of Dwabin-s accompanies me for a suit of our uniform for the King's wear, which I could not refuse.

I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) T. EDWARD BOWDICH.

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Coomaamie, September 22, 1817.
SAi ToOTOO QIAMINA, King of Ashantee, 4-c. to JoHiN HoPE SMITH, Esquire, Governor in Chief, 4-c. 4c. 4-c.

SIR,
WE are from this time forth good friends, and I shall send all the trade I can-to Cape Coast Castle, and I hope that you will by and by have confidence in my word.
I beg you will send my best compliments to the King of England, and accept them yourself, in proof of my satisfaction of the purposes of the Embassy, and its happy termination.
You will call all the Fantee caboceers before you, And impress the importance of the Treaty, and exact their respect of it, as I have from all my great men and caboceers.
I hope you will always act towards me as a friend, and I shall always be ready to protect and support the British interests.
I wish you health and happiness, and all my captains send their best compliments to you.

I am, Sir,
your sincere friend,
The mark X of Sai Tootoo Quamina, Present,
W HUTCHISON,
HENRY TEDLIE.
I will thank you to impress on the King of England that I have sworn not to renew the war with the Fantees, out of respect to him, and I shall consider them as his people. I hope therefore he will, in turn, consider if he cannot renew the Slave Trade, which will be good for me.

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I hope the King of England will now let all foreign vessels come to the coast to trade, and you must say that the path is now clear to do as much English trade as your supplies will allow.
The following letter was sent after me, to Doompassie.
Coomassie, 23d September, 1817.
JoN HoPE SMITH, EsQ. GOVERNOR IN CHIEF, &C. &C. &C.

SIR,
THE King of Ashantee desires me to request you will write to all the Governors of English forts, on the African coast, to order the caboceers of each town, to send a proper person to Cape Coast, and that you will add one messenger yourself; that they may all proceed to Coomassie to take the King's fetish in his presence, that none may plead ignorance of the Treaty concluded between his Majesty and the British nation.
The King 'wishes me to express, that he is fully satisfied with the objects of the Mission, and that the Treaty may be read by me to all the Fantee deputies you may send for that purpose.
I am, &c. &c.
(Signed) W. HUTCHISON.

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

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

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

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Marching through Sarraaso, where we were liberally refreshed with palm wine, we halted in the evening at Assiminia. We were received with great hospitality by the principal man, who provided us with excellent lodging, to his own inconvenience, and presented us with some fowls. The path was almost a continued bog, for the rainy season had set in violently. The next day we marched through Dadasey to Doompassie, and occupied our former comfortable dwelling. One party spent the night in the woods. Thursday morning, the 6th, we had a short but most fatiguing march over the mountains dividing the frontiers, to Moisee, the first Assin town. The difficulty of procuring provisions until the people returned from the plantations, detained us in Moisce until four o'clock in the evening. As the stage from Doompassie had been short, (although fatiguing) I determined to proceed to Akrofroom, as we should gain a day by it. The Ashantees remonstrated, knowing the -swollen state of the several small rivers, and the aggravated difficulties of the path from the heavy rain; but I was so apprehensive of being detained, by their pleading their superstitious observance of good and bad days for travelling, that I was afraid of seeming to yield to them, lest it might encourage the disposition I recommended them to go back, and started without them, but they were soon at my heels, declaring, they should lose their heads if they quitted us. Mr. Tedlie, myself, a soldier, and the Ashantee next in authority under the captain, outwalked the rest of the party, and found ourselves out of their hearing when it grew dark. We lost some time in trying to make torches to keep off the beasts, and to direct us in the right track, for we were walking through a continued bog, and had long before lost our shoes. A violent tornado ushered in the night, we could not hear each other holla, and were soon separated; luckily I found I had one person left with me (the Ashantee) who, after I had groped him out, tying his cloth tight round his middle, gave me the other end, and thus plunged along, pulling me after him, through bogs and rivers, exactly like an owl tied to a duck in a pond. The thunder, the darkness, and the howlings of the wild beasts were awful, but the loud and continuing crash of a large tree, which fell very near us during the storm, was even more so to my ear. The Ashantee had dragged me along, or rather through, in this manner until I judged it to be midnight, when, quite exhausted, with the remnants of my clothes scarcely hanging together, I let go his cloth, and falling on the ground, was asleep before I could call out to him. I was awoke by this faithful guide, who had felt me out, and seated me on the trunk of a tree. with my head resting on his shoulder; he gave me to understand I must die if I sat there, and we pursued the duck and owl method once more. In an hour we forded the last river, which had swollen considerably above my chin, and spread to a great width. This last
labour I considered final, and my drowsiness became so fascinating, that it seemed to beguile me of every painful thought and apprehension, and the yielding to it was an exquisite, though momentary pleasure. I presume I must have slept above an hour, lifted by this humane man from the bank of the river to a drier corner of the forest, more impervious to the torrents of rain; when, being awoke, I was

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

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

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

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

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torches and music instantly encircled me, and I was conducted to old Payntree's residence, who had built himself a new house somewhat in the Ashantee fashion. An excellent bed was prepared for me of an accumulation of mats and country cloths, and a famous supper of soups, stews, fruit, and palm wine. Quamina Bootaqua paid his respects, and old Payntree, Amooney King of Annamaboe, and two or three other caboceers, unknown to me, made a long adulatory speech, complimenting my ability, bewailing my hardships, and magnifying their obligations. I was requested to seat myself on old Payntree's state stool, whilst they stood around me, and he begged me to listen to an air composed by his band on the occasion of the embassy, and its successful termination; "all would now be well, and Fantee revive and flourish." I sat up till midnight, vainly expecting Mr. Tedlie and the soldiers; they awoke me by their arrival before sun rise; they had passed the night in a sound hut, on the path, which from the want of a torch had escaped my notice. Hearing, as I expected, that there was a path from Payntree to Cape Coast Castle, avoiding Annamaboe (whence the Mission had departed), I determined to explore it, and Payntree furnished me with a guide. The country was beautifully diversified with hill and dale, but the soil was generally lighter and more gravelly than that between Annamaboe and Payntree. We passed through several groves of guava trees, and all the other tropical fruits abounded. Occasionally there were small plantations of Guinea corn, where a few wretched Fantees still lurked in the ruins of the crooms the Ashantees had destroyed. We passed through eleven which had been considerable, and now presented but a few mud houses scattered over extensive sites. Their names were Assequah, Dadoramong, Amparoo, Tadchoo. Coorikirraboo, Perridjoo, Abikarrampa, Aquoitee, Mieusa, and Amosima. The only water was near Amparoo; it was a large pond nearly two miles in circumference, and sixty yards broad, impregnated with vegetable matter. After travelling 15 miles, we climbed some very steep and rocky hills, apparently of iron stone, and descended into a flat country, continuing until a small rising about two miles from Cape Coast Castle, (which I judged to be 20 miles from Payntree by this interior path) opened the sea to our view; as delightful to our sight, as land would have been after a prolonged and perilous voyage. The shouts and greetings of the natives were a grateful introduction to the more congenial congratulations of our countrymen.

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PART II.