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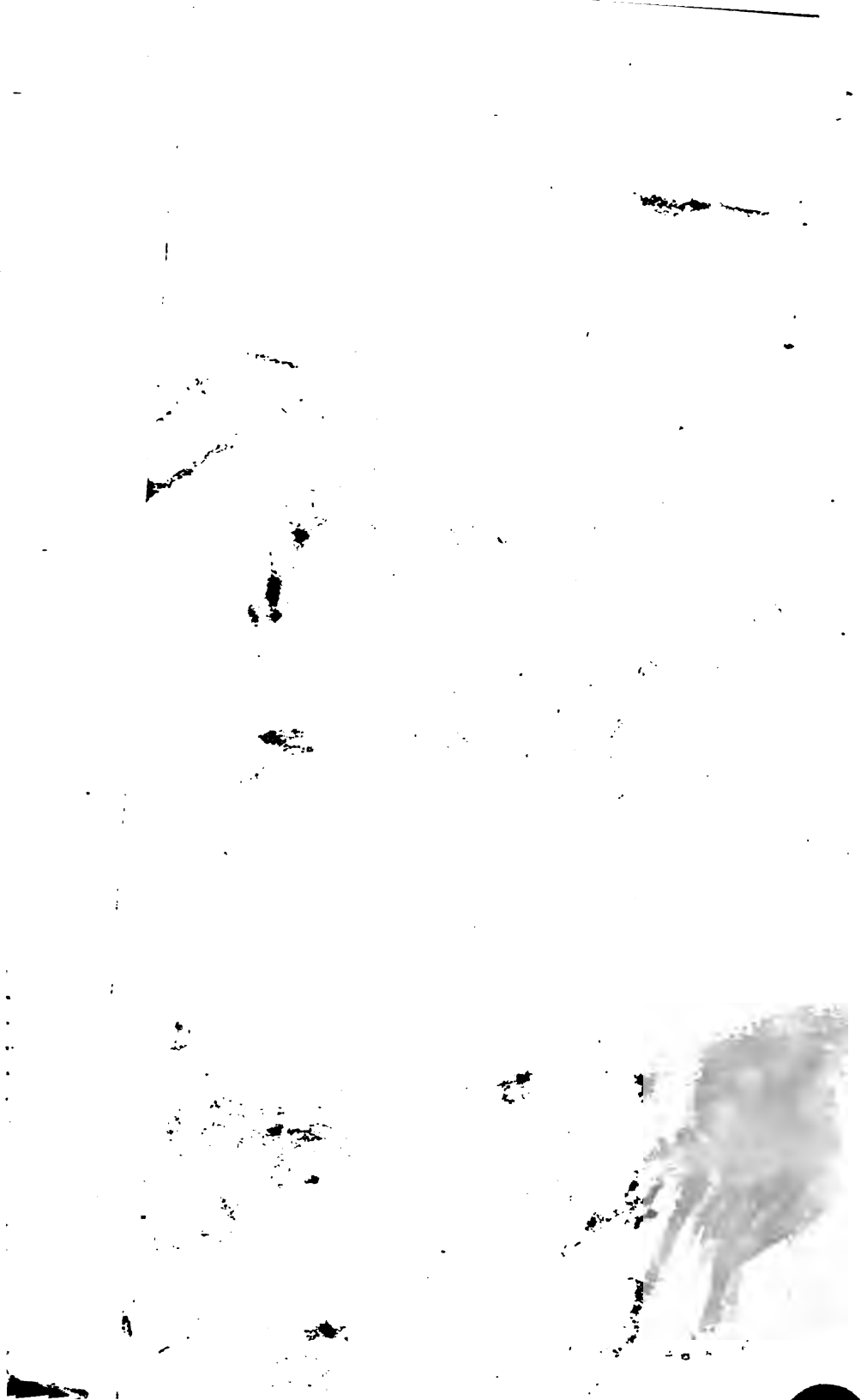
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A VANISHED DYNASTY  
ASHANTI



SIR FRANCIS C. FULLER  
K.B.E., C.M.G.





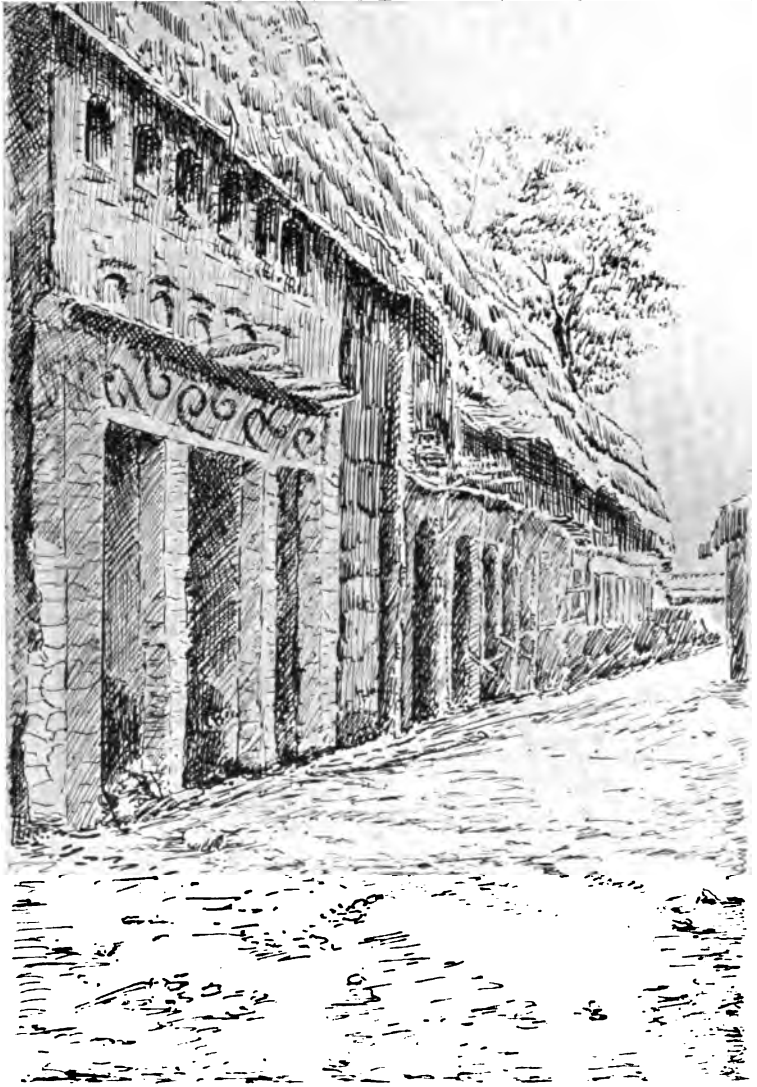


**A VANISHED DYNASTY**  
**ASHANTI**









A STREET IN OLD COOMASSIE.  
From a pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Fuller.

*Frontispiece*

UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

# A VANISHED DYNASTY

## ASHANTI

BY SIR FRANCIS FULLER

K.B.E., C.M.G.

LATE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASHANTI

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAP

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W. 1

1921

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*TO ALL THOSE OF MY COLLEAGUES WHO  
SO LOYALLY AND ABLY ASSISTED ME TO  
CONVERT A SULLEN AND SUSPICIOUS  
RACE, STILL SMARTING FROM DEFEAT,  
INTO A CONTENTED AND PROSPEROUS  
PEOPLE, I GRATEFULLY DEDICATE THIS  
BOOK.*

*F. C. FULLER.*

*LONDON,  
JULY 22ND, 1920.*

501037



## INTRODUCTION

**THIS** book claims to be only a brief, concise, and consecutive narrative of the traditional history of Ashanti, blended with known facts.

With regard to the latter, the book is but a compilation of excerpts from the records of former authors. I know of no work, however, that deals exclusively with Ashanti, and it has been my endeavour to reproduce these facts in a convenient and epitomized form.

Another aim of these pages is to save the more important historical traditions of the country from inevitable oblivion.

The unborn generations of Ashantis will indubitably suffer from impaired memories consequent on the spread of education.

A lack of reverence for and love of past deeds is already noticeable among the school-children of the present day, and unless the ancient national traditions are to be entirely lost, they should be set forth in print.

These reasons must serve as an excuse for the present publication.

Criticisms of past events have been purposely avoided, for I hold the opinion that no useful purpose would now be served by reopening controversy on irreparable acts.

The "manners and customs" of the Ashantis have received scant attention in these pages, as the wealth of the subject-matter demands separate treatment. I

trust it will shortly receive this from a more competent pen than mine.

For those who wish to dip deeper into the past history of this bourgeoning blossom of Empire, I commend the works of the following authors, named in chronological order of publication : Bosman, Barbot, Astley, Meredith, Bowditch, Hutton, Dupuis, Cruikshank, Ricketts, Winwood Reade, Brackenbury, Freeman, Armitage and Montanaro, Lady Hodgson, and, above all, Claridge's monumental "History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti."

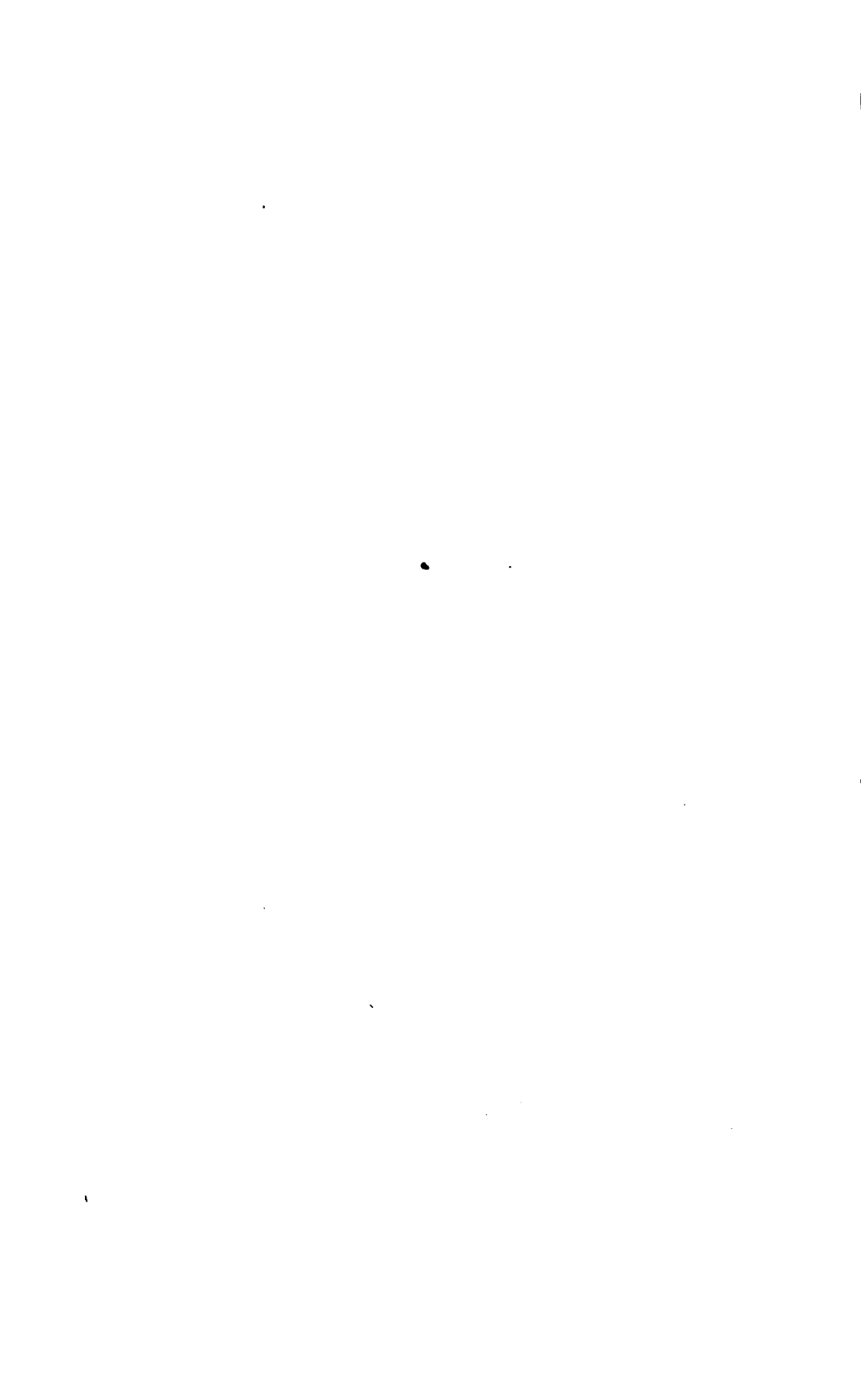
My special thanks are due to Chiefs Kwamin Frimpon and Akwessi Inuama and Mr. J. S. Erbynn for the enthusiastic assistance they gave me in my endeavour to compile the national traditions of the country.

F. C. FULLER.

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# A VANISHED DYNASTY

## CHAPTER I

### EARLY DAYS OF THE ASHANTI CONFEDERATION

THE origin of the ASHANTIS, like that of all the AKAN tribes, is veiled in mystery. Some claim that their ancestors descended direct from heaven, and commenced their earthly existence at a place called ESIKWA, in the Kibbi District of the GOLD COAST COLONY, but the more sensible portion of the community believe that their forbears came down from the north. Indeed, this is the generally accepted theory, and is supported by the fact that until recent times a curious connection existed between the Ashanti Royal Family and that of BONA, a town to the north of BONTUKU, on the FRENCH IVORY COAST.

On the death of a King in COOMASSIE the news was reported by special envoys to the Court of Bona and *vice versa*, although no other known relations existed between the two Courts, although enemy countries separated the two powers, and although the envoys were invariably sacrificed on those occasions. Only a strong, albeit forgotten, traditional tie could have upheld the survival of this custom through countless generations.

Though the origin of the ASHANTIS is uncertain, there is little doubt that the Ashanti confederation

## THE ASHANTI CONFEDERATION

originated at a place called ESANTEMANSO, close to the present village of ESUMEJA.

The tribes inhabiting that locality were known by the name of AMANSE, and were the direct forbears of the Confederation that assumed the name of ASANTE. Why this latter name was adopted is unknown, but ASANTE (*anglice* ASHANTI) the name became, and ASANTE it has remained.

Tradition says that the first to attain power over the tribes were the two headmen named CHUM and ENCHWI. They exercised a dual control over the AMANSE. The two names have been taken hitherto to represent one man only, who, under the name CHUMIENCHWI, has been given the proud title of the first King of ASHANTI. But in reality they were two distinct persons, and there was no recognized King for many years after their day, because the Amanse community was then scarcely large enough to aspire to a Royal House. Moreover, they were subjects of the King of DENKERA. The word Duke, in the old feudal sense, would perhaps best convey to a European mind the status of these early Amanse chiefs.

On their demise the power fell into the hands of one KOBIA AMENFI. Little is known of this man. He was followed in turn by OTI AKENTEN, who showed a spirit of enterprise.

He marched north, fought and partly conquered the chief of DOMA, one KOLI BATAFO, and drove the DOMAS away from their southern settlement of OHWIM, five miles north of the present town of COOMASSIE. OTI AKENTEN also founded a small settlement called KWAMAN, which eventually became the capital of the Confederation.

OBIRI YEBOA succeeded him. This chief vigor-

ously followed OTI'S example and continued the fight against the DOMAS, but with only partial success. During this war he died. Some say he was killed by the enemy, others that he died a natural death. Before he died, however, his policy had attracted many of the Amanse chiefs, who migrated north in consequence and founded JUABEN, KUMAWU, NSUTA, and MAMPON, all of which formed part of the new Confederation and have survived to this day. The BEKWAIS also joined the league. They did not move from their original country, but remained there with the object (it is said) of stemming the raids of the DENKERAS, a tribe living to the south-west, on the OFIN River, and the then paramount power.

The nucleus thus planted by OTI AKENTEN'S initiative and valour developed rapidly, and, once established as a political entity, throve for wellnigh two hundred years.

A successor of OBIRI had to be found, and the unanimous choice of the chiefs fell upon the deceased leader's nephew, OSEI KOFI, who was to become the celebrated OSEI TUTU, founder of the dynasty, and, strictly speaking, the first King of ASHANTI. The tribes had already adopted the law of succession through the female instead of the male line. The reason for this is not certain. In all probability it can be ascribed to the looseness of morals then prevailing among the women. A woman's child must of necessity half belong to her family, but the same cannot be said of a man's son. The father may be so by repute only, and it is possible that his successor—with inheritance following from father to son—does not possess a drop of the blood of his family.

In any case, matrilineal descent is a very old custom

#### 4 THE ASHANTI CONFEDERATION

among the majority of the Gold Coast tribes, and it is so ingrained in their habits that a man's son counts for nothing. The brothers come first in order of seniority, after them the eldest sister's eldest son is the rightful heir. The eldest sister failing male issue, inheritance falls to the second sister's sons, and so on.

Claridge\* also points out :

“ Another reason that is given by the Ashantis for the existence of this rule is that it was essential for so warlike a race to make some arrangement whereby the heir to the stool should usually have reached years of discretion. Had the reigning monarch been killed in battle and the stool descended to his son, a long regency might often have been involved, whereas by adopting a law of succession through the brothers and nephews this risk was reduced to a minimum.”

Rattray in his “ Ashanti Proverbs ” † gives the following story :

“ There lived in former times a King of Adanse who had a linguist named ABU. This Abu incurred the King's anger and was heavily fined. Now, at that time children used to inherit from their father. Abu asked his children to assist him to pay the fine imposed by the King, but they refused, and all went off to *their mother's relatives*. But Abu's sister's children rendered him assistance to pay off his debts, and Abu therefore, when he died, left all his belongings to them. Other people then copied him and willed their property to the sister's children,”

but adds that he considers the story to be a myth.

The reader can choose whichever explanation he prefers.

\* Claridge, “ History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti,” vol. i., p. 211.

† P. 41.

Two other customs should be mentioned before proceeding further, for although the origin of each is shrouded in mystery, they certainly formed an integral part of the polity of the tribes earlier than the advent of OSEI TUTU. The first of these is the prevailing custom of "stools." A family, when influential enough, will establish a stool (a wooden seat of quaint and artistic design), which is entailed, so to speak, on the head of the family. As generations pass, this stool becomes the tangible emblem of the family fortunes, and represents, to the living, the terrestrial abode of the family *manes*. Libations are poured over it and food placed near to it at stated intervals.

The stool is washed with the idea of purifying the souls of the departed. In fact, the stool acquires all the virtues of a family shrine, besides remaining the outward and visible sign of the occupant's status and authority.

From a family stool it is but one step to the formation of a stool for a congeries of families; thence to a tribal stool, and so up the scale until the great national stool is reached.

The second custom is the "oath" system, whereby obligations of attendance, ordeal, or performance are imposed by an individual upon himself, or upon whomsoever he may choose. There are several recognized oaths, all varying in degrees of importance. The most common and least significant oath consists in a person swearing by his or her own particular fetish that he or she is innocent of an offence that he or she may have been charged with; that he or she is speaking the truth; that another (naming the person) is guilty of a certain crime, etc. This, of course, involves legal



## 6 THE ASHANTI CONFEDERATION

procedure, and the loser has to pay the fee for "breaking" the oath sworn. As the oath grew in gravity, so did the "satisfaction" fee grow in proportion. Fixed amounts were not attached to oaths. These were determined by the presiding chief on the merits of each case, so that a few shillings might be sufficient to "satisfy" a common oath, while in others enormous sums, sometimes several hundred pounds, were charged.

Three oaths implied the death penalty—namely: cursing the King, MEMENDA, and KOROMANTIN. They could be used separately or collectively under the name "NTEMKESE" = great oath.

Next in importance came the chief's oaths. If a person swore one of these against another person, it was tantamount to summoning him before that particular chief's court. The chief then heard the case and delivered judgment. This not only included any penalty he may have chosen to impose, but also decided which of the litigants had to pay the amount determined upon to satisfy the oath fee. If a person failed to answer an oath sworn against him, he was *ipso facto* found guilty and condemned to pay the fee. Appeal was assured by the loser swearing a yet more important oath, and so much is litigation beloved by the ASHANTIS that a losing litigant would sometimes go to the extent of swearing a curse on the King against his successful rival, thus incurring the death penalty himself, but by so doing leaving the world assured that he had placed his antagonist in the dreadful predicament of returning the oath (and thus forfeiting his life) or of fulfilling whatever obligation was imposed upon him by the swearer.

The most serious oaths all referred to some national

calamity, such as the violent death of a monarch, defeat in battle, or some other dread occurrence. The worst, and this carried an *immediate* death penalty with it, was the sentence "OBOSUM NKUM OHENE" ("May a fetish kill the King").

Although much can be said against the abuses that this system entailed, it would be difficult to evolve a more perfect substitute, among an illiterate people, for our written summonses. It must also be borne in mind that the swearing of oaths exercised a restraining influence over the despotism of chiefs, because an oath, no matter how great, could be sworn by any commoner against any chief, thus implicating the latter in endless litigation and exposing him to public obloquy.

The "MEMENDA" Oath originated with OSEI TUTU'S death, and will be referred to in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY—OSEI TUTU

1695-1731

THE following legend is related concerning OSEI KOFI'S birth :

OBIRI YEBOA had an only sister named MANU, who was childless. The fame of the fetish called " OTUTU " in AKWAMA having reached her, she sent messengers to ANSA SASRAKU, the King, to obtain medicine from the fetish. He complied with her request, and MANU conceived and gave birth to a boy, to whom the surname of " Otutu " was given.

Now, in accordance with custom this OSEI TUTU, when a youth, was sent to the court of the King of DENKARA as a hostage and sword-bearer, the AMANSES (or ASHANTIS, as we shall call them hereafter) still being tributaries to that power.

While there he had an intrigue with the King's sister, KWABENA BENSUA, who, as soon as she realized she had conceived by him, advised him to flee the country. This OSEI wisely did, and sought refuge in AKWAMU, the home of his tutelary fetish, where his personal beauty and intelligence gained him great popularity. While he was there his uncle, OBIRI YEBOA, died, and he received the summons of the nobles of ASHANTI to return and assume the reins of government. OSEI obeyed, and travelled north at the head of an armed party, with, it is said,

a large quantity of ammunition he had obtained from the Danes. Tradition further states that while on this journey north he worked himself a crown of elephant's skin. This became the crown of ASHANTI, known by the name of DENCHEMCHÉ, and was worn by every King on his enstoolment down to PEREMPE. The King also wore it when addressing his chiefs on the eve of a campaign, imposing upon them, by oath, the duty of defeating the enemy or of forfeiting their lives. Whereupon all the chiefs had to respond to the oath and declare that they would conquer or die. OSEI'S arrival in KWAMAN caused tumultuous joy, and he was universally acclaimed King. As Reindorf writes,\* "with his advent a new era began in the history of the Asantes." According to Bosman,† the Ashanti-Denkera war took place between 1699 and 1701. If, therefore, the beginning of the Ashanti Dynasty is to be reckoned from the enstoolment of OSEI TUTU, it dates back to the last years of the seventeenth century, probably 1695, as OSEI waged several small wars before the *levée en masse* against DENKERA occurred. Allowing an average of fifteen years for each of OSEI'S predecessors, this places the commencement of the AMANSE rise to power at 1635; KOBIA AMEMPI *circa* 1650; OTI AKENTEN *circa* 1665; and OBIRI YESEO 1680.

When at the Denkera Court the youth OSEI had won the heart of a celebrated fetish priest named KOMFO (priest) ANOTCHWI, who was said to be a native of AKWAPIM. Whether this man, who was destined to become the Cardinal Wolsey of ASHANTI,

\* Reindorf, "History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti," 1895.

† "New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea," 1705.

## 10 THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY

actually accompanied OSEI on his journey north or whether he followed him is unknown, but certain it is that no sooner had he joined OSEI TUTU than he became the young King's confidential adviser and right-hand man. ANOTCHWI appears to have adopted at once the new kingdom as his own country, and from the time of his advent he worked heart and soul for the aggrandizement of ASHANTI.

He commenced operations by planting a "KUMA"-TREE, prophesying that as it throve, so would OSEI TUTU'S power increase. Henceforth the name of the capital became KUM-ASE ("under the kum-tree"—*anglice* COOMASSIE).

He then decreed that all the stools belonging to the chiefs who had taken part in the war against the DOMAS should be destroyed and buried and new stools made, so as to efface the disgrace of OBIRI YEBOA'S death. As an example he himself fashioned a new stool for OSEI TUTU. It was partially covered with gold-leaf, and became the celebrated "golden stool" of ASHANTI.

OBIRI YEBOA'S death had not been publicly announced to the people by the nobles. His bones were kept in a coffin until OSEI TUTU'S advent, when they were taken to BANTAMA, half a mile outside the town, where a building was provided for their reception. This was afterwards improved and became the royal mausoleum.

No sooner was OSEI TUTU settled on the throne than, with the unanimous support of his nobles, he prepared to avenge his late uncle's death. He declared war against ODAMARA KWESSI, the Doma Chief, and completely routed his forces. Some of the refugees escaped to the north-west and founded GYAOMAN (lit. "you have deserted your country"), now called JAMAN,

while others founded ODUMASI, BEREKUM, and several other towns, but all became tributary to COOMASSIE. OSEI TUTU next fought and defeated one AKOSA of AMOKUM, and appointed EDU PENIN to succeed AKOSA. OSEI TUTU took a great liking to EDU PENIN, and gave him his niece NYAKU in marriage. AKOSA'S brother, BAFO, escaped to TEKIMAN, and sought protection from AMO YAO, the chief of that place, who established BAFO at a hamlet where three old men resided, NKWAKORA MIENSA (lit. "three old men"). From this the present town of NKORANZA derived its name.

The next chief to whom OSEI TUTU turned his attention was OSAFO of TAFO, a village only a few miles distant from COOMASSIE. The TAFOS were aborigines of the soil, and looked upon the invaders with dislike. OSAFO was defeated, and admitted into the Confederation. He afterwards conquered WIAFE AKENTEN of OFINSU, whose territory was likewise incorporated in the kingdom.

Owing presumably to the wise statesmanship of ANOTCHWI, all conquered tribes were given full rights as ASHANTI citizens, and, beyond certain obligations of tribute which were imposed on them, they experienced no interference at the hands of their conquerors. By this enlightened policy erstwhile enemies became friends.

After the lapse of a generation or two the conquered were merged in the Confederation, and with the accretion of the latter's power became proud of belonging to the ASHANTI kingdom.

Now occurred a fateful event destined to cause an upheaval and a redistribution of power. An impudent demand for enhanced tribute from the King of DEN-

## 12 THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY

KERA was met with a haughty refusal on the part of OSEI and his nobles. Flushed with victory, they were in no mood to submit tamely any longer to a yoke that had become yearly more irksome and degrading. There was but one alternative. Without a dissentient voice the chiefs decided on open rebellion.

Before proceeding, however, to relate the story that tradition tells of the Denkera war, it might be as well to examine the fighting formation evolved by the ASHANTIS and their resources in men and ammunition at the time war was declared.

The fighting formation consisted of a central column in the following order : Scouts, advance-guard, main body, the commander-in-chief, carriers, camp-followers, and the rear-guard (which invariably faced in the opposite direction to that of the advancing army). The central column was flanked on both sides by the right and left wings—five bodies to the right and five to the left. The various bodies were composed of clans irrespective of their numbers. Their positions were assigned to them once and for all time.

The left wing was the more important, for with the fourth body on that side was the King, if he took part in the campaign. Even if he did, he was never allowed to be in actual command of the military operations, in order that he should avoid being cursed by the enemy as the cause of all their misfortunes.

In big wars, when all the head chiefs had to appear in person, the army was commanded by the Chief of BANTAMA or the Chief of MAMPON, generally the latter. In smaller campaigns, when only representatives of the big chiefs attended, the commander was chosen from the Jiasiwa, Ananta, or Chidom Stools.

Each body of men went to war with its own supply of ammunition, its own reserve of rations, and its own doctors. The latter were called ESUMANKWAFO. They were combatants, but attended the wounded as best they could. The Commander-in-Chief communicated with the various bodies of troops by means of special runners called AFUNASUAFO (A.D.C.'s), and received news of the progress of the battle in like manner.

Non-compliance with orders resulted in courts-martial. Each case was treated on its merits, and the punishments meted out included death, degradation, and fines. Cowardice on the field was invariably punished with death. Under a similar penalty it was strictly forbidden to disclose the number of deaths or casualties. Military service was compulsory. Evasion of service was punished with death. Age and infirmity alone allowed an adult male to remain outside the army.

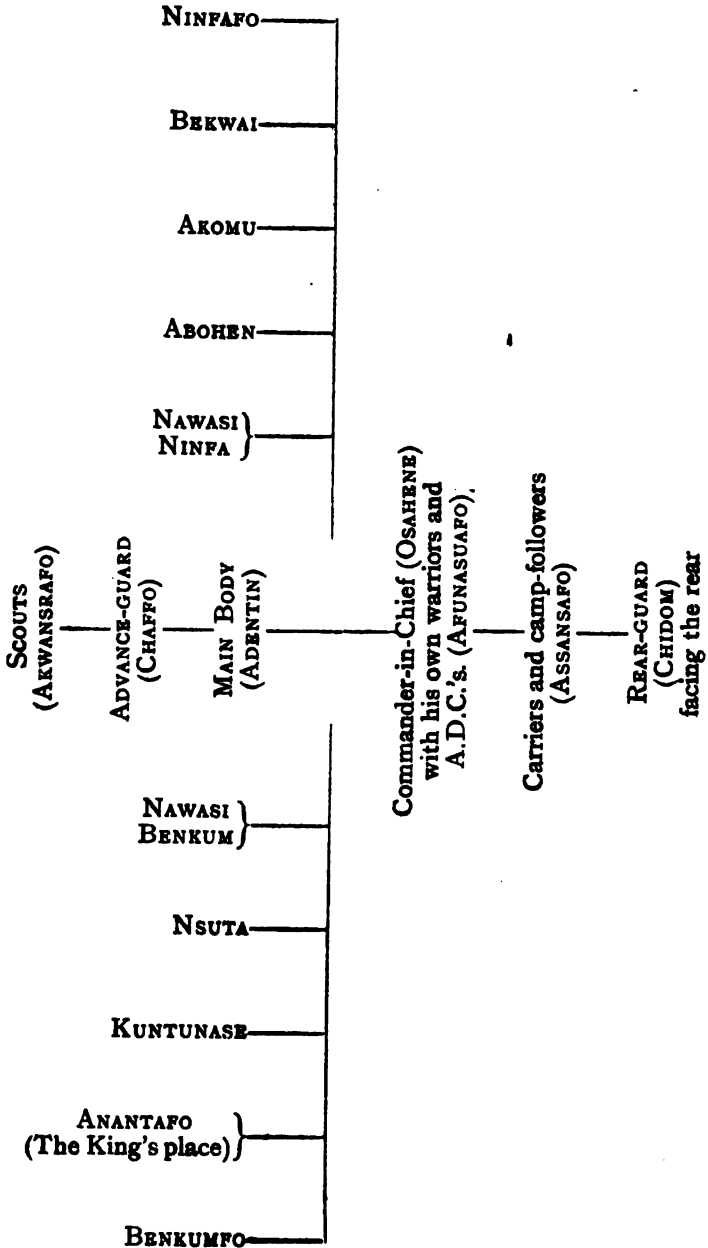
Discipline in the ranks was extremely severe. Obedience was ensured by the ease with which the death penalty was meted out. It is impossible to arrive at even the approximate number of fighting men that the ASHANTIS could put in the field, but they must, even in OSEI TUTU'S time, have numbered many thousands. OSEI TUTU had accumulated a large store of gunpowder for those days, but flintlock guns were still difficult to obtain, and it is doubtful whether at the beginning of the Denkera war 30 per cent. of the men were armed with guns.

The following diagram illustrates the war-formation on a complete footing (see p. 14).

The ASHANTIS explain that this formation was suggested to them by the formation of ants on the



# 14 THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY



march, which their forbears were wise enough to adopt and improve upon as time went on.

It is highly improbable that the military organization had attained to this pitch of perfection in OSEI TUTU'S time, but the foundation for it had been laid years before, and OSEI could depend on an efficient machine that no other tribe could withstand. It was undoubtedly these powers of combination and co-ordination, so brilliantly displayed by the ASHANTIS, that gave them an immense superiority over their neighbours and raised their country to the proud position of the paramount power among the surrounding Native States for the space of two hundred years.

### THE DENKERA WAR

According to Bosman, BOAAMPONSEM, the King of DENKERA, sent some of his wives to COOMASSIE to congratulate his former shield-bearer, OSEI TUTU, on his accession. They were well received and sent back with valuable presents and friendly messages. OSEI shortly afterwards returned the compliment, and sent some of *his* wives to DENKERA, "but the King cast a wanton eye upon one of them, and, hurried on by exorbitant lust, gratified his brutal desire."\* On the return of the women to COOMASSIE this was reported to OSEI TUTU, who, it is said, there and then determined to throw off the Denkera yoke and seek revenge for the affront at the same time. Preparations for war went on apace. Large quantities of ammunition were brought up from the coast, which the unsuspecting DENKERAS actually allowed to pass through their own territory.

\* Bosman, p. 75.

## 16 THE FOUNDING OF THE DYNASTY

On hearing of these preparations, BOAAMPONSEM endeavoured to appease TUTU by the offer of a large sum of gold ; but TUTU was determined to fight, and refused all overtures of peace. Another contributory cause of the war may have been the arrival of Europeans on the coast, as suggested by Claridge :\*

“ Hitherto the right of way to the sea had been of no special value, but on the arrival of traders in ships loaded with powder, guns, and other merchandise dear to the heart of the African, it at once became a source of wealth, and free access to it a matter of paramount importance.”

The old King BOAAMPONSEM died while these preparations were on foot. He was succeeded to the stool of DENKERA by the youthful NTIM JAKARI, said to have been OSEI TUTU'S own son by AKWABENUA BENSUA, the late King's sister ; but this is doubtful, owing to OSEI'S youth. This fact, however, did not deter OSEI TUTU from his object, and there is no doubt that he would have declared war against the DENKERAS even had he not been given an excellent *casus belli* by the hot-headed NTIM, who very unwisely chose this time of strained relations to send ambassadors to COOMASSIE with a large brass pan, demanding that “ the King of Asante and his Chiefs must fill up the brass pan with pure gold, and must send each the favourite among his wives and their mothers to Denkera to become his wives.”†

On receipt of this impudent message, OSEI TUTU held a great council of chiefs to hear the Denkera demands. In the turbulent scene that followed the ambassadors were ill-treated and sent back to DENKERA

\* Claridge, vol. i., p. 196.

† Reindorf, p. 53.

with abusive messages. This, of course, meant war. But the ASHANTIS held back. They allowed the wrathful NTIM JAKARI to advance north and attack them.

OSEI TUTU wished to command in person, but KOMFO ANOTCHWI prophesied that if he did so he would conquer and kill NTIM, but that he (OSEI) would only live seven days after NTIM'S death. Hearing this, BOATEN ANENTU, Chief of MAMPON, at once offered his services as commander-in-chief, which offer was accepted. The first clash of arms occurred at a place called EDUNKUM (between ESUMEJA and EJUMUM), where the DENKERAS had only a small advance-guard to deal with, which continued to fall back before the advancing forces, on a prearranged plan to inveigle the enemy farther north. A brush ensued at EPUTEUJA, close to JACHI. The ASHANTIS again fell back on their main force, then encamped at FEYASI, eight miles south-east of COOMASSIE, where the two forces eventually met, to the bitter discomfiture of the invading army. So certain had the DENKERAS been of an easy victory that NTIM was surprised while eating and killed by repeated blows from a knife by a JUABEN man named ADAKWAYIADOM. The first blow dented a gold bangle NTIM was wearing. This bangle was afterwards the cause of a serious quarrel between the Chief of JUABEN and OSEI TUTU, as they both claimed it.

The DENKERAS lost heavily. The survivors who escaped capture retreated to their own country in disorder.

A lull in hostilities ensued, which is supposed to have lasted about a year, when the ASHANTIS heard that the new King of DENKERA, BODU AKEFUN, was

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making preparations for reprisals. ANOTCHWI then predicted a successful campaign for the ASHANTIS if they attacked the DENKERAS. Whereupon the Ashanti army marched south and encamped close to ENTUAM, the Denkera capital, and by means of bribes succeeded in treacherously capturing BODU. The DENKERAS were so disheartened at losing their King that they fled precipitately across the River OPIN, leaving the ASHANTIS to plunder and destroy their homes. In this manner did the "Note" for the ELMINA Forts given by the Dutch to the Chief of ELMINA (subsequently transferred to the DENKERAS), undertaking to pay rent for the land on which they were built, fall into the hands of the ASHANTIS.

This "Note" proved a serious bone of contention between the British Government and ASHANTI in after-years. According to the ASHANTIS, after this war the first advances were made by the Dutch, to whom the DENKERAS owed a large amount of money for arms and ammunition that they had purchased on credit. The message to the Ashanti King from the Dutch Governor was to the effect that, if OSEI were willing to discharge the debt, the annual payment for ground-rent would be made direct to him, instead of to the DENKERAS, in future. OSEI refused at first, but eventually complied, on ANOTCHWI'S advice, to avoid quarrels with the white men, as he foresaw that in the distant future the whole country would belong to the whites. The King paid, it is said, one thousand pereguns, equal to about £8,000, which he could easily afford out of captured Denkera treasure.

Besides a great quantity of gold dust, two Dutch cannons fell to the Ashanti King. These cannons were kept inside the King's palace in COOMASSIE until

quite recently ; hence the name APREMSO (the place of the cannons) was given to the palaver hall of the palace.

As a reward for his services, BOAHEN ANENTU, the Mampon General, was granted permission to make a "silver" stool, which the chiefs declared should rank second only to the King's. BOAHEN had been wounded during the fight, and died close to KENYIASE on his way back to MAMPON.

KOMFO ANOTCHWI, as will be readily understood, gained great kudos over this war, and was richly rewarded with treasure and slaves. The latter he sent to AGUNA, of which he became chief on the demise of DJEDU KUMENIN.

OSEI TUTU now turned his attention to the AKIMS, a powerful and rich tribe that had helped the DENKERAS against the ASHANTIS.

After a breathing-space of about two years' duration, he invaded their territory, which was partly to the north, but mainly to the south, of the River PRA, and after one, some say two, battles defeated them completely. The AKIMS were made tributary to ASHANTI, and a heavy indemnity was imposed upon them.

Now ensued a long period of much-needed peace. Historians, presumably for want of detailed information, have ignored the years that intervened between OSEI TUTU'S first and second invasion of AKIM. But assuming that the first occurred as late as 1702,\* we know by OSEI TUTU'S death that the second did not take place until 1731, an interval of twenty-nine years, during which no important war was waged. Small raids there must have been, but no fighting on a large scale is to be recorded during those years.

\* Reindorf gives 1700 as the date of the invasion.

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It was then that OSEI TUTU, with the assistance of his faithful adviser ANOTCHWI and the support of the chiefs, regulated the internal affairs of the kingdom and placed them on a firm basis.

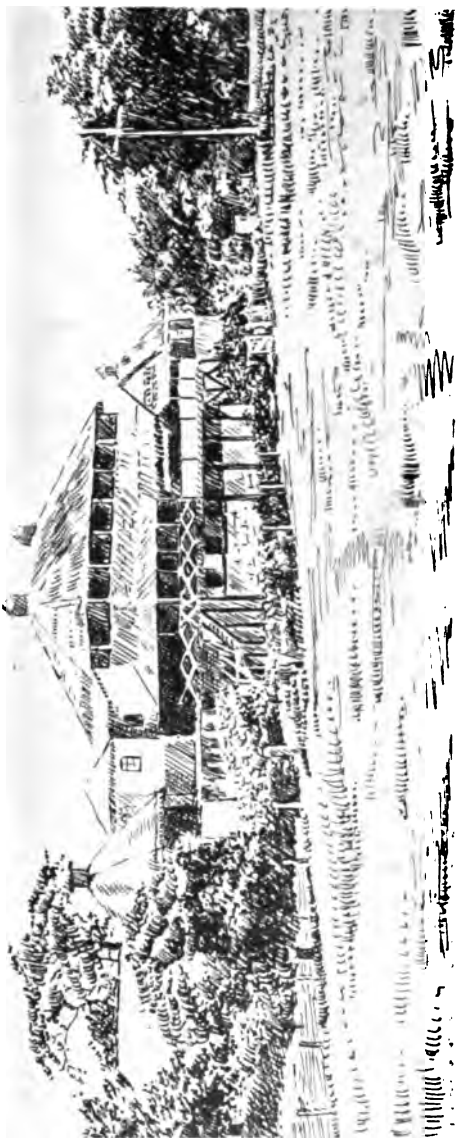
The aristocratic constitution of ASHANTI was strengthened, laws were passed and promulgated, and the judiciary (such as it was) finally evolved.

The King could not himself make laws. He had to work in conjunction with the barons of the land (ABREMPON, as they were called—"those entitled to use elephants' tails"). The positions and titles they held were, of course, hereditary. The King could ennoble or degrade at will. But once a noble, the individual had his seat on the King's Council and had to be consulted.

Executive and judicial powers were never separated; they were vested in the same authority. A council that passed a law, for instance, to regulate the position and privileges of slaves might equally well be required to adjudicate in an important land case, or, indeed, in any case sufficiently grave to be referred to the King.

Attached to the court was a hereditary linguist. ANOTCHWI, for reasons best known to himself, dismissed the chief linguist he found there, and set up one SAFIE to act in his stead. This position has remained in SAFIE'S family in unbroken succession until our own time.

Upon the chief linguist rested the whole responsibility of stating the two sides of the case and of giving judgment. He was considered to be the mouthpiece of the King and Council, but he was also Crown prosecutor, counsel for the defence, and judge, rolled into one. Court fees were determined in accordance with the gravity of the oath used and the nature of the case.



THE FORT, COOMASSIE.  
From a pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Fuller.





The losing party had to pay the fee for breaking the oath, called ATENYE.

As already stated, every oath carried a fixed fee attached to it, but the ATENYE could be and often was reduced by the King on the "begging" principle—*i.e.*, an appeal *ad misericordiam*.

The ATENYE belonged exclusively to the King.

The winning party had to pay "thanksgiving money," called ASIDA, which was never a large amount in comparison to the ATENYE. This was fixed at the end of the trial by the linguist. Half of the ASIDA went to the King, the other half being divided among the chiefs on a fixed scale.

The administration of justice was no doubt expensive, and often capricious and corrupt (especially in the case of two rich men), but the redeeming feature of the system, evolved by and for a barbaric people, was the fair play meted out to the poor man. He had nothing to bribe with, and was therefore listened to with consideration.

The great blemish of the whole system lay in the fact that little or no distinction was made between civil and criminal matters. Excluding murder, any criminal offence could be turned into a civil charge by the swearing of an oath, and this indiscriminate interchange militated against just punishment, as culprits, were they men of means, escaped by payment of fines. A murderer, on the other hand, suffered terrible penalties. No sooner was he condemned than he was skewered through the cheeks and tongue, so that he could not speak and curse the King, which meant instant death. He was then taken round the town and horribly mutilated before actual decapitation.

After this long interval of twenty-nine years, during

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which the country was "finding itself," the ASHANTIS emerged a strong, united, and confident people; and for this reason every and any important question of constitution, law, or custom is generally accepted by them as having originated or having received final sanction in the days of the great OSEI TUTU.

But if internal affairs had prospered, the same could not be said of external politics. The ASHANTIS became and remained the paramount power simply and solely owing to their fighting organization and cohesion.

Although they could conquer enemies, they never learnt to rule them. This did not apply to their early conquests, such as those over the ODOMARAS, TAFOS, AMAKUMS, OFINSUS, etc., for the simple reason that owing to the close proximity of these small clans the latter became incorporated in the kingdom, and the people became ASHANTIS to all intents and purposes. But when tribes outside the natural geographical borders of the country were concerned, they failed dismally throughout their days of supremacy.

AKIM had been conquered, but was not governed, with the obvious result that the country evaded the obligations imposed upon it. Excuses and procrastinations tided over several years, during which the AKIMS grew bolder and more forgetful of the punishment they had suffered, until they openly rebelled.

OSEI TUTU endeavoured by means of cajolery, cunning, and menace to retain their allegiance, but without success.

The great bone of contention between the two tribes was the non-payment of ATENYE on Ashanti oaths sworn in AKIM, a share of which, in accordance with native custom, should have been sent to ASHANTI. The AKIMS persisted in refusing to share these fees, in spite

of frequent demands from the King. Ashanti messengers were on several occasions first abused and then ill-treated. Finally a recognized act of open defiance was committed, the head messenger's right-hand first finger being cut off.

On receipt of the news, OSEI TUTU and his chiefs lost patience, and an invasion of AKIM on a large scale was determined upon. They drove the AKIMS across the River PRA and invaded their territory; but the AKIMS, learning where OSEI TUTU was to cross the river, laid an ambuscade for him, into which he fell, and was killed, it is said, while actually crossing the river in his litter. The ASHANTIS maintain that OSEI'S death was kept secret, so as not to discourage the army, and that they did not return until AKIM had been overrun by them, during which time OPOKU WARE, the heir-apparent, surreptitiously represented the deceased monarch.

The King's death, however, proved a great blow to the Ashanti chiefs, and probably damped their ardour. This view is supported by the fact that OPOKU WARE had to recommence hostilities against the AKIMS soon after his accession, so that their defeat could not have been complete as a result of this campaign. And so died OSEI TUTU, surnamed "He who speaks through Guns," immortalized in the memory of the ASHANTIS as the greatest of their national heroes.

The untoward circumstances of his death gave rise to the greatest of the Ashanti oaths, MEMENDA (Saturday)—an oath so sacred that it could not be spoken without the offender incurring the death penalty. It could be alluded to in oblique phrases, such as "the great oath," "the dreadful day," "the day of punishment," etc.

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It has hitherto been generally accepted that the word "KOROMANTIN" was attached to the oath, on the assumption that OSEI was killed close to a small village named AKROMANTIN, but this is not the Ashanti version. According to them, "Koromantin" was a separate and distinct oath established close on a hundred years later.

## CHAPTER III

### OPOKU WARE—KWISSI OBODUM—OSEI KOJO— OSEI KWAMINA

1731-1799

ON the return of the army to COOMASSIE from AKIM, the ASHANTIS proceeded with the installation of OPOKU WARE. He was OSEI TUTU'S grand-nephew, son of the NYAKU KWISSIAMOA who had been given in marriage to EDU PENIN of AMOKUM by her uncle OSEI. The rival claimant to the stool, OKUKUADANI, a nephew of OSEI TUTU, was discarded by the ABREM-PON because his following was small. Moreover, OSEI TUTU had named OPOKU WARE as his successor.

OPOKU was a weakling as an infant and subject to severe shaking fits. KOMFO ANOTCHWI declared that these fits meant that the child wanted to fight. He therefore forged a sword for him, which he called "Mpomponsu," which became the "Excalibur" of ASHANTI. Upon this sword all swore allegiance to the new King, and to every King after him down to the last—PEREMPE.

OPOKU'S father, EDU, died shortly after his marriage to NYAKU. According to native custom, she became the wife of his successor, EDU II., who also died before OPOKU'S birth. He first saw the light in EDU III.'s time.

The latter, strangely enough, died soon after OPOKU was born. The rapid successive deaths of his mother's

three husbands preyed heavily on OPOKU'S mind. He was no sooner installed than he included the three deaths in the " GREAT OATH of Three " (Ntem Kase Miensa), and thus established the second great oath of ASHANTI.

OPOKU had little time, however, for domestic affairs. The DENKERAS and AKWAPIMS, encouraged by OSEI TUTU'S death, joined the AKIMS in revolt against their subduers, but the ASHANTIS were too strong for them, and OPOKU'S first invasion of AKIM was a complete success. A clean sweep was made of enemy territory.

The " Notes " for the Accra Forts given by English, Dutch, and Danish Governors, had found their way to AKIM, and were now taken possession of by the ASHANTIS. But a few years later the AKIMS rose up in arms again, and OPOKU'S second and final invasion occurred. He reinvaded AKIM, and while the army was there, EBIRIM MORO, King of the SEFWIS (a powerful tribe adjoining the DENKERAS, and therefore in dispute with the ASHANTIS), took this occasion to pounce on COOMASSIE and sack it, killing the Queen-Mother (NYAKU) and all but two women of the Royal Family, and opening up old graves for gold ornaments.

The news reached OPOKU WARE while he was in AKIM. Furious at what he considered to be an act of treachery, he hastened back to COOMASSIE with the main body, and detailed AMANKWA TIA, Chief of BANTAMA, to pursue EBIRIM, forbidding him to return without the latter, dead or alive.

AMANKWA caught up the SEFWIS before they could recross the TANO River, killed the arch enemy, and massacred all on whom he could lay hands.

This signal defeat of the SEFWIS gave the ASHANTIS the whole of the territory up to the BIA River known

as AHAFO. This tract of land became the game preserve of the Ashanti Kings, the New Forest of the conquerors.

The disgrace of having had their capital plundered was considered too great to be commemorated, even in the shape of an Oath.

Luckily for the Royal House, two of the Princesses had been spared by EBIRIM. One had been sent as a captive to WASSA, which was then tributary to SEFWI. The ASHANTIS, hearing of this, rescued her after the defeat of the SEFWIS, and so preserved the Royal strain. Her name was EKUA KRUKRU. On her return to COOMASSIE, the King greeted her with the words "EKUA, efri iye" (soyez la bien venue).

The compound word "EFIRIYE" thus became the general surname of the women of the blood-royal.

Mention was made on p. 11 of one BAFO, who fled from AMAKUM to TEKIMAN and founded NKORANZA. The King of TEKIMAN, AMO YAO, wishing to keep on good terms with the powerful King at COOMASSIE, sent a present of three bags of gold-dust to OPOKU WARE through BAFO. BAFO thought he would like to keep this valuable present, so he substituted flints, lead, and powder, for the gold, and sent them in three parcels to the King in the name of AMO YAO. OPOKU WARE enquired the meaning of it. BAFO replied that AMO YAO wished to defy the King, whereupon the latter asked the reason of this sudden change of attitude. BAFO, who took care that no messages were interchanged except through himself, told AMO YAO that OPOKU was preparing to subdue him, and that he (AMO YAO) should likewise prepare to resist the onslaught. AMO YAO, now thoroughly frightened, asked BAFO to impart to him the secret of the strength



of the ASHANTIS. This was the very opportunity the miscreant BAFO wanted. Under pledge of secrecy, he told AMO YAO that their strength was due to the manner in which they manipulated their guns; that before opening a campaign they buried their guns for forty days, so as to render them the more deadly. The credulous AMO YAO therefore gave orders that all the TEKIMANS should bury their guns. No sooner was this accomplished than BAFO sent a hurried message to the King, urging him to hasten with an army. OPOKU WARE did so, and encamped on Tekiman borders, where the only Tekiman chief who had not complied with orders offered a stout resistance, but as the mass of the Tekiman guns were rusted and useless, the country fell an easy prey to the invaders after three engagements.

AMO YAO and the Queen-Mother of TEKIMAN JAMARAWA, were taken to COOMASSIE with thousands of captives.

OPOKU WARE became very friendly with AMO YAO. It was the latter who taught the ASHANTIS to castrate and skewer criminals. As TEKIMAN was then very rich in gold, he also introduced solid "gold weights" against which to weigh gold-dust. These became the standard weights of ASHANTI, and were generally copied in cast metal throughout the country in later years. Twelve standard weights were adopted. Their values represented in our currency, 6s., 7s., 10s., 13s., 20s., 26s., £2, £4, £8, £16, £24, and £32.

JAMARAWA had boasted that she could not realize what poverty meant, and as she had never been allowed to do so, she would like to experience hunger.

OPOKU WARE more than fulfilled her desires, for no sooner had she arrived in COOMASSIE than she was

made to carry water in *baskets*, to plaster floors, and to beg for her food.

OPOKU WARE, wishing to reward BAFO for his services, enquired what he would like. The deceitful old man answered he would accept nothing from the King, and that the King was welcome to the ruined TEKIMAN villages. Nevertheless, in the end, BAFO annexed several outlying villages, MO included.

Tekiman territory was incorporated in the Kingdom, and placed under the Adamankwa stool.

About this time the wise and now ancient KOMFO ANOTCHWI, who had settled in AGUNA, declared he would discover the "Elixir vitæ" and conquer death. Telling his people he would require seven whole days to accomplish his purpose, he adjured them not to wake him during that time; nor to wail nor make any noise; and, above all, not to fire guns, for if they did his spirit would surely depart, never to return. He thereupon retired to his sleeping chamber and fell into a trance. His nephew and heir, SUAN ENIM, before the seven days had elapsed, pretended to believe that the sage was already dead, and fired off guns in accordance with custom. ANOTCHWI, true to his prediction, did not return to life. So slipped away the spirit of the Great Wizard of ASHANTI; the man who so deftly steered the kingship to safe harbourage; the choice soul that persistently foretold the white man's supremacy in the land.

After the Tekiman war three years' peace ensued. The King then heard that the chief of the JAMANS, ABO KOBINA, had joined the Mahommedans at BONTUKU, had arrogated kingly power to himself, and was making a "golden stool" to rival his own. Whereupon OPOKU WARE sent messengers to demand the

stool. They were met with a point-blank refusal. He sent a second time, warning ABO that he "would not leave him alone" until he had yielded up this symbol of greatness, to which he had no right.

ABO killed the head-messenger, and mutilated and drove away the others.

The King then called a council, and the whole of the ABREMPON declared for war.

A large army marched north, defeated ABO, and sacked BONTUKU. But ABO succeeded in escaping. The ASHANTIS pursued him across the KUMA River, where he fell into the hands of the Mahommedans of KONG, who, wishing to keep in with ASHANTI, gave him up. He suffered grievously for his presumption, undergoing torture and death. His skull was brought back to COOMASSIE, and became one of a gruesome collection of such trophies of war.

This was the last of OPOKU WARE'S campaigns. He died a natural death a few years later, after a reign of eleven years.

OPOKU WARE'S uncle, KWISSI OBODUM, was selected to succeed him. He was the son of NKETIA TIMABAMU, own sister to OSEI TUTU.

Two descendants of OBIRI YEBOA through a collateral line, both called DAKUN, forcibly claimed the stool. They found no favour with the ABREMPON, and were "lost" in the struggle that ensued.\* This meant death by strangulation, to avoid the spilling of Royal blood.

Several campaigns, notably that against DAHOMI, have been ascribed to OBODUM'S time, but the present-day ASHANTIS state that they occurred later.

\* They contested for the stool against OBODUM, not OPOKU WARE, as stated by Reindorf, p. 69.

OBODUM was an elderly mediocrity, who left the business of governance to his chiefs and advisers. His only nephew, OSEI KOJO, seduced several of OBODUM'S wives, and only escaped death by the intervention of the ABREMPON. He was sent to live at EDUAMOA, a village close to Coomassie. One of OBODUM'S sons followed OSEI KOJO'S example, but he, not being the heir-apparent, underwent castration.

But OBODUM by no means forgave OSEI KOJO. Knowing that the latter would succeed him, he disposed of all the Royal treasure on which he could lay hands. Some say that he buried it in the swamp surrounding COOMASSIE, others that he sent it to a distance. Whatever he did with it, legend relates that the gold, although eagerly sought for by his successor, was never afterwards found.

Shortly after this OBODUM lost his sight, so he abdicated in favour of his amorous nephew, to whom he left the majority of his wives and a depleted treasury.

OBODUM lived at AMPABAMI until his death. He was buried, not in the Royal mausoleum of BANTAMA, but at ACHEREMADE in Coomassie.

A description of the ceremonies performed on the installation of a new Sovereign may not prove out of place. When a new King had been selected by the ABREMPON, the stool was taken to a particular place outside the town by the head of the AKOMUS and there kept for twenty-four hours, during which the King-elect sat outside the palace. A procession was then formed, and the stool, together with all the State umbrellas, were marched round the town and back to the palace.

Forty days were allowed for the outlying chiefs to

assemble. Meanwhile the King-elect lived in retirement, and was given the use of only one umbrella, named OKUM PONCHINIYE.

On the appointed day all the chiefs turned out in full state to witness the procession of the King-elect to a particular compound kept for the purpose (PAMPASU), into which only the head Coomassie chiefs followed. The "golden stool" was then placed in position, with the King-elect standing in front of it. The Korentin chief then held the new King's right arm; the Akomu chief, his left; the Chidom chief, his right leg; the Jiasi chief, his left. The head stool carrier held him round the waist from behind. The head linguist, having obtained permission to speak, asked for a present. The new King enquired what he wanted. "Thirty-two pounds," was the reply. The King then said he would give him £16. After this the head linguist delivered the installation speech. It ran somewhat as follows :

"Chidom, Domakwa, Korentin, Akomu, Jiasi, Benkum, Ninfa, Adentin, Oyoko, Dako, and Nsuta, are of one mind. They have decided to give you the gun, the shield, and the sword of your ancestors. I now hand you the Asante country. I adjure you not to commit adultery with the wives of your elders or young men. You are to listen to and favourably consider petitions for mercy for offenders who appeal to an elder to intercede for them."

"Your ancestor guarded the country with guns, shields, and swords. We wish you to rule the country in the same manner as your ancestors, so that the kingdom shall grow in power and prosperity. May the God of Heaven and the earth help you to reign, and to beat and conquer all enemies that touch or disturb you!"

The new King was then lowered on to the stool three times, and when finally seated took the sword "BOSOMURU" and made oath as follows :

"I swear the Great Oath that I am a descendant of OSEI TUTU and OPOKU WARE. As you have given me the gun, the shield, and the sword belonging to my ancestors, I will give due respect to my elders and young men ; beat and kill the enemies of my ancestors and all powers that may rise against me during my reign, and add their skulls to the OJIRA fetish without fail."

The King then donned the great war garment (MATAKARI), took the gun and the sword, entered his litter (APAKAN), and was carried in procession round the town.

A somewhat similar ceremony was re-enacted in the palace a few days later in the presence of all the outlying chiefs, when they all swore allegiance to the new Sovereign, taking precedence in accordance with their positions in the national fighting formation.

During the interregnum the Queen-Mother (who was invariably a close relation of the new Sovereign, generally aunt or sister) represented the King on state occasions, even to wearing Royal garments and ornaments. If a strong personality, she wielded great influence, but took no part in the actual discussion of affairs at a council of chiefs. After the installation she sat on the King's left, a foot or two behind him.

OSEI KOJO succeeded to the stool on KWISSI OBODUM'S abdication in 1752. He appears to have made many fruitless attempts to recover the Royal treasure, but he left his uncle severely alone, owing, it is said, to a guilty conscience.

Shortly after OSEI'S accession news reached

COOMASSIE that Ashanti traders had been killed in the Banda country close to BONTUKU. Reprisals were decided upon, and the King marched north with an army.

BANDA lies beyond the forest belt, and was not, therefore, favourable fighting-ground for the ASHANTIS, who were trained to "bush" warfare. WOROSA, the King of BANDA, had, moreover, succeeded in gaining the support of some Mahomedan cavalry from Kong. The ASHANTIS were twice defeated, but on their third advance they utterly routed the BANDAS and enslaved the whole country. Thousands of adults were sacrificed or sold to defray the cost of the expedition, and the male children were kept by OSEI KOJO and formed into a special body-guard.

A few years later an expedition was organized to invade WASSA (*anglicè* WASSAU), whose King, ANIMIRI PENIN, had for some unknown reason wantonly insulted OSEI KOJO. WASSA was conquered and ravaged; ANIMIRI was killed, and his head attached to a war-drum.

Soon after this the AGOGOS were severely punished for joining AKRAM of KOTOKU in rebellion against COOMASSIE, but this was a minor campaign.

Not many years later the King of YENDI (in Northern TOGOLAND), jealous of the power of ASHANTI, boasted that he could overwhelm that country, and moved an army south with this object. The Ashanti King, hearing of this, commissioned the Adentinhene, KWAMIN PETE, to meet and conquer these northerners.

The ASHANTIS crossed the VOLTA River and, owing to their superior armament, gained an easy victory over the enemy. Where the forces met is not known. An annual tribute of 1,000 slaves, 1,000 cattle, 1,000

sheep, and 1,000 fowls was imposed on YENDI, one-tenth of which was given to KWAMIN PETE as a reward for his services.

Osei KOJO was next called upon to give the AKIMS and AKWAPIMS another taste of the Ashanti power. He invaded their territory and drove them before him, although the FANTIS, who had been bribed by him not to assist the rebels, treacherously did so.

Owing to a dispute concerning the jurisdiction over certain northern villages, civil war now broke out between MAMPON and JUABEN. An engagement ensued, and the Chief of JUABEN was defeated. On investigation, the King decided in favour of ATAKORA of MAMPON, and AKUAMOA of JUABEN was deposed, but was reinstated when the King realized that AKUAMOA'S successor, FETU, proved incompetent to rule his people.

To quote Claridge :

“ A new King now came to the throne of Dahomi, and seeing the rapid extension of the Ashanti Empire and the steady growth of its power, seems to have been afraid another attempt might soon be made to avenge the defeat of Osei Kwisi. He therefore sent a friendly embassy to Kumassi to announce his accession, and bear presents and a complimentary message to the King of Ashanti. These ambassadors were well entertained, and the compliment was soon after returned by the dispatch of a similar mission to the Court of ABOMI. According to Cruikshank, it was during Kudjo's reign that the first mention of Ashanti occurred in the reports of Cape Coast Castle—on the 10th of July, 1765, and again in 1767 and 1772. The Council took into consideration the probability of hostilities arising between the Ashanti and Fantis, and in 1767 asked for men-of-war to be stationed on the coast until affairs became



more settled. They feared that if the Ashantis proved victorious their settlements might be endangered, while, should the Fantis conquer, it was expected that the Company's trade would be ruined."\*

OSEI KOJO was now old and infirm. He was anxious to revenge himself against the FANTIS, but before the Ashanti army could take the field OSEI died in 1781, after a reign of twenty-nine years. He is supposed to have instituted the "Koromantin Oath" on the death of two of his nieces from smallpox when they were at KOROMANTIN.

The ABREMPON selected a boy named OSEI KWAMINA, grand-nephew of the deceased King, to succeed him. But he was not enstooled for several years, probably ten or twelve, during which time the head of the ADENTIN, KWAMIN PETE, acted as Regent.

There was no campaign during these years of tutelage. The oath supposed to have been sworn by the boy on his accession, "that he would neither enter his palace nor see his wives until he had avenged the insult offered to his predecessor by the Assins,"† is pronounced by the ASHANTIS to be a pure myth, for it would have been impossible for a mere child to exercise any influence whatever over public affairs. Although the ASSINS, who lived immediately south of ASHANTI, may have been brought to book for their defection, viewed in the light of those turbulent days, fighting was on a small scale during this reign.

In fact, the only expedition that tradition asserts as having occurred in OSEI KWAMINA'S time was that against the DENKERAS, who, rather than face the danger, bought off the Ashanti army by yielding up the head of their King and 1,000 pereguns (£8,000).

\* Claridge, vol. i., p. 213.

† *Ibid.*, p. 223.

OSEI KWAMINA was enstooled on reaching years of puberty. He had evidently suffered restraint under KWAMIN PETE, for no sooner was he in power than he turned on his tutor and counsellor and demanded an account of the expenditure of the Royal treasure ; nor was he satisfied until KWAMIN PETE had handed over to him four villages. These villages gave rise to the " ETIPIM " stool.

The King's leanings towards the Mahommedan religion were perceived by his chiefs with anxiety, and when they realized that OSEI, who had proceeded to JUABEN for AKUAMOA'S funeral custom, had become infatuated with a Juaben Princess (named EJEI BEDU), that he remained on at JUABEN indefinitely, and that he neglected all affairs of state, their patience gave way. In 1799 they deposed him in favour of a younger brother, OPOKU FOFIE, who only reigned for forty to sixty days.

OSEI KWAMINA is supposed to have committed suicide shortly after his deposition, and OPOKU FOFIE'S sudden death is ascribed to a visitation of his brother's ghost.

Yet another brother succeeded to the throne, the youngest of the three, OSEI ASIBE KWAMINA, surnamed BONSU (a whale), who was destined to become one of the greatest Kings of ASHANTI.

With his advent direct political relations between Great Britain and ASHANTI may be said to have commenced. Written records now become available, and from henceforth oral tradition is checked, assisted, or amplified by ascertained facts.

## CHAPTER IV

### OSEI BONSU

1800-1824

OSEI TUTU KWAMINA ASIBE BONSU, to give him his full name—generally known as OSEI BONSU—was enstooled in 1800. Owing to the conquests of the last century, the kingdom of ASHANTI had gradually expanded, and at his accession included JAMAN, BANDA, WENCHI, TEKIMAN, NKORANZA, and ATEBUBU.

He also exercised control right up to YENDI in the north, and KWAHU, ASSIN, ADANSI, WASSA, DENKERA, and SEFWI to the south-east and west.

It was by far the most powerful Native State in those parts, and friendly messages poured in from outlying tribes such as DAHOMI, YENDI, and KONG.

But great trouble was brewing for the ASHANTIS. A small spark started a conflagration that only terminated with the century. Their first conflict with the British was close at hand—a conflict that grew as time went on, and ended, as it could only end, sooner or later, in the complete subjection of the weaker power.

The trouble started with a dispute between the people of ASSIN. This was a territory between the PRA River and the Coast. It was subject to ASHANTI and was divided into two principalities. The western was ruled over by two chiefs named OTIBU and KWEKU APOTOI, the eastern by AMO ADAE.

In 1805 one of APOTOI'S subjects rifled a grave of one of AMO'S captains. AMO sought redress from

APOTOI for this outrage in vain, and in consequence appealed to OSEI BONSU. The King summoned all three chiefs to appear before him in COOMASSIE. OTIBU excused himself on the score of old age, but APOTOI and AMO obeyed the summons. After hearing both parties, BONSU gave judgment in favour of AMO and detained OPOTOI, who, however, managed to escape. AMO, unable to obtain compensation, took matters into his own hands and invaded Western ASSIN. After several fruitless attempts to reconcile the two parties, the King marched an army into ASSIN and completely routed OTIBU and APOTOI'S forces. The two chiefs escaped and sought refuge at ESSIKUMA, which formed part of the growing Fanti Confederation.

Another exciting factor was the former treachery of the FANTIS in OSEI KWAMINA'S time. They had accepted sixty pereguns to allow the ASHANTIS to pass through FANTI, and had then attacked and killed 1,000 of them.

OSEI BONSU asked for the surrender of the fugitives, who, fearing compliance, fled still farther to ABRA, the principal Fanti town.

The King renewed his demand, but a council of Fanti chiefs not only refused to surrender them, but openly defied the King and ill-treated his messengers.

APPYA DANKWA (Nantahene), the Ashanti general, marched down on ABRA, defeated the FANTIS in two engagements, and captured their King, ATTA, whom he stupidly handed over to Chief AKUM of ESSIKUMA for safe keeping. The latter, of course, allowed him to escape.

As the two fugitives were still at large, further negotiations occurred and more Ashanti messengers were put to death. OSEI BONSU, now thoroughly

roused, swore he would not return to ASHANTI without the heads of OTIBU and OPOTOI. He again attacked ABRA, rased it to the ground, and slaughtered nearly the whole of the Fanti force. The survivors fled to ANAMABO, a British fort, but OTIBU and OPOTOI left for CAPE COAST to seek the protection of Colonel Torrane, the Governor, who most unwisely, as after-events proved, promised it to them "either by mediation or force of arms," thereby implicating his Company in a purely native quarrel.

Colonel Torrane was anxious to mediate between the parties, but the ANAMABOS refused his offers, declaring themselves strong enough to withstand the ASHANTIS.

The Ashanti army in the meanwhile advanced to the sea, ravaging the country as it went, until the advance-guard, under the King of DENKERA, occupied Fort AMSTERDAM at KOROMANTIN, three miles from ANAMABO, which the Dutch surrendered on demand.

Mr. White, the chief factor at ANAMABO, endeavoured to parley with the Denkera King, who demanded twenty barrels of gunpowder and a hundred muskets as a preliminary to negotiations. This request was refused, and the Ashanti messengers were warned by Mr. White that any hostile measures on the part of the ASHANTIS on ANAMABO would cause him to open fire upon them from the fort guns, he being under the impression that a few discharges of cannon would put an end to further hostilities. But the ASHANTIS, flushed with victory, were in no mood to be baulked of their purpose. They occupied a small village called EJA on a cape a mile to the east of ANAMABO. The ANAMABOS, thinking to drive them out, attacked them, but they were easily circumvented, and all the approaches to the town



CHIEF KWAMIN FRIMPON ADENTIN HENE.

From a photograph.



were occupied by the ASHANTIS, who had now been reinforced by the main army, with which was the King.

Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis's narrative of the struggle that ensued reads almost like an epic, and is well worth quoting in full. He writes :

“ Early on June 15th the Ashantis advanced to the attack on Anamabo, and every Fanti who could carry a musket took the field, while the old men, women, and children crowded into the fort, the gates of which, as soon as it was full, were closed and barricaded. For a time a continuous roar of musketry was heard all round the town, but the Anamabos were outnumbered, and the circle of fire gradually contracted as they were driven back. To intimidate the enemy, Mr. White ordered one or two guns to be fired over the town, but this did not produce the slightest effect, and by eleven o'clock the Ashanti bullets were whistling all about the fort.

“ From all directions the Ashantis poured into the town, and the wretched Anamabos fled to the beach, hoping to be able to escape to sea in their canoes ; but the enemy pursued too closely, and a terrible slaughter took place on the sands. The garrison of the fort did their best to check the pursuit. A 24-pounder that pointed to the west, along the seashore, swept down dozens of Ashantis with each discharge of grape, while a 3-pounder that flanked the eastern gate did great execution. But on this side the Ashantis pushed on over the heaps of dead, and actually seized and carried off the terrified and shrieking women who were standing close to the fort walls for protection. In the meantime others had been keeping up a very hot fire, by which White was shot in the mouth and left arm, and obliged to resign the command to Mr. Meredith, while one man was killed and an officer and two men wounded.



“The whole force of the Ashantis was now directed against the fort, which they imagined to contain a rich booty, and thousands of black warriors swarmed round it. The garrison consisted of twenty-nine men, including Mr. White, four officers of the Company (Messrs. H. Meredith, F. L. Swanzy, T. A. Smith, and Barnes), and four free mulattoes. Of the remaining twenty, several were servants and workmen; but all fought with desperation, for they knew that if the place were stormed they could hope for no mercy. The Ashantis pressed on, but the walls were too high to be scaled, and the two gates, one on the east and one on the west, too strong and too well barricaded to be forced.

“Possessing neither ladders for scaling nor cannon for breaching, it is possible that the Ashantis might have been beaten off, but for one fatal defect in the construction of the fort. This was that the embrasures yawned to such an extent that the gunners were absolutely without cover; and, exposed to thousands of musket-shots, so many were wounded that at last the guns had to be abandoned, and the defence carried on by musketry alone. Shortly after noon the garrison was reduced by casualties to eight, of whom four were officers, and as the fire of the defenders slackened the Ashantis strove to force the eastern gate. Twice they advanced to it, and twice had to retire, having lost heavily. The third time they brought fire, but the man who carried the firebrands was shot dead, and extinguished them by falling upon them. Thus the afternoon passed in an incessant struggle, until, at 6 p.m., when darkness commenced to fall, the Ashantis drew off. The last glimpse of daylight was used by the garrison in repairing damages and making preparation for a night attack.

“Day dawned upon a horrible scene of bloodshed and devastation. Eight thousand Fantis had perished, most of them in the vicinity of the fort; heaps of dead

encumbered the beach in every direction, or were washed hither and thither in the surf, and the sands were red with blood.

“ For a mile along the shore to the east nothing was to be seen but flaming houses, or the black and charred ruins of those that had already been devoured by fire. Some two thousand refugees were in the fort, and to a rock a few yards from shore, and surrounded by the sea, two hundred panic-stricken wretches were clinging. These were all the survivors of the populous town of Anamabo.

“ Soon after daybreak the Ashantis recommenced the attack of the fort. They came coolly up in masses to the very muzzles of the guns, and a perfect hail-storm of lead flew about the defenders. On the eastern side the garrison had been able to contrive some protection for the men working the guns, and two well-served 3-pounders that flanked the eastern gate swept away several of the foe at each discharge. The guns that flanked the western gate, however, were so exposed that it was found impossible to work them, and two of the officers, Messrs. Meredith and Swanzy, defended it with muskets alone.

“ In keeping this gate clear they expended nearly three hundred rounds of ball-cartridges, and they fired till their shoulders were so bruised that they could no longer bear the recoil of their muskets. Not a round was wasted, and the enemy were so near and so crowded together that a ball frequently disabled two men.

“ So far the garrison had gallantly held their own, but surrender was inevitable unless they were speedily reinforced. Human endurance could not last much longer, and there were no provisions for the fugitives who crowded the courtyard, so that in another day famine would compel them to capitulate. Added to this, the bodies of the thousand slain on the previous day were already beginning to putrefy under the burn-

ing rays of tropical sun, and a sickening stench arose on all sides. Fortunately, the Ashantis had also had nearly enough. They had lost over two thousand men round the fort, and began to despair of ever taking it, but neither side wished to be the first to make overtures.

“About 4 p.m. (June 16th) two vessels from Cape Coast Castle anchored in the roadstead opposite the fort, and a small force of three officers and twelve men was landed without any interruption from the Ashantis. On receiving this accession to their strength the garrison wished to continue the struggle; but the reinforcements brought orders from Colonel Torrane to show a flag of truce, and a white flag and a Union Jack were accordingly lowered over the fort walls with two men. These were received by the Ashantis with exultation, and they crowded so closely round the bearers of the flags that the King's officers had some difficulty in penetrating the mass to conduct the two soldiers to his presence. The Ashantis observed the truce, except that some of them made an attempt to reach the rock upon which the fugitives were still clinging, but a musket-shot or two from the fort brought them back.

“About 7 p.m. the flag of truce returned from the King, who had given the two soldiers a present of a sheep.

“Several Ashanti captains accompanied the flag back to the fort, and waited upon Mr. White. They entered into a long account of the invasion, so that Colonel Torrane might be able to understand the merits of the case.

“They disclaimed, on the part of the King, any intention of making war upon the white men, and attributed the attack on the fort to the English themselves, who had first fired upon the Ashantis. It was agreed that a report of the King's views should be made to Colonel Torrane, and the Ashanti captains returned to their camp.

“ Colonel Torrane, delighted to find the King disposed to be friendly, sent him a considerable present, and invited him to Cape Coast Castle to settle their differences, an invitation which was declined. Eventually Torrane, finding that the King would not come to him and that nothing could be definitely settled by his messengers, decided to go to Anamabo, and, in order to ensure a favourable reception, determined to surrender to the King the two Assin chiefs, Tchibbu and Kwamin Aputeh. The chiefs of Cape Coast were indignant at this breach of faith, and resolutely declared that they would never surrender those whom they had promised to protect ; but Torrane sent an armed force unexpectedly to the houses occupied by the Assin chiefs, where Tchibbu was seized, not without resistance, while Aputeh beat off his assailants and escaped. The unfortunate Tchibbu was at once sent to the Ashanti camp, where he was put to death with the most exquisite tortures, and his jawbone was affixed as a trophy to the King’s death-horn.”\*

The first meeting between Colonel Torrane and the Ashanti King took place on June 23rd. It was the first of many ; but although a general understanding was temporarily arrived at, nothing was reduced to writing, and it is impossible to say what actually occurred.

It is thought that Colonel Torrane (who created an extremely favourable impression on the monarch) acknowledged that the whole of FANTI, CAPE COAST included, belonged to ASHANTI by right of conquest. He reserved judicial authority over the towns under the forts, but paid arrears of ground-rent for ANAMABO Fort and CAPE COAST Castle.

The Fanti refugees in ANAMABO Fort nearly proved a stumbling-block to the successful issue of the nego-

\* Ellis, “ History of the Gold Coast,” p. 113.

tiations, but it was eventually decided to divide the refugees equally between the Governor and the King.

The ASHANTIS then defeated a force of ASSINS at Koromantin, and leisurely continued their march along the Coast to ACCRA, devastating all the country they passed through. In October, 1807, while encamped at WINNEBA, a strong epidemic of smallpox broke out among them, which induced the King, who had adopted the surname BONSU (a whale), to return with all his army to COOMASSIE.

The FANTIS, who regarded the ELMINAS and ACCRAS with special aversion, as being allies of ASHANTI, would give them no peace, and perpetual fights kept the roads closed between the Coast and ASHANTI. The ELMINAS implored the King to come to their assistance. OSEI BONSU repeatedly endeavoured to arrange matters peaceably, but at last, realizing that all his efforts were unavailing, he determined to punish the FANTIS once more.

In 1811 two armies were raised. One of 4,000 men, under APPIA DANKWA, was sent to support the ELMINAS; another, said to have numbered 25,000, under OPOKU FREFRE, was ordered to advance against the FANTIS, who were then attacking the ACCRAS.

OSEI BONSU ordered ATTA, King of AKIM, to join APPIA'S army, but ATTA was weary of the ASHANTI yoke, and instead of obeying he actually intercepted and killed a party of ASHANTIS returning to COOMASSIE with merchandise and treasure. On hearing this, OSEI ordered OPOKU to divert his line of march and invade AKIM. ATTA, who had been joined by KWAO ASAFOACHI, King of AKWAPIM, opposed OPOKU with sufficient determination to delay his progress. When, a little later, the AKIMS and AKWAPIM forces separated, OPOKU at once pursued the

AKWAPIMS down to ADDA, on the Coast. He failed to capture KWAO ASAFOACHI, and contented himself with keeping Mr. Lendt, the Danish Commandant of that fort, captive until he was ransomed by his Government. Towards the end of the year OPOKU again tried to capture KWAO, and followed him as far as KROBO. His efforts met with no success, and, on being recalled, he returned to COOMASSIE. KWAO once more assumed an independent position in AKWAPIM.

In the meantime APPIA DANKWA with his army had fought his way down to WINNEBA, where he engaged and conquered a strong force of FANTIS. His objective was ELMINA, so as to assist the ELMINAS against the FANTIS ; but his design was frustrated by ATTA, who vigorously attacked the ASHANTIS in order to prevent the junction of the two forces. APPIA, whose original force of 4,000 was by this time considerably reduced, refused battle, and the force retreated in disorder. It would doubtless have been exterminated had not ATTA'S death put an end to the pursuit.

The unsuccessful invasion of the ASHANTIS in 1811 stayed their ardour for the time being, but in 1814 OSEI BONSU, who had been practically hemmed in for three years, determined to crush AKIM and AKWAPIM. One army, under AMANKWA, advanced on AKIM, while a second, under APPIA DANKWA, was sent to intercept the AKIMS, should they adopt their former successful tactics of retreating into FANTI.

AMANKWA defeated the entire enemy force at EGWA-ARRU, and opened the way to ACCRA. He devastated the district, and at ACCRA he received the long overdue payments on the ELMINA and ACCRA "Notes" (*vide* p. 18).

Expecting the AKWAPIMS and AKIMS to submit, he

waited some time in the Accra District, but, realizing that his hopes would not be fulfilled, he marched into AKWAPIM, where he received a message from OSEI BONSU forbidding him to return without the heads of KWAO ASAFOACHI and KUDJO KUMA (the new King of AKIM).

APPIA DANKWA'S army fought its way down to WINNEBA, where the GENERAL died. APPIA NANU, his brother, who succeeded him in command, proved too dilatory for the King, who then ordered AMANKWA to amalgamate with NANU'S force and assume supreme command. The junction of the two forces was not effected until early in 1816, when AMANKWA marched on ABRA, the heart of the Fanti Confederation. The FANTIS abandoned their camp and fled in terror before the advancing host.

On March 12th, 1816, the Governor of CAPE COAST Castle, Mr. Hope Smith, sent a flag of truce to AMANKWA, demanding his intentions. On the 15th the messengers returned bearing AMANKWA'S reply, to the effect that "he was determined to pursue KWAO ASAFOACHI, KUDJO KUMA, and KOFI ASHANTI, to whatever place they might retreat; in fact, that should they throw themselves into the sea, bury themselves in the earth, or secrete themselves in a rock, he would follow them." A meeting was held in the Castle on the 28th, at which two Dutch officers, Messrs. Van Neck and Huydecooper, were present.

It was proved to the satisfaction of the Ashanti messengers that the three men they wanted were not there, whereupon they demanded three Fanti chiefs who had assisted their enemies. Eventually matters were settled by the payment of a hundred ounces of gold to AMANKWA by the FANTIS. In June the

ASHANTIS broke up their camp and marched towards ACCRA in search of the two arch enemies.

Near NKUM, KUDJO KUMA was surrounded, and committed suicide rather than be captured alive. Shortly afterwards KWAO ASAFOACHI was betrayed by his brother and killed by an Ashanti party. The two heads were smoked and sent to COOMASSIE. KOFI ASHANTI was not considered of sufficient importance to follow up. Thus were AKIM and AKWAPIM again subdued.

AMANKWA, having achieved the object of the invasion, after an absence of more than two years, returned to COOMASSIE in great triumph.

The state entry of a victorious army was an occasion of great ceremony. The King and his retinue and all the townsfolk who had remained at home awaited the warriors at the market-place.\* Each chief, as he came up, separated himself from his men and approached the Royal presence, proffered both hands, between which the King placed his right hand. The chief then picked up one of four swords—MPOMPONSU, AHWIHWIBA, JAPETIA, or AKUNFONA, according to his rank—and reswore allegiance.

He then stooped down and the King placed his left foot on the chief's head. In the meantime the rank and file fired guns and danced. The ceremony sometimes occupied thirty-six hours, during which time a strict fast was maintained.

The whole army remained in COOMASSIE for the King's return visit to the assembled warriors, when he went round and thanked each chief in person and distributed presents, after which the army was at liberty to disperse.

\* The site of the present post office.



All captives, treasure, and loot, were sent into COOMASSIE before the day of the state entry.

By this time the British had realized that friendly relations with the ASHANTIS were essential for the development of trade, and the African Committee in London was approached with a view to the dispatch of an Embassy to the Ashanti Court. The Committee accepted the proposal, and early in 1817 sent out presents for the King, with instructions for the Governor.

The officers selected for the mission were Mr. James, Commandant of James Fort, ACCRA, in charge; Mr. Bowditch, a writer in the Company's service; Mr. Hutchinson, another writer; and Mr. Tedlie, an assistant-surgeon. Mr. Hutchinson was Resident-designate for COOMASSIE, should the mission prove successful. These officers set out on April 22nd, 1817, with a retinue of carriers numbering 130. Owing to several delays, caused by the bad state of the roads and difficulties of transport, the party did not reach COOMASSIE until May 19th, where they were well received by the King and accorded a public reception.

They were greatly impressed by the magnificent display of wealth presented by the assembled chiefs. The splendour of the court was thus described by Bowditch.\*

“ The Caboceers (Chiefs), 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, . . . and massive gold necklaces, intricately wrought. . . . Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel, entirely of aggrly 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, . . . and rude lumps

\* Bowditch, p. 289.

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 round them in great numbers."

On the morning after their arrival, the King received the Embassy in audience, when he evinced his eagerness to enter into friendly relations with the British.

A misunderstanding on the subject of the "Notes" for ground-rent payable on the ELMINA and ACCRA Forts nearly led to a rupture, but Bowditch saved the situation by his tact, and it was agreed to refer the question to the Governor.

The Governor's reply was received on July 5th. It proved quite satisfactory to the King. The Governor wrote (alluding to the "Notes") :

"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."\*

James was recalled, and Bowditch entrusted with the conduct of affairs.

On August 29th a treaty was signed by both contracting parties. Bowditch's copy ran as follows :

"Treaty made and entered into by THOMAS EDWARD BOWDITCH, Esquire, in the name of the

\* Bowditch, p. 292.

Governor and Council at Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast of Africa, and on behalf of the British Government, with SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies, and BOITINNEE QUAMA, King of Dwabin and its Dependencies.

“1st. There shall be perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects in the 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 waterside.

# FIRST TREATY WITH ASHANTI 53

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

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

10th. The Kings promise to direct diligent enquiries to be made respecting the officers attached to the Mission of Major John Pedlie 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 SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA x (L.S.)

” ” BOITINNEE QUAMA x (L.S.)

”(Signed) THOMAS EDWARD BOWDITCH (L.S.)

“In the presence of

“(Signed) WILLIAM HUTCHINSON, Resident.

“(Signed) HENRY TEDLIE, Assistant-Surgeon.

“The mark of	APOKOO	x	}	Deputed from
”	ODUMATA	x		the General
”	NABBRA	x		Assembly of
”	ASHANTEE	x		Caboceers and
				Captains to swear
				with the King.
”	KABRA SAPHOO	x	}	Linguists to
”	QUAMINA SAPHOO	x		the King of
				Dwabin.
”	QUASHEE APAINTREE	x		Accra Linguist.
”	QUASHEE TOM	x		Cape Coast
”	QUAMINA QUATCHEE	x		Linguists.”

It is a curious fact that in the King's copy of the Treaty, which later passed into the hands of Mr. Dupuis, no mention was made of the "King of JUABEN," and, indeed, few of the articles read the same as in the copy produced by Bowditch.

Bowditch then returned to the Coast, leaving Hutchinson in COOMASSIE as first British Resident, but the latter was shortly after recalled, as a war with JAMAN was imminent.

Rumours reached OSEI BONSU that EDINKRA, chief of JAMAN, had repeated his predecessor's presumption, and had made himself a "golden stool." The King sent for it, and EDINKRA wisely dispatched his new emblem of sovereignty to COOMASSIE, but, thinking to evade detection, he fashioned himself yet another one. By means of spies the King soon learnt of this second affront, and peremptorily claimed the second stool. EDINKRA returned a message to say that all his women would laugh at him if he obeyed this second order, and that the King could come and take it if he so pleased. This reply so enraged the monarch that he at once marched an army north. After two fierce engagements hotly contested on both sides, (the second of which took place close to SOKO, on the TAIN River), the enemy was utterly routed, and the ASHANTIS marched on BONTUKU and even beyond, wreaking terrible vengeance.

TAMIA, the chief woman of BONTUKU, was the only one spared. She was taken to COOMASSIE, where she was kept a captive for years, but was ultimately returned to BONTUKU, as an act of grace, in KWEKU DUA I.'s time.

This northern war stopped all trade with the Coast, where the absence of all news from ASHANTI gradually

led to the belief that the ASHANTIS had met with severe defeat. Exulting greatly, the FANTIS generally, and the CAPE COAST people in particular, gave open expression of their joy by insulting Ashanti residents on the Coast, and the KOMENDAS went so far as to drive away with abuse and indignities the Ashanti messengers who came to announce their victory over the JAMANS.

Truth to tell, the ASHANTIS were hard taskmasters, and had, by their oppressive measures, engendered bitter hatred wherever they went.

Reindorf says :

“ From 1807 to 1823 the Asantes were lords of all country between their Kingdom and the Coast, and ground down the people with the most barbarous tyranny. Those Asante chiefs and headmen residing in the principal towns exercised more authority over the people than the King himself at Kumase. Merchants, mechanics, clerks, canoe-men, the poor, the rich, high and low, all were subjected to a rigid system of cruel extortion on every possible occasion, and often on pretences altogether ludicrous and unheard of. Several persons were deprived of their handsome wives. If one mentioned the King's name, he was fined. If one had any words with an Asante, if one accidentally or inadvertently touched or even alluded to an Asante, he was punished.”\*

The first sentence is not quite accurate. Between the years 1811 and 1814 the ASHANTIS were driven back north of the PRA, and practically hemmed in in their own country.

Mr. Joseph Dupuis, who was appointed first British Consul at COOMASSIE by the Crown, arrived on the Coast in January, 1819.

\* Reindorf, p. 171.

Unfortunately, from the first strong ill-feeling and jealousy existed between him and the Governor, Mr. Hope Smith. The Governor realized that his authority must necessarily suffer in the eyes of the Ashanti Monarch, and Dupuis would brook no interference from what he contemptuously referred to as "the servants of a mercantile board."

In March of the same year an accredited Ashanti messenger, by the name of AKRA, arrived at CAPE COAST to lodge a formal complaint against the treatment suffered by the Ashanti messengers at KOMENDA, and pointed out that the King, by reason of the Treaty recently concluded, relied on the English Governor to obtain redress for him. The Governor, however, refused to take any action in the matter, and let the messenger understand that as far as he (the Governor) was concerned, the King could please himself. OSEI BONSU considered this to be such a gross breach of faith that he would not believe the messenger was speaking the truth, and tortured him to compel him to do so.

A second messenger was sent down in June to enquire whether the Governor's reply had been accurately delivered. He reported that it had, and, further, he had seen that the coast people were making warlike preparations to resist an expected invasion. This enraged the Ashanti chiefs, who clamoured for war. The King, however, sent a third messenger (ANO, a man of high rank) to endeavour to come to terms.

He arrived in September, and at the audience that followed delivered the following speech :

"The King, my master, feels very much hurt at the message which was returned to him by the Governor

of Cape Coast, importing that he would neither suffer the Komemda people to do him justice for their ill-treatment of his messengers, nor the natives of Cape Coast for their conduct in bidding him defiance by building up entrenchments, and refusing to settle his palaver with the Komemdas, and by their indecent conduct in laughing at what they supposed to be his misfortunes with the Bontukus (Jamans). The King knows they have said there is no King on the stool of Ashanti, and that the Bontukus have killed him. But the King is more hurt than all to think that the white men should believe it, and that they should put shame on his face before his own people, and before the Fantis in the Castle hall. The King denies having sent any indecent messages to the Governor, and therefore has put his first messenger under arrest, who, if he has been guilty of any misrepresentation, shall forfeit his head. How could the King wish for war with the white men, whom he considers his friends, and with whom he took fetish? The King cannot make war with any nation with whom he has made fetish, and therefore sends back your book [the Treaty], and desires that it may be read over by the Governor, in order that he may know that he has not been deceived by the white men who visited Ashanti. But if the articles are right, he desires that you will keep your book, that he may make war 'proper.' The King's army is now stationed on the opposite side of the river (PRA); but he will not suffer his troops to cross until he knows your answer, nor will he suffer any more trade until the palaver is settled. The King says, Take back your book, since you have broken it; for I acknowledge the forts to govern the towns under them, and therefore demanded of you satisfaction for injuries done me by the people of those towns, when it would have been easy for me to have marched an army and obtained satisfaction myself. The King wishes proper respect to be paid by the Ashantis to the white men, but he cannot suffer



their swords to march against the Fantis. But the King forbade them, saying he must do what was right according to the book, and he should have satisfaction. Then the King sent more messengers to the Governor, but they tell him the Governor will not give satisfaction according to the book, and the Captains believe that it was true he sent a defiance, saying if the King chose to come and fight he was ready. Then the King called all the chiefs and the old men together and told them the truth, and they said, 'This dishonours you, King; we cannot hear this and sit upon our stools, for the people will laugh at you and us; it is a very bad thing: you must have satisfaction.' Then the King sent down another messenger and gave him the book, that the Governor might see what was true with his own eyes, and say whether he wanted peace or war. But still the Governor refuses satisfaction, and yet he says the book is right.

"The King is sorry for the sake of the old men and women and children, but then he cannot help it if the Governor will have war; the King has nothing to do with white men, and if they choose to make palavers with him it is not his fault. He knows that they come to trade in his country, and they have a great King of their own in the land of the white men. This is all true, but then the King (of Ashanti) is a great King too, for all the black countries, and the people must serve him, and if they will not serve him, but are foolish and do evil, they must die. Now, the Governor knows that Cape Coast is very insolent, and when the King complained to the Castle, the people were told to build a wall and fight them. Is that like good friends, as the book says? The other towns of Fanti do what is right, and the King has no palaver with them, and he is unwilling to make war for one town only. And now he sends to the Governor to ask if he will settle that palaver or not, because, otherwise, the army will certainly go down and destroy the place; for it is a great



AN ASHANTI VILLAGE.  
From a pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Fuller.



palaver, and the King and all his Captains are very angry, because they believe that Aggri and de Graft cheat them and tell the Governor lies; therefore the King says they had better look to it, and take care what they do, for he is not a King to play the fool with."\*

Adum then said he was empowered to demand a fine of 1,600 ounces of gold from the people of CAPE COAST and a like amount from the Governor for breach of the Treaty.

The Governor replied that until this last demand was withdrawn matters must remain as they were. ADUM replied that he was unable to do this without special authority from the King.

There can be no doubt that OSEI BONSU viewed the Governor's action in not seeking redress for him from the KOMENDAS as a distinct breach of faith.

Dupuis was at last allowed to proceed to COOMASSIE—a whole year after his advent—and arrived there on February 28th, 1820, where he received a hearty welcome.

Negotiations between himself and the King commenced without delay, and many interviews ensued, at which the King reiterated his dislike of war, but insisted that he must receive satisfaction for the insults offered to his messengers.

Asked why he had demanded a fine from the Governor, the King produced his copy of the Treaty, and was astonished to learn that no mention of forfeit money was contained therein. He stated emphatically that Bowditch had told him "that if he broke the

\* Dupuis, p. 30.

Treaty he must pay gold, and that if the Governor broke it, then he would have to pay.”\*

A Treaty was drawn up and signed on March 23rd between the King and the Consul. It reads as follows :

“TREATY made and entered into by JOSEPH DUPUIS, Esquire, his Britannic Majesty’s Consul for the Kingdom of Ashantee in Africa, in the name and on behalf of the British Government, with SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee and its Dependencies.

“1st. The King of Ashantee agrees to receive and acknowledge Joseph Dupuis, Esquire, as his Majesty’s Consul at Coomassie, to the full intent and meaning of his commission, and if at any time ill-health should oblige the said Joseph Dupuis to leave this country the King will receive and acknowledge any gentlemen that he may appoint to succeed him.

“2nd. The King of Ashantee, having taken his sacred oath of allegiance and fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain, in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, makes known to all to whom these presents shall come that he will, with all his power and influence, support, aid, and protect the British interests in this country, and that he will, if necessary, on all occasions march his armies to any part of the country where the interests of Great Britain may require their aid and assistance.

“3rd. The claim recently made by the King of Ashantee on the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, amounting to one thousand six hundred ounces of gold, or £6,400, is hereby acknowledged to be relinquished ; and it is agreed that there are now no differences or palavers existing between the King of Ashantee and the Governor, or between the King and any other of His

\* Claridge, vol. i., p. 321.

Britannic Majesty's subjects collectively or individually.

"4th. The King of Ashantee agrees and binds himself to support and encourage the commerce of this country with Cape Coast and its dependencies by all the means in his power ; and pledges himself not to allow any differences that may occur to interrupt the trade with the English merchants on the Coast.

"5th. The King of Ashantee claims the Fantee Territory as his dominions, which the Consul, on the part of the British Government, accedes to, in consideration and on the express condition that the King agrees to acknowledge the natives, residing under British protection, entitled to the benefit of British laws, and to be amenable to them only in case of any act of aggression on their part.

"6th. After the final adjustment of the present claims upon the natives of Cape Coast, the King binds himself to submit all future complaints to the Consul only, and on no account whatever to make war with the natives, at any of the English Settlements, without first allowing the Consul an opportunity of settling such differences.

"7th. The Consul, on the part of the British Government, guarantees all the protection in his power to the subjects of the King of Ashantee who may have any commerce with the British Settlements on the Coast.

"8th. The Consul binds himself on the part of the British Government and the Governor and Consul to keep half the path that is at present made between Cape Coast and Ashantee well cleared, and the King of Ashantee agrees to keep the other half of the path constantly in good order, so that there shall always be a free and easy communication with the Ashantee dominions.

"9th. It is expressly agreed and understood that the Consul shall at all times be at liberty to visit the

capital of Ashantee, and to take his departure therefrom, whenever he may think fit, without being subject to any interruption or detention, and that the Consul's residence may either be at Coomassie or at Cape Coast, as he may from time to time deem expedient for the public good ; but if at any time during the Consul's absence from Coomassie the King of Ashantee has any complaint or palaver against the natives of the British Settlements, the same is to be submitted to the Consul at Cape Coast, and if it cannot be settled without his presence at Coomassie, it is agreed that the Consul shall immediately proceed to the capital on all such occasions.

“ 10th. The King of Ashantee, having publicly and repeatedly complained of the exorbitant prices charged on the ‘ Notes ’ he holds from the forts for the goods he receives in payment of these ‘ Notes,’ and in consequence of the manifest dissatisfaction expressed by the King on this subject in particular, the Consul, in order to obviate any objections to the ratification of the present Treaty, concedes this point to the King, agreeing in future to take upon himself the payment of those ‘ Notes ’ ; and the King declares he will not from henceforth receive any payment of those ‘ Notes ’ except through the medium of the Consul.

“ 11th. The King, on the part of his principal Captains and Counsellors, hereby acknowledges to their having also taken the oath of allegiance and fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain.

“ 12th. In virtue of this Treaty, it is mutually agreed and expressly understood that all former treaties between the King of Ashantee and the authorities of Cape Coast Castle on the behalf of His Majesty's Government, particularly the treaty of 1817, are from henceforth to become null and void, and are hereby declared so accordingly.

“ Given under our Hands and Seals, at the King's Palace, at the capital Coomassie, this 23rd

day of March, in the year of our Lord 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the Reign of His Majesty George III., etc.

“The mark of (x) SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA.  
 ” ” JOSEPH DUPUIS.

“In the presence of  
 BENJAMIN SALMON,  
 FRANCIS COLLINS,  
 DAVID MILL GRAVES.”

“SUPPLEMENTARY ARTICLES annexed to the GENERAL TREATY entered into this day between SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA, King of Ashantee, on the one part, and CONSUL DUPUIS on behalf of His Britannic Majesty's Government on the other part, which articles are hereby considered to be equally binding to the said contracting parties as if they were inserted in the Primary or General Treaty itself.

“1st. The King of Ashantee having, by force of arms, subdued the Kingdom of Gaman or Bontuku, which he now governs in full and undisputed sovereignty, and whereas from political motives, it has been deemed prudent to station troops in Amanaha, on the banks of the Assinee River, and other parts of the said kingdom, to prevent the inhabitants from trading or holding any communication with the seacoast, the King now pledges himself, in virtue of this article, to remove the before-mentioned obstacles to the commerce of the Kingdom of Bontuku or Gaman; and he guarantees the same privileges of trade to the natives of that country which the Ashantees themselves enjoy, provided their intercourse with the seacoast is confined to Cape Coast Castle, or any other of the British Forts and Settlements on the Gold Coast. In promotion of this object the King has already nearly completed a road forming a direct communication to the heart of the said country of Gaman, and he hereby binds himself to support, aid, and encourage the trade of that country.



“ and. The King of Ashantee, being decidedly averse to relinquishing his claim on the natives of Cape Coast Town, and in consequence of certain private negotiations which are now pending through the medium of Mr. Smith, the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the parties concerned (and whereas the Consul possesses no authority to guarantee payment to the King of any sum of money on behalf of the natives of Cape Coast beyond the limit of one hundred ounces of gold, which has only tended to excite the King’s anger and indignation), as well as for other reasons unnecessary to introduce in this Treaty, it is hereby stipulated that the natives of Cape Coast Town, being subjects of the King of Ashantee, are excluded from participating in the benefits of either of the treaties, as the King is resolved to eradicate from his dominions the seeds of disobedience and insubordination; nevertheless, in consideration of the friendship existing between him and the King of England, and as the King of Ashantee is particularly anxious to convince the world of the sincerity of his regard for the honour and dignity, as well as the interests of the British Government and people, he will endeavour as much as possible to avoid giving offence either to the Consul or to the authorities of Cape Coast Castle, directly or indirectly, and therefore, whatever plans the King of Ashantee may think it advisable to adopt in order to bring his people under due subjection, he binds himself not to destroy the town of Cape Coast, nor will he allow a gun to be fired in the town, or suffer his troops to commit any act of hostilities or depredation therein on the inhabitants or on their property; and in particular, as regards the white part of the population, to say all the free merchants and traders, he guarantees to them not only full security of person and property, but also full protection in case of need. Moreover, the King will not suffer his difference with the Cape Coast people to interfere with his plans for the promotion and exten-

sion of the commerce between the interior and the British Settlements on the seacoast, which he promises shall be immediately restored.

“3rd. (Not granted. Referred to the establishment of schools at Dunkwa.)

“4th. The King of Ashantee pledges himself for the security and protection in person and property to missionaries or others, being subjects of His Britannic Majesty, who may wish to establish themselves in any part of his territory for the purpose of propagating the Christian religion; and the King hereby cordially invites to his country such well-disposed men.

“Given under our Hands and Seals at the King’s Palace, at the capital of Ashantee, this 23rd day of March, in the year of our Lord 1820, and in the fifty-ninth year of the Reign of His Majesty George III., etc.

“The mark of (X) SAI TOOTOO QUAMINA.  
 ” ” JOSEPH DUPUIS.

“In the presence of  
 BENJAMIN SALMON,  
 FRANCIS COLLINS,  
 DAVID MILL GRAVES.”

Dupuis left COOMASSIE the day after the Treaty was signed with a special Embassy for England.

The Governor, however, refused to ratify the Treaty, nor would the Commodore give the Ashanti ambassadors a passage to Europe. In fact, such was the animosity shown against the ASHANTIS that the head envoy (ADUM) was not even allowed entry to CAPE COAST Castle.

Dupuis wrote to the Commodore: “The King of Ashanti is so perfectly disposed to co-operate in all things for the mercantile interests of Great Britain that if the present opportunity is allowed to pass it may be

the means of crushing at a single blow all future advancement towards commerce or the cultivation of this part of Africa."\*

Dupuis sailed on April 15th, promising the Ashanti King to make representations at home, but the net result of his visit to the Coast was to leave matters in a worse plight than he found them, for OSEI BONSU was enraged at the repudiation of the Treaty and at the treatment of his envoys.

ADUM was recalled from CAPE COAST, and told to establish a camp at MANSU (thirty miles inland).

OSEI BONSU waited ten months, hoping to receive encouraging news from England ; but as no word came, he forbade his people to trade with the British Settlements, and the Ashanti trade was thus diverted to the Dutch and Danish forts.

In 1821 the Home Government decided to transfer all the African Company's possessions on the GOLD COAST to the Crown. These were placed under the Government of SIERRA LEONE, the Governor of which, Sir Charles McCarthy, visited the Coast in March, 1822. He was soon imbued with the idea that peace could not be established in the country until the power of ASHANTI had been crushed. With this object in view, he organized three companies of the Royal African Colonial Corps of Light Infantry and enrolled a native Militia. He also strengthened the defences of CAPE COAST, and returned to SIERRA LEONE, leaving Major Chisholm in charge.

In May, 1822, a quarrel arose between an ASHANTI and a mulatto sergeant at ANAMABO, whereat the latter grossly abused the Ashanti King. According to

\* Dupuis, p. 189.

Ashanti law, this offence meant death, and the occurrence created intense excitement among the ASHANTIS.

The sergeant was captured by some ASHANTIS and taken to DUNKWA (twenty miles from CAPE COAST) and put to death in February, 1823. On hearing of this outrage, Sir Charles McCarthy hastened back to the Coast, where he was received with great acclamation.

He heard that the party of ASHANTIS responsible for the murder had remained at DUNKWA, and forthwith determined to attack them. Whether by design or not, the guide led the Governor's force by a wrong road, and, instead of surprising the ASHANTIS, was itself ambushed and compelled to fall back on ANAMABO.

The ASHANTIS now moved south. An army of a few thousand men crossed the PRA River at PRASU on June 4th, against which Captain Laing was sent with a large force of Regulars, Militia, and native allies. He compelled the ASHANTIS to recross the PRA. A second Ashanti army crossed farther east, with ELMINA as an objective.

This force Captain Laing endeavoured to intercept. In his absence, KWESI AMANKWA, the Ashanti general of the first army, occupied ESSIKUMA, but was driven back by a detachment of the 2nd West India Regiment and Fanti allies.

Hostilities ceased for the time being, both sides devoting their efforts to the formation of camps and final preparations.

In December news was received by the Governor that the ASHANTIS had recrossed the PRA and were marching south in twelve divisions. Having made his dispositions, Sir Charles proceeded to JUKWA on December 29th, where a strong force of whites and blacks mixed, of 2,000 men, had been concentrated.

Definite news of the movements of the ASHANTIS reached him on January 8th, 1824. Major Chisholm was dispatched to AMPENSASU to command the troops stationed there, while on January 21st Sir Charles himself advanced from JUKWA to DERABOASI to stem the advancing ASHANTIS.

But he had underrated the enemy. The WASSAS and DENKERAS were soon in full flight, and Sir Charles's small force had to bear the full blast of the onrush.

The gallant little force fought desperately, but was soon overwhelmed and surrounded.

The Governor, Mr. Buckle, Ensign Wetherell, and others, were killed; Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary, was taken prisoner; and it was only on his release in March that details of the Governor's death were forthcoming.

Sir Charles's head was sent to COOMASSIE, where a cast of the skull was taken in pure gold. The skull itself became part of the OJIRA, or skull fetish. The gold cast, together with six others, those of NTIM JAKARI (the Denker King), BANKWANTI (an Akim King), OWISSU ACHIMTINTIN (a Kibbi King), WOROSA (the Banda King), and ABO KOBINA and EDINKRA (the would-be Kings of JAMAN), became part of the Royal treasure.

But the most valued of all was the latest addition, the cast of the skull of the great and courageous MANKATA (McCarthy).

Strangely enough, OSEI BONSU died on the same day that Sir Charles was killed.

Honourable in all his dealings with white men, he was much misunderstood by them, especially by the English, who, unwittingly, did all they could to turn a would-be friend into a bitter enemy.

## CHAPTER V

### OSEI YAO AKOTO

1824-1838

THE youngest of the four brothers now succeeded OSEI BONSU. His full name was OSEI YAO AKOTO. Under the conditions of his accession he was compelled to prosecute the war. After the death of Sir Charles McCarthy and the annihilation of his small force (at BONSARASO, according to the ASHANTIS), the ASHANTIS concentrated at ISAMANKOW.

Owing to the intervention of the Dutch, a meeting was arranged between Governor Ricketts and ACHIEMPON, the Ashanti Resident of ELMINA. The latter stated that the ASHANTIS had had no intention of attacking the British. It was true that an Ashanti army, under EWU YAO, had been dispatched in pursuit of KUDJO OTIBU, King of DENKERA, but that was done because he had effected his escape from COOMASSIE. ACHIEMPON added that his instructions were to claim KUDJO OTIBU, CHIFORO, and ENIMIL of Wassa, even if they had sought refuge in CAPE COAST Castle.

There can be no doubt that EWU YAO had pursued OTIBU, and was extremely surprised to fall upon the Governor's party.

It was agreed that, pending the arrival of properly accredited envoys, there should be a cessation of hostilities. The ASHANTIS also agreed to release Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary. He was brought from SHAMA a few days later, marched through

ELMINA stark naked with his hands tied behind his back, and then released.

The sudden cessation of hostilities did not suit the allies, who were encamped on the PRA River, so OTIBU, fearful of being handed over to the ASHANTIS, crossed the PRA with the intention of attacking them. After some delay the ASHANTIS advanced upon OTIBU and his friends, and the latter fled in disorder. An engagement took place at DOMPIM, where the allies were routed, and the ASHANTIS advanced so rapidly that a British force was evacuating EFUTU when the ASHANTIS entered it. They captured two European prisoners, whom they sent to COOMASSIE. One died a year later, while Riley, the second, lived outside the town for four years.

Major Chisholm determined to dislodge the ASHANTIS from EFUTU, to prevent the King and a second army concentrating with the first army at that point.

The battle commenced in the afternoon of May 21st, 1824. KUDJO OTIBU and his DENKERAS fought valiantly, and by dusk the ASHANTIS had been driven back with heavy loss. But although the honours of the day lay with the allies, they were not strong enough to maintain their advantages, and EFUTU was again occupied by the ASHANTIS on May 23rd. On the 28th OSEI AKOTO, with a large army, joined EWU YAO. His first act was to send a message of defiance to the Governor at CAPE COAST. On June 21st the ASHANTIS advanced to within five miles of CAPE COAST. Dismayed, however, by the conflagration of the town, they withdrew a few miles to BEULA. They again advanced on July 7th, but again retreated owing to the stout resistance offered by the British forces, which on this occasion numbered 5,000, of whom 4,600 were native allies.

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It was afterwards learnt that disease had broken out in the Ashanti camp, and that smallpox and dysentery claimed many victims. Small forces of the allies harassed the ASHANTIS, who, when they heard of a force being sent by the Danish Governor to outflank them, decided on a hurried retreat to Coomassie. They entered that town in August, 1824, a beaten, dispirited, and broken-hearted army.

In March, 1825, Major-General Charles Turner, the recently appointed Governor, arrived at CAPE COAST and issued the following proclamation :

“ By His Excellency Major-General Turner, C.B., Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the British Settlements on the Western Coast of Africa.

“ Charles Turner to the people of Cape Coast, to the people of the other British Settlements on the Gold Coast, and to the surrounding nations, friends and allies of England : The King of the Ashantis has, by assistance of the Elmina people, waged a cruel and unjust war against you and us : he has suffered for his crimes and rashness, and Elmina is only suffered to stand because the King of the Dutch and the King of England, my master, are at peace ; but I have represented their conduct, and their fate will depend on the orders I may receive. You have all stood forward in defence of your rights, and I thank you in the name of the King, my master. England does not wish for any wars. She wishes the natives of Africa to be free, happy, and rich ; she wishes for nothing in this country but lawful trade and commerce. If the King of Ashanti will content himself with governing his own nation and his own people, and does not stop the trade of the interior with the coast, or attempt to oppress his neighbours, let him say so to me, and I will make a treaty with him on any of these terms, but I will not make peace with him on any other terms, nor until he



gives up every claim to tribute or subjection from the surrounding nations.

“ Given at Cape Coast this 2nd day of April, 1825.

“ By His Majesty’s command.

“ (Signed) WILLIAM WILLIAMS,  
“ Acting Colonial Secretary.

“ GOD SAVE THE KING.”

Presumably in reply to this Proclamation, a new Ashanti army invaded FANTI early in 1826, plundering, destroying, and burning whatever it met on its way.

At the end of July the Ashanti forces were all concentrated north of ACCRA, close to DODOWA. All the available British forces were massed against them. The fact of the country being open instead of “ bush ” pleased the European troops, for they were anxious to try conclusions with the ASHANTIS in a pitched battle.

The battle that followed is thus described by Claridge :\*

“ The 7th of August was a Monday, a day considered propitious by the Ashantis, and it was confidently expected that they would attack. The English fighting-line extended east and west for about four miles. In the centre were the Cape Coast Militia under Mr. John Jackson, the Anamabo Militia under Mr. Hutchinson, the Accra Militia under J. W. Hanson, the Christianborg Militia under Mr. Henry Richter, and about sixty of the Royal African Colonial Corps posted in the rear as a reserve. The Akwamus were on the right and the Denkeras and Akims on the left. All the allies were distinguished by strips of calico tied to the barrels of their muskets and large sea-shells hanging from their necks in front and behind. Lieutenant-Colonel Purdon was in command, and the officers

\* Vol. i., p. 386.

engaged were Captains Hingston and Rogers and Lieutenant Calder, of the Royal African Colonial Corps, and Dr. Young.

“The King’s drum was soon heard beating the advance, and at about half-past nine the Ashantis attacked from right to left. The native allies had been quarrelling amongst themselves for several days as to the positions they were to occupy, each tribe professing great anxiety to find itself opposed to the King ; but in the end they were all disappointed, for Akoto had been told there were white men in the centre, and had chosen this as the place of greatest honour against which to lead his men in person. The men in the centre were the last to be attacked, and several of the others came up abusing and insulting them and charging them with cowardice, until, as they were seen to be getting out of hand under these gibes, they were pushed forward a little. They had not advanced more than a hundred yards or so when they were met with a terrific fire from the enemy, and were at once heavily engaged. But though the Ashantis fought with their accustomed bravery, they could not withstand the steady advance of the British troops, and fell slowly back, stubbornly disputing every inch of ground.

“At one stage of the battle a fierce hand-to-hand fight took place. The frenzied combatants rushed wildly at each other, cutting and slashing with their knives, and a terrible slaughter ensued.

“Men dragged each other from the opposing ranks and wrestled and stabbed and cut until one or both fell dead. Neither orders nor entreaties were of any avail to check the allies in their mad thirst for blood. They killed the wounded where they lay, knocking those of their own side on the head to end their misery, and ripping up their fallen enemies to plunge their hands into their bodies and tear out their hearts ; and while this massacre was going on, the confusion was still further increased by a sudden explosion, as one of the Ashanti

chiefs blew himself up with powder, nearly involving some of the Europeans in his own destruction.

“As the enemy retired, enormous quantities of plunder fell into the hands of the allies, who, tiring of bloodshed, were soon so engrossed in collecting the spoils that they neglected to follow up the advantage they had gained. But the day was not yet won; for the whole of the Danish Accras had already fled, and some of the Dutch Accras on the left of the centre now gave way and allowed the Ashantis to press forward into their place, thereby causing the greatest alarm and quickly recalling the other allies to a sense of duty. The enemy at the same time made a furious onslaught on the centre and drove it back in confusion, while a second division opened a heavy fire on its flank.

“At this critical moment, when the issue of the battle trembled in the balance and there seemed every likelihood that the Ashantis would after all gain the victory, Colonel Purdon called up the reserve, and ordered them to open fire with Congreve rockets. The consternation caused by these terrible missiles, now used against the Ashantis for the first time, can scarcely be imagined. The noise they made, the long tail of fire they left behind them, the loud explosions, and the fearful wounds they inflicted, led the enemy to believe that the English had some great “fetish,” and were fighting them with actual thunder and lightning. For a few moments they stood their ground, almost too astonished to act, but panic then seized them; they broke and fled in the wildest disorder, and the victory was complete.”

A large quantity of spoil fell into the hands of the allies. The ASHANTIS lost all their camp baggage and treasure. The King himself was wounded, so was KWEKU DUA, the heir-apparent. About seventy of the ABREMPON are supposed to have been killed during the engagement.

The fugitives retreated hastily to ASHANTI. The King remained at SEUWA, twelve miles from COOMASSIE, until he had filled the vacant stools. The court returned to COOMASSIE six months later, when the disgrace of the defeat had somewhat faded.

The first result of this decisive victory (called AKANTAMSU by the ASHANTIS, DODOWA by us) was to render the English owners of the soil on which stood the forts, by right of conquest. The "Notes" thus suddenly ceased to be of any value or importance. The Dutch, however, continued to pay rent to ASHANTI for ELMINA Castle.

Fourteen days after the battle, Sir Neil Campbell, the new Governor, arrived at CAPE COAST.

In September he collected the friendly chiefs, and proposed entering into negotiations with the Ashanti court for peace. As such a step was in direct conflict with native ideas, they asked him to wait until the first overtures were made by the Ashanti King; but the Governor, anxious to establish peace, was unwilling to delay matters. Owing, however, to the stubbornness of the chiefs, he was compelled to abandon the idea of a mission to COOMASSIE.

True to the prognostications of the chiefs, the ASHANTIS made the first move in January, 1827. They proposed a meeting at YANKUMASI ASSIN, but were told that any discussion of affairs concerning the English must take place at CAPE COAST. Through the Chief of ADANSI, who throughout acted as intermediary, Captain Ricketts sent the following message to the Ashanti King:

"That the Commandant had received orders to make peace with the Ashantis for the English and for such of the Native tribes as were desirous of being included in

this pacific proposal ; and that if the Ashantis were inclined to peace, he should be happy to see any of them at Cape Coast for that purpose ; that should they be afraid of obstruction on their way down, he would, on being acquainted therewith through the Assins, take measures to secure their safety both in coming and returning. '\*

After months of haggling, a meeting was at last held at CAPE COAST in October, at which Lieutenant-Colonel Lumley, the Lieutenant-Governor, presided. The Ashanti envoys conveyed messages of apology from the King, stating that he now realized it was useless to attempt to fight the white men, and therefore asked to be taken under their control, and that he sent his cap to the Governor in token of submission.

A second meeting was held on October 10th, at which the following terms of peace to be offered to the ASHANTIS were agreed upon :

“(1) That they should lodge 4,000 ounces of gold in the Castle at Cape Coast as security for their good conduct in the future ;

“(2) That in the event of their again commencing hostilities this sum should be forfeited and used for the purchase of arms and ammunition for the British Allies ; and

“(3) That two members of the Royal Family of Ashanti should be sent to Cape Coast as hostages.”

It was, moreover, understood that the allied tribes included in these arrangements were deemed to be entirely independent of ASHANTI, and that any white man held as prisoner by the ASHANTIS was to be released.

An embassy was sent to COOMASSIE, consisting of

\* Ricketts, p. 135.

two educated Cape Coast men, John Carr and John Buchman, and representatives of most of the allied chiefs. They arrived in COOMASSIE on February 4th, 1828, and were accorded a good reception. The only two European prisoners in the hands of the ASHANTIS, Patrick Riley and John Duncan, were at once released.

The King, in return, asked for the release of several members of the Royal Family who had been captured at DODOWA, as well as his Resident and followers at ELMINA.

Unfortunately, the FANTIS had taken the opportunity of the ELMINAS being friendless to besiege their town, so that compliance with the King's request was not then possible.

In April a formal protest was received from the King against the blockade of ELMINA, as the ELMINAS were his subjects. He also appealed for the reduction of the security. He was told in reply that he must carry out the conditions imposed before other matters could be considered.

But the King had no intention of acceding to the terms as long as ELMINA remained blockaded, for he considered that to be a breach of the armistice and suspected the sincerity of both English and allied chiefs.

Major Ricketts endeavoured to induce the chiefs to raise the siege, but without success, and it was not until the conclusion of the year 1829 that it came to an end.

As an outcome of all this unrest, the Home Government decided to abandon the GOLD COAST altogether; but on the urgent representations of the African merchants, a compromise was effected by which the GOLD COAST remained technically a dependency of SIERRA

LEONE, while its administration was entrusted to a committee of merchants.

This committee appointed Captain George Maclean Governor—a man who was destined to play a great part in the history of the Coast and who left behind him a reputation of high administrative skill. He arrived at CAPE COAST on February 29th, 1830.

He soon realized that a definite peace with ASHANTI was absolutely essential to law and order. With this object in view, he laboured incessantly for the next twelve months, when his perseverance was rewarded by the signing of a Treaty of Peace. The Treaty ran as follows :

“ WE the undersigned, namely: The Governor of Cape Coast Castle and British Settlements, on the part of His Majesty the King of England; the Princess ‘Akianvah’ and the Chief ‘Quagua,’ on the part of the King of Ashantee; ‘Aggrey,’ King of Cape Coast; ‘Adookoo,’ King of Fantee; ‘Amonoo,’ King of Anamaboe; ‘Chibboe,’ King of Denkera; ‘Ossoo Okoo,’ King of Tufel; ‘Anminee,’ King of Wassaw; ‘Chibbo,’ King of Assin; the Chiefs of Adjumacoon and ‘Essacoomah,’ and the other chiefs in alliance with the King of Great Britain, whose names are hereunto appended, do consent to, and hereby ratify, the following Treaty of Peace and of free commerce between ourselves and such other chiefs as may hereafter adhere to it :

“ 1. The King of Ashantee having deposited in Cape Coast Castle, in the presence of the above-mentioned parties, the sum of 600 ounces of gold, and having delivered into the hands of the Governor two young men of the Royal Family of Ashantee, named ‘Ossoo Ansah’ and ‘Ossoo In Quantamissah,’ as security that he will keep peace with the said parties in all time coming, peace is hereby declared betwixt the said King



ABINA NIPANKA, SISTER OF AKWESSI INUAMA.

From a photograph.





of Ashantee and all each of the parties aforesaid, to continue in all time coming. The above securities shall remain in Cape Coast Castle for the space of six years from this date.

" 2. In order to prevent all quarrels in future which might lead to the infraction of this Treaty of Peace, we, the parties aforesaid, have agreed to the following rules and regulations for the better protection of lawful commerce.

" The paths shall be perfectly open and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic ; and persons molesting them in any way whatever, or forcing them to purchase at any particular market, or influencing them by any unfair means whatever, shall be declared guilty of infringing this Treaty, and be liable to severest punishment.

" Panyarring,\* denouncing, and swearing on or by any person or thing whatever, are hereby strictly forbidden, and all persons infringing this rule shall be rigorously punished ; and no master or chief shall be answerable for the crime of his servants, unless done by his orders or consent, or when under his control.

" As the King of Ashantee has renounced all right or title of any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, and others formerly his subjects, so, on the other hand, these parties are strictly prohibited from insulting, by improper speaking or in any other way, their former master, such conduct being calculated to produce quarrels and wars.

" All palavers are to be decided in the manner mentioned in the terms and conditions of peace already agreed to by the parties to this Treaty.

" Signed in the Great Hall of Cape Coast Castle this 27th day of April, 1831, by the parties to this Treaty,

\* The word " Panyarring " (pronounced " payaring ") meant the seizure of persons, or their goods, in order to obtain payment for debts due by relations or compatriots of the seized.

and sealed with the great seal of the Colony in their presence.

“(Signed) GEO. MACLEAN, Governor. ”

“ Their marks :

- X AKIANVAH, Princess of Ashantee.
- X QUAGUA, Chief of Ashantee.
- X AGGREY, King of Cape Coast.
- X ADOOKOO, King of Fantee.
- X AMONOO, King of Anamaboe.
- X ABOOKOO, Chief of Akomfee.
- X OTTOO, Chief of Abrah.
- X CHIBBOO, King of Assin.
- X CUDJOE CHIBBOO, King of Denkera.
- X GEBEL, Assin Chief.
- X OSSO OKOO, King of Tufel.
- X APPOLLONIA, Chief.
- X AKINNIE, Chief of Agah.”

The two Ashanti princes were sent to England to be educated. INKWANTABISSA died shortly after his return to the Coast, but ANSA played an important part in subsequent history.

Now followed a period of much-needed peace. Improved conditions led to a large increase of trade, but internal dissensions soon involved ASHANTI in civil war.

About 1834, the stool of NSUTA being vacant, the WEREMPE (leading elders) of that place recommended one MAFO to fill the position. BOATIN PENIN, Chief of JUABEN, supported another candidate, and he was extremely hurt with the King for discarding his nominee and appointing MAFO to the vacant stool.

Another grievance aggravated the situation. KOTIEKU, a stool-bearer of JUABEN, had been carrying on highly successful intrigues with BOATIN'S wives, On being discovered, he fled to COOMASSIE. BOATIN

demanded his head, but YAO AKOTO refused to accede to this exorbitant, if not unusual, demand, and ordered BOATIN to come to COOMASSIE to settle the dispute. BOATIN (always inclined to claim equal rank with and independence from COOMASSIE) sent a defiant message in reply. The King sent KWANTABISSA, the then ADENTINHENE, to JUABEN to endeavour to pacify the enraged chief. He was, however, not only refused admission to the town, but was insulted and stoned, and BOATIN went so far as to curse the King in KWANTABISSA'S hearing.

This affront could only be wiped out in blood, and the King attacked and utterly routed the JUABENS. They fled to KIBBI, where they remained for several years, in spite of repeated efforts on AKOTO'S part to induce them to return. BOATIN PENIN died at KIBBI, and was succeeded by KOFI BOATIN.

OSEI YAO AKOTO died towards the end of 1838, and was succeeded by his nephew, KWEKU DUA.

## CHAPTER VI

### KWEKU DUA I.

1838-1867

IN January, 1839, shortly after KWEKU DUA'S accession, a West Indian mulatto named Freeman, a Wesleyan missionary, started for COOMASSIE to open up ASHANTI for mission-work.

The new King, fearful to admit a white "fetish" man into his country, hindered his progress in every way. After six weeks' delay, however, he unwillingly consented to receive him. Freeman was accorded a polite reception, but as he was subjected to irksome supervision, he decided to renounce the object of his journey for the time being, and returned to CAPE COAST in April. To Freeman belongs the honour of being the first missionary to visit the Ashanti capital.

KWEKU DUA, being extremely anxious for the return of the JUABENS, sent messengers to KIBBI inviting KOFI BOATIN and all his people to journey back to their homes.

KOFI BOATIN agreed to this, but only on the condition that two of the Juaben "royals," who had proved traitors and had supported the King against the late BOATIN PENIN, should suffer capital punishment.

These two were called NERIBEHIN POKU and ABINAJIASI POKU. The King complied with these terms. The two men were executed, and their skulls sent to KIBBI as tokens of the King's sincerity and goodwill.

## KWEKU DUA'S PEACEFUL POLICY 85

The JUABENS set out on their journey in 1839. KOFI BOATIN, however, died on the way, and his death delayed their journey. It was not until 1841 that the Juaben Queen-Mother, OHIMMA JUABEN SEWA, made her state entry into COOMASSIE, where she was most cordially received.

The King placed ASAFU EJEI on the stool of JUABEN, and the town was speedily rebuilt. In grateful compliment the JUABENS surnamed KWEKU DUA "TI ETUWA" (=healer).

KWEKU DUA soon displayed statesmanlike qualities of no mean order. Much to the surprise of his people, he settled a quarrel with NKORANZA by skilful diplomacy. He thereby earned the surname of AJIMAN (=peacemaker), by which title he was henceforward known.

He showed his clemency by releasing TAMIA, ex-Queen-Mother of JAMAN, captured in the last Jaman war. He sent her back to BONTUKU. This kindly act was evidently both recognized and appreciated, for the JAMANS, in return, sent him a present of 400 ounces of gold. Freeman returned to COOMASSIE in 1841, accompanied by another missionary named Brooking, and the two Ashanti princes, ANSA and INKWANTABISSA. Perhaps the fact of the two latter being first-cousins of the King ensured the missionaries a good reception. Certainly the presents from the Queen of England and the Wesleyan Society which the missionaries took with them facilitated matters.

Among the presents was a carriage, sent by the Society. The transport of this through the thick bush and narrow paths gave much trouble, but, once in Coomassie, was much appreciated by the King, who used it on state occasions as a conveyance for his wives. The vehicle itself was kept in the so-called "fort" of

the palace until it was destroyed in the great fire of COOMASSIE in 1874. The mission was given a piece of land on the site of the old European military cemetery north-west of the present fort, and Brooking was left in charge. In May, 1842, he was joined by a volunteer called Rowland, who died shortly after his arrival in COOMASSIE. In 1843 Freeman again visited the capital, bringing with him another missionary named George Chapman.

Towards the end of 1844 a party of ASHANTIS, returning through ASSIN with trade goods, was attacked and a woman murdered. Thereupon the King asked Chapman to represent his case at CAPE COAST, but the Ashanti chiefs were averse to this action, and insisted on making warlike preparations to obtain redress.

In the meanwhile, Maclean had been superseded by Commander Hill, R.N., as Governor, Maclean being styled Judicial Assessor. Governor Hill had omitted to acquaint the Ashanti King of his assumption of office, a gross breach of etiquette, according to native ideas, that caused much resentment at COOMASSIE.

The new Governor ridiculed the idea of an Ashanti invasion until Chapman's representation disabused him of his optimism. He decided to receive the King's messengers, and made reparation for the unwarranted attack on the Ashanti traders by causing the woman's murderer to be executed in the presence of the Ashanti messengers. Thus he averted war.

In 1846 Commander Hill resigned, and Commander Winniett, R.N., succeeded him.

The new Governor had received instructions to use every possible means to suppress human sacrifices.

Matters being comparatively quiet on the Coast, he decided to visit COOMASSIE, and set out in September,

1848, for the Ashanti capital, accompanied by Freeman and Captain Powell. He had an escort of a company of the 1st West India Regiment. Winniett was well received by the King, but since the ASHANTIS were unwilling to abandon their barbaric custom of human sacrifices, his mission proved unsuccessful.

KWEKU DUA, taking advantage of the Governor's presence, endeavoured to enlist his co-operation to induce the ASSINS to return to ASHANTI. The Governor promised that, provided the ASSINS were willing to return, he would not place any obstacle in the way of their departure from the Protectorate.

True to his promise, immediately on his return to CAPE COAST he placed the project before the Assin chiefs.

They preferred to remain under British protection. This decision was conveyed to the King, and he was further informed that, since the ASSINS had decided to remain in the Protectorate, they would in future be considered independent of ASHANTI.

About this time KWEKU DUA had trouble with his sister, EFUA SAPON, the Queen-Mother. Her son, OSEI KOJO, was supposed to be scheming to oust KWEKU DUA and to obtain the stool for himself. One of OSEI KOJO's domestics informed the King that his master had made a fetish to kill the King.

A dispute arose between them, and the Queen-Mother tried to shield her son, but KWEKU DUA deposed her and appointed her daughter, EFUA KOBİ, as her successor.

OSEI KOJO, who had occupied the ABAKUMAJUA stool (founded by KWISSI BODUM for the heir-apparent), was likewise removed and his stool given to KOBINA ENIN, eldest son of EFUA KOBİ.



In 1852 KOJO OTIBU of ASSIN commenced plotting with COOMASSIE for the return to ASHANTI of his people, most of whom had been driven south of the PRA years before.

The Ashanti King, who was only too willing to see them return to their own homes, readily took the bait offered by the wily OTIBU, and sent him 300 or more pereguns\* to assist the movement. But news having reached the Governor of OTIBU'S negotiations, he caused his arrest and brought him to CAPE COAST, where he was tried by a tribunal composed of the Governor, the Judicial Assessors, and several Fanti chiefs. OTIBU was charged with three offences :

- (a) Sending a man as prisoner to Coomassie, knowing he would be sacrificed ;
- (b) Receiving a bribe from the King, and using it to induce his captains to accept Ashanti rule, and
- (c) Setting the authority of the Governor at defiance by detaining his soldier messenger.

OTIBU was found guilty on all counts, and sentenced to be imprisoned for life. Another Assin chief named JEBI received a lighter sentence.

OTIBU was released a few weeks later on the petition of the allied chiefs. As a guarantee of his good behaviour, they handed over to the Governor as hostages the heirs to all important stools in ASSIN.

No sooner was OTIBU reinstated than he recommenced his intrigues, and appealed to the King to send a party of ASHANTIS to DUNKWA, ostensibly to perform the funeral custom for the late King of DENKERA. He stated that he would join the party on its return journey and compel as many of his people as he could to do

\* The present-day value of a peregun equals £8.

likewise. To this the King stupidly agreed, and wrote to the Governor in March, 1853, of his intention to send his brother ACHIEMPON with a party to DUNKWA for a funeral custom.

On account of the great unrest caused among the FANTIS by the advent of this party, ACHIEMPON and his people were stopped at FESU, beyond the PRA, by Ensign Brownell.

OTIBU, now thoroughly frightened, fled to CAPE COAST. JEBI was confronted with ACHIEMPON, and the whole plot was revealed.

The FANTIS, as a protest to ACHIEMPON'S presence among them, seized all the Ashanti traders on whom they could lay hands. This drastic measure had, naturally enough, the contrary effect to that anticipated, and prolonged ACHIEMPON'S visit, while he was being reinforced steadily from COOMASSIE.

- He insisted on the release of the Ashanti traders and all their goods.

Everything was now made ready for another invasion by the ASHANTIS. The completion of these preparations induced the King to recall ACHIEMPON. The invasion was, however, averted, for in April OTIBU and JEBI were beheaded at DUNKWA, in the presence of a large concourse of allied chiefs.

The Governor alleged that KWEKU DUA had by this invasion of ACHIEMPON broken the Treaty of 1831, and suggested a new one. The messenger returned to CAPE COAST in January, 1854, with the King's reply. He refused to sign a new Treaty—

“because I consider that I have not violated any of the rules in the old Treaty since it was drawn up at Cape Coast Castle until the occurrence of the recent excitement, caused by the evil conduct of the Assins, in which

case I thought that I was justified in sending a body of people to escort them to Ashanti country at their own wish and request, without letting Governor Hill know of it. . . . I consider myself blameless in the affairs throughout, from the beginning of Governor Winniett's conduct and others, and have not infringed the old Treaty, which requires a new Treaty to be made or renewed, as you requested.

“ In the meantime I still confirm the old Treaty, and will act upon it, and in future also I shall never do anything without letting your Excellency know of it, as you had proposed, in reference to any injury that may be done to myself or any of my subjects, the demanding of a debt or debts, or any other minor cases. . . . I can assure your Excellency also that if I have violated the rules in the Treaty which deserves a fine, and you asking me to lodge gold in the Castle, I shall not show any reluctance in doing so, knowing that it shall be sent to me again at the expiration of the period of time fixed. . . . Above all, I beg your Excellency to represent the statement of the case to the British Government in England, that they might not think that I have done wrong in these matters, and refusing to sign the new Treaty, as I have already given you my reasons of the same.”\*

The King also asked for a British Resident. No European officer being available, an educated African named George Musgrove was sent.

Several years of peace followed these events, and a brisk exchange of merchandise ensued. ASHANTIS visited the Coast in large numbers, bartering their produce for European goods.

All the Ashanti chiefs, the King included, used their slaves and domestics for trading purposes. They so well realized the advantages to be derived from their

\* Claridge, vol. i., p. 493.

geographical position that aliens were only allowed into ASHANTI for trading purposes on special permission.

Thus they remained the middlemen for all trade between the countries to the north of ASHANTI and the coast. A large market was established at SALAGA, where the Mahommedan traders of the interior exchanged their cattle and sheep for kola nuts and European goods.

Although the King did not himself own any gold-mines, all nuggets exceeding a certain size were his by law.

The death duties exacted by him were extremely heavy. All the property of a deceased ABREMPON went to the King, who usually returned part of it to the new chief. The only exceptions to this rule were in connection with the stools of ADENTIN, MAMPON, NSUTA, KUMAWU, JUABIN, OFINSU, BEKWAI, KOKOFU, ADANSI, and ESUMEJA. On the death of a chief occupying one of the above stools, only a few gold ornaments went to the King, together with a male and a female servant.

The King also derived his revenue from oath fees and fines; road taxes in kind, on cattle and sheep; and various trading ventures.

KWESSI BODUM is reported to have been the richest of all the Kings of ASHANTI.

All went well until 1862, when an ASHANTI named JANIN fled to the coast for having failed to comply with the Ashanti law that all gold nuggets recovered should be sent to the King. Owing, presumably, to a guilty conscience, KWEKU JANIN refused to stand his trial in COOMASSIE, and took several of his people away with him. A runaway slave also joined him.

In December, 1862, a formal demand was made for

the return of the fugitives. Governor Pine, however, refused to surrender them, and wrote to the Secretary of State as follows :

“ The refuge afforded to runaway slaves and pawns under the British flag has during my long experience proved the source of the greatest irritation and annoyance to native Kings and Chiefs, and the wound the most difficult for Her Majesty’s representative to heal. . . . Gladly would I try an experiment and send back these subjects to Ashantee, for if confidence were once created between this Government and Ashantee, the greatest obstacle in the way of amicable relations between us would be removed ; and if against the old man there were the slightest shadow of a prima-facie case of criminality, my course would be clear ; but as it is, I dare not deliver him up, much less the runaway boy. Their blood would be upon my head ; and yet I feel that I am estranging, if not exasperating, the most powerful King on this coast, and upon whom, according to his ideas, I am committing a gross injustice.”

This refusal was a great blow to the ASHANTIS generally, and the chiefs clamoured for war. But the King sent a special envoy, AMANKWA KUMA, in February, 1863, who stated his case clearly and moderately at a meeting held in the Castle. He also handed the Governor the following letter from his master :

“ I think you to be my good friend, always I believe you that I can get back any of my slaves who run away to you ; but in poor George Maclean’s time I made agreement with him in certificate, the one in Cape Coast Castle, and another in my hand therein stated, that any Fantee person run up to me to deliver him and to bring him to Cape Coast. And if any slave of mine also run away to Cape Coast, you are to deliver him back also to me, as all the Governors that take charge of Cape

Coast Castle did not move from this agreement, but always filled the rules of the said poor George Maclean, except your time has destroyed the agreement. . . . But one of my slaves, named Quarquah, who was witness to the said agreement, and who was the bearer of the certificate for me, is absent in the town, and I have sent messenger after him, but when he comes I will let him come with the book, that you may see your guiltiness."

Although no mention of extradition existed in the Treaty referred to—that of 1831—it may be safely accepted that the King was under that impression.

Only ten years before, Cruikshank, who had been Judicial Assessor, wrote as follows :

" Another difficulty which our Gold Coast Government has to contend against is the disposal of runaway slaves from Ashantee. It was stipulated in our treaties with the King that his fugitive subjects should be re-delivered to him in the same way that Fantees flying into his dominions were to be restored to the Governor. This arrangement was necessary to prevent malefactors escaping from punishment. But in many cases the runaway Ashantee seeks a refuge from the fate which is likely to overtake him at the murderous customs which are often taking place at Coomassie, and a natural repugnance is, of course, felt about surrendering him. . . . Under these circumstances the Governor is obliged to mediate as he best can, and refuses to deliver up the runaway, except upon condition of sufficient security being given that his life will be spared. . . . The security for their safety is simply the King's great oath taken on his behalf by his messengers. There is no instance known of this oath, given under such circumstances, being violated."\*

\* Cruikshank, vol. ii., p. 236.

In a dispatch dated June 4th, 1850, Governor Winnett wrote to the Secretary of State :

“ I believe your lordship is perfectly aware that since the close of the war with Ashantee an understanding has existed between the British Local Government and the King to the effect that all runaways from Kumasia are to be delivered back to the King upon application made by him to the officer administering the Government.”

It is evident, therefore, that KWEKU DUA considered himself within his rights, and was quite genuine in making his claim for the return of these fugitives.

Governor Pine's reply to the King was :

“ I am willing to give up criminals, although there is no such agreement, but I do not consider Quasie Gainnie a criminal until you prove him so.”

Ellis wrote :

“ Many of the merchants with Commodore Wilnot strongly supported the claim of the King, but the headman of Cape Coast, who, it was said, had been bribed by Djanin, and others of the merchants were against it. The Governor also was of opinion that the fugitives should not be surrendered, so, as a matter of course, the official members of the Council voted with him, and it was finally decided by a considerable majority to reject the King's demand.\*

On learning of this refusal from AMANKWA, the ABREMPON were furious, and even had the King been against hostilities he would have been overruled by his enraged chiefs, who now made preparations for another invasion. Their determination on war was further aggravated by the seizure, by the Coast people, of

\* Ellis, “ History of the Gold Coast,” p. 226.

ASHANTIS on their way back with ammunition from ELMINA.

No actual declaration of war had yet been made, but marauding bands of ASHANTIS crossed the PRA and did all the damage they could.

In April, 1863, three armies invaded the Protectorate. One of about 2,000 men entered WASSA, with orders to hold the DENKERAS and WASSAS in check; a second and stronger force advanced from PRASU down into the centre of the Protectorate; while a third, the main body, under AWUSU KOKO, entered AKIM and marched on ESSIKUMA, where it surprised an allied camp and completely routed it.

Major Cockrane, who had been sent to resist the invaders and lead the allies, fell back on ANAMABO.

Ellis thus described what occurred :

“ On May 10th the Ashantis advanced to within a quarter of a mile of the camp of the allies, and a slight skirmish took place between them and the native scouts, in which several of the latter were killed. A general engagement was now confidently expected for the next day, and there was a reasonable prospect of victory, as the native contingent at BOBIKUMA numbered nearly twenty thousand men; but to the astonishment and indignation of the entire force, both Regular and native, Major Cockrane issued orders for the whole of the former and the greater portion of the latter to retire to the village of Adijuma; and this retrograde movement was carried out on the day following, while the gallant Commander himself proceeded to the seacoast town of Mumford. On May 12th the remnant of the native contingent left at Bobikuma was attacked in force by the Ashantis at two o'clock in the afternoon, and by five o'clock the allied natives were completely routed, losing very heavily. The town of Bobikuma was



destroyed, and had Awusu Koko pushed on to Adijuma, the disorganized force there waiting, without orders and without a commander, would no doubt have been swept away before him. Fortunately, however, he did not follow up his success, but, after destroying upwards of thirty towns and villages in the neighbourhood, retired unmolested on May 24th to Akim Swaidru, a town on the southern frontier of Ashanti-Akim, and close to the River Birrim, the eastern tributary of the Prah."\*

On May 21st a released Fanti prisoner arrived bearing a message to the Governor from the Ashanti general, and bringing two canes. AWUSU KOKO said that he had no quarrel with the English or FANTIS, but had been sent to recover the fugitives. If the Governor would surrender them he must choose the shorter cane, but if he declined, he must choose the longer, and the war would continue.

The Governor sent Prince ANSA to the Ashanti general to say he would only negotiate with a properly accredited messenger from the King, that his army must withdraw from the Protectorate, and compensation must be paid for all damage done.

AWUSU, afraid of the rains and disease, decided to act on the Governor's advice, and recrossed the PRA, after laying waste the whole country on the line of march.

Governor PINE was now convinced that a decisive blow must be struck at the power of ASHANTI before peace and prosperity could be established on the GOLD COAST.

"There were only two courses open : One was to continue to recognize Ashanti as an independent power

\* Ellis, "History of the Gold Coast," p. 228.

and treat it as such, the difficulties attending which would have been very great owing to past misunderstandings, and would have steadily increased as time went on and the power of the English grew and extended; the other was to conquer it, and by a firm and just rule gradually eliminate what was objectionable, and foster and encourage what was good in it. There was no practicable middle course.\*

But the representations he made to the Home Government met with scant encouragement.

The Governor, expecting that the ASHANTIS would resume warfare on the cessation of the rains, made all the preparations he could to resist them. In January, 1864, a camp was established at MANSU, and in February the whole of the troops in CAPE COAST were encamped at PRASU, where a strong stockade was constructed. Another force was stationed in AKIM SUEDRU.

The ASHANTIS, however, were firmly convinced that the British troops and allies would not dare cross the PRA River, so they awaited events in security.

The climate and exposure soon began to tell on the forces of the allies; fever and dysentery broke out and played havoc among them, and eventually compelled them to withdraw.

On receiving the news of the evacuation of the allied camps, the ASHANTIS openly exulted, and KWEKU DUA is supposed to have said that "the white man may bring his cannon to the bush, but the bush is stronger than the cannon."

It was alone due to the King's peaceable disposition that no invasion followed on this abortive attempt to overawe ASHANTI.

\* Claridge, vol i., p. 520.

An enquiry was once more held on the whole affairs of the GOLD COAST. A select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to consider a special report drawn up by Colonel ORD, R.E. As a result of its deliberations the GOLD COAST became again a dependency of SIERRA LEONE.

Owing to the deplorable failure of the recent campaign, British prestige had fallen to a very low ebb, and the belief that the British were useless at bush warfare gradually gained ground. In consequence the ASHANTIS, who had certainly achieved a moral victory over the British, expected to dictate their own terms.

George Blankson of ANAMABO was again sent to COOMASSIE at the end of 1865, and the King sent an embassy down to the Coast. Nothing was definitely settled as the outcome of these negotiations, but the Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Conran, thought fit to issue a proclamation in January, 1866, stating that the King of ASHANTI had sued for peace, and that peace had accordingly been declared.

This action on his part only made matters worse, for on hearing of it the King was greatly indignant with Colonel Conran, and refused to take part in any further negotiations until the Governor had complied with his demand for JANIN'S surrender.

Later in the year KWEKU DUA offered assistance to the AWUNAS (a Coast tribe), who had been at war with the British, and had been severely punished in March, 1866. With this object he sent an army early in 1867 against the KREPIS, who were allies of the ACCRAS. In this way the AWUNAS were able to maintain their resistance to the ACCRAS, and the ASHANTIS assisted them to pillage and fire towns in KROBO.

KWEKU DUA died in April, 1867, after a reign of twenty-nine years. He is talked of as having been the most peaceable and generous of the Ashanti monarchs, yet he had the misfortune to be involved in several campaigns, all of which he believed to have been caused by the perfidy of the British authorities.

## CHAPTER VII

### KOFI KARI KARI

1867-1873

KWEKU DUA was succeeded by his grand-nephew, KOFI KARI KARI. He was a son of EFUA KOBI, EFUA SAPON'S eldest daughter.

On the death of an Ashanti King a certain quantity of his male domestics were detailed to accompany him. It was the duty of the AHINMMA (the King's sons) to see that the sentence was carried out in accordance with the orders of the ACHEMPINHENE. It was an orgy of blood. Over 300 of the AHINKWA (King's attendants) were massacred on KWEKU DUA'S death. On such occasions it was true that people were often killed in the streets, but not promiscuously. The people so killed were invariably fleeing AHINKWA.

Whether with malice aforethought or by accident, after or during the massacre of the AHINKWA, one of KWEKU DUA'S sons, named BOACHI ASO, killed one SAUN, a nephew of the General ASAMOA NKWANTA, the ANANTAHENE.

When he heard the news the old warrior was furious, and made preparations to fight the court party. The quarrel, however, was averted. Since BOACHI ASO had himself escaped, his offence was expiated by the sacrifice of his uncle, KWAMIN NIMAKUN.

KOFI KARI KARI was enstooled in July, 1867, eighty days after KWEKU DUA'S death. Whether he did or



ASHANTI CHIEF AND RETINUE.  
From a photograph.



## EXCHANGE OF FORTS

did not swear that "My business shall be war" (as he is said to have done) is doubtful, but it is certain that after his accession, when returning thanks to the ABREMPON, he wore a cap covered with flints, the Ashanti emblem and presage of war.

In March, 1867, a Treaty had been signed in London between the British and Dutch, whereby the "Sweet River" was declared to be the boundary between the two Powers on the GOLD COAST.

This implied the exchange of the forts in APOLLONIA, DIXCOVE, SEKONDI, and KOMENDA, for the Dutch settlements at MORI, KOROMANTIN, APAM and ACCRA. The affected tribes had to transfer their allegiance to another power. This arrangement suited some tribes, but not others, such as the DENKERAS and WASSAS, who found themselves at the mercy of the ASHANTIS as a result of the exchange, the Dutch always having remained on friendly terms with ASHANTI.

The ASHANTIS were naturally delighted with the turn of affairs.

The Treaty came into force on January 1st, 1868, but was not put into operation without great opposition on the coast. It gave rise to the Fanti Confederation, which included nearly all the tribes except the ELMINAS. On this account, ELMINA was attacked and invested by the FANTIS. KOFI KARI KARI offered the Dutch Governor assistance, but this was reluctantly refused.

The object of the Confederation was to compel the complete severance of friendly relations between the ELMINAS and ASHANTIS. The ELMINAS were just as determined not to comply with these terms, and suffered much hardship in consequence.

Towards the end of 1868 the King and nobles, feeling once more strong enough to try conclusions with



their enemies on the coast, determined to invade the Protectorate in three different directions—to the east, south, and west. As a preliminary measure the King dismissed the ELMINAS, who had arrived in COOMASSIE to congratulate him on his accession, and gave them a small escort under his uncle, ACHIEMPON, to see them safely to their own country.

The roads, however, were all closed, and ACHIEMPON was compelled to take a circuitous route to the west. Eventually he arrived at ASSINI, whence he marched along the beach, crossed the ANKOBRA River, and halted at AXIM.

ACHIEMPON was by nature cruel and bloodthirsty, the worst type of ASHANTI. He marked his progress to ELMINA with a trail of blood, and many atrocious acts of his still live in the memory of the coast people. He, nevertheless, was accorded a great ovation by the ELMINAS, who looked upon him as a deliverer.

Early in 1869 the eastern Ashanti army of some 30,000 men, under EDU BAFFUO (BUABASA), crossed the VOLTA River and invaded KREPI, with the intention to join the AWUNAS and swoop down on the western confines of the Protectorate; but the stubborn and unexpected resistance of the KREPIS, under an Akim man named DOMPRES, frustrated EDU'S plans.

A station of the Basel Mission had been established years before at ANUM, on the VOLTA, and another at HO, in the Krepis country. The Ho missionaries escaped, but a French trader of the name of Bonnat was captured there by the ASHANTIS.

The Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, their infant son, and Mr. Kühne, who were stationed at ANUM and had refused to leave, also fell into their hands. In June, 1869, EDU BAFFUO ordered them to be taken to the

King, under the escort of one of his slaves called **AJENA**, a coarse, drunken creature, who delighted in bullying his prisoners. Their sufferings while on the march were acute. They were compelled to walk long distances with little to eat or drink.

The **ASHANTIS** themselves did not, perhaps, realize the privations they were inflicting on their prisoners. Insufficient footgear or undue exposure to the sun and rain did not appeal to them as forms of torture, and had it not been for the brutal leader of the escort the lot of the captives would not have been so dreadful. Ramseyer and Kühne wrote afterwards that—

“as time wore on they (the escort) became our best friends and treated us with as much consideration as was possible in our forlorn condition.”\*

After crossing the **VOLTA** on June 27th, food became more plentiful, and the King sent presents from **COOMASSIE**. The child died from privations on August 7th. The captives were detained at **DURO** (two miles from **COOMASSIE**, where Bonnat joined them) for nearly six months.

The capture of these prisoners caused great anxiety to the British authorities. They were not British subjects, and so far no actual attack had been made on the British Protectorate—only on Dutch possessions on one side and on **KREPI** on the other. The Governor could not, therefore, interfere officially, but he determined to use all his influence to obtain their release.

Luckily for the Governor, **EDU BAFUO** had met with a serious defeat. The indomitable **DOMPRE** had

\* Ramseyer and Kühne, “Four Years in Ashanti,” p. 29.

inflicted severe losses on the ASHANTIS and intercepted their convoys of ammunition. EDU, ascribing this calamity to the capture of the white men, decided to send hostages for the safety of the Europeans. These hostages were sent to the Governor at CAPE COAST through KROBO.

The alarming reports of EDU'S position also induced the King to offer an exchange of prisoners. The Governor, thinking that the King alluded to the Europeans in his hands, caused the ASHANTIS in the Protectorate to be collected and sent to PRASU under Major Brownell. But the Assin chiefs, unwilling to surrender the Ashanti prisoners, closed the roads just north of the PRA and caused a delay of seven months.

In the meanwhile better news reached COOMASSIE of EDU'S situation, so that when the exchange did actually occur in March, 1871, the King only yielded up some FANTIS, excusing himself for not sending the Europeans by saying that he had to await the return of EDU BAFFUO, who had captured them.

The concerted attack on the Protectorate did not eventuate.

The Dutch found themselves completely powerless with the means at their disposal to impose law and order in their possessions, and negotiations for the transfer of all their rights to the British were commenced in November, 1869. These negotiations did not culminate until 1872, the chief difficulties to be surmounted being the presence of ACHIEMPON at ELMINA and the Ashanti claim to that town.

The Dutch had paid rent to the Ashanti Kings for ELMINA Castle ever since the "Note" fell into OSEI TUTU'S hands in 1699 or 1700, and Elmina territory

had, according to the ASHANTIS, ever since formed an integral part of the kingdom.

In all negotiations, moreover, between the British and ASHANTIS, this claim, if not actually acknowledged, had been recognized.

As late as 1868 the Elmina chiefs, in refusing an alliance with the FANTIS, had told Sir Arthur Kennedy that they wished to continue to pay tribute to ASHANTI. The presence of ACHIEMPON in ELMINA with his warriors was in itself an enlightening fact.

But the Dutch, who were now only too anxious to withdraw from the coast, denied the existence of the Ashanti claim, or of "any treaty of official engagement between Elmina and Ashanti."\*

The Dutch Governor admitted, however, that his Government paid twenty ounces of gold annually to the King of ASHANTI on an agreement entered into with the Chief of DENKERA to encourage trade, adding that "the King of Ashanti has no recognized claim upon the territory or people of Elmina."†

In November, 1870, KOFI KARI KARI heard rumours of this transfer, and in a letter dated November 24th, 1870, wrote as follows to Mr. Ussher, the Administrator :

"I beg to bring before your Excellency's kind consideration regarding the Elmina, if it is included in the change. The forts of that place have from time immemorial paid annual tribute to my ancestors to the present time by right of arms, when we conquered Intim Gackidi, King of Denkera. Intim Gackidi having purchased goods to the amount of nine thousand pounds (£9,000) from the Dutch, the Dutch demanded

\* Parliamentary Papers : Cession of Dutch Settlements.

† *Ibid.*

of my father, Osei Tutu I., for the payment, who (Osei Tutu) paid in full the nine thousand pounds (£9,000), and the Dutch delivered the Elmina to him as his own, and from that time tribute has been paid to us to this present time."\*

Later he again protested in these words :

"From the ancient up to this time Elmina Castle is mine, and living with them as friends, and they also paid yearly tribute to me, but as having understood that it going in exchange to be your Excellency's protection I do not understand."†

Colonel Nagtglas, the Dutch Governor, maintained his attitude of denial, and imprisoned ACHIEMPON in April, 1871, to induce him to return to COOMASSIE, and in October the sale of munitions of war to Ashanti traders was prohibited.

In May, 1871, the Dutch sent to COOMASSIE one Henry PLANGE, a native clerk in their employ, to obtain, if possible, a withdrawal of the King's claim to ELMINA.

He there saw the European missionaries, besides a British Government Native Agent who was negotiating for their release. PLANGE left COOMASSIE on September 2nd, and on his return presented the Dutch Governor with the following document :

"CERTIFICATE OF APOLOGY.

"1. These are to certify that the letter addressed to his Excellency H. T. Ussher, the Administrator of Her Britannic Majesty's Settlements on the Gold Coast,

\* Parliamentary Papers: Cession of Dutch Settlements.

† *Ibid.*

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dated Coomassie, 24th November, 1870, by me, Coffie Calcalli, King of Ashantee, reside at Coomassie kingdom, was totally misrepresented in the part of parties entrusted with the writing and the dictating.

" 2. I therefore do solemnly declare, in the presence of your Excellency's Ambassador, Mr. H. Plange, profession, writer of the Government's office at St. George d'Elmina, and my Chiefs, that I only meant board, wage, or salary, and not tribute by right of arms from the Dutch Government.

" 3. On account of circumstances relative to my ancestor, Osei Tutu the 1st, having conquered Intim Gackadi, the then King of Denkera, a friend or kind of commission agent of some transactions for His Netherland Majesty's Government on the Gold Coast, the said Intim Gackadi's liabilities with the Dutch Government on the Gold Coast, to the amount of £9,000, my said ancestor was caused to make it good by the said Dutch Government, and in virtue of which the Custom pay-note of the said Intim Gackadi was transferred to my said ancestor, who enjoyed it in times immemorial, and became heritable to his heirs the Kings of Ashantee, who now hold the said Custom pay-note in possession to this present moment.

" 4. The said £9,000 was paid to ensure friendship and goodwill, or feeling, towards the Dutch Government on the Gold Coast Settlement in Elmina Fort, Castle or Fort.

" 5. Tradition tells us that Ashanti and Elmina are relations, offspring of one mother ; they are brethren ; also they are not to have hostilities against each other by oath of allegiance.

" 6. In conclusion, I must acknowledge that the forementioned letter, dated Coomassie, 24th November, 1870, about my communication to his Excellency H. T. Ussher, concerning Elmina Fort, is a vague, formal, or nominal expression, the sentiments of

which I therefore must now write that the whole is a mistake.

“Signed in the presence of the Ambassador and the Chiefs, Coomassie, 19th August, 1871.

“ (Signed) COFFIE CALCALI X  
his  
mark  
King of Ashantee.  
Reside at Coomassie Kingdom.

“Chiefs—

“ (Signed) INSUA X POKOO.  
his  
mark

BOOACHIE X TURTSIN.  
his  
mark

YOAR X NYCHWIE.  
his  
mark

“ (Signed) H. PLANGE, Ambassador.”

A copy of the document was at once sent by the Dutch authorities to the Administrator, Mr. Salmon, at CAPE COAST. It satisfied the British authorities, and the Convention for the cession of the Dutch settlements was ratified on February 17th, 1872.

No doubt can now be entertained that the document was a forgery, but there is good proof that Lieutenant-Colonel Fergusson, the Dutch Governor, was no party to the fraud, for he at once acknowledged the receipt of the Certificate in a letter to KOFI KARI KARI, and asked him to withdraw ACHIEMPON from ELMINA. This letter arrived in COOMASSIE in December, and the missionaries read it to the King, who failed to understand the meaning of the contents. Messrs. Ramseyer and Kühne, moreover, who had been in

## DUTCH POSSESSIONS TAKEN OVER 109

COOMASSIE throughout PLANGE'S visit, had never seen or heard of the "Certificate of Apology," although they were in the habit of reading and interpreting the King's correspondence to him.

The first effect of the transfer of the Dutch settlements was to place the whole Coast under one Government. This modified the views of the ELMINAS, who realized that they could now claim the protection of the British flag in common with all their foes. Further, they were influenced by the report of the withdrawal of the Ashanti claim to their territory, and finally, when ACHIEMPON was removed by the Dutch to ASHANTI, they decided to accept their new rulers.

Mr. Pope Hennessy formally took over the Dutch possessions in April, 1872, and the Dutch left the GOLD COAST for ever, after an occupation of 274 years.

In the meanwhile negotiations for the release of the European missionaries had been renewed with ASHANTI, but EDU BAFUO, now in COOMASSIE, strongly resisted their surrender. It was eventually decided to claim the exorbitant ransom of 1,800 ounces of gold (about £6,500). Only two chiefs (those of MAMPON and ADANSI) were in favour of releasing the prisoners, warning the assembly that if they did not do so they must prepare for war. This was the very thing the chiefs wanted, although the King himself was against extreme measures.

In September, 1872, the captive missionaries wrote to the Governor as follows :

"The King has often declared again and again that he is the friend of your Excellency, that he truly wants peace, and as for his part he would send the white prisoners, but he seems to be entirely in the hands of his Chiefs ; he says they want the money, and it is to be



seen clearly that he has not power enough to resist them. We believe surely that they, on the pitch of their excitement and in their blindness, would force the King, by his great oath, to begin a new war.'''\*

Mr. Pope Hennessy endeavoured by a policy of extreme generosity to gain his own ends. He sent valuable presents to the King, offered to double the annual payment made by the Dutch, released the Ashanti hostages (among whom was EDU BAFFUO'S own son), and even went so far as to withdraw the prohibition of the sale of arms and ammunitions, thus giving the ASHANTIS every facility to prepare for war. Moreover, he must needs select the questionable PLANGE as his messenger—a person who was anything but a *persona grata* at the Ashanti court.

PLANGE carried letters offering £1,000 in exchange for the European prisoners. These conciliatory tactics were doomed to failure. The Ashanti chiefs construed them as an indication of fear, with the result that it made them all the more determined to fight. PLANGE was contemptuously received, and ignored for several weeks.

The King held a large meeting of the ABREMPON on September 2nd, 1872, to consider the subject. Great indignation was expressed at the Governor's offer, but KOFI KARI KARI induced the chiefs to decrease their claim to £2,000.

PLANGE, when asked to give his opinion, declared that the Governor would not pay more than £1,000, whereupon a perfect uproar ensued.

The following is an extract from PLANGE'S journal, taken from Brackenbury :

\* "Transfer of Dutch Possessions," part i., p. 154.

*King of Beckwy* : If we do not accept the £1,000, and not agree to let these white men free to go to the coast, what will come ?

*H. Plange* : Nothing will come ; but the friendly will not increase as before, because it will pain the Governor.

*King of Duadin* : Then war will come, but remember that from time immemorial or from ancient time you never heard that the Fantees declared war against Ashantees, but always Ashantees against the Fantees ; and how is it ? These white men we sell them for gold ; if Governor agree the price, he can buy them ; if not, we will keep them for curiosity. Another thing, if the Governor has not money to pay the amount we ask, let him give back the Assins, Ackims, and Dencirras, in the place of these white men, and we will give them up to him (Governor), but not any less money.

*H. Plange* : I am not sent to decide old matters which I don't know ; but this point I will not be scruple to answer you ; the Assins are refugees, and Governor cannot give them to you as you wish ; no, never.

*King* : Put this aside, and let we manage the money matter. Arthur (Plange), what you say about the money ?

*H. Plange* : My master, the Governor, wrote a letter to his friend, while I am already here, sent in by Affilfa, request the King to pay that £1,000, even £500—the Basel missionaries are able to pay, as I told you before ; Governor offered this £1,000 to His Majesty for the purpose to maintain peace ; but for any money than the £1,000 ?

*King* : Can't Governor pay any money more than the £1,000 ?

*H. Plange* : As it was in the letter.

*King of Fommanah* : Governor is only pinching us with the £1,000 to hear some words from us, and that is all. Governor will hear is a war ; and seeing I am the King of Fommanah, even I am the smallest

King, I know that the Governor will not be able to come to me.

"*King's Mother*: You think also that I am a woman; it is so, but my right arm is strong enough to meet unnumbered Fantees, whoever likes to declare war against the Ashantees.

"*Amanquateah*: If lice or louse are too much in the hair and troubles you, should better to shave the hair and get rest.

"*H. Plange*: Have I spoke any bad words to cause you to anger? How you mean by these?

"*King*: Governor wants really to have war with me but not for peace, reason why instead he has to pay the half of the amount 600 praquen (£4,860). The Chief, Adu Boffu, asked only sent a letter to pay £1,000. For fight affairs I am not afraid; if you like I can show you my magazine, to see so much quantity of ammunition I have, that you may tell the Governor and the Fantees. So far I know that the white man never agree with raining and sunshine as we can bear.

"*H. Plange*: I am not sent to make declaration of war, but I was sent as messenger of peace; and if you mean to declare war with the coast as you are hooting at it now, I dare say if it is so I will never cross the Prah before the roads will be shutted; and not this I am going to write to my master about it. If I do, the matter will be spoiled.

"*All the Chiefs*: Do so, war we never afraid; if you boast us with war affairs we are not afraid, etc.

"*H. Plange*: I beg the King of Mampon to speak with the King and chieves to be quiet, and I beg to know something to enable me to inform my master, as the period of the affairs.

"*Adu Boffu's Families*: After our opinions are not to be blamed the King on the coast, as the coast men will talk bad against our King, so we let the amount comes to £4,000.

"*King*: Governor messenger, Arthur (Plange), has

to write a letter to the Governor just now, and that, as for my side, I am willing to let these white men go to their country free, without ask any cent, but the chiefs sticks upon the said money, and I beg the chiefs are here present, that as I wish to have peace with the coast, the amount of £4,000 you said to be reduced as to come to the amount of £2,000.

“*King of Fommanah* : I beg the messenger Arthur not to write Governor about these affairs, that we may settle these affairs quietly.

“*King* : Do not mention this, because it shows that you are afraid. I wish the messenger write the Governor so.”

In October the King sent OWUSU KUMA to CAPE COAST with a large retinue to deliver his claim for £2,000. KOFI KARI KARI, in his eagerness for peace, however, had given his messenger a second letter reducing his claim to £1,000. PLANGE, knowing this, contrived to inform the Administrator, Mr. Salmon, of this second letter, whereupon a firm attitude was adopted, and it was finally arranged to hand the money over to a Mr. Grant at CAPE COAST, to be held in trust for the King until the release of the missionaries.

This was accordingly done, and the King informed of the result of the negotiations.

But the unrest among the Ashanti chiefs was increasing. The accumulated effect of the refusal to surrender JANIN in the last reign and the recent loss of ELMINA was in itself sufficient to engender fierce resentment, but the deciding factor in favour of hostilities—the real cause of the war—was the extreme jealousy aroused among the ABREMPON by the success of EDU BAFUO.

EDU was a junior chief when he ventured on his Krepi campaign, but his successes had raised him to a

position of great importance. He was now a large slave-owner and had acquired great wealth. This was gall and wormwood to all his seniors in rank. BENIMPA, the CHIDOMHENE, and four of his elders, headed the war-party. They were spoiling for an opportunity to distinguish themselves, and argued that the chances of self-aggrandizement offered by success in the field far outweighed the hardships and disadvantages of warfare. Their assurance of the British Government's dread of hostilities, moreover, acted as a welcome spur to their inclinations, and war became inevitable.

It was decided upon at a meeting held by the King on October 22nd. The chiefs swore to march to the Coast, and the King replied: "If you go, I go with you."

On November 8th PLANGE and the missionaries were sent to FOMENA (thirty-three miles south of COOMASSIE, on the CAPE COAST road). Whether this was done to get them out of the way during mobilization, or whether the King really intended to release them and altered his mind on receipt of the news that the ransom would only be paid at CAPE COAST, is uncertain. The captives were detained at FOMENA until December 8th, and then brought back to COOMASSIE.

The usual tactics of a simultaneous attack on three sides were again adopted.

KOFI BENTUO (Chief of MARAWERE) was to march south-east with a small force of two or three thousand men, to hold the AKIMS in check, and give free movement to the central column; EDU BAFFUO, with four or five thousand men, was to overrun DENKERA and WASSA; while the main army, under AMANKWA TIA of BANTAMA, of some 20,000 (with reserves), was to advance due south to the coast.

EDU BAFUO'S division marched first, and took the MANSU NKWANTA road. It consisted of all EDU'S own people, called JIASIWA, belonging to AGOGO, JIACHI, and several more villages. He crossed the OFIN into SEFWI, and went as far as WIOSO before he turned down into APOLLONIA, where he had three engagements and captured INSAMA.

The main army followed a week later, under AMANKWA TIA, and marched straight for the PRA, where the concentration was effected. This army consisted of all the COOMASSIES, the TEKIMANS (under the DOMAKWAI stool), the WENCHIS and MANSU NKWANTAS (under ASAFO), the ASHANTI AKIMS (under the ODUM stool), the OBOGUS (under the ANANTAHENE), the BEREKUMS and DENYASIS (under BANTAMA), the AHAPOS (under ANKASE), AGUNA (under ADENTIN), and the NKORANZAS, WAMS, OFINSUS, KUMAWUS, EJISUS, MAMPONS, JUABENS, BEKWAIS, KOKOFUS, and ADANSIS—all in their own separate formations, in accordance with the established rule described on p. 14.

KOFI BENTUO left COOMASSIE with all the MARA-WERE people about forty days after the main army, and followed the EJISU road, with the intention of guarding the AKIM frontier; but he was recalled, as the King heard that the DENKERAS had hidden their heirlooms in a forest called YINABAFORO, close to IMBRAIM, and sent BENTUO to recover them. He failed in his mission, and returned to COOMASSIE on hearing of the defeat of AMANKWA TIA.

The main army commenced to cross the PRA in January, 1873. This is said to have occupied five days. Several Assin villages were burnt and plundered. The Government first received definite information of

the invasion on January 31st. Taken completely by surprise, the British authorities refused to believe the news until the ASHANTIS attacked a camp of hastily collected allies at YANKUMASI ASSIN on February 9th, and occupied that place. The allies fell back on YANKUMASI FANTI (about thirty-five miles), where a large camp was established.

Although they made preparations to attack the invaders, the allies were surprised by the ASHANTIS on March 10th and completely routed, after a hard fight. The news of this battle caused the greatest dismay on the coast, as it left the ASHANTIS encamped within thirty miles of CAPE COAST. Fortunately for the allies, AMANKWA TIA did not follow up his victory. This gave the allies (who had now been reinforced by an officer and 100 men of the West India Regiment) time to concentrate at DUNKWA, a village four miles south of the Ashanti camp. A pause ensued, as the allied chiefs could not be persuaded to attack, and AMANKWA TIA waited for reinforcements and ammunition. This delay enabled EDU BAFUO (who had defeated the DENKERAS and WASSAS, and had been reinforced by the SEFWIS) to join the main army.

The ASHANTIS attacked at their leisure on April 8th, but they were met with the resistance of desperation and neither side could claim a victory. On April 14th the ASHANTIS again attacked the allies, and a fierce battle, lasting from daylight to dark, was fought without definite result. The ASHANTIS were so disheartened that they prepared to retreat. But before their preparations were complete they heard that their enemies were in full flight on CAPE COAST. Had the ASHANTIS followed them up then and there, nothing could have opposed their march to the coast. They were, how-

ever, in a wretched plight themselves. Food was scarce and disease ravaged their ranks. Under these circumstances, AMANKWA TIA contented himself with forming a large camp at DUNKWA, where his force remained until the middle of May. They moved on JUKWA (fourteen miles south-west), where they attacked and routed a combined force of FANTIS and DENKERAS on June 5th. The fugitives fled to CAPE COAST, and a general panic seized the whole countryside.

Between 15,000 and 20,000 natives sought the protection of the Castle guns. The Governor held a meeting of chiefs on June 6th, and tried to rally them, but without success. The ELMINAS rose in revolt, and were bombarded from the Castle on June 13th. They promptly retreated, but, having been reinforced by a party of some 3,000 ASHANTIS, returned to the attack. The steady volleys of the British troops, however, caused them to retreat, with the loss of about 200 dead.

This action proved of great importance, as it caused the ELMINAS to reconsider their position and acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government ; it convinced the ASHANTIS that the capture of the Castle was beyond their power ; while it also made the Home authorities realize the seriousness of the Ashanti invasion and of the absolute necessity for the adoption of strong measures against such a formidable foe.

But the plight of the ASHANTIS, although better than that of their enemies, was far from enviable. Small-pox and dysentery played havoc among their men ; the rainy season was at its height ; the camps were swampy and insanitary, and the indecision of AMANKWA TIA caused great dissatisfaction.



KOFI KARI KARI would not recall them, however. To an appeal from his chiefs he replied :

“ You wished for war, and you have it ; you swore you would not return till you could bring me the walls of Cape Coast, and now you want me to recall you because many Chiefs have fallen and you are suffering. It was not I ; it was you who wished it. ”\*

Reinforcements consisting of 13 officers and 360 men of the 2nd West India Regiment arrived in July, and 170 officers and men of the Royal Marine Light Infantry and Artillery in August.

With the exception of a few skirmishes, however, both sides remained inactive for several weeks.

In the meantime Sir Garnet Wolseley had been appointed Civil Governor and Commander-in-Chief. He arrived with his staff of thirty-six specially-selected officers at CAPE COAST on October 2nd.

The instructions he received were as follows : †

“ No. 1.

“ DOWNING STREET,

“ 10th September, 1873.

“ SIR,

“ Her Majesty’s Government having determined, in consequence of the critical state of affairs on the Gold Coast caused by the Ashanti invasion, to unite the chief civil and military command in the settlement in the hands of an officer of high reputation and experience, I have the honour to acquaint you that Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of your appointment to administer the government of the Gold Coast Settlement, and I transmit to you herewith Her Majesty’s commission as Administrator.

“ 2. You will, as Administrator, correspond directly with this office, and not through the Governor-in-Chief

\* Ramseyer and Kühne, p. 239.

† Brackenbury, vol. i., p. 129 *et seq.*

of the West African Settlements, who will be instructed during your tenure of office to abstain from all interference in the affairs of the Gold Coast.

" 3. The circumstances which have led to the present position of affairs on the Gold Coast appear to be briefly as follows :

" 4. The King of Ashanti, as you will find on referring to the document dated 19th of August, 1871, which is printed at p. 34 of the correspondence presented to Parliament on Gold Coast affairs in February, 1872, disclaimed the pretension put forward in his letter to Mr. Ussher, No. 24, of the 24th November, 1870, that Elmina was his by right ; but in his letter to Colonel Harley of 20th of last March the King again asserted that the fort of Elmina and its dependencies are his, and it seems beyond a doubt that one of the main objects of his mission was the assertion of Ashanti supremacy over Elmina.

" 5. But independently of Elmina, it must be remembered that peace had never been formally re-established with the Ashanti kingdom since the war of 1864, and that a petty warfare had from time to time been carried on between the Ashantis and the border tribes.

" 6. It has been asserted that Mr. Plange, the messenger sent by Mr. Hennessey to Coomassie, did not faithfully deliver the friendly messages with which he was instructed from the British authorities to the King ; it is, however, a remarkable fact that almost up to the time of the news arriving of the invasion the Gold Coast Government was in apparently friendly communication both with the King of Ashanti and his ambassadors at Cape Coast, and that the Administrator was in daily expectation of hearing that the captive missionaries had been released, and that amicable relations had been permanently established with the Ashanti kingdom.

" 7. No indication had been given by the King of Ashanti that he had any serious ground of quarrel with

the British Government, whether as regards Elmina or any other matter ; and no opportunity was afforded to the Administrator to endeavour to remove peacefully any cause of complaint which the King might allege against the British Government or against the tribes in alliance with Her Majesty.

“ 8. The statement in a letter from Mr. Salmon, then Acting Administrator, to Mr. Hennessey, dated 8th of November, 1872, that the Ashantis were at that time and had been purchasing very large quantities of ammunition, guns, gunpowder, and lead bars, seems to show that the invasion had been deliberately planned, and that it was not the result of a sudden outbreak of savage violence, on account of any supposed affront or neglect on the part of the British authorities. It is to be observed, moreover, that in the letter to Colonel Harley, to which I have referred above, the King of Ashanti by no means limits his demands to Elmina, but calls upon the Administrator to restore the Denkeras, Akims, and Assins to their former position as his subjects, in direct contravention of the Treaty of 1831, in which it is stated that ‘ the King of Ashanti has renounced all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, and others formerly his subjects.’

“ 9. I need scarcely say that Her Majesty’s Government cannot for a moment listen to such preposterous demands, nor can they allow the territories of the tribe in alliance with Her Majesty to be devastated, the inhabitants butchered or driven away into slavery, and all progress and commerce stopped on the Coast by hordes of barbarians.

“ 10. At the same time, Her Majesty’s Government have never had any desire to prevent the Ashantis from peaceful intercourse with the Coast ; on the contrary, they have been anxious in every way to foster and encourage such intercourse ; and one of the advantages which they anticipated from the possession of the forts



CHIEF AKWESSI INUAMA, HEAD LINGUIST.

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From a photograph.



at Elmina was that, through the friendly connection between the Elminas and the Ashantis, increased facilities would have been afforded for trade with the latter.

“ 11. On your assuming the government, or as soon after as you may think advisable, you will address a communication to the King of Ashanti, summoning him to withdraw his forces from the territories of our allies within such a period as you may fix, and to make adequate reparation for the injuries and losses which he has inflicted upon our allies, and give securities for the maintenance of peace in future. I have in another dispatch indicated to you generally the nature of the conditions which Her Majesty's Government would consider equitable.

“ 12. You will intimate to him that active measures are in preparation against him, and that if he refuses to comply with our demands, or delays to withdraw his forces within the time named, he may rest assured that means will not be wanting to compel him to do so, and to inflict such a defeat upon him as will effectually deter him from repeating his aggressions.

“ 13. Colonel Harley has been instructed to invite the principal kings and chiefs of the friendly tribes to meet you on your arrival at Cape Coast, and you will, of course, lose no time in endeavouring to collect and organize any native force which you may judge to be necessary for conducting any operations which may appear to you certain, or in a high degree likely, to be undertaken.

“ 14. You should state to the native kings that the Queen, on learning the calamitous position in which her allies are placed by the invasion of their country by the Ashantis, and their inability, without further assistance, to repel the invaders, has sent out specially an officer of high authority and experience, uniting the chief civil and military command, for the purpose of rendering them that assistance.

“ 15. You should explain to them that while Her Majesty's Government are prepared to take such measures as may be found expedient on your advice to aid them in carrying on the war against the Ashantis, they expect the native tribes to use their utmost efforts to defend themselves, and to place their resources unreservedly at your disposal.

“ 16. The native tribes undoubtedly made considerable efforts at the beginning of the war ; but since their last defeat they appear to have been unable to rouse themselves to even the most necessary exertions for their own protection. The reports received by Her Majesty's Government show that at Cape Coast the natives have not even taken steps to clear away the bush, which endangers the safety of the town, and that nothing has been done by them to obtain trustworthy information of the movements of the Ashantis. You will intimate plainly to the native kings that it is impossible to help those who are unwilling to help themselves ; and that unless they unite together cordially in their own defence and show themselves prepared to make every sacrifice in their power to maintain themselves against the invader, they must not long look for aid to Her Majesty's Government.

“ 17. Her Majesty's Government are unable to give you more precise instructions as to the measures which should be taken in order to bring the war to a speedy and successful termination, without further information than they at present possess. Much will depend upon the amount of co-operation which you may be able to obtain from the friendly tribes, the position and force of the Ashantis, concerning which but imperfect intelligence has hitherto been received, and upon the opinion which you may form after examination of the state of affairs on the spot as to the practicability of an expedition into the interior, and the number and composition of the force with which you might recommend that such an expedition should be undertaken.

“It may be that you will find the forces at your disposal upon the Coast sufficient for the accomplishment of any object which you may think it proper to undertake. But if you should find it necessary to ask for any considerable reinforcement of European troops, I have to request that you will enter into full explanations as to the circumstances in which you propose to employ them, and the reasons which may lead you to believe that they can be employed without an unjustifiable exposure, and with a well-grounded anticipation of success.

“I have, etc.,  
“KIMBERLEY.”

“No. 2.

“DOWNING STREET,  
“10th September, 1873.

“SIR,

“Her Majesty's Government wish to leave you a large discretion as to the terms which you may think it advisable to require from the King of Ashanti, but I may point out to you that the Treaty which was concluded with Ashanti in 1831, and of which I enclose a copy for your information, seems to afford a reasonable basis for any fresh convention.

“2. It would certainly be desirable to include in such a convention an explicit renewal by the King of Ashanti of the renunciation, contained in the Treaty of 1831, of all claim to tribute or homage from the native kings who are in alliance with Her Majesty, and, further, a renunciation on his part to supremacy over Elmina, or over any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch, and to any tribute or homage from such tribes, as well as to any payment or acknowledgment in any shape by the British Government in respect of Elmina or any other of the British forts or possessions on the Coast.

“3. The King should also, for his own interest no less than with a view to the general benefit of the



country, engage to keep the paths open through his dominions, to promote lawful commerce to and through the Ashanti country, and to protect all peaceful traders passing through his dominions to the coast; and it might be expedient that a stipulation should be made that a resident British Consul or Agent should be received at the Ashanti capital if Her Majesty should think fit at any time to appoint one.

“4. You will, of course, be careful to avoid as far as possible anything which may endanger the lives of the European missionaries and their families who have so long been held in captivity at Coomassie, without any fault of their own so far as Her Majesty’s Government are aware, and you will make every effort to secure their safe release.

“5. You will also endeavour to procure the surrender of all the prisoners taken by the Ashantis from the tribes in alliance with Her Majesty.

“6. It is a usual practice with the native tribes to demand hostages for the faithful performance of treaties of peace. This was done in 1831, when two hostages of high rank were delivered over to the British Government by the King of Ashanti. If you should find it advisable to make a similar demand on the present occasion, you will bear in mind that the hostages should be men of high rank and position in Ashanti.

“7. It would be reasonable to exact from the King the payment of such an indemnity as may be within his means, which are said to be considerable, for the expense of the war and the injuries inflicted on Her Majesty’s allies.

“8. Lastly, the opportunity should not be lost for putting an end, if possible, to the human sacrifices and the slave-hunting which, with other barbarities, prevail in the Ashanti kingdom.

“I have, etc.,  
“KIMBERLEY.”

On arrival, Sir Garnet found only 600 or 700 men of the 2nd West India Regiment, and these were scattered along the coast, so that he could only depend on about 300 for actual service in the field. He at once took steps to raise a native force, and detailed officers to recruit in GAMBIA, SIERRA LEONE, and LAGOS. He held a big meeting of chiefs at CAPE COAST, and promised them assistance if they would combine against the common enemy.

Ten pounds a month were promised to the chiefs for every thousand men they put in the field. He undertook to supply them with arms, ammunition, and a certain amount of rations, besides paying each man 1½d. a day. The chiefs promised to do their best, provided that they were led by English officers, but they showed no eagerness to fight.

The ASHANTIS, who were encamped at MAMPON and EFUTU, kept in close touch with ELMINA and the surrounding villages, whence they drew large supplies of smoked fish and foodstuffs.

Sir Garnet determined to drive them out of the villages, but owing to the small number of troops at his disposal, he could only hope to do so by surprising them.

Troops were secretly moved from CAPE COAST to ELMINA by night, and a column marched out early on the morning of October 14th, under Colonel Wood, V.C. (90th Regiment).

This column drove the Ashanti outposts out of ESSAMAN and destroyed several small villages which had harboured the enemy. But although this small expedition made a good impression, the chiefs could not induce their men to mobilize.

The recruiting missions had, moreover, proved un-

successful, and Sir Garnet was compelled to demand a large force of European troops with which to conduct the campaign.

He also addressed a letter to KOFI KARI KARI in which he demanded the withdrawal of all the Ashanti forces in the Protectorate, the immediate surrender of all prisoners, and guarantees for the payment of compensation. He concluded by writing :

“ If you, in good faith, consent to these conditions I shall be ready to treat with you in a friendly spirit, and to consider any reasonable proposals you may make. But if within twenty days I have not received from you an assurance of your readiness to comply with Her Majesty’s wishes, or if you have not, within the date already mentioned, withdrawn all your forces within your own territory beyond the Pra River, having given such guarantees as may satisfy me for the fulfilment of the above-mentioned terms, I hereby warn you to expect the full punishment which your deeds have merited. Rest well assured that power will not be wanting to that end. I can scarcely believe that you do not know how unequal would be the struggle which you invite.”\*

Although three copies of this letter were dispatched, none ever reached the King. Two were intercepted by AMANKWA TIA—the third was lost.

AMANKWA TIA, without forwarding the letter to the King, took upon himself to reply as follows :

\* Parliamentary Papers : Ashanti War.

*"To His Excellency's Governor-in-Chief of  
Her Majesty's Fort.*

"MAMPON,

"October 20th, 1873.

"SIR,

"I have received those two letters which you sent to me in order to send them to the King of Ashantee. For what purpose I came here is that : Assin, Dankra, Akyem, Wassaw. Those four nations belong to the King of Ashantee, and they refused to serve the King, and they escaped away unto you. If the King sends his servants to or to buy something at Cape Coast they catch them and plundered their good to. And those nations ordered the King of Ashantee that he may come and fight with them. Therefore I said that they are not a friends with the King. On account of that I shall come down here to catch those four chieves who ordered the King of Ashantee to come to fight with them.

"And they fought with me six times, and I drove them away, and they escaped to be under you. But the King did not send me into Cape Coast, and when you deliver Assin, Dankra, Akyem, and Wassaw unto me, I shall bring unto the King there is no any quarrel with you.

"I send my love to you.

"I am your,

"(Signed) AMANKWA TIA."\*

But in spite of the boastful tone of the reply, the ASHANTIS had had enough fighting for the time being, and AMANKWA TIA decided to retire towards the PRA.

As soon as he received news of the retreat, Sir Garnet determined to follow them up and keep them on the move.

\* Parliamentary Papers : Ashanti War.

On October 26th he pushed on to ABRAKAMPA, hoping to outflank the ASHANTIS, while orders were given to Colonel Festing to advance from DUNKWA. This column surprised an Ashanti camp at ISKABIO on the 27th, under cover of a thunder-storm. The ASHANTIS rallied and fought hard for a time, but eventually gave way before the West India troops.

Next day Sir Garnet advanced on ASANCHI, only to find the enemy camp deserted. But he was unable to follow up the retreating detachments owing to the pusillanimity of his native levies. Strong reconnaissances were made on November 3rd. Colonel Festing again came in contact with the ASHANTIS at ISKABIO. He was compelled to fall back before their fire, but not until he had inflicted severe losses on the enemy.

On November 5th the Ashanti main body attacked ABRAKAMPA from the west. But the bush had been cleared all round the village, and they could make no headway against the galling fire of superior weapons. Nevertheless, they continued the engagement up to midnight. Next morning they resumed their attack from ADAMADI, AMANKWA TIA'S camp. Experience had taught them not to expose themselves in the open, and they contented themselves with firing into the village from the bush. Their weapons, however, were completely outranged, and they inflicted little loss on the garrison, while they suffered heavily. Next day (November 7th) it was learnt that the ASHANTIS had retreated.

The Ashanti camp at ADAMADI was rushed and AMANKWA TIA'S rear-guard surprised; but although every sign of a precipitate flight was visible, the officers could not induce the native levies to follow up their advantage.

## CLEVER RETREAT OF THE ASHANTIS 129

AMANKWA TIA first fell back on AINSA, intending to retreat up the PRASU road from DUNKWA ; but finding not only the latter place strongly occupied by Colonel Festing, but strong posts established as far north as MANSU, he cut his way through the thick bush for days, and actually succeeded in reaching NSUTA on the 24th before being harassed.

On the 26th Colonel Wood advanced on NSUTA, and found camp-fires still burning in the recently evacuated Ashanti camp. He learnt that the enemy were at FOSU, and followed them up with a trained force of about 300 men. There the ASHANTIS fought a rear-guard action under the personal leadership of the old general, ASAMOA NKWANTA, who had been detailed for the purpose by AMANKWA TIA, and drove back their pursuers. This action enabled the main body to reach the PRA, which was precipitately crossed, not, however, without considerable loss of life, owing to lack of canoes. Although the ASHANTIS had been in full flight since their last effort at ABRAKAMPA, the retreat had been conducted in a masterly manner, and Colonel Brackenbury's comment on it was that "the army of a civilized nation need not have been ashamed of a retreat conducted with such skill and such success."\*

ASAMOA NKWANTA became known henceforth as SRAFO KRA (he who saved the warrior's soul).

The remnants of the Ashanti army crossed the PRA on the last day of November. Captain Butler, with a detachment of the 2nd West India Regiment, reached PRASU on December 10th.

When the Ashanti camp at MAMPON was visited it was found to have been nearly a mile square :

\* Brackenbury, vol. i., p. 302.

“covered with huts; but the enormous number of graves and the skeletons, skulls, and bones that lay around on every side, bore eloquent testimony to the truth of the reports that had been received of the number of men who had died from wounds, disease, and starvation.”\*

The news of AMANKWA TIA'S reverses caused great dismay in COOMASSIE. A council of the ASANTE KOTOKO (KOTOKO=porcupine, the animal emblem of the kingdom; ASANTE KOTOKO was the name given to any important gathering of chiefs) was held at MENHIA (a village outside COOMASSIE where the King kept his store of gun-powder) on October 27th. The chiefs clamoured for the recall of the army, but KOFI KARI KARI was annoyed with them for losing heart, and pointed out that war had been their wish, not his. He had spent a large sum on the campaign, which they must agree to refund before he would order AMANKWA TIA home. To this they consented, whereupon instructions to return were sent to the general—not, however, before he had begun his retreat.

Another letter from Sir Garnet reached COOMASSIE on November 20th, similar to those he had sent previously and which had been intercepted. This induced the Queen-Mother to make a complete *volte face*. She had been eager for war a year ago. Her words now were :

“From old times it has been seen that God fights for Ashanti if the war is a just one. This one is unjust. The Europeans begged for the imprisoned white men. They were told to await until EDU BAFFUO returned.

\* Claridge, vol. ii., p. 79.

EDU BAFFUO came back ; then they said they wanted money. The money was offered and even weighed. How can this war be justified? Taking all into consideration, I strongly advise that the white men should be sent back at once, and God can help us.' '\*

In reply, the King told Sir Garnet that he had not sent his army against the white men nor to attack the forts. He had declared war against the King of DENKERA on hearing from Plange that ELMINA had been given to him, but now that news of KWEKU FRAM'S death had reached him he had recalled his army. He, however, complained of the attack on his army at FOSU, while it was in the act of withdrawing from the Protectorate.

The Ashanti army, beaten, wearied, and disheartened, reached COOMASSIE at the end of December. Several of the leading men—namely, YAO ACHIRE of JUABEN, KRAPA of ANKASE, ESUBUANTIN of WAM, ADOM of PAMPASO, and ADO of BOAMAN, lost their lives in this last venture, in addition to hundreds of minor chiefs.

Indeed, of all the splendid army which had set forth, less than one-half returned.

\* Ramseyer and Kühne, p. 247.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE FALL OF COOMASSIE, 1874

SIR GARNET could now make his preparations for an invasion of ASHANTI without molestation. His plan was to attack with several columns which would cross the PRA at different places and then converge on COOMASSIE. Captain Glover, with his Hausas and native allies, was to attack from the east; Captain Butler, with a force of AKIMS, from the south-east through AKIM; the main body would advance from PRASU; and Captain Dalrymple, with his DENKERAS and WASSAS, would attack through DENKERA, to the west of the main column. Before this could be accomplished camps had to be prepared for European troops, roads made, and transport organized. Sir Garnet arranged for a simultaneous advance on January 15th, 1874.

The European troops commenced to arrive in December—the 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade and some Royal Engineers on the 22nd, the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers on the 12th, and the 42nd Highlanders on the 17th. The 1st West India Regiment from Jamaica arrived on the 27th.

Sir Garnet now had at his disposal over 2,000 European troops and two battalions of West India Regiments, besides some 200 officers. Most of these troops he concentrated at PRASU, where he himself arrived on January 2nd. Ashanti messengers, bearing the two letters from KOFI KARI KARI already alluded to, met him there. It was obvious that the

King had been kept in ignorance of the real state of affairs, so Sir Garnet sent a letter recapitulating recent events, and adding :

“ When AMANKWA TIA attacked ABRAKAMPA there were only fifty white men there ; yet, after two days’ fighting, he was forced to retreat in confusion with great loss ; and many of your war-drums, chiefs’ chairs, and other military trophies, besides much baggage, were captured by my troops. As regards the attack upon your retreating army at FAISOO, it was made only by a small party of my undrilled black troops, who were ordered to fall back as soon as they found where your army was ; yet it caused the whole of the Ashanti army to retreat in the utmost haste and confusion, leaving their dead and dying everywhere along the path. . . . I wish to impress upon your Majesty that hitherto your soldiers have only had to fight against black men, helped by a few Englishmen. If, however, you should now be so ill-advised as to continue this war, your troops will have to meet an army of white soldiers. These white troops are now on their march from Cape Coast for the purpose of invading your territory, to enforce compliance with my just demands, which I shall presently lay before you. . . . This war has already entailed many defeats upon your enemies ; you have lost thousands of men in battle and from want and disease.

“ I am well aware of all these facts. You are surrounded by hostile tribes who long for your destruction. Be warned in time, and do not listen to the advice of evil counsellors, who for their own purposes might urge you to continue a hopeless struggle against an army of white men, a struggle that can only lead to the destruction of your military power, and that must certainly bring great misery on your people and danger to your Majesty’s dynasty. ”\*

\* Brackenbury, vol. ii., p. 48.

The peace terms offered were :

- (1) The immediate release of all prisoners ;
- (2) The payment of an indemnity of 50,000 ounces of gold ; and
- (3) The conclusion of a new treaty of peace, to be signed in Coomassie, after the delivery of hostages for the safety of the General and his escort.

The messengers returned on January 6th, and the General's letter caused great consternation in COOMASSIE. Even the date of the letter (January 2nd) was ominous, for on that day a great fetish-tree planted by ANOTCHWI fell to the ground : (it was a WAWA, not a KUMA tree, as has been stated).

KOFI KARI KARI now realized, for the first time, the alarming state of affairs, and he endeavoured to temporize by releasing the missionary Kühne and sending him to the General to intercede for him. He again asked Sir Garnet to halt his army "for fear of meeting some of my captains as to cause any fighting." Kühne reached PRASU on January 12th. But however much startled the King and chiefs were, they were too accustomed to enemy concentrations at PRASU to believe in an actual invasion of their country. The idea was so preposterous that they were quite confident skilful diplomacy would yet save the situation.

Yet the unbelievable happened ; their last hopes of staying the invasion were shattered by the report of KOBINA OBIN, Chief of ADANSI, announcing that the enemy had crossed the PRA and was advancing rapidly. He endeavoured to shame the Coomassie chiefs into action by adding that if they had no powder with which to withstand the invaders, he at all events had some.

His efforts were successful. A council was hastily

summoned on January 17th, and when the situation was realized all became bustle and activity.

The old leader, ASAMOA NKWANTA, was at once dispatched to FOMENA to help the ADANSIS. The warriors were quickly mobilized and placed under the supreme command of KOBINA JUMMO, the MAMPONHENE. This appointment so disgusted AMANKWA TIA that he and several of the chiefs who had fought with him swore they would go to the front, but that they would not return.

On that very day Major Russell occupied and fortified the crest of the MOINSI HILL, overlooking KWISSA and FOMENA.

Hitherto only slight skirmishes with scouts had taken place. The General and Staff crossed the PRA on January 20th, and marched direct to MOINSI with the main column.

On the 23rd the remaining European captives arrived, accompanied by two Ashanti messengers, bearing a letter from the King begging the General not to advance any farther, and promising, if given time, to make AMANKWA TIA pay the indemnity, adding that his general had exceeded his instructions in attacking ELMINA.

Sir Garnet in his reply insisted on the immediate release of all Fanti prisoners, payment of half the indemnity, and delivery of the following hostages: MENSA, the heir-apparent; EFUA KOBİ, the Queen-Mother; and the heirs to the stools of JUABEN, MAMPON, KOKOFU, and BEKWAI.

Further, he promised that if the King agreed to these terms he would arrive in COOMASSIE with only an escort of 500 men to sign the Treaty; if not, he would advance on COOMASSIE with his whole force.

On the 29th a letter was received from the King begging for delay, but he made no mention of the terms offered, probably because it was impossible for him to comply with the second and third requests. He could not then and there lay his hands on any sum like 50,000 ounces of gold, nor was it conceivable that he would yield the hostages named, even had he had the power to compel them to go.

The first brush between the forces occurred at BUBORASI on the 29th. Colonel McLeod attacked and surprised the ADANSIS, and nearly captured ASAMOA NKWANTA himself.

The ADANSIS having fallen back, nothing opposed the invaders until they reached AMOAFUL (close to BEKWAI), where it was known the ASHANTIS had concentrated and were preparing to offer stout resistance. Sir Garnet, so as to avoid being outflanked, advanced in four columns, forming a large open square.

The general advance began at daybreak on January 31st. The advance-guard, under Brigadier-General Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., C.B., came into touch with the ASHANTIS at EYINASI and drove them back on to their main position, a well-chosen site beyond the village. The attacking troops were met with a terrific fire, and no headway could be made until the guns were brought up. The Hausa Artillery shook the ASHANTIS, and a charge of the Black Watch drove them from their position, but they soon rallied and fought desperately. The guns were brought up again, and another charge followed. At noon a final charge of the Black Watch secured the village of AMOAFUL, after four hours' fierce fighting.

The columns to the right and left, under Colonels Wood and McLeod respectively, had cut and fought

their way through the bush, and subsequently joined the main force at AMOAFUL. The fight was over by two o'clock in the afternoon.

The ASHANTIS lost heavily. AMANKWA TIA was killed, besides APIACHAMI and many minor chiefs.

The town of BEKWAI was destroyed by the Naval Brigade that same afternoon. An attack was made on FOMENA by the ASHANTIS without success. The lines of communication were continually harassed, but these spasmodic attacks did relatively small damage.

The main body continued the advance on February 2nd, and reached AYIMAMU. On the 3rd the final advance on COOMASSIE commenced. The King again begged Sir Garnet to advance no farther. Sir Garnet replied that he would wait all day on the banks of the ODA River for the arrival of the Queen-Mother and MENSA, but if they did not come he would march straight on COOMASSIE. Compliance with this order being out of the question, KOFI KARI KARI determined on one last effort to defend his capital.

The English advance was resumed the next morning. The ODA River was crossed, a bridge having been built on the night of the 3rd in a heavy thunder-storm.

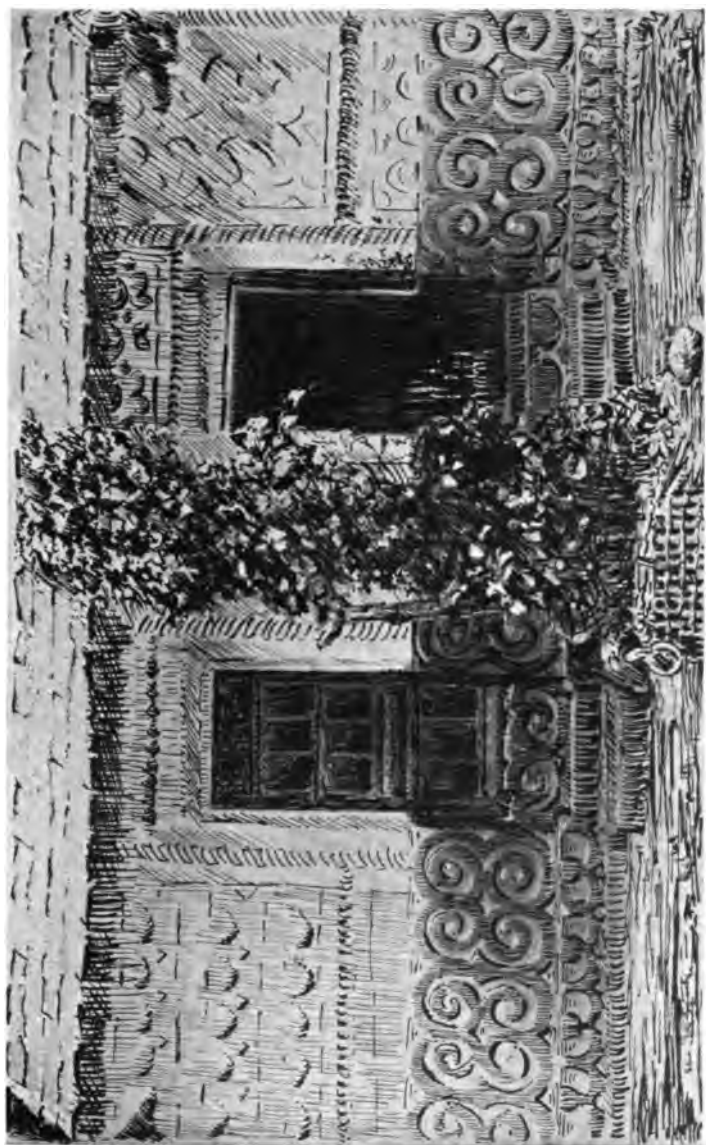
The ASHANTIS contested every inch of the way, but ground was steadily gained by a repetition of the former tactics of bringing up the guns, followed by short rushes. ODASU (seven miles from COOMASSIE) was reached about 9 a.m. by the advance-guard. The ASHANTIS attacked on both flanks, but were driven back by rifle-fire. The main body joined up a few hours later, and Sir Garnet determined to rush the capital. The orders were to break through the enemy's lines *coûte que coûte*. What followed is best described by Sir Archibald Alison :

“ On first debouching from the village, a tremendous fire was opened on the head of the column from a well-planned and strong ambuscade, six men being knocked over in an instant. But the flank companies worked steadily through the bush ; the leading company in the path sprang forward with a cheer ; the pipes struck up, and the ambuscade was at once carried. Then followed one of the finest spectacles I have ever seen in war. Without stop or stay the 42nd rushed on, cheering, their officers to the front ; ambuscade after ambuscade was successfully carried, village after village won in succession, till the whole Ashantis broke and fled in the wildest disorder down the pathway on their front to Coomassie. The ground was covered with traces of their flight. Umbrellas and war-chairs of their chiefs, drums, muskets, killed and wounded, covered the whole way, and the bush on each side was trampled as if a torrent had flowed through it. No pause took place until a village about four miles from Coomassie was reached, when the absolute exhaustion of the men rendered a short halt necessary. So swift and unbroken was the advance of the 42nd that neither Rait’s guns nor the Rifle Brigade in support were ever brought into action.”\*

KWEKU POKU, the head linguist, OWUSU ANSA of ADUMASAN, and ABOAJI of KONNA, were killed during this engagement. KOFI KARI KARI was at SOKOBEN (two miles off) throughout the fight.

When he realized that all was lost he fled to AKOBUA, close to AKROPONG. The Black Watch entered COOMASSIE at 5.30 p.m. Sir Garnet arrived three-quarters of an hour later. The town was full of armed men, hanging about in groups, but no attempt at resistance was offered. The King had fled, and the people were thoroughly cowed.

\* Brackenbury, vol. ii., p. 215.



INTERIOR COURTYARD OF AN ASHANTI HOUSE.  
From a pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Fuller.





## SIR GARNET'S LETTER TO THE KING 139

Sir Garnet at once addressed the following letter to KOFI KARI KARI :

“ KING,

“ You have deceived me, but I have kept my promise to you.

“ I am at Coomassie, and my only wish is to make a lasting peace with you. I have shown you the power of England, and now I will be merciful.

“ As you do not wish to give up your mother and Prince Mensah, send me some other hostage of rank, and I will make peace with you to-morrow on the terms originally agreed upon.

“ If either your Majesty, or your Royal mother, or Prince Mensah, will come to see me to-morrow early, I will treat you with all the honour due to your Royal dignity, and allow you to return in safety.

“ You can trust my word.”\*

“ I am, etc.,

“ (Signed) G. J. WOLSELEY,  
“ Major-General and Administrator,  
“ Gold Coast.

“ To HIS MAJESTY COFFEE KALKULLY,  
“ King of Ashanti,  
“ Coomassie.”

It was too late to place guards over the exits of the town, and even if it had not been, the troops were exhausted and unfit for further duty. All night long streams of people left with their valuables, and COOMASSIE was deserted by morning.

The palace was then occupied, and in spite of all the property that had been removed during the night, many articles of value were found. Among these was the ancient crown of DENKERA taken from NTIM JAKARI by OSEI TUTU in 1700.

\* Brackenbury, vol. ii., p. 228.

The King sent messengers to say he would arrive in the course of the morning, but whether he distrusted the General, or whether he had some ulterior motive, he neither appeared nor sent hostages. Sir Garnet, who was anxious that his European troops should return to the coast with all possible speed, ordered the town to be destroyed. The Engineers worked all night, and the fuses were lit at 8 a.m. of the morning of February 5th, after the invading army had marched out.

The whole town was soon one blaze of fire, and a few hours later nothing remained of COOMASSIE but a heap of smouldering ruins. Captain Glover entered COOMASSIE on February 12th with about 5,000 men, having marched from the east through OBOGU and KONGO. The JUABENS had intended to resist his progress, but on hearing of the destruction of COOMASSIE, ASAFU EJEI of JUABEN tendered his submission and allowed Captain Glover's party to pass unmolested.

Sir Garnet reached FOMENA on the 10th. He had told some Ashanti messengers that if the King sent 5,000 ounces of gold as a proof of his sincerity he would enter into negotiations to draw up a Treaty of Peace.

On the 12th more envoys arrived with 1,040 ounces in nuggets, gold-dust, and ornaments, declaring that the King had found it impossible to collect more.

They were given the following draft Treaty to take back with them to the King :

“TREATY OF PEACE between MAJOR-GENERAL Sir GARNET JOSEPH WOLSELEY, C.B., K.C.M.G., acting on behalf of HER MAJESTY VICTORIA, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and SAIBEE ENQUIE, acting on behalf of His Majesty KOFEE KALKALLI, King of Ashantee.

## " ARTICLE I.

" There shall be hereafter perpetual peace between the Queen of England and her allies on the Coast on the one part, and the King of Ashantee and all his people on the other part.

## " ARTICLE II.

" The King of Ashantee promises to pay the sum of 50,000 ounces of approved gold as indemnity for the expenses he has occasioned to Her Majesty the Queen of England by the late war ; and undertakes to pay 1,000 ounces of gold forthwith, and the remainder by such instalments as Her Majesty's Government may from time to time demand.

## " ARTICLE III.

" The King of Ashantee, on the part of himself and his successors, renounces all right or title to any tribute or homage from the Kings of Denkera, Assin, Akim, Adansi, and the other allies of Her Majesty formerly subject to the King of Ashantee.

## " ARTICLE IV.

" The King, on the part of himself and of his heirs and successors, does hereby further renounce for ever all pretensions of supremacy over Elmina, or over any of the tribes formerly connected with the Dutch Government, and to any tribute or homage from such tribes, as well as to any payment or acknowledgment of any kind by the British Government in respect of Elmina or any other of the British forts and possessions on the Coast.

## " ARTICLE V.

" The King will at once withdraw all his troops from Apollonia and its vicinity, and from the neighbourhood of Dixcove, Sekondee, and the adjoining coast-line.

## "ARTICLE VI.

"There shall be freedom of trade between Ashantee and Her Majesty's forts on the Coast, all persons being at liberty to carry their merchandise from the Coast to Coomassie, or from that place to any of Her Majesty's possessions on the Coast.

## "ARTICLE VII.

"The King of Ashantee guarantees that the road from Coomassie to the River Prah shall always be kept open and free from bush to a width of 15 feet.

## "ARTICLE VIII.

"As Her Majesty's subjects and the people of Ashantee are henceforth to be friends for ever, the King, in order to prove the sincerity of his friendship for Queen Victoria, promises to use his best endeavours to check the practice of human sacrifice, with a view to hereafter putting an end to it altogether, as the practice is repugnant to the feeling of all Christian nations.

## "ARTICLE IX.

"One copy of this Treaty shall be signed by the King of Ashantee and sent to the Administrator of Her Majesty's Government at Cape Coast within fourteen days from this date.

## "ARTICLE X.

"This Treaty shall be known as the Treaty of FOMMANAH.

"Dated at Fommanah this 13th day of February, 1874."\*

\* Brackenbury, vol. ii., p. 269.

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The independence of ADANSI had been expressly asked for by KOBINA OBIN, Chief of ADANSI, who begged to be allowed to migrate into the PROTECTORATE and live under the protection of the British. He professed mistrust of COOMASSIE, although he had in reality been one of the chief instigators of the war of resistance.

Sir Garnet left FOMENA on February 14th and arrived at CAPE COAST on the 19th, where he received a tremendous ovation. All the European troops were embarked by the end of the month, and the General himself sailed on March 4th, after this short and brilliant campaign.

KOFI KARI KARI sent an important embassy, composed of one of his sons, KOFI INTIM (a mere youth), and representatives of all the important chiefs, to overtake him, but they only arrived at CAPE COAST on March 12th, after the General had sailed. They were received by Colonel Maxwell in the Castle hall, and produced the draft Treaty, to which two crosses had been affixed by the King.

They complained of the large amount of indemnity claimed, stating that the King had understood the sum to be 5,000 bendas (10,000 ounces), and not 50,000 ounces. They were told that the latter was the stipulated amount, and that it could not be altered.

After conferring for three days, the envoys returned to express their readiness to ratify the Treaty. It was signed by KOFI INTIM and nineteen representatives on behalf of the King, and by Colonel Maxwell on behalf of Her Majesty. The ASHANTIS asked for the continuation of the payment of the annual stipend augmented by Mr. Pope Hennessey; for the return of the ADANSIS; for the return of KWAHU, ASHANTI-

AKIM, and JUABEN, hostages then in AKIM ; for latitude in the matter of total abolition of human sacrifices (as it would be impossible for the King to impose such a measure, however willing he might be to do so) ; and for KOFI INTIM to be sent home and educated in England.

These requests were referred to the Secretary of State, who replied that the stipend should cease ; that the return of the ADANSIS was a matter that only concerned themselves (the ADANSIS), and the Government would not interfere ; and that all hostages in AKIM willing to return to ASHANTI might do so.

The desired sanction for a continuance of human sacrifices was, of course, withheld, but the last request was granted. KOFI INTIM was educated at the Surrey County School and given an appointment in Trinidad, and, later on, in the GOLD COAST, with an allowance of £120 a year.

Three days after Sir Garnet's departure from COOMASSIE, KOFI KARI KARI took up his abode at MENHIA, where he was joined by the principal Coomassie chiefs.

Internal affairs were in a hopeless condition. JUABEN, KWAHU, SEFWI, ATEBUBU, KRATCHI, SALAGA, JAMAN, BANDA, and all the northern tribes, broke away from the kingdom and asserted their independence ; even the tribes such as MAMPON, AGUNA, NSUTA, BEKWAI, and KOKOFU, refused obedience and openly defied the King. The disruption of the kingdom was to all intents and purposes complete. ASAFU EJEI of JUABEN, who was overlord of KRATCHI, went to the length of encouraging the killing of all Coomassie traders on the VOLTA and throughout the BRONG country. He had refused to join the main

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army when ordered to do so by KOFI KARI KARI, saying he would guard the eastern road, and when he heard of the destruction of COOMASSIE he cut himself adrift from the court altogether.

The King, moreover, bore ASAFU EJJEI a grudge for some impertinent messages he had received from the celebrated DENTE fetish of KRATCHI (through ASAFU EJJEI) ; but as he did not wish to lose the allegiance of JUABEN, he appealed to the Governor for an officer to mediate between himself and ASAFU EJJEI.

After some hesitation on the Governor's part, he deputed Captain Lees for the mission. The latter arrived in COOMASSIE on July 23rd. He succeeded in restoring peace between the parties, but only on condition of the recognized independence of JUABEN. The power of COOMASSIE had indeed fallen to the dust.

KOFI KARI KARI was by nature a spendthrift. One of his favourite amusements was to watch his wives scramble for gold nuggets that he scattered among them. The large sums he had to pay as indemnity further aggravated matters, and he now found himself a bankrupt, so he determined, as a last resort, to "borrow" wealth from the tombs of his ancestors. He most unwisely caused several of the coffins of the Royal mausoleum at BANTAMA to be broken open and stripped of their gold ornaments, without the knowledge or consent of the ABREMPON. EFUA KOFI, the Queen-Mother, recognized some of her mother's (EFUA SAPON) trinkets, which she knew to have been buried with her, adorning one of KOFI KARI KARI's wives. She accused the King of rifling his grandmother's tomb, and openly denounced him to the ABREMPON, who, scandalized at the sacrilege, determined to depose him. On hearing of this, KOFI KARI



KARI sat himself on the golden stool with a loaded gun and a keg of gunpowder, surrounded by his AHINKWA. He threatened to shoot any chief who came near him and to burn the golden stool. At the end of five days, however, the ABREMPON induced him to abdicate by fair promises. They told him he would be allowed to take away as many wives and as much property as he liked, provided that he yielded up the golden stool. He agreed to these terms, but no sooner had he established himself at KWAWUNNA (close to EDUADIN) than he was surrounded and deprived of all his belongings. He then removed to TABIRI, close to AKROPONG, where we shall leave him for the present. He was deposed in August or September, 1874.

## CHAPTER IX

### MENSA BONSU AND KWEKU DUA II.

1874-1883

**OSEI MENSA**, known as **MENSA BONSU**, succeeded his brother towards the end of 1874. His enstoolment was a melancholy affair, as only representatives of the big chiefs attended the ceremony.

His first care was to rebuild **COOMASSIE**. He induced all the chiefs and their subjects to help him to repair the palace and their own houses. The services of the women were enlisted. Every chief woman, with all her female attendants, devoted three months to the making of "swish," of which material the men were to build the walls of the compounds.

The palace is said to have been rebuilt in a year—all but the stone fort, which they could not re-erect for want of cement. The stones were all removed to **KWESE** (the site of the present Roman Catholic mission-station), within present **COOMASSIE** town limits, to the east of the **SUBIN** Stream, where they remained until 1896. They were then utilized for the construction of the present fort. The rebuilding of the whole town occupied about three years.

**MENSA**'s ambition was to restore the ascendancy of **COOMASSIE** over the outlying tribes, and to revive the former strength of the kingdom. The independence claimed by **ADANSI** and **JUABEN** was a bitter blow to the Royal House. **MENSA** endeavoured by intrigue to regain **JUABEN**, but **ASAFU EJEI** (**JUABENHENE**) would

have no more of COOMASSIE, and in revenge for MENSA'S intrigues seized all the Coomassie traders who fell into his hands. MENSA naturally complained of this conduct to Governor STRACHAN, demanding redress from the JUABENS for closing the roads and payment of their share of the war indemnity. But the Governor elected not to interfere in the quarrel. This decision, coupled with some insulting messages which he had received from EJEI, gave MENSA an opportunity to test the feelings of the outlying chiefs, such as those of BEKWAI, KOKOFU, MAMPON, OFINSU, NSUTA, and KUMAWU. This naturally placed them all in a dilemma, and they were compelled either to return to their old allegiance, or to form an alliance with JUABEN. They all joined MENSA.

Monsieur Bonnat (formerly a prisoner in COOMASSIE) now arrived on a trading venture. The King sent him to JUABEN to induce ASAFU EJEI to waive his claim to independence, but so hostile were the JUABENS that, although Bonnat escaped with his life, his escort of some sixty COOMASSIES were all massacred.

This action rendered civil war inevitable.

In October, 1875, MENSA attacked JUABEN with two armies under KOJO AHIN (ESUMANKWAHENE). AHIN was surprised at ASEREMASO and driven back. BENTU (MARAWEREHENE) was sent to AHIN'S assistance. In the meanwhile, KOBINA EWUA (BANTAMAHENE) attacked the JUABENS and drove them in front of him until, on November 3rd, the JUABENS, having run short of ammunition, broke and fled. The Governor sent Dr. Gouldsbury to mediate between the parties, but the fight was over before he arrived. Hundreds of JUABENS fell into the hands of the COOMASSIES. These were sent as captives into French

territory, through SEFWI, to be sold there in exchange for arms and ammunition.

ASAFU EJEI, hearing this, begged the King of SEFWI to retain the JUABENS and hold them in pawn until he was able to redeem them. The King of SEFWI consented. He retained them, and eventually allowed them to return to JUABEN.

The fugitive JUABENS settled north of ACCRA, and founded NEW JUABEN, which is now called KOFORIDUA.

MENSA BONSU now found himself in a much stronger position. The recent hostilities had given him back several provinces, besides some Juaben towns, such as ASOKORI and EFFIDUASI. Further, he was delighted at the non-intervention of the Government in these tribal matters. This he ascribed to weakness, and he allowed Captain Baker, (when that officer arrived at COOMASSIE to receive a further instalment of the indemnity), to be publicly insulted.

“ Thus, within less than two years after the burning of Kumasi the Ashantis had, thanks to the Government’s policy of non-intervention, recovered the whole of their lost territory except KWAHU and ADANSI, and escaped the payment of the greater part of the indemnity.”\*

KWAHU was never regained by ASHANTI. The ADANSIS themselves were divided into two factions, the rivalry between which would have resulted in war had not Captain Maloney succeeded in effecting a reconciliation. The chief of ADANSI, INKANSA BEREMPON, whom the reconciled parties placed on the stool, was not a success, and for many years the country remained in an unsettled condition.

\* Ellis, “ History of the Gold Coast,” p. 358.

The ASHANTIS, having realized the value of breech-loading rifles, obtained all they could from ASSINI and the VOLTA. MENSA formed a corps of HAUSAS, who, with the help of a German named Neilson, acted as musketry and drill instructors.

In 1878, the embargo on the importation of arms having been removed by the British Government, as many as 300 Snider rifles were imported by the ASHANTIS in one batch.

Prince ANSA now joined King MENSA at COOMASSIE. He and a semi-educated clerk named HUYEDECOPER proved born intriguers. With their knowledge of writing, they forged documents in support of fictitious claims, and induced MENSA to act upon these forgeries. Thus the whole of JAMAN was claimed by MENSA, on the pretence that the Queen of England had given him the country.

The JAMANS, supported by the SEFWIS, sent messengers to the Coast to ascertain the truth of this statement. On discovering the fraud, the messengers asked that a European officer should return with them to verify their reply. This request was granted, and Mr. Smith left CAPE COAST in May for WIOSO and BONTUKU. He arrived at the latter place on July 24th. Mr. Smith offered the JAMANS British protection if they desired it, but owing to a disagreement between AJIMAN, the King, and his chiefs, the negotiations fell through.

MENSA, likewise, strove to regain the allegiance of the ADANSIS by means of bribes and promises. INKANSAS reported matters to the Governor, who sent Captain Hay, the Acting Colonial Secretary, to FOMENA with a letter of protest addressed to MENSA, calling upon him to observe the third clause of the

Treaty of FOMENA. MENSA recalled his envoys, and for the time being desisted from further intrigues.

About this time it was noticed that the ASHANTIS were purchasing large quantities of salt. As the ASHANTIS depended on the Coast towns for their salt-supply, exaggerated purchases by them of this commodity indicated hostilities. Alarming rumours were spread on the Coast in consequence.

There can be little doubt that an invasion of ADANSI was advocated by the war-party under the leadership of KOBINA EWUA. The King and Queen-Mother opposed this war-party, as they were anxious to keep on good terms with the Government, but MENSA'S opposition lowered him in the eyes of the big chiefs, and his conciliatory policy proved the commencement of his unpopularity. By degrees the war-party fell away from the court and instigated KOFI KARI KARI to make another bid for the throne. BEKWAI and KOKOFU supported the rebels and rendered MENSA'S position all the more precarious.

At the beginning of 1881 one AWUSU TASIMANDI, a Jaman prince, fled from COOMASSIE and claimed British protection. According to his own statement, he had been wrongfully accused of theft by the King, and, fearing the King's justice, had effected his escape. He asked to be sent to JAMAN under escort. The Governor refused his request, but informed him he was at liberty to go where he willed.

The ASHANTIS, fearing that AWUSU would return to BONTUKU under the protection of the British, were most anxious to recapture him, and messengers arrived at CAPE COAST from the King the day following AWUSU'S arrival, bearing the golden axe, to demand his return and that of an Assin trader named AMANKRA,

who had assisted AWUSU to escape. The Governor refused both these requests, on the ground that the two men were not criminals. This reply gave rise to a heated interview, when the messengers, ENGWI and BUSUMURU, are supposed to have threatened "that if the Governor would not order the return of AWUSU to Kumasia the King would attack the Assins."

But as no authentic record of the interview was kept, there are doubts as to the actual words used. Ellis states :

"The axe was accompanied by an additional emblem which did threaten hostilities. This was a facsimile in gold of a portion of the earthen nest of a mason-wasp, which escaped the notice of all Colonial officials, with but one exception, or was considered by them unworthy of notice. This emblem denoted that if the affair on which the golden axe was sent were not settled to the satisfaction of the Ashantis they would use their stings, or, in other words, endeavour to attain their ends by force. So little was this symbol understood in Colonial circles that no explanation of its presence or meaning was ever at any time demanded from the Ashanti, not even when, later, they were protesting that they had never threatened or wished for war."\*

Although not actually a declaration of war, the sending of the golden axe (AMANKWA AKUMA) was undoubtedly an act of premeditated defiance.

The alarm caused on the Coast by the so-called threat amounted to panic among the natives. Military preparations on a large scale were made by the authorities. MENSA was surprised to hear this, and he dispatched more messengers to ask for an explanation. These arrived at CAPE COAST on February 8th, stating

\* Ellis, "Land of Fetish," p. 212.

that they had met the returning embassy with the golden axe one day from COOMASSIE.

Two missionaries in COOMASSIE (Messrs. Buck and Huppenbauser) reported on February 18th that the King was averse to war, and that they had seen no signs of preparation for it in ASHANTI.

A third embassy reached CAPE COAST on February 17th, under the linguist BENDI, who declared that the King had no quarrel with the ASSINS, and that he had not sent any threatening message ; that he intended to abide by the Treaty of FOMENA, and disclaimed any intention of attacking the protected tribes. He formally denied that the golden axe bore any threatening meaning. The former messengers, ENGWI and BUSUMURU, then solemnly declared that they had never spoken the words ascribed to them.

The new Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, landed at ELMINA on March 4th, but he ignored the Ashanti messengers and hastened military preparations.

The messengers strongly resented this treatment, and returned home to report matters to the King. MENSA had great difficulty to restrain his ABREMPON, who wanted to avenge the contemptuous treatment of their envoys. His wish to avert war was ably seconded by the Queen-Mother, and he determined to make another appeal, this time to the traders of CAPE COAST.

This embassy consisted of OSEI BRUNI, YAO AWUA, KWAMIN NSIA, and DATANO. They reached CAPE COAST on March 10th, and asked for permission to submit their message before delivering it to the traders.

They were received by the Governor on the 16th, and told that, although they might meet the traders,



their negotiations would not affect his reply to the King.

On the 18th they delivered the following message to the traders :

“ The King has sent us to come to Prince Ansa and say, ‘ Let our family differences be at an end.’ He sent us to Prince ANSA for him to take us to the merchants of Cape Coast Castle, for them to help the King and say to the Governor that if he the King had done anything wrong in the matter of the message with the axe, that he the King asked that Governor would pardon his mistake.’”\*

They declared that the King desired peace, and asked for a European officer to verify the fact that no preparations for war were being made in ASHANTI.

The traders, however, refused to interfere in the matter, and the Governor dismissed the messengers with a warning that the difference with the King had not yet been cleared up.

In the meanwhile military preparations in the Protectorate went on apace, and a large concentration of troops was effected at PRASU, where the Governor himself proceeded on April 13th. The ASHANTIS were confident that the British were about to attack them, and yet MENSA, humiliated and insulted as he had been, made one last effort by sending BOATCHI TINTIN, the husband of the Queen-Mother, to sue for peace.

The Governor now realized that the King's protestations were genuine, and that the ASHANTIS had *not* prepared to invade the Protectorate, so he returned to ELMINA, and there received the ambassador on April 29th, who made humble submission “ to the great

\* Ellis, “ Land of Fetish,” p. 249.

Queen of England," and voluntarily offered 2,000 ounces of gold as a proof of the King's friendship.

He added : " The axe belongs to the fetish ; it is a sign of the fetish. In the time of Governor Maclean there was a dispute concerning a man ; the axe was sent, and the end was peace. Under Colonel Torrane a difference arose, and the axe was again sent. The matter was settled amicably. To two other Governors the axe was sent, and the end was peace. In the present case the axe was sent as belonging to the fetish to obtain our desires peaceably. It is, in fact, a sign of an extraordinary embassy. There are those who have said the axe means war ; so the King has heard. It was not so. It is not so. Take no heed of this ; the King of Ashanti only wishes for peace."\*

He ended his speech with the following words :

" I now lay before your Excellency something which I think will prove to you that the King, my master, is really in earnest in saying that he wishes for peace. This axe . . . is one of the most treasured emblems of sovereignty in my country. In sending this axe for ever away from our country, we are sending away that which is associated with all the greatest glories of the Ashanti kingdom. But as this axe has been the cause of such serious troubles between the Ashanti kingdom and the Queen of England, the King begs her most Gracious Majesty to accept it, feeling sure that while it is in Her Majesty's possession she will not allow it to be treated with disrespect, and hoping that it will be to her a proof of the earnestness with which the King of Ashanti desires the cultivation of friendly intercourse with Her Majesty's Government."†

\* Ellis, " Land of Fetish," p. 308.

† Parliamentary Paper : Threatened Ashanti Invasion, 1881, p. 152.

Thus ended a protracted misunderstanding, with the surrender of an emblem of great sentimental but no intrinsic value, and the greater humiliation of King MENSA. AWUSU, the original cause of all the trouble, committed suicide at ELMINA on July 17th, 1881.

BOACHI TINTIN asked that a European officer should return with him to COOMASSIE, and Captain Lonsdale was sent up in October, 1881, bearing gifts to the King and Queen-Mother, which he delivered on November 12th at a large meeting.

Captain Lonsdale had also been ordered to visit SALAGA and other market towns, but he was detained in COOMASSIE for several weeks, as the ASHANTIS were particularly anxious that he should not open up new roads. They foresaw that if the trade roads were opened, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to refuse to the up-country and Coast traders equal rights with themselves to trade, and once these rights were granted they would be deprived of the profits as "middlemen" between the Coast and the north. Captain Lonsdale arrived at SALAGA on Christmas Day. He found a wretchedly small market, for the trade had been diverted to KINTAMPO. He next visited KRATCHI, and so returned to the Coast through KREPI.

In 1882 trouble broke out between JAMAN and BANDA, and the Ashanti chiefs seized this opportunity to endeavour to regain the allegiance of these States. MENSA appealed to the Governor against JAMAN outrages, and Captain Lonsdale was again sent up to COOMASSIE and BONTUKU. He prevailed on both parties to leave the settlement of the quarrel to the Government. MENSA'S submissive attitude during these negotiations, however, accentuated his general unpopularity. MENSA had found himself throughout

his reign in an exceedingly difficult position. The victim of circumstances, he strove his best to keep on friendly terms with the British Government, while pretending to sympathize with the warlike aspirations of his chiefs. The policies were incompatible, and he therefore fell between the two. In private life he was cruel, rapacious, and licentious. Had he been a conqueror, these detestable traits might have been forgotten, but his subjects, when they viewed his pusillanimous conduct of public affairs, would not condone his private tyrannous acts. Little by little a strong party arose in opposition to him, and advocated the recall of KOFI KARI KARI.

About the middle of 1882, EWUA, Chief of BANTAMA, with his brother AWUKUMA, returned to COOMASSIE from the Jaman frontier to discover that one of AWUKUMA'S wives had proved unfaithful with the King. Whether this was true or whether it was only a pretext for a break with the court party remains open to doubt, but MENSA, scenting a conspiracy, caused the arrest of the two brothers. AWUKUMA and several of the King's AHINKWAS were put to death, but EWUA was rescued by night and escaped to ACHUMA.

This high-handed and unjustifiable act so exasperated the ABREMPON that in February, 1883, they rose in rebellion, seized the golden stool and regalia, and banished MENSA to SEUWA, thence to ABRADI, and thence to APAMPREM.

Now followed a long period of unrest, due to dissension among the chiefs on the question of a successor to MENSA. Owing to the critical internal affairs of the kingdom, Captain Barrow was sent up to COOMASSIE with Assistant-Inspector Kirby and an escort of fifty HAUSAS. He arrived on April 26th, 1883, and was

well received by ASAFO BOACHI and AWUSU KOKO, the chiefs in charge of the town. He found three claimants to the stool: MENSA, with a very small following; ex-King KOFI KARI KARI, supported by the MAMPONS, NSUTAS, AGUNAS, KOKOFUS, and NKORANZAS; and young KWEKU DUA, the nominee of the Coomassie ABREMPON, son of YA CHIA, KOFI KARI KARI'S sister. All Captain Barrow's efforts to bring the chiefs together proved fruitless, and he returned to the Coast in May. MENSA'S chance was negligible; KOFI KARI KARI was strongly supported by Prince ANSA, and would have doubtless regained the stool on Captain Barrow's departure had he not been defeated in a fight by a party of COOMASSIES at BREMAN. This defeat broke up his following, most of the chiefs of which were killed or committed suicide. KOFI KARI KARI himself succeeded in escaping. He was eventually captured at BECHIM in a pitiable condition, and kept a close prisoner by KWEKU DUA'S party.

In the meantime the Coomassie chiefs sent messengers to the Governor imploring his aid to restore order and to place KWEKU DUA on the stool. They hoped that the Governor would accede to their request and send an officer to witness the enstoolment, but in spite of repeated applications no one was sent, and the Coomassie chiefs, losing patience, publicly enstooled him as KWEKU DUA II. on April 27th, 1884.

Unfortunately, the young King, who might have welded the disunited tribes into a compact kingdom, succumbed to smallpox on June 10th, after a brief reign of forty-four days.

This left KOFI KARI KARI without a rival. The chiefs who opposed his reinstatement, however, were too powerful for him. He was secretly put to death on

the 24th of the same month, eight days after his arrival in the capital.

These two sudden deaths threw Ashanti into utter confusion. The power of COOMASSIE was openly defied by every chief who thought himself sufficiently powerful to hold his own. Internecine feuds raged throughout the country.

To add to the general anarchy, the MANSU NKWANTAS rebelled and won a victory over the COOMASSIES, which deprived the latter of all semblance of central authority. COOMASSIE was once more deserted and fell into ruins. All the roads were closed, and trade was rendered impossible.

In fact, the disruption of the once-powerful Ashanti Confederation appeared imminent, when YA CHIA (now Queen-Mother) made a despairing appeal to all the tribes to elect a new King and save the kingdom. Most of the chiefs responded eagerly, stipulating that the election and enstoolment should be witnessed and approved by a British officer. The ACHUMAS, however, obstructed matters because the COOMASSIES had not helped them against the MANSU NKWANTAS.

YA CHIA sent the linguist BUATIN to the Governor, stating that she proposed to enstool her sister's son KWESSI KWISSI, and begged for an officer to be sent up.

This embassy reached ACCRA on October 16th, 1884, but owing to a series of untoward circumstances no officer was available for two years. During this time constant appeals were made to the Government by the ASHANTIS for a British representative.

The ADANSIS (who had never carried out their threat to migrate into the Protectorate, but nevertheless claimed British protection under the Treaty of

FOMENA), seeing the ASHANTIS powerless, caused great trouble, murdering, kidnapping, and robbing people who passed through their territory. Early in 1886, 150 Ashanti traders were murdered for the sake of their goods. The BEKWAIS, who were the principal sufferers, retaliated, and killed over sixty Adansi traders returning from JAMAN. KARI KARI, chief of BEKWAI, raised an army to drive the ADANSIS away. A collision between the parties occurred at AKROKERI between the Adansi main army and the vanguard of the BEKWAIS. The latter were compelled to fall back.

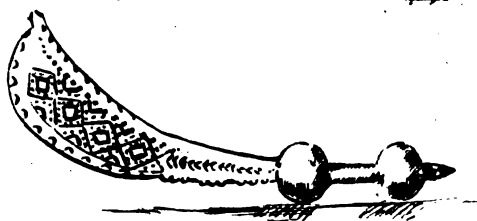
Elated by this success, INKANSÀ, the Adansi chief, sent to Mr. Firminger (who had been sent by the Government at INKANSÀ'S request) to say he would not brook his interference. He eventually, however, agreed to his mediation.

Mr. Firminger, who had been staying at PRASU, visited FOMENA on April 5th, and BEKWAI a few days later. The BEKWAIS had received so much provocation that they refused to cease hostilities; moreover, they had been reinforced by the COOMASSIES. Consequently, Mr. Firminger found his efforts to secure peace between the parties futile, and returned to the Coast.

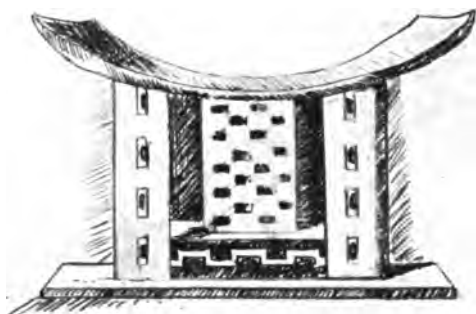
On April 23rd, 1886, the ADANSIS, DADIÀSIS, and PAMPASUS, were about to fall on BEKWAI itself, when INKANSÀ learnt of the defection of the DADIÀSIS. This so alarmed him that he and all his warriors took to flight, and practically the whole of the ADANSI tribe crossed the PRA on June 13th and following days.

Over 12,000 people are supposed to have sought refuge in the Protectorate.

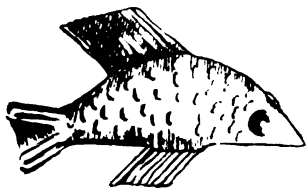
The BEKWAIS burnt FOMENA and every Adansi village. They then sent a message to the Governor to say that in future they (the BEKWAIS) would keep the



A STATE SWORD



AN ASHANTI STOOL



BRONZE WEIGHTS TO WEIGH GOLD DUST





road open to the PRA, and that the Ashanti chiefs were about to assemble in COOMASSIE to elect a new King.

The Ashanti messengers sent by YA CHIA in 1884 were still waiting on the Coast for an officer to return with them.

At last, in August, 1886, Mr. Badger, a native interpreter, was sent to COOMASSIE with excuses for the delay, and to enquire whether the Queen-Mother and principal chiefs were still of the same opinion. If so, the Governor promised to send a European officer within two months.

Mr. Badger was well received. He found that KWESSI KWISSI had died in the meantime, and that there were two claimants for the vacant stool. These were AJIMAN PEREMPE and YAO ACHEREBOANDA—the former a son of YA CHIA and brother of the late KWEKU DUA II. ; the latter a cousin of YA CHIA and son of her aunt, YA FRE.

PEREMPE had the support of his mother, the chiefs of JUABEN and BEKWAI, and most of the Coomassie chiefs, while ACHEREBOANDA'S principal supporters were SAMAN ACHIEMPON of SEUWA ; his own mother, YA FRE ; AKWESSI SECHERE of MAMPON ; and OSEI ESIBE of KOKOFU. The principal reason of this support was that EFUA KOBİ'S sons had proved such a failure that it was thought advisable to give YA FRE'S progeny a chance. YAO JENFI, Chief of BEKWAI, was entrusted to collect the votes of all the chiefs and inform the Governor of the decision of the majority. In November he reported that all his efforts to arrange for the election were being frustrated by SAMAN ACHIEMPON.

The two parties met for a conference at BEKWAI in January, 1887. They failed to come to terms,

and ACHEREBOANDA'S supporters left the meeting abruptly. AKWESSI AFRANI, EJISUHENE, the head of PEREMPE'S supporters, realizing the impossibility of a compromise, arranged for a simultaneous movement to annihilate the opposing faction.

AFRANI himself attacked ACHIEMPON at SEUWA; BEKWAI fell on KOKOFU; and PEREMPE'S partisans rose against ACHEREBOANDA'S adherents in COOMASSIE, killed several, and drove the rest away. ACHIEMPON tried to seek refuge in KOKOFU, but was captured at ABOASU, brought back to JACHI, and decapitated there by order of the Queen-Mother. Meanwhile ACHEREBOANDA'S supporters flocked to KOKOFU and concentrated at EJUMAN. The Queen-Mother heard that the KOKOFUS had ordered a quantity of rifles from the Coast, so she hastened to send conciliatory messages to KOKOFU and appealed to the Governor for intervention. Captain Lonsdale was sent up with Assistant-Inspector Barnett and an escort of HAUSAS in August, 1887, with instructions to endeavour to make peace, but not to influence the election of a new King in any way.

He visited the KOKOFU and BEKWAI camps, and induced the chiefs to separate and return to their homes. North of COOMASSIE, Mr. Barnett found the armies of MAMPON and AGUNA about to attack those of OFINSU and EJISU, but by October he had prevailed upon them to renounce hostilities. Meanwhile, Captain Lonsdale had reconciled the chiefs of BEKWAI and KOKOFU, and departed for the Coast in November, leaving Mr. Barnett in charge of negotiations at AJABIN. Peace was short-lived, however, for ACHEREBOANDA escaped from PEREMPE'S party and sought refuge in KOKOFU. OSEI ESIBE, the chief, promptly

re-espoused his cause and prepared to resume hostilities against the BEKWAIS.

In January, 1888, the chiefs invited Mr. Barnett to enstool the new King, saying that, although they had "drunk fetish" three months previously, nothing had been done. The delay was caused by ESIBE'S obstinacy. He insisted, in spite of Mr. Barnett's remonstrances, on holding out against the overwhelming majority in favour of PEREMPE.

Owing to the death of KWESSI KWISSI, (the heir-apparent), both the "Golden" and "Edum" stools were vacant. In March the Coomassie chiefs, headed by EWUA of BANTAMA, tired of the senseless delay, urged Mr. Barnett to come to COOMASSIE to witness PEREMPE'S enstoolment. He arrived on March 15th, and was accorded a hearty welcome.

Unfortunately, Mr. Barnett had received imperative orders to return to the Coast by April 10th. The ceremony of enstoolment had been fixed by the fetish priests for the 17th of the same month. On hearing that Mr. Barnett must leave by the end of March, they advanced the date of the ceremony by a whole month. The chiefs of MAMPON and KOKOFU, suspicious of their reception in the capital, declared themselves unable to attend in time, although their representatives were present.

## CHAPTER X

### KWEKU DUA III.

1888-1896

AJIMAN PEREMPE was enstooled on the heir-apparent's stool (ABAKUMEJA) in the presence of Mr. Barnett, at midnight of March 26th, 1888. At the instigation of the chiefs, although he did not occupy the palace, he assumed the Royal prerogatives and the name of KWEKU DUA III. He has always been known by his nickname PEREMPE (*anglice* stout).

The question of appointing a British Resident in COOMASSIE had been strongly advocated by the merchants on the Coast. They pointed out that the destruction of the Ashanti power by the expedition of 1874 had removed the central authority, and that the responsibility to maintain law and order had devolved upon the British Government. This was not the Governor's view, however, who opposed the appointment mainly on the score of expense. It would appear that he failed to appreciate the difficulties surrounding a modern Ashanti monarch. No sooner had Mr. Barnett left than the young heir's troubles began.

KOKOFU broke out into open rebellion. He commenced raiding Bekwai villages and plundering traders. In May, ESIBE of KOKOFU was reinforced by the ADANSIS and DADIASIS from the Protectorate, and attacked the BEKWAIS. EWUA of BANTAMA set out forthwith to the rescue of his allies, the BEKWAIS, but

arrived too late to help them. He was betrayed by a BEKWAI, captured at KASI by the KOKOFUS, and promptly put to death by ESIBE. The advance of the KOKOFUS was met by a combined force of COOMASSIES, JUABENS, and BEKWAIS, which completely defeated and drove them across the PRA. PEREMPE recalled his army from that river, and at once reported what had occurred to the Governor, asking him not to allow the fugitives to use the Protectorate as a base for raids on ASHANTI.

AKWESSI SECHERE of MAMPON, afraid of his reception in COOMASSIE, continued to intrigue on behalf of ACHEREBOANDA, and won over the NSUTAS to his side. He attacked EJISU, but was beaten back. PEREMPE'S party marched against and defeated the MAMPONS at BIPOSU, and pursued them as far as EJURA. The survivors fled to ATEBUBU.

About the same time, AJIMAN of JAMAN appealed for British protection, and an expedition under Inspector Lethbridge was sent up. Owing to internal dissension in JAMAN, nothing could be done. Mr. Badger, on a supposed appeal for protection from the Chief of NSUTA, arrived at ATEBUBU in January, 1889, but the chief disclaimed having made any such appeal, and this expedition was likewise fruitless.

It will be noted that the Government policy of non-intervention in Ashanti affairs, so long adhered to by the Coast authorities, had now been definitely abandoned, but the interference was all directed against, instead of in support of, the central power. This rendered PEREMPE'S task all the more difficult, and gradually discouraged and embittered him and the court party.

Indeed, PEREMPE, who was only a youth of sixteen,

was beset by the gravest difficulties from the very outset of his reign. He had, perforce, to act upon the advice of YA CHIA, the Queen-Mother, and the Coomassie chiefs, and was little more than a puppet in their hands.

AKWESSI SECHERE of MAMPON, now at ATEBUBU, invited AKWESSI OPOKU, Chief of NKORANZA, to join him against COOMASSIE. The latter refused, but his people insisted that SECHERE'S invitation should be accepted, whereupon OPOKU committed suicide by blowing himself up. On hearing of his death, SECHERE claimed OPOKU'S head. This request lost him the friendship of the NKORANZAS, who, under their new chief, IFFA, beat off a Mampon army and openly espoused PEREMPE'S cause. In reward for his loyalty, IFFA claimed all the privileges attached to the stool of MAMPON. These consisted of the right to cover drums with leopard skins ; of wearing gold sandals and cap ; of covering the chiefs' drinking calabash with gold ; of possessing a stool studded with silver ; and of wearing a particular emblem (ABOBEN) over the State umbrella. PEREMPE granted IFFA only the privilege of wearing gold sandals. His refusal of the other requests so annoyed the NKORANZAS that they immediately declared a war of independence.

In September, 1889, SECHERE of MAMPON, finding his position unsafe at ATEBUBU, sent messengers to ACCRA asking for an officer to conduct him and such MAMPONS as were willing to migrate with him down to the Protectorate. He was told in reply that he might enter the Protectorate via the VOLTA River route, and was promised land on which to settle. This reply was embodied in a letter to PEREMPE, asking him to refrain from persecuting tribes which had seceded from the Confederation, and telling him that the ADANSIS would

be allowed to return to ASHANTI provided that he guaranteed they would not be molested.

Mr. Badger returned to ACCRA in January, 1890, bearing with him the following letter containing the King's answer :

“ COOMASSIE,

“ *December 27th, 1889.*

“ GOVERNOR,

“ Your letter by your officer, Mr. Badger, came safely to hand ; as you stated in the closing of your letter that Mr. Badger should not be detained no longer than a week, I take the little time to reply to you.

“ 1. I am very sorry indeed to say that it is not my single wish that the British Government should allow the King of Mampon to come to the Protectorate ; and even those that have come already, I am earnestly praying for their safe return.

“ 2. It is truly through the kind aid of the British Government that I ascended to the stool of my ancestors. Those of my subjects who wilfully had opposed to my being placed on the stool took up arms against me, but were unsuccessful ; they had to fly to you, which candidly and truly speaking should have been asked to return, for they had no respect for Her Majesty's Government, for they knew it was through their King's assistance I am on the stool.

“ 3. Your true and firm friendship you stated in your letter with me I am sorry to say it wants wanting, for I believe that when two persons are keeping friendship each of them seeks the interest and welfare of the other, but it is not the case here. I thought that my subjects that had come to you came to solicit your intercession for their safe return, for I believe that when a friend's boy or servant offends his lord, he runs to his lord's friend to ask pardon for him, so when there is any punishment whatever, through the intercession of the other friend, the offended servant is pardoned, and then he returns to resume his former duties ; this is real



friendship, but I am extremely sorry, it is not so with us ; I am deprived almost of all my subjects ; on whom, then, shall I reign ?

“ 4. You stated in the 6th paragraph of your letter that the King of Kwahu have signed treaty with the British Government ; may I ask, for what cause, have I had any palaver with him, or is it only the wish of the British Government that he should do so ? The Sefwis I learn from them that during the late disturbance they have run to the British Government, and that if I ask for them they will gladly given in their allegiance to me ; all these and many others I find that if it is the British Government’s wish they all will return.

“ 5. The King of Bekwai has never send arms crossed the boundary against the Inquantahs, for it is that wicked Quasie Mensa that is robbing, killing, and troubling my subjects on my land, and so I send to check him ; if he will not serve me, and have taken shelter under you, I do not see why he should not be kept within bounds.

“ 6. Yes, I wish the return of the Adansis to their former position, if they will understand as my loyal subjects. If they agree I shall send one of my influential chiefs to come and drink water with them, and if there is any misunderstandings I trust and believe it shall be properly settled, but if they wish to come and live on my lands without serving me as before, they may remain to where they are, and I shall order my chiefs to settle men on the main road in order to have the roads properly kept.

“ 7. When all my subjects have come to the Protectorate, where is then trade ; for once they have crossed to you, they shall fear to cross over and pass on my land to the interior to trade.

“ 8. I hope and trust that the British Government will carefully and seriously consider this important subject, so that peace and commerce may now freely take its course.

“Wishing you a merry Christmas and a prosperous and blessed New Year.

“I remain, etc.,

My

“QUACOE DUAH III., X  
mark.

“King of Ashanti.

“His Excellency, F. M. HODGSON,

“Acting Governor.”

In considering the tone of this letter it must be borne in mind that the clerk who wrote it was a man of “indifferent education”; and in proof that no discourtesy was intended, it may be mentioned that the King sent a copy of it to the Secretary of State under cover of the following :

“ASHANTI COOMASSIE,  
“December 27th, 1889.

“MY LORD,

“It is my greatest pleasure that I take the liberty of writing you ; as I believe I am the first King of Ashanti that ever have send a letter to England, and trust Her Majesty’s Government will give me all assistance and good advice for the well government of my Ashanti kingdom.

“I find that the friendship existing between Her Majesty’s Government and my kingdom of Ashanti, ever since the time of my ancestors, is still now the same.

“I believe if there is any grievance in me, Her Majesty’s Government is able to remove same, therefore I send the accompanying copy of a letter to the Governor administering the Gold Coast Government, for your kind perusal, and I trust Her Majesty’s Government will assist me in this important matter, as have been always done.

“ I wish Her Majesty’s Government a merry Christmas and a prosperous and blessed New Year.

“ I remain, etc.,

“ QUACOE DUAH III.,  
My X  
mark.

“ King of Ashanti.

“ To the Right Hon. LORD KNUTSFORD,

“ Her Majesty’s Principal Secretary  
“ of State for the Colonies.”

PEREMPE then commenced negotiations with the British Government for the return of his subjects in the Protectorate, but without immediate result.

The Government had realized that if peace in the hinterland was to be maintained ASHANTI must be included in the Protectorate. In December, 1890, a mission was sent to COOMASSIE to offer the King British protection. The party consisted of Mr. Hull, Assistant-Inspector Campbell, Dr. Murray, and an interpreter. The letter to the King introducing the draft Treaty, although it asserted that the Government had no desire to force its advice on the King, and that it was quite open to him and his supporters to accept or decline the advice of the Government, went on to say that if the King did not agree to place his country under British protection the friendship of the Government would be withdrawn. It also included other veiled threats.

According to Claridge, the draft Treaty—

“ consisted of nine articles. By the first of these the King was to place his people and country under British protection. The second accepted them. The third required the Ashantis to refrain from making war on

their neighbours, and to refer all disputes to the Governor for arbitration. The fourth provided that all disputes arising amongst themselves should be settled in similar manner, and that the Governor's decision should be final and binding. The fifth secured to all British subjects free access to all parts of Ashanti, the right to build houses and hold property there in accordance with the laws of the Gold Coast Colony, and to carry on any trade that might be approved by the Governor or his deputy; it also stipulated that the authorities in Ashanti should not confer similar rights on other persons without the Governor's consent. By the sixth, the Ashantis were to undertake to keep their roads in good order and encourage trade generally, and not to enter into any agreement or treaty with any other Power without the Governor's permission. The seventh contained an undertaking on the part of the Government that it would not interfere with the customary collection of revenue by the King and chiefs, nor with their administration of the country as did not 'militate against the dictates of humanity.' The eighth conferred on the Government the right to appoint a Resident in Ashanti or to send a Travelling Commissioner to visit the country at any time, who should assist the King with advice for the promotion of law, order, and trade; and the ninth reserved to the Home Government the right to refuse to ratify the Treaty within a year from its date, but it was to come into force immediately on its execution.'\*

Mr. Hull remained in COOMASSIE from April 2nd until May 7th, 1891, without receiving a definite reply. After his departure, messengers overtook him bearing the King's reply. It referred to several side-issues, but in so far as the proposed Treaty was concerned the answer was unequivocal.

\* Claridge, vol. ii., p. 354.

It said :

“The suggestion that Ashanti in its present state should come and enjoy the protection of Her Majesty the Queen and Empress of India, I may say this is a matter of a very serious consideration, and which I am happy to say we have arrived at this conclusion, that my kingdom of Ashanti will never commit itself to any such policy ; Ashanti must remain independent as of old, at the same time to remain friendly with all white men. I do not write this with a boastful spirit, but in the clear sense of its meaning. Ashanti is an independent kingdom, and is always with the white men. . . . I thank Her Majesty’s Government for the good wishes entertained for Ashanti ; I appreciate to the fullest extent its kindness. . . . Believe me . . . that the cause of Ashanti is progressing, and that there is no reason for any Ashanti man to feel alarm at the prospects, or to believe for a single instant that our cause has been driving back by the events of the past hostilities.”\*

PEREMPE also complained of Mr. Hull’s discourtesy in leaving him so abruptly, but the Acting Governor explained that this had been due to Mr. Hull’s state of health.

The ATEBUBUS, who were already under British protection, reported to the Governor that they expected to be attacked by the COOMASSIES. The Government decided to send up an armed force, under the Inspector-General, Colonel Sir Francis Scott, to the assistance of the ATEBUBUS. At the same time a diplomatic envoy was sent to COOMASSIE. Mr. Vroom, District Commissioner, was sent with a letter to the King warning him that if his forces attacked ATEBUBU he would have to reckon with the Government. Mr. Vroom arrived in COOMASSIE on October 14th, 1892. He found that

\* Parliamentary Paper : Affairs in Ashanti, 1896, p. 71.

PEREMPE had made no arrangements to attack ATEBUBU or any other place.

Sir Francis arrived at ATEBUBU in December. This show of force resulted in several of the tribes, notably the JUABENS, AGOGOS, and NKORANZAS, appealing for British protection against COOMASSIE, and the Coast traders again petitioned for the inclusion of ASHANTI within the British zone. This was considered to be an inadvisable step to take at the time, owing to the probable armed resistance of the COOMASSIES. Sir Francis Scott was, however, confident that were he allowed to march south on COOMASSIE the whole country would accept British supremacy without fighting.

In January, 1894, the Secretary of State suggested that PEREMPE be asked to receive a British Resident at COOMASSIE in return for stipends to himself and his principal chiefs, on condition that the King was not to wage war on tribes living beyond fixed boundaries. This proposal was made to the King by Mr. Vroom in March, but although he waited in COOMASSIE until April, PEREMPE and his chiefs could not decide on a definite reply.

Shortly after the return of the army to COOMASSIE from the expedition against the NKORANZAS and MOS, a day was fixed for the funeral custom of AJIMAN KOFI KWEKU DUA II., as PEREMPE could not be properly enstooled until due respect had been paid to the spirit of his deceased brother. The custom lasted nine days, during which a rigid fast from all food was maintained. Some fifty slaves are supposed to have been sacrificed at the time. They were mostly Nkoranza captives.

The fortieth day after the termination of these funeral obsequies was the day fixed for PEREMPE'S accession to the golden stool. It took place on June 11th, 1894.

The chiefs of BEKWAI, OFINSU, AGUNA, EJISU, KUMAWU, and OSUUNCHE, the new Chief of MAMPON, attended in person. JUABEN sent a representative.

After the ceremony the political situation was discussed. It was an extremely difficult one for the Ashanti chiefs to face. They were naturally unwilling to lose their independence, while at the same time they wished to avoid assuming a defiant attitude which they felt would create a rupture with the British Government.

On ANSA'S suggestion, it was decided to levy a poll tax of ten shillings a head to defray the cost of an embassy to England. This ANSA was the son of Prince ANSA, the adviser of OSEI MENSA, who had been educated in England and had since died at CAPE COAST.

The adoption of ANSA'S advice proved fatal to the Ashanti monarchy.

The embassy determined upon consisted of ANSA himself; his brother ALBERT ATTA ANSA; KWMAIN BOATIN, Chief of ANKASI; KWEKU FEKUO, a Coomassie linguist; KWAKU NKRAMA, a SAFOHIN; KOBINA BONA, a court crier; AJIEMPON DABAN, a sword-bearer; and KODJO TUFUO, a gun-bearer. The mission arrived in CAPE COAST on December 10th, 1894, and was received by the Governor two days later, when the linguist explained that the King intended to deal directly with the Secretary of State, pleading that it was useless to continue negotiations with the Colonial authorities, adding:

“The King is very anxious that perpetual peace be effected in Ashanti. His Majesty thinks that if he keeps writing to your Excellency that will not settle

matters for good. Therefore he has deputed them to Her Majesty the Queen, so that every matter may be entirely settled. Mere letters will not settle matters, so His Majesty has sent them to go and see the Queen, so that peace may be perpetually effected in Ashanti.\*

The Governor naturally protested against the implied discourtesy, and next day produced a telegram from the Secretary of State warning the embassy that the Queen would only communicate with the King of ASHANTI through the Governor of the GOLD COAST, and that the mission would not be received in England. The Ashanti envoys replied that, as they had been ordered to proceed to England, they would carry out their instructions. The negotiations that followed are thus described by Claridge :

“ Their decision was communicated by cable to the Secretary of State, who sent instructions that the ambassadors should be forbidden to proceed to England, and a note to this effect was accordingly sent to them.

“ This was addressed to ‘ Mr. John Ossoo Ansa . . . Messengers from the King of Kumasi,’ and Ansa refused to receive it because he was not addressed as ‘ Prince.’ It was once more sent, with an intimation that it contained a message for them from the Home Government ; but he still refused it unless the King was described as ‘ King of Ashanti,’ instead of King of Kumasi only, and, since the messengers declined to attend at the Castle, it was again sent down to them, and they were told that the King would not be recognized as King of Ashanti until he had replied to Mr. Hodgson’s letter, though it is difficult to understand how it could be maintained that the mere writing of a

\* Parliamentary Paper : Further Correspondence relating to Affairs in Ashanti, 1896, p. 4.



letter could alter the limits of his kingdom. Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom were the bearers of the letter on this occasion, and were told to open and read it to the Ashantis if Ansa still refused it; but he now accepted it, after some hesitation, saying that he did so under protest.

“ At another meeting held at Government House, Cape Coast, on the 15th, Ansa read a paper protesting against the Governor’s action in having refused to acknowledge the King of Ashanti, but only as that of Kumasi, and in having stated that he and his brother had been dismissed from the Government service.

“ It was with the full concurrence of the Secretary of State that the Governor had not only declined to admit that Prempi was anything more than King of Kumasi, but also refused to acknowledge Ansa and his companions as ambassadors or anything more than special messengers. This decision was based on the grounds that the King was not a ‘ chief of sufficient importance to be allowed to send ambassadors to the Queen, and that he was reasonably suspected of allowing human sacrifices.’ ”\*

The Secretary of State ordered that a European officer should proceed to COOMASSIE, accompanied by Mr. Vroom, to inform the King that his messengers had been stopped, and to ask for a categorical reply to the letter handed to him by Mr. Vroom in March. Captain Donald Stewart was sent to COOMASSIE with Mr. Vroom for this purpose in December, 1894. Mr. J. S. Erbynn accompanied them as interpreter. Captain Stewart was instructed to explain to the King all that had occurred. He was to lay stress that the only way he could communicate with the Home authorities was through the Governor.

\* Claridge, vol. ii., p. 387.

They entered COOMASSIE on January 3rd, 1895. The Governor's letter was read to the King and Coomassie chiefs on the 8th. The meeting was adjourned until the 15th for the attendance of the provincial chiefs. It was not, however, until the 21st, after continued prevarication, that a meeting was held. Captain Stewart again read the Governor's letter. Then the chiefs asked for the letter itself. Captain Stewart explained that, since it contained private instructions to himself as well as the message to them, he could not comply with this request. His refusal produced an uproar, and Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom, after endeavouring in vain to make their voices heard above the tumult, retired from the meeting.

Soon after messengers came to them from the King. They bore his answer. It was brief but decided. The only reply he could give the Governor was the one he had already sent by his special envoys, who had been instructed to carry it to the Queen of England.

Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom left COOMASSIE the next day (January 22nd). While at FUMSU on the 25th, one of the Hausa escort was shot. There is good reason to suppose that the shot was intended for Mr. Vroom. The alleged murderer was handed over by the Chief of ESAMAN.

The Ashanti envoys sailed on March 28th. On their arrival in England the members communicated with the Foreign Office, on the grounds that ASHANTI was an independent State, but both the Foreign and Colonial authorities refused them audience.

Mr. (later Sir) William Maxwell assumed the governorship of the GOLD COAST on April 7th, 1895. He received instructions to send the King an ultimatum to the effect that, as he had violated the Treaty of FOMENA

by encouraging human sacrifices, hindering trade, and failing to keep the road open to the PRA, he was required to receive a British Resident at COOMASSIE forthwith. He was also told that the Government had decided to grant British protection to all the Ashanti tribes that had applied for it, and was reminded that the war indemnity of 1874 had not yet been satisfied. The King was to send his answer by October 31st. The same envoys were elected to take this ultimatum to COOMASSIE. Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom arrived in COOMASSIE early in September, with instructions to return immediately after delivering the message. The attitude of the chiefs was now conciliatory, and the roads were specially cleaned for the envoys.

But PEREMPE and his chiefs had staked their all on ANSA'S mission, and as they were still waiting for news from England, dared not commit themselves to anything definite. The King, therefore, replied (a reply that was not received on the Coast until November 12th) that his envoys had already left for England. Meanwhile military preparations were being made on the Coast, in case necessity arose, to enforce the demands of the Government. This greatly alarmed ANSA (who was still in England), and he strove hard to obtain a hearing from the Secretary of State, stating that he possessed a document signed by the King granting him full powers to act on his behalf.

On being asked for his credentials, he produced the following document :

(SEAL)

“ TO THE MOST GRACIOUS AND ILLUSTRIOUS  
SOVEREIGN, VICTORIA, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN  
AND IRELAND.

“ Kweku Dua III., King of Ashanti, wishes health  
and prosperity.

“ We pray your Most Gracious Majesty to know  
that we have appointed our trusty and well-beloved  
grandson, Prince John Ossoo Ansa, son of the late  
Prince Ansa, of Ashanti, on our behalf to lay before  
your Majesty divers matters affecting the estate of our  
kingdom and the well-being of our subjects, with full  
power for the said Prince Ansa as our ambassador-  
extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary to negotiate  
and conclude all such treaties relating to the furtherance  
of trade and all matters therewith connected as your  
Majesty shall be pleased to entertain.

“ We therefore pray that your Majesty will be  
pleased to receive the said Prince Ansa on our behalf,  
and to accord to him your Majesty's most royal favour.

“ Given at our Court at Kumasi this 18th day of  
September, 1894.

My

“ KWAKU DUA III., X  
mark.

“ King 'of Ashanti. ”\*

This at once woke the suspicion of the Colonial  
Office, as no mention had been made before of any such  
document. The wording of it was, moreover, excep-  
tional, and no witnesses attested PEREMPE'S mark.  
On his return to the Coast in December, ANSA himself  
admitted that the document was a forgery ; that he had

\* Parliamentary Paper, 1896, p. 122.

placed the King's mark on it himself; and that the impress of the seal had been taken from a die made after his arrival in England.

The Ashanti envoys, on their return from England in December, were dismayed to learn of all the military preparations on foot. They voluntarily accepted a British Resident on behalf of the King. The reply was that the latter, to prove his sincerity, must meet the Governor at PRASU and sign a new Treaty, as well as pay the expenses incurred by the British Government. By this time the expedition had started. The vanguard reached PRASU on January 3rd, 1896.

PEREMPE had summoned all his chiefs to determine on their course of action. YAO BOATIN of BEKWAI refused to attend, and tendered his submission to Sir Francis Scott, who was in command of the military forces. A flying column of HAUSAS and native levies under Major (now Sir) Robert Baden-Powell was at once sent to BEKWAI, which was occupied on the morning of January 5th. Messengers from COOMASSIE were sent down to endeavour to stop the advance of the main column, promising that the indemnity would be paid, adding that the King agreed to "come under the white man's rule." Captain Stewart, who received them at ESUMEJA, replied that the British troops would certainly enter COOMASSIE, where the King must make his submission to the Governor. On January 16th the whole force concentrated at ODASU, and the advance-guard entered COOMASSIE early on the 17th. King PEREMPE and the Queen-Mother were seated in state at the market-place (the site of the present post office) to watch the invading force enter the town. Sir Francis Scott arrived at 5 p.m., and at once told the King that the Governor would arrive next day, and that he



AMMA ACHINYA, DAUGHTER OF EX-KING PEREMPE.

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From a photograph.



## GOVERNOR ENTERS COOMASSIE 181

(PEREMPE) would be required to make his submission to him. On the 18th the Governor arrived, and he arranged to meet the King on the 20th. Meanwhile a cordon of Hausa soldiers was drawn round the palace.

The meeting was arranged for 6 a.m. (an unusually early hour for ASHANTIS to make their appearance in state). After being personally summoned by Captain Stewart, the King and Queen-Mother, with their attendants, arrived after 7 a.m., and took their seats opposite the Governor. A cordon of soldiers encircled them. The Governor in his speech said that the arrival of the British force was due to the King's neglect to answer the ultimatum and to the non-fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of FOMENA. He went on to say that, although the indemnity had not been paid, it was manifestly unjust to expect PEREMPE to pay the whole of it, as the Government now only recognized him as King of COOMASSIE and not of ASHANTI. He concluded by saying that the Government had no wish to depose him provided that he made his submission and paid an indemnity of 5,000 ounces of gold.

After much hesitation, PEREMPE and his mother walked across the square, prostrated themselves, and embraced the feet of the Governor, Sir Francis Scott, and Colonel Kempster.

"The scene was a most striking one. The heavy masses of foliage, that solid square of red coats and glistening bayonets, the artillery drawn up ready for any emergency, the black bodies of the native levies, resting on their long guns in the background, while inside the square the Ashantis sat as if turned to stone, as mother and son, whose word was a matter of life and death, and whose slightest word constituted a command which all



obeyed, were thus forced to humble themselves in the sight of the assembled thousands."\*

When PEREMPE regained his place, he exclaimed : " I now claim the protection of the Queen of England." The Governor reminded him that the payment of the indemnity was yet to be made. The King offered 680 ounces down, the balance to be paid by instalments, saying he could not afford more. The Governor scouted the idea of such a small amount, and as PEREMPE reiterated his inability to pay more, the Governor said : " The King, the Queen-Mother, the King's father, his two uncles, his brother, the two war chiefs, and the Kings of MAMPON, EJISU, and OFINSU, will be taken as prisoners to the Coast. They will be treated with due respect."

The scene that followed is thus described by Claridge :

" This was an utterly unexpected demand, and the Ashantis for a few moments sat as though paralyzed. Then the chiefs jumped up and earnestly begged that their King should not be taken from them, while Kweku Freku, pointing to the Ansas, who were standing by looking half amused and half nonplussed at the result of their handiwork, angrily asked what was to be done to them, since they had been the cause of all the trouble. The Governor answered that they would be arrested and taken to the Coast to stand their trial on a charge of forgery. They were at once handcuffed, while several officers and warrant officers, who had been detailed for the duty, drew their swords and closed round the King and chiefs. The latter were then removed to a house near by and the Ansas marched to the Hausas' guard-room in a state of mingled fear, rage, and astonishment.

\* Musgrove, p. 177.

“ Meanwhile, the cordon had not been withdrawn from the palace, and two companies of the West Yorks were now marched down to seize it. Every door was closed and barred ; but the hum of many voices could be heard within, so, while one company strengthened the cordon, the other burst open a small door and forced its way in. The men found themselves in a large empty courtyard ; but, on breaking down another inner door, they entered a smaller court in which were a number of Ashantis. They offered no resistance, and were quietly disarmed and placed under an escort outside while the palace was searched. A number of articles were collected, including several rings, trinkets, and gold-mounted swords ; but very little of real value was found, for the golden stool and other regalia had been removed and concealed elsewhere long before the arrival of the troops. ”\*

BANTAMA was then surrounded, and the Royal mausoleum broken into, but the skeletons of former Kings and whatever treasure might have been buried with them had all been removed. A row of empty brass coffins was all that was found inside.

The celebrated KUMA fetish-tree of COOMASSIE, that had named the town, was blown up by the Sappers.

The European troops left for the Coast on January 22nd with the prisoners, who were all carried in hammocks (PEREMPE in his litter).

The Governor and Captain Stewart followed with the HAUSAS and West Indians a few days later. Separate treaties were made with AGUNA, OFINSU, EJISU, NSUTA, MAMPON, KUMAWU, BOMPATA, BEKWAI, ABODOM, and KOKOFU.

Major Piggott (21st Lancers) was appointed first

\* Claridge, vol. ii., p. 414.

Resident of COOMASSIE, and assumed his duties in February.

By the irony of fate, the last King of ASHANTI was imprisoned in ELMINA Castle, for which his forbears had received regular payment of ground-rent for a period of nearly two hundred years.

The political prisoners were exiled to SIERRA LEONE in January, 1897, and eventually sent to the SEYCHELLES ISLANDS, where the survivors (among whom is PEREMPE) still reside.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE LAST RISING

1896-1901

THE sudden and unexpected deportation of their monarch appeared to daze the ASHANTIS. They became listless and supine. COOMASSIE was practically deserted for several years by the mass of the people. The town was placed in charge of OPOKU MENSA (OBUABASSA), NENCHWI (a linguist), and EFIRFA of ACHUMA, and the Resident interfered with them as little as possible.

The activities of the Government were more or less confined to the erection of a FORT, on a site dominating the town, which took over two years to build.

In June, 1896, Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, of the Basel Mission, arrived from ABETIFI to found a mission-station in COOMASSIE.

In July Lieutenant-Colonel Piggott visited ATEBUBU and KINTAMPO, where rumours reached him of Samori's raids in the north. He left for Europe in October, after having been relieved by Captain (later Sir) Donald Stewart, who was appointed Resident.

The staff at Captain Stewart's disposal did not admit of the inception of a properly-organized administration. He contented himself with breaking the power of the COOMASSIE chiefs over the outlying tribes, keeping the trade roads open, and travelling through the country as much as possible, which, to all appearance, maintained a peaceful and placid attitude.

But the ASHANTIS could not forgive the arrest and deportation of their King, and these years of seeming contentedness were in reality devoted by them to brooding over their supposed wrongs and to secret preparations for rebellion on the first opportune occasion.

Governor Maxwell visited COOMASSIE again in 1897. He then realized that the country was still unsettled, and that British rule had only been accepted under compulsion. In 1898 and 1899 small intertribal outbreaks occurred at BEREKUM and AGUNA. An all-pervading spirit of dissatisfaction was gradually spreading throughout the country, but more especially among the COOMASSIES and their immediate followers, like the ACHUMAS. They had to provide transport for the Government and labour to keep the roads open and clear. When they failed to do so heavy fines were imposed. This they strongly resented.

Rumours of general dissatisfaction were so rife towards the end of 1899 that the Acting Resident, Captain Davidson Houston, deemed it advisable to assemble the Coomassie and Achuma chiefs to swear loyalty to the Government.

In December a lame EJISU boy, named ESUMI, went to the authorities in ACCRA and offered to divulge the secret hiding-place of the golden stool. His story was sufficiently plausible to engage the attention of the Governor, Sir Frederic Hodgson, who determined that a search should be made for the stool. The task was entrusted to Captain Armitage, then Private Secretary to the Governor and a Sub-Inspector of the Hausa Constabulary. On the journey north the guide, although disguised and protected, succeeded in escaping, but was recaptured. The village of BALI

was reached by the party on February 5th, 1900, and the search commenced. The boy evinced such terror that all attempts to discover the stool proved fruitless, although there is little doubt that it was hidden in that locality. The quest had to be abandoned, and Captain Armitage and his escort returned to ACCRA. The ASHANTIS did not then know the object of Captain Armitage's mission, nor did they hear of it until he had left ASHANTI.

News reached them from the Ashanti traders on the Coast that the Governor was coming to search for it in person. Then the chiefs "drank fetish"\* at YAO EDU KOFI'S house (the Anantahene), not to deliver the golden stool whatever happened.

The Governor's contemplated visit to COOMASSIE took place in March, 1900. He was accompanied by Lady Hodgson, Captain Armitage, Dr. Chalmers, and Mr. Wilkinson, Acting Director of Public Works. COOMASSIE was entered on the 25th, and the Governor received an apparently hearty welcome. In the afternoon of Wednesday the 28th a meeting of chiefs was held in front of the fort. The Governor, in his address, announced definitely that neither PEREMPE nor ACHERE-BOANDA would be allowed to return to ASHANTI; that the powers of the King Paramount would be vested in the Resident, acting as the Queen's representative, and that he claimed the right to call out the people for peaceful purposes, such as road-construction or transport work. He reminded the chiefs that the war

\* To "drink fetish" means to partake of a liquid which has been poured out and has "washed" some particular stool. The liquid is supposed to be impregnated with part of the mystical power of that stool. Thus the partaking thereof imposes all the obligations of a sacred oath. The more important the stool used, the more binding is the draught.

indemnity, as laid down in the Treaty of FOMENA, had not been satisfied, and demanded that an annual sum of 2,000 pereguns (£160,000) should be paid by them. He apportioned this amount among the various tribes as follows :

The COOMASSIES would pay 125 pereguns ; the MAMPONS, ADANSIS, BEKWAIS, NKORANZAS, and MANSU NKWANTAS, 150 each ; the NSUTAS, KOKOFUS, and AGUNAS, 110 each ; the JAMANS, 100 ; the JUABENS, TEKIMANS, BECHIMS, NKWANTAS, WAMS, and BOMPATAS, 75 each ; the OFINSUS, EJISUS, KUMAWUS, WENCHIS, ABODOMS, AHAPOS, and OBOGUS, 35 each ; and the AGOGOS 20. Ten per cent. of these amounts was to be returned to the collecting chiefs for their trouble. The Governor ended his speech with an allusion to the golden stool in these words :

“ What must I do to the man, whoever he is, who has failed to give to the Queen, who is the paramount power in this country, the stool to which she is entitled? Where is the golden stool? Why am I not sitting on the golden stool at this moment? I am the representative of the paramount power ; why have you relegated me to this chair? Why did you not take the opportunity of my coming to Kumasi to bring the golden stool and give it to me to sit upon? However, you may be quite sure that, although the Government has not yet received the golden stool at your hands, it will rule over you with the same impartiality and with the same firmness as if you had produced it.”\*

The meeting then broke up quietly.

This speech shattered all the hopes the ASHANTIS possessed of PEREMPE'S return. They had made up

\* Official records.

their minds that the Government would reinstate him after a few years' salutary exile—after, as they put it, PEREMPE'S "ear had been twisted." The loss of their monarch for all time had been undreamt of by them. Added to this unpalatable revelation, the demand for the golden stool, although quite logical to us, appeared to them in the light of an unwarrantable interference with their most sacred traditions. They regarded it with reverential awe. It was symbolic not only of their departed glory, but also of the spirits of the dead Kings, from OSEI TUTU to KWEKU DUA. The stool formed part of the OJIRA fetish, and could not be entirely divested of its religious attributes. Naturally, such spiritual significance as was attached to this emblem of power was extremely difficult for anyone not versed in the ways of "animistic" communities to realize.

But although disappointment at PEREMPE'S continued exile, and the annoyance caused by the demand for the golden stool were contributory causes, it was the order to pay the war indemnity which proved the deciding factor in favour of rebellion.

That same night a secret meeting was held in OPOKU MENSA'S compound, whereat all the chiefs present "drank fetish" to submit no longer to British rule. KOFI FOFIE (*alias* KOFIA) of NKWANSAN, ANTOA MENSA, and KWAMIN EFRIFA, OSEI KOJO KRUNI and EDU JENFI, were the moving spirits of resistance. Messengers were at once dispatched to all the outlying tribes inviting them to join the COOMASSIES in rebellion, and the Queen-Mother of EJISU, YA ASANTIWA, was asked to head the movement. She gladly accepted the responsibility, as she was still smarting on account of the deportation of her grandson, AFRANI. How-



ever, so bitter was the hatred and fear of the old tyranny of COOMASSIE that only half the tribes responded to the appeals of the Coomassie chiefs. The others preferred the unpopular, albeit just, rule of the "white man" to a possibility of reverting to the cruel methods of former days.

The COOMASSIES were joined by the EJISUS, OFINSUS, ACHUMAS, AHAPOS, BECHIMS, NKWANTAS, some KOKOFUS and, later, by the ADANSIS.

The BEKWAIS, MAMPONS, JUABENS, NSUTAS, KUMAWUS, ATEBUBUS, TEKIMANS, WENCHIS, BEREKUMS, WAMS, NKORANZAS, JAMANS, and MANSU NKWANTAS, remained loyal.

On March 31st the Governor sent Captains Armitage and Leggett with forty-five rank and file to NKWANTA and BALI, on another search for the golden stool and such treasure as might belong to it. Incidentally they were to attack all guns and ammunition said to be massed in those villages. The column was accompanied by the lame boy ESUMI, Mr. Erbynn (the Resident's interpreter), a dispenser, and sixty-four hammock men and carriers. At OFINSU two spies reported that the people were much excited and preparing for war, but when the villages were surrounded and searched they were found to contain only a few people and some old guns. On April 2nd Captain Armitage set out with an escort and the boy to try and discover the stool; but although the guide led him through dense jungle to two houses where he declared the treasures to be buried, nothing was found, and the party returned to BALI.

That afternoon the village was surrounded by armed ASHANTIS, who opened fire on the Hausa soldiers. The troops were withdrawn into houses and ordered to loop-

hole the walls, but not to fire in return unless the village was rushed. The ASHANTIS fired spasmodically during the rest of the day and well into the night, until dispersed by a heavy tornado. It was obvious that the detachment would have to fight its way back to COOMASSIE. At break of day the column started off—Captain Armitage in charge of the advance-guard, Captain Leggett in charge of the rear-guard. No sooner was the advance-guard out of the village than it was met with a volley from the bush on either side of the road at close range. This disorganized the carriers, who fled in all directions. The steady fire of the HAUSAS, however, silenced the ASHANTIS, and the column pushed on as rapidly as possible under continual fire. It surprised and dispersed a large party of ASHANTIS on the banks of the OFIN River. The loss of their leaders, KOFI ENCHWI and YAO OPON, who were among the slain, together with the suddenness of the attack, disorganized the ASHANTIS, and the column was able to reach ACHIASHI, fourteen miles from the starting-point. The column was now in desperate straits. Food was unprocurable, ammunition was fast failing, and the men were exhausted. At noon Captain Armitage called a halt. A clearing was made in a plantation by the side of the road. Here the column encamped for a much-needed rest. The night was spent in a small circular stockade made up of plaintain stems, surrounded by a cordon of sentries. No water was available, and the sufferings of the wounded were acute. At dawn Captain Leggett was ordered to push his way through to COOMASSIE at all costs with a few men for reinforcements, food, and ammunition. During the night, however, the ASHANTIS had retired, and the whole party reached

COOMASSIE the same day without having been again attacked. Both officers and nineteen men had been wounded on this fruitless quest, besides one man killed and several carriers wounded and missing.

Meanwhile the COOMASSIES, EJISUS, OFINSUS, and ACHUMAS, were arming, and two of the native committee, NENCHWI and EFIRFA, were known to have joined the rebels. After hearing of the fight on the BALI road, the chiefs of MAMPON, JUABEN, and KUMAWU came at once to the Governor to declare their loyalty.

Telegrams were sent to ACCRA and the northern territories for all the available Constabulary to march on COOMASSIE, and reinforcements were ordered to the GOLD COAST by the Secretary of State from SIERRA LEONE, LAGOS, and NORTHERN NIGERIA.

Pending the arrival of the troops, the situation could only be dealt with by negotiation. The Governor sent for the loyal chiefs in COOMASSIE and OPOKU MENSA. He promised that no attempt should be made to collect the war indemnity, and that the young men, who had been led astray by their chiefs, would be leniently dealt with if they agreed to lay down their arms.

The latter demanded the return of PEREMPE ; liberty to buy and sell slaves ; immunity from Government labour ; and the banishment of all strangers and traders from COOMASSIE. To these requests the Governor replied that he had already made known his final decision with regard to PEREMPE ; that slavery had been abolished in ASHANTI in 1896 ; that the ASHANTIS would still be expected to find labour for communal works, but that the regulations would be altered so as to minimize any hardship that might be entailed ; and

that as far as traders were concerned, COOMASSIE being part of the British Empire, all would be free to live and trade in peace. This decided refusal of all their demands ended negotiations. On April 18th Captain Davidson Houston and Mr. Wilkinson, accompanied by Messrs. Daw and Leslie Gordon of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, left COOMASSIE, and were allowed to travel down the CAPE COAST road unmolested. Captain Armitage undertook the duties of Acting Resident. On the same day Captain Middlemist, Acting Inspector-General, arrived from ACCRA with 100 rank and file, without having met with any opposition.

A series of small sorties was decided upon to drive the ASHANTIS away from the close proximity of COOMASSIE. On the 21st Captains Marshall and Leggett went to ESSEM and AMOKUM, but did not come into touch with the enemy. On the 22nd Captains Middlemist and Marshall burnt KASI and ADEABABA and captured twenty ASHANTIS. On the 23rd, Captains Marshall and Bishop, accompanied by Dr. Hay, took out a column intended for KWAMAN, but YAO AWUA led them along the EJISU road to KWAMU. They were recalled as soon as the mistake was discovered, since the ASHANTIS were known to be in force on that road. Unfortunately, the warning reached Captain Marshall too late to prevent his column from falling into an ambush at FUMESUA, where all three European officers were wounded, native officer AKERE and 4 men killed, and 55 men wounded.

The rebels then cut the telegraph-wires and drew closer round COOMASSIE. By April 25th the town was completely invested. All the Europeans (including

Mr. and Mrs. Ramseyer, Mr. and Mrs. Yost, Mrs. Naasis, Messrs. Weller, David, and Grundy) took refuge in the fort.

The Basel Mission buildings were defended by Captain Armitage and some loyal ASHANTIS as long as practicable, but they had gradually to fall back under shelter of the fort machine-guns. The ASHANTIS attacked the Hausa Zongo and set it on fire. All the civilian HAUSAS fled to the fort. At dusk the gaol was thrown open and the prisoners were released. The hospital and officers' quarters were evacuated, and the siege of the fort commenced in deadly earnest. It contained all the Europeans and the whole garrison, with the exception of the sentries on duty posted round the thousands of refugees who had sought the shelter of the fort guns.

The following graphic description of the night that ensued is quoted from Captain Armitage's and Colonel Montanaro's book :

“ The scene which was presented from the verandah of the Residency that night beggars description. The blazing houses in the cantonments and Fanti and Cape Coast lines, some of which the rebels had fired, cast a lurid light upon the surging mass of humanity clustering round the fort walls, from which arose the wailing of women and the pitiful crying of little children, who wept with their mothers out of sympathy, without knowing of the danger realized by their elders. Beyond and around this terror-stricken crowd stood the Hausas, seemingly indifferent to their surroundings, but, in spite of their long day's fight, as alert as ever. Occasionally a Hausa woman would force her way through the crowd to bring food and water to her lord and master, while round the cordon walked the white officers, and that fine old native officer, Mr.

Hari Zenoah, who had grown grey in the Government service, praising here, reprimanding there, while keeping up the spirits of his men. Every now and then, amid a whirlwind of sparks, some thatch roof would fall in, converting the four 'swish' walls of the house into a white-hot furnace. Away across the swamp glowed the embers of the burned civilian Hausa town, occasionally lighting up the Wesleyan Mission buildings, as yet untouched by the Ashantis. Behind all towered the blank wall of forest which surrounds Kumasi, from which were borne the triumphant shouts of the rebels, who had at last caged the white man within the narrow limits of his fort walls.

It was a night never to be forgotten."\*

On the 29th the ASHANTIS loopholed the houses close to the fort. They were driven out by rifle and machine-gun fire. Nevertheless, they kept up intermittent firing from sheltered places; whenever they exposed themselves they met with severe punishment. A flank movement led by Captain Armitage on that day finally drove the enemy back to BANTAMA.

The same evening the Lagos Column of 250 men, under Captain Aplin, C.M.G., with Captains Cochran and Read, Lieutenant Ralph, and Dr. Macfarlane, arrived. It had been attacked at ASAGO the previous day, and again on the 29th, and gallantly fought its way through, but the casualty list was heavy and the expenditure of ammunition had been so great that the arrival of these reinforcements failed to relieve the situation.

On May 2nd the stockade near the Wesleyan Mission-house on the Kintampo road was attacked. This caused the ASHANTIS to burn the mission-house and abandon their position for one farther up that road.

\* Armitage and Montanaro, p. 32.

On the 6th Captain Middlemist died of injuries received.

Food was daily becoming scarcer. Fortunately, the water-supply, 400 yards from the fort, was not tampered with by the enemy, but the question of feeding the garrison, not to mention the thousands of refugees, became every moment more difficult. On the 9th and 10th forays were made to obtain native produce, but both attempts failed. On the 11th the loyal chiefs endeavoured to reopen negotiations with the rebels, and BODU'S camp on the Mampon road was visited by special envoys. At first the rebels would not abate their terms, but they convened a meeting of representatives at which "fetish was drunk," and an armistice was declared on May 13th. A certain amount of food was allowed to be brought to the besieged, and results were anxiously awaited by them when, on the 15th, guns were suddenly heard, and in marched the Northern Territories Column under Major Morris, D.S.O. This officer had made a record journey south, as he had been warned of an ASHANTI rising by Mr. Rainsford, District Commissioner at KINTAMPO. Mr. Rainsford had received the news of the insurrection from Captain Parmeter, who had been attacked at SECHEREDOMASI on his way down to COOMASSIE, and who, after a wellnigh miraculous escape, had returned to NKORANZA.

Major Morris's column consisted of five European military officers, two medical officers, one native officer, and 230 Hausa rank and file. The column left KINTAMPO (after a 238-mile march from GAMBAGA) on May 9th. NKORANZA was reached on the 11th. Major Morris there found two factions: the Queen-Mother's party, stanchly loyal to the Government, but

in a minority ; and the chiefs' party on the verge of rebellion. The timely advent of Major Morris and the admirable behaviour of the Queen-Mother (EFUA DAPA) decided matters, and the tribe remained loyal.

The column was thrice attacked on the road to COOMASSIE. This arrival brought the number of besieged Europeans to 29, besides 750 of all ranks and several thousand refugees.

The Europeans were :

His Excellency Sir Frederic Hodgson, K.C.M.G.,  
Governor ;

Lady Hodgson ;

Major Morris, D.S.O., commanding the troops ;

Captain Marshall, West Kent Regiment ;

Captain Digan, Connaught Rangers ;

Captain Armitage, Travelling Commissioner,  
Acting Resident ;

Captain Parmeter, Inspector, Gold Coast Con-  
stabulary ;

Captain Bishop, Assistant-Inspector, Gold Coast  
Constabulary ;

Captain Berthon, Royal Munster Fusiliers, Assis-  
tant-Inspector, Gold Coast Constabulary ;

Captain Aplin, C.M.G., Inspector-General,  
Lagos Constabulary ;

Captain Cochran, Assistant-Inspector, Lagos  
Constabulary ;

Captain Read, Assistant-Inspector, Lagos Con-  
stabulary ;

Mr. Ralph, Assistant-Inspector, Lagos Con-  
stabulary ;

Dr. Garland, Senior Assistant Colonial Surgeon,  
Gold Coast ;

Dr. Chalmers, Acting Chief Medical Officer,  
Gold Coast ;

Dr. Tweedy, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Gold  
Coast ;



Dr. Graham, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Gold Coast ;  
 Dr. Hay, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Gold Coast ;  
 Dr. Macfarlane, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, Lagos ;  
 Mr. Branch, Clerk-in-Charge, Telegraph Department, Gold Coast ;  
 Rev. F. Ramseyer, Basel Mission ;  
 Mrs. Ramseyer, Basel Mission ;  
 Mr. Yost, Basel Mission ;  
 Mrs. Yost, Basel Mission ;  
 Mr. Weller, Basel Mission ;  
 Mrs. Naasis, Basel Mission ;  
 Mr. David, Ashanti Company ;  
 Mr. Grundy, Ashanti Company ;

and (already dead)

Captain Middlemist, Acting Inspector-General,  
 Gold Coast Constabulary.

The unexpected arrival of Major Morris's column had the effect of ending the armistice. The ASHANTIS refused to believe that it was not a premeditated move on the part of the besieged Governor, and negotiations were terminated.

Owing to shortage of food, the garrison was rationed. The European allowance was 1 pound of tinned meat and one biscuit per day; the HAUSAS received  $\frac{1}{2}$  pound of meat and a biscuit and a half; the carriers  $\frac{1}{4}$  pound of meat and half a biscuit. But hard pressed as the garrison was, their condition was nothing in comparison to that of the refugees, who were literally starving.

On April 20th the stockades on the MAMPON and ACCRA roads were attacked by Captains Marshall and

Armitage in an endeavour to obtain food, but both parties were met with heavy fire, and owing to scarcity of ammunition, had to return without having achieved their object.

On the 21st OPOKU MENSA, who had been detained in the fort, died of pneumonia.

On the 25th Captain Cochrane attacked and captured the NTIMIDE stockade. Although ENCHI EJEI, Chief of NKAWE, fled, his men rallied and compelled the column to retire. Unsuccessful sorties were again made on the 26th and 29th, but the ASHANTIS were on the alert and repulsed these attacks. Captain Maguire was mortally wounded on the 29th. Ammunition was now so scarce that a period of inaction became inevitable. The plight of the garrison and refugees grew daily more pitiable. Already bearing the pangs of approaching starvation, they had now to contend with disease.

The mortality in June was estimated at 10 per cent. per day. Matters became desperate. Rations had been reduced to a minimum. Yet even with this reduction, supplies would hold out only for a short time. Moved by these circumstances, the Governor decided to try and break through the enemy cordon, and leave a garrison of only three officers and 150 HAUSAS in the fort.

It was ingeniously reported that the column would march down the CAPE COAST road, but at dawn of the 23rd a break was made to the west, down the PATASI road. The few ASHANTIS at this stockade were taken by surprise. They attacked the column, but the stockade was rushed and captured by Captain Armitage, and the whole column moved forward as quickly as possible, knowing that the ASHANTIS on the adjoin-

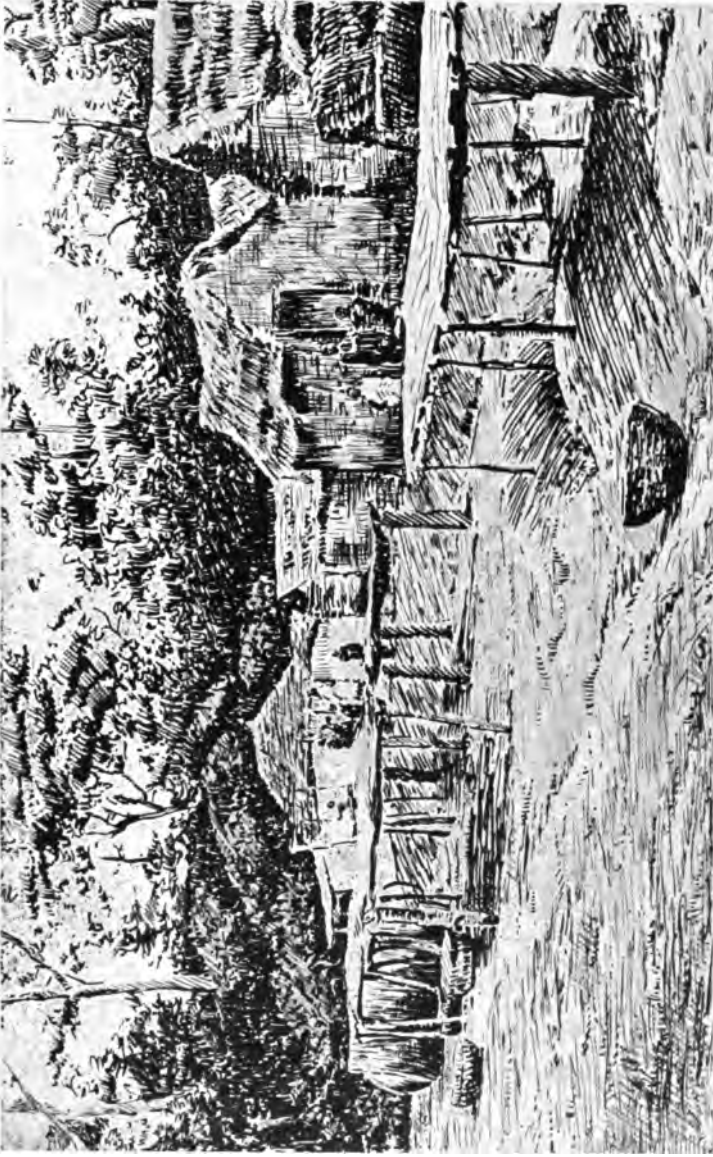
ing roads would follow and try and cut them off as soon as they realized that they had been tricked.

The column was fired upon throughout the day by small bodies of ASHANTIS. At dark TERABUM, a small village, was reached, with the loss of over a hundred soldiers and carriers. Captain Leggett was seriously wounded. Most of the loads had been abandoned, and only one camp-bed remained. This was set aside for Lady Hodgson. The Europeans had lost all their equipment, and possessed only the clothes they were wearing. The first night was one of misery. It is thus described by Captain Armitage :

“ Our loads lay out in utter confusion where they had been dumped down by the carriers, who came struggling in like drunken men. The Governor and Lady Hodgson sat upon boxes waiting for the tent which never came, and finally sought shelter in the wretched hut I had kept for them. The crush was so great that two huts filled with wounded collapsed from the pressure on the walls from without, and the occupants were with difficulty rescued. Fires had been lit everywhere, and from them arose suffocating volumes of smoke, as the damp wood spluttered and cracked. The many trampling feet had churned the ground into a sea of mud over ankle deep. And upon this steaming mass of humanity the torrential rain fell silently, pitilessly, as though determined to extinguish the wretched fires around which squatted shivering groups of natives.”\*

Next day the column marched for ten hours and halted at HIAKOSI. MANSU NKWANTA territory, whose chief, KWACHI NKETIA, had remained stanchly loyal throughout, was entered on the third day, and

\* Armitage and Montanaro, p. 102.



VILLAGE SCENE, SHOWING COCOA-DRYING PLATFORMS.  
From a pen-and-ink drawing by Lady Fuller.



the hazardous enterprise had been safely accomplished.

EDUBIA was reached on the 28th. Captain Marshall died that night of his wounds. Captain Leggett died twenty-four hours later at TAKORASI. The OFIN River was crossed on the 30th, and the column was now split up into three detachments for the march to the Coast. The Governor and Lady Hodgson arrived at CAPE COAST on July 10th. Besides the two officers, 23 rank and file had been killed, 16 died of wounds, 37 were wounded, and 39 missing—a total casualty-list of one-fifth of the armed force.

The casualties among the carriers and refugees had been even heavier.

When the ASHANTIS realized that the Governor and his party had slipped through their cordon by the PATASI road, AKWESI BODU (YA ASANTIWA'S representative) detailed ANTOA MENSA with a large force to follow him up.

Fortunately, the stubborn resistance of the rear-guard induced MENSA to content himself with the seizure of all the abandoned loads.

In the meantime 1,400 troops had been ordered to the GOLD COAST under the command of Colonel (now General Sir James) Willcocks, C.M.G., D.S.O.

Captains Hall and Haslewood arrived at FOMENA on May 20th with the advance-guard. KWEKU INKANSA, Chief of ADANSI, made protestations of loyalty, but on the 24th two European miners, Messrs. Jones and Cookson, were attacked at DOMPOASI, and Captain Slater and his force of 25 men were suddenly fired upon by the ADANSIS north of KWISSA. The other miners were also captured and killed.

Colonel Willcocks landed at CAPE COAST on

May 26th. He found COOMASSIE and, indeed, all the north entirely cut off. After organizing transport, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Carter, C.M.G., with 200 men of the Southern Nigerian Battalion to join Colonel Wilkinson, Inspector-General of the Gold Coast Constabulary, at KWISSA, and followed himself on June 5th for PRASU with 11 officers and 280 rank and file. Lieutenant-Colonel Carter's column was attacked at DOMPOASI, and compelled to retire on KWISSA. The ADANSIS had built a strong stockade a quarter of a mile in length, 6 feet high, and 6 feet thick, which gave them ample protection against rifle and shell fire. Captain Meliss was hurried forward from PRASU with reinforcements. Another column under Captain Wilson, on its way from BEKWAI to KWISSA, was also attacked at DOMPOASI, but succeeded in fighting through and joining up with Lieutenant-Colonel Carter's force at FUMSU, of which Colonel Wilkinson was in command, as Colonel Carter had been wounded and invalided home. News of the Governor's escape was now received.

On June 12th a letter from the Governor reached Colonel Willcocks, explaining that the besieged garrison in COOMASSIE could hold out on reduced rations until July 11th. Colonel Willcocks ordered Colonel Wilkinson to move on to BEKWAI. This town was reached via OBUASI without incident. Colonel Burroughs's force, which was to join Colonel Wilkinson's, marched by the main road, rushed the DOMPOASI stockade by night, completely surprised the ADANSIS, destroyed a considerable part of the stockade, and reached BEKWAI on July 1st.

Colonel Burroughs determined to attack KOKOFU. The KOKOFUS were fully prepared, however, and

fought with great coolness and skill. After three hours' hard fighting the attacking column had to fall back on ESUMEJA, the chief of which had remained loyal.

Colonel Willcocks had now collected sufficient men and stores to enable him to advance on COOMASSIE. He left PRASU on July 1st with all his available force, and reached BEKWAI on the 9th, without having met with any resistance. On the 10th the first news from COOMASSIE for weeks past was received. A half-starved Hausa soldier crawled into ESUMEJA and produced a soiled piece of paper on which was written the following message :

“From O.C. Kumasi to O.C. Troops Esumeja. His Excellency and main troops left for Cape Coast seventeen days ago. Relief most urgently wanted here. Remaining small garrison diminishing, disease, etc. Reduced rations for only few days' more. F. E. Bishop, Captain, G.C.C.”

The messenger was promoted on the spot and given a well-deserved pecuniary reward.

Six star shells were fired at ESUMEJA that night, but they were not seen at COOMASSIE. A demonstration in force was made against KOKOFU in order to deceive the ASHANTIS. It led them to suppose that this was the main attack, and they appealed to COOMASSIE for help.

The relieving force marched out of BEKWAI at dawn on July 13th. It consisted of 60 Europeans and 1,000 rank and file, with two 75-millimetre guns, four 7-pounders, and six maxims.

The rain was so heavy that it took nineteen and a half hours to cover the fifteen miles to PEKI. The march was resumed at 8 a.m. on the 14th.



TREDE, a Coomassie village, was rushed, captured, and destroyed. The column halted at NKWANTA (five miles from COOMASSIE) for the night, and fought its way into COOMASSIE on the 15th, the day on which Colonel Willcocks had promised it should be relieved. The ASHANTIS offered a vigorous resistance at the last stockade, but it was successfully rushed and the town entered at 6 p.m.

What had occurred in the besieged fort was thus described by Captain Bishop to Reuter's representative :

“ When the column marched out of Kumasi on the morning of Saturday, June 23rd, we were assured that authentic information had been received that the relief force was at Esumeja, and that we should be relieved in five days at the very latest. Left alone, our first task was to take stock of our food-supply, and then to tell off the men to their various positions in the bastions and so forth, warning them that they were on no account to leave the guns, but always to sleep beside them.

“ Every man had one hundred and twenty Martini-Metford cartridges, with a reserve of fifty per man. Major Morris had scarcely left Kumasi when we saw a band of Ashantis coming towards the fort from the Bantama stockade. I suppose they thought the fort was evacuated, but the fire from two maxims soon convinced them that such was not the case, and after firing a random volley they retired.

“ It will be remembered that the friendly population, coast people, traders, and so forth, had fixed up shelters all round the fort under fire of our guns. These, to the number of some thousands, extended for a considerable distance, and were now abandoned, all of the people, with the exception of about one hundred and fifty, having gone away with the Governor's

column. These empty shelters formed a pestilential area, the stench from which was such that, despite the heat, we were compelled to keep the windows of the fort shut. Moreover, they now formed a fine cover for the Ashantis, and we had to set to work to destroy them.

“The grass structures had been so sodden by the tropical rains that it was not until June 27th we were able to burn out this plague-spot.

“Apart from the stench, the presence of hundreds of vultures afforded only too sure evidence of what some of these huts contained, but to make certain that there were not half-dead people a personal inspection of the shelters was necessary. So Ralph and I, each with a handkerchief tied over our faces, and half a dozen men visited the huts. We found decaying remains on all sides, and many bodies which had been torn to pieces by the vultures. In one hut we found a wretched starving woman who had been living for three days with her dead child beside her.

“In the meantime starvation was doing its work in the fort. The day after the Governor's column left, three of the men died, and almost daily one or more succumbed. The gates of the fort were never opened except for a few minutes at early morning and again at dusk, when the dead were carried out and buried in the adjoining trench, no one being strong enough to dig graves. For the first five days we were not unduly anxious, but when no relief came as promised, and we remembered that we had been told that a force was only sixteen miles off, our spirits fell, and after ten days we gave up all hope. Neither of us thought we should survive, but we kept up an appearance of cheerfulness for the sake of our men, who bore their sufferings with the greatest fortitude. I regard the conduct of the native troops as marvellous; they maintained perfect discipline and never complained. Our first business every morning was to serve out the

rations to the men, who came up to the table one by one. Some were too weak to do this, and lay about on the ground.

"All were worn to skin and bone, but there were a few who, to relieve their hunger, had been eating poisonous herbs, which caused great swellings over the body. At last the rations consisted of a cup of linseed meal and a block of tinned meat about two inches square. Occasionally some native women would come outside the fort and offer, at ridiculous prices, certain articles of food. These were greedily purchased, and many would have readily given three times the price asked. A piece of cocoa yam usually costing the fraction of a penny realized fifteen shillings, and bananas fetched eighteenpence each. I paid fifteen shillings for a tiny pineapple. But even these high-priced luxuries were extremely rare, and the value of money can be judged when I tell you I used to pay the Hausa troops three shillings in lieu of half a biscuit. By this means we saved a few biscuits, and the Hausas were able to purchase leaves, etc., for food. A large quantity of our scanty store of biscuits had been so badly packed that they were full of weevils and grubs, while others were thickly coated with mildew.

"Every two or three days our anxieties were increased by reports that the loyal Bekwais and Nkwantas had joined the Ashantis, and were encamped two days' march from the town. We were also told that the Governor's column had been cut up, and that the Ashantis had a white man's head in their camp. Now, to make matters worse, smallpox broke out in the fort, and we had to remove the cases to a hut under the fort walls. Every day Dr. Hay, although extremely ill, clambered over the wall to visit these cases, and in doing so again contracted fever. As a last resource I tried to get some message through to Bekwai. Going to the treasury, I took out a bag containing a hundred pounds, and offered it to the first

man who would deliver a message at Esumeja, sixteen miles off. Two Lagos men volunteered, but returned without success. Several times the Ashantis came out from their stockades, once to burn the Basel Mission Chapel, which we tried ineffectually to save; and once to destroy the Wesleyan Church, which, being in a hollow, was out of our line of fire. At night small bands prowled about near the fort and round the small-pox hospital, which we had to remove.

“On July 14th the usual native stories were told of distant firing, but these reports, which, by their constant repetition, had at first caused us to hope, only made us more despondent. On the evening of that day the native officer said he was sure he had heard a 7-pounder, and we fired three double shells as a signal, but there was no reply, and we felt sure that the supposed 7-pounder was only an Ashanti Dane gun. Next morning when I was in the bastion I distinctly heard three volleys fired in the direction of the Cape Coast road. Even then we were not quite sure of their origin, but we felt more hopeful. The men were quite apathetic, being too weak to care much for anything. At 4.30 in the afternoon we heard terrific firing, which removed any doubts we had, and after opening a pint bottle of champagne—one of our few remaining medical comforts—we mounted the lookout, field-glasses in hand. It was very pathetic that even with relief at hand some of the men were just at the point of death. At 4.45, amid the din of the ever-approaching firing, we heard ringing British cheers, and a shell passed over the top of the fort, which was in the direct line of fire. We then saw shells bursting in all directions about 400 yards off, and we fired a maxim to show that we were alive. Then, to our intense relief, we heard a distant bugle sound the ‘Halt,’ and at six o’clock on Sunday evening, July 15th, we saw the heads of the advance-guards emerge from the bush, with a fox-terrier trotting gaily in front. Instantly

the two buglers on the verandah sounded the 'Welcome,' blowing it over and over again in their excitement. A few minutes later a group of white helmets told us of the arrival of the staff, and we rushed out of the fort, cheering to the best of our ability. The meeting with our rescuers was of a most affecting character. Colonel Willcocks and his officers plainly showed what they had gone through. The whole of the force was halted in front of the fort, and three cheers for the Queen and the waving of caps and helmets formed an evening scene that none of us will ever forget."

Captain Bishop was given the D.S.O. ; Mr. Ralph a direct Commission in the Royal Fusiliers ; and Dr. Hay the C.M.G., as rewards for the trying and anxious time they had endured.

The relieving column set to work to clean up the surroundings of the fort next day, the conditions of which were indescribably filthy. Skeletons and corpses in every stage of decomposition had to be removed and burnt and the ground cleaned generally.

On the 17th the relief expedition commenced its return journey to BEKWAI. As many of the relieved garrison as were able to travel accompanied it. Captain Eden, two officers, one doctor, two British non-commissioned officers, and 175 men, were left to hold the fort.

Brilliantly as this first part of the campaign had been conducted, the more arduous task of dispersing the rebels and pacifying the country had to be accomplished. The enemy south of COOMASSIE was first dealt with. KOKOFU was attacked in force by Lieutenant-Colonel (now Major-General) Morland on July 22nd. Major Meliss with the advance-guard rushed

the stockade, and in spite of desperate resistance occupied the town of KOKOFU, which was burnt.

KWISSA was then reoccupied, and the ADANSI war-camp taken by storm and destroyed on the 29th. The ADANSIS lost heavily and were utterly routed.

Owing to rumours of the fort being again besieged, the Commandant sent Colonel Burroughs to COOMASSIE with 750 men via PEKI, with orders to reinforce the garrison, destroy stockades, and return to BEKWAI by August 12th. This force entered COOMASSIE on August 5th, having met with no organized opposition.

On the 6th the stockade on the NTIMIDE road, outside BANTAMA, was captured by Major Meliss's column after a stubborn resistance. Major Cobbe, with two companies, carried the stockade on the KINTAMPO road the same day.

The stockade on the ACCRA road was the next to fall, as the result of a night attack led by Colonel Burroughs in person, when the enemy suffered severely.

Lake BOSUMTWI was visited by columns under Lieutenant-Colonels Hanstock and Wilkinson, but, contrary to expectation, they met with no resistance. Colonel Brake succeeded in surprising and routing a body of rebels at JACHI.

The country south of COOMASSIE having thus been cleared of the enemy, Headquarters were moved up and established in that town on August 31st.

Meanwhile an attack on EJISU was conducted by Colonel Brake. The stockade was carried after severe fighting, and the town captured and destroyed.

It was now learnt that Captain Benson, who was in command of the AKIM levies and marching on COOMASSIE from the south-east, had been repulsed at

BOANKRA, and that, deserted by his levies, he had shot himself at ODUMASI. On receipt of the news, Major Reeve was sent on a punitive expedition in that district. He was absent ten days, during which he saw nothing of the enemy.

The remaining stockades surrounding COOMASSIE were gradually destroyed, the sanitary condition of the town was improved, and a market, at fixed prices, established.

The Ashanti army had gradually scattered. A small concentration was effected at JACHI under MARAWERE OPOKU (OBUABASSA). This was the force that was surprised and routed by Colonel Brake. OPOKU was killed while trying to rally his men.

Flags of truce now began to come in.

EDU JENFI, the ADENTIHENE, and ANTOA MENSA were the first to surrender, and others soon followed their lead.

On September 16th Sir James Willcocks held a review of the 1,750 troops in COOMASSIE, which much impressed the ASHANTIS.

The northern portion of the country now received attention. A column of 500 men under Major Holford marched to KINTAMPO and back without opposition. Major Holford received the unconditional surrender of KWEKU INKANSI of ADANSI and several other chiefs. A strong column left for OFINSU on September 21st under Major Montanaro. A force of ASHANTIS was met at ODANASI, but after some fighting a bayonet charge dislodged the enemy, who fled in confusion. At OFINSU several chiefs surrendered, among whom was the Ofinsu leader, ENCHWI.

News was received that KOKI FOFIE, EFIRFA, and KWAMIN ASARE, had concentrated a force of about

5,000 rebels ten miles out of COOMASSIE on the BEREKUM road.

The Commandant marched out to meet this army on the 29th with a force of 1,200 men. Captain Donald Stewart, who had returned from England, accompanied him as political officer. Rain fell in torrents all that day, and the column halted at ADADA for the night. Next morning the enemy was met in force at ABOASU. An engagement at once ensued. Only after repeated charges and fierce hand-to-hand fighting did the ASHANTIS give way, and then only to retreat slowly up the hill towards the village. They eventually broke and fled when enflanking companies threatened their rear. ISANSU was then occupied. A flying column reached FUFU the next day, which was found deserted. The whole force re-entered COOMASSIE on October 3rd. It was now announced to the ASHANTIS that only those who were proved guilty of murder would be punished, and that they would all be treated as belligerents and not as rebels. This induced many to surrender. But as several of the fugitive chiefs had taken refuge in the north-western portion of ASHANTI—among whom was the redoubtable KOBINA CHERI of ODUMASI—columns were sent early in November under Majors Montanaro and Browne to try and effect their capture.

An advanced depôt was formed at BECHIM, where the chiefs of BECHIM, NKWANTA, and TEKIMAN surrendered. ODUMASI was reached on the 11th. Here a garrison of 300 men was left, while the main column proceeded to BEREKUM, where the loyal chief, KOBINA WUSU, accorded the troops a hearty welcome. Captain Hobart, who had been at WAM throughout the rising, marched in from there with his detachment of



Gold Coast Constabulary, and reported that all the Western tribes were loyal. PONG YAO, Chief of WAM, was given permission to send a thousand men into the AHAFO forest in search of the Ashanti fugitives.

Major Browne at ODUMASI succeeded in discovering KOBINA CHERI'S hiding-place, and surrounded and captured him at the hamlet of SUNYANI.

The column returned to COOMASSIE on November 23rd, with 31 captured chiefs and 900 Dane guns.

KOBINA CHERI was tried by a Military Commission, sentenced to death, and hanged on the 25th at the market-place in the presence of the whole garrison and populace. His courage never failed him, and he died defiant to the end. He was the chief-designate of BANTAMA, and commanded a great deal of influence.

The war being over, Sir James Willcocks left COOMASSIE on December 3rd.

All the principal leaders of the insurrection were accounted for in due course, including YA ASANTIWA, KOKI FOFIE, KOJO KRUM, and EFIRFA. BODU escaped to French territory and died there.

According to the ASHANTIS, their losses, from first to last, amounted to about 1,000 men.

With the new year commenced a difficult period of reconstruction. The Resident, Captain Donald Stewart, reported in January, 1901, that the whole of ASHANTI was perfectly quiet, and that the people were returning to their villages. But several of the stools had been rendered vacant, either by the death or dismissal of former occupants.

The more important were those of ADANSI, KOKOFU, NSUTA, BECHIM, NKWANTA, ABODOM, EJISU, OFINSU, ACHUMA, NKAWA, and the six

Coomassie sections—*i.e.*, KORENTIN, AKOMU, ADENTIN, CHIDOM, JIASI, and OYOKO.

These stools were all given to loyalists, among whom KWAMIN BOACHI of AGUNA, YAO AWUA of EJISU, and KWAMIN TUA of COOMASSIE, were pre-eminent.

In March, 1901, Major (now Sir Matthew) Nathan, C.M.G., R.E., the new Governor, visited COOMASSIE. Fifteen leaders and originators of the insurrection were deported to the SEYCHELLES ISLANDS, and 31 more removed to ELMINA Castle; the old war indemnity was reimposed, but discontinued a few years later; and the use of Dane guns was limited to a few licensed hunters. These were practically the only punishments meted out to the ASHANTIS, while presents amounting to over £3,000 were apportioned out among the loyal chiefs.

Owing to constant rumours of a secret combination between the JUABENS, MAMPONS, KUMAWUS, and NSUTAS, the Resident visited these places in August, 1909, with a strong column, consisting of 5 European officers and 400 rank and file. He found the rumours to be quite groundless, and was heartily welcomed wherever he went.

A company of the West African Frontier Force was left permanently at MAMPON. One had already been stationed at KWISSA town and another at ODUMASI in the western district.

Captain Donald Stewart proceeded to England in October, leaving Captain Armitage, C.M.G., D.S.O., in charge.

## CHAPTER XII

### DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY UNDER BRITISH RULE

1902-1920

ON September 26th, 1901, an Order in Council was issued by His Majesty annexing ASHANTI to the Crown, defining the boundaries of the new Dependency, and providing for its administration by a Chief Commissioner under the direct control of the Governor of the GOLD COAST COLONY.

This Order was enforced by the "Ashanti Administration Ordinance" of January 1st, 1902, which divided ASHANTI into four provinces, established a Chief Commissioner's Court, granting the Chief Commissioner the powers and jurisdiction of a Judge of the Supreme Court of the GOLD COAST COLONY, except in divorce and matrimonial causes.

The Ordinance further provided for the review by the Governor of all criminal cases involving a period of imprisonment exceeding five years, and an appeal in all civil matters amounting to one hundred pounds. It recognized native tribunals, and empowered the Chief Commissioner at his discretion to enforce sentences passed by such tribunals. It enacted the application to ASHANTI of any Ordinance passed in the COLONY, as far as local circumstances would permit, and empowered the Chief Commissioner, subject to the

approval of the Governor, to make, amend, and revoke rules with respect to—

Appeals from native tribunals.

Prisons.

The making and maintenance of roads.

The maintenance of telegraph-lines.

The regulation of towns, villages, and streets, and the abatement of nuisances in or about towns or villages.

The conservation of forests and the collection of forest products.

Cemeteries.

Ferries.

The prevention of accidents in hunting.

The regulations of the celebration of native customs.

Rest-houses and mile-marks.

Landmarks and boundaries.

Markets.

The fouling of streams or wells.

Spirit licences as provided by Section 26, and such rules as may provide for the issue of sub-licences and for fees.

The introduction into Ashanti of goods and merchandise under Section 25.

The regulation of traffic and the carriage of goods on the River Volta.

The regulation of caravans, including measures for their safety and the imposition of tolls ; and

The acquisition of land for public purposes.

The civil staff entrusted to inaugurate the new régime only consisted of Captain Donald Stewart, Chief Commissioner ; Lieutenant Henderson, R.N. ; Captains Armitage and Davidson Houston, District Commissioners ; and Captain Pamplin Green, Cantonment Magistrate.

## 216 DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

Valuable assistance was rendered to the Administration by the military officers in charge of the out-stations at KWISSA, MAMPON, and ODUMASI (the latter with a sub-station at SIKASSIKO), but little could be done to further the development of the country with this inadequate staff and the limited funds at the disposal of the Chief Commissioner. Indeed, the fact that no serious disturbances whatever occurred in the ensuing years reflects credit on the handful of officers concerned.

The four provinces of ASHANTI included the following divisions :

*The Central.*—COOMASSIE, AGUNA, OFINSU, MAMPON, NSUTA, KUMAWU, BOMPATA, and OBOGU.

*The Southern.*—BEKWAI, ADANSI, MANSU NKWANTA, KOKOFU, and (later) DANJIASI.

*The Western.*—BEREKUM, WAM, AHAFO, JAMAN, WENCHI, and TEKIMAN.

*The Northern.*—NKORANZA, ATEBUBU, KRATCHI, and (later) BANDA and MO.

The officious, unjust, and often cruel interference, in the past, of the Coomassie chiefs with the internal affairs of the outlying tribes having been the cause of perennial dissatisfaction, the obvious policy of the Administration was to break off all political connection between the two. The Coomassie chiefs were strictly forbidden to obtrude in matters that did not concern their proper territories. The resentment this caused among them was more than compensated for by the sense of relief and security experienced by the others. In fact, it became a fundamental rule that each division should regulate its own internal affairs under the direct supervision of the Commissioners. This wise ordinance,

inaugurated by Captain Stewart, proved the foundation-stone on which the edifice of contentedness was erected.

As a palliative of this decrease in power, a council of Coomassie chiefs was instituted in August, 1905, consisting of the former ABREMPON, to advise the Chief Commissioner on matters connected with Coomassie territory only, and to secure to them official prestige and position.

The original Council consisted of—

<i>Name.</i>			<i>Rank.</i>
Osei Mampon	...	...	Korentinhene
Kwamin Frimpon	...	...	Adentinhene
Kweku Ware ...	...	...	Antoahene
Kwatchi Kofi ...	...	...	Akomuhene
Kobina Toto ...	...	...	Edumhene
Kwamin Dapa	...	...	Oyokohene
Akwessi Busumpra	...	...	Denchemonasuhene
Akwessi Adabo	...	...	Chidomhene
Akwessi Inuama	...	...	Domakwahene
Kofi Senchere	...	...	Domanasihene
Kobina Kokofu	...	...	Jiasihene
Kwamin Tua ...	...	...	Jiasiwahene
Kobina Sechere	...	...	Fantahene
Kobina Safo ...	...	...	Nantahene
Kwamin Kwissi .	...	...	Ankobiahene

The following were added in later years—

Kobina Esuboantin	...	...	Jiasiwahene
Kweku Dua ...	...	...	Etipimhene
Enin Bejua ...	...	...	Amokumhene
Akwessi Jewu ...	...	...	Tonwasihene
Kobina Kofuo	...	...	Nkawehene
Yao Boatin ...	...	...	Bremanhene

The council is now limited to twenty-one members, exclusive of the Chief Commissioner, who acts as

chairman. The council meets on an average once a month to discuss the questions of the day and pass local rules affecting the welfare of the people.

The Chief Commissioner and the Cantonment Magistrate were the only two executive officers in the Central Province. They both resided in COOMASSIE, which was also the headquarters of the 1st Battalion of the Gold Coast Regiment.

The Southern Province was controlled by a Commissioner at OBUASI (headquarters of the mining district). The company of the Gold Coast Regiment stationed at KWISSA was withdrawn in May, 1905.

The Northern Province was administered by a Commissioner at ATEBUBU, where a small detachment of soldiers was quartered. This station was abandoned in 1905 in favour of NKORANZA. The Western Province was controlled by a Commissioner at ODUMASI, supported by one company of the regiment, from which an officer and a quarter-company were detailed for the frontier post at SIKASSIKO. ODUMASI was abandoned in favour of SUNYANI in 1906.

The BLACK VOLTA was declared to be the boundary between the northern territories by an Order in Council dated October 2nd, 1906. BANDA, MO, and KINTAMPO were thereby included within the limits of ASHANTI, and the total area of the Dependency was increased to 25,000 square miles.

As a result, the station at NKORANZA was abandoned in favour of KINTAMPO, which became the headquarters of the Northern Province.

In 1907 the political staff was increased from five to eleven. Captain Armitage, C.M.G., D.S.O., was already in control of the Southern Province; Mr. T. E. Fell, C.M.G., administered the Western; and the



**A MEETING OF CHIEFS.**

From a photograph.



**VIEW OF MODERN COOMASSIE.**

From a photograph.





Northern was supervised by Major Rew, O.B.E.; the Central Province fell under the direct control of the Chief Commissioner, who was assisted by a District Commissioner in provincial matters, and by a Police Magistrate in Coomassie urban affairs.

This accretion of staff enabled the Administration to get into closer touch with the natives, and to study their wants and the requirements of ASHANTI generally, with a view to the social and economic development of the country.

The most delicate questions demanding settlement were those of slavery and pawning (*i.e.*, pawning of individuals for debt). Although the purchase of slaves had ceased since the British occupation in 1896, all families of importance owned slaves, who, in reality, formed part of the family circles. The pawning of people for debt was still in vogue.

These long-established institutions were gradually abolished by the promulgation of the following rules :

#### SLAVERY.

1. That slave families were not to be separated without their consent.
2. That payment of a fixed amount (to be determined in consultation with the chiefs) would ensure redemption, and that a master could not refuse to free a slave on payment of the redemption fee.
3. That cruelty would, *ipso facto*, redeem a slave.
4. That the bearing of a child by a female slave by her master would convert her into a free woman.
5. That every child of a domestic slave born after a certain date (five years was the term allowed) would be free.

## PAWNING.

1. That pawns would cease to be hereditary (*i.e.*, the offspring of a pawn would no longer be regarded as a pawn).

2. That debts on "pawns" could no longer be recovered in courts of law.

A few years sufficed to suppress both institutions for ever.

The rapid development of the country during the last decade necessitated a gradual increase of the political staff, until the present establishment of twenty was found sufficient. Besides the Chief Commissioner, three Provincial Commissioners and a Police Magistrate, six District Commissioners, and nine Assistant District Commissioners, assist in the administration of the Dependency. This number provides for the relief of officers proceeding to Europe under the generous leave conditions of the West African service. In 1913 four new administrative centres were opened—two in the Central Province (EJURA and JUASO) and two in the Western Province (WENCHI and GOASO).

The close touch and constant intercourse between Commissioners and natives have engendered feelings of mutual regard and respect. Nor is it too much to add that this sympathy has in many instances amounted to real affection. Litigation is beloved by the ASHANTIS, and land disputes form a large proportion of court cases, owing to the accruing value of the soil for planting purposes. Litigants are only too ready to take their complaints to the Commissioners, who, they well realize, will mete out strict justice at but slight cost to the parties. Appeals lie from the Commissioner's decisions to the Chief Commissioner's Court, and again to the Governor of the GOLD COAST COLONY, but this

last procedure is rarely resorted to. By wise decree, lawyers cannot plead in the Dependency, for such a litigious people would fight to the bitter end and ruin themselves in payment of exorbitant fees. One of the secrets of their present contented state may be ascribed to this rule.

On the other hand, crime is small among them. Only forty-nine serious cases were recorded in 1918. The penalties which may be inflicted by the Commissioners vary according to rank—from a maximum of six months' imprisonment allowed to District Commissioners, to one year in the case of Provincial Commissioners, and finally to five years in the Chief Commissioner's Court. All sentences exceeding five years must be confirmed by the Governor. Up to 1919 the Chief Commissioner heard all important criminal cases, but in that year a Circuit Judge was appointed to relieve him of these duties.

To revert to political matters, the peace of the country was threatened in 1907 by the sudden appearance of a new cult known by the name of the "ABIREWA" (old woman) fetish. It migrated from the French Ivory Coast and spread with astonishing rapidity throughout ASHANTI. The "ABIREWA" was supposed to be accompanied by a male companion called "MANGURO," who acted as her executioner. Those who drank "ABIREWA" considered themselves immune from evil influences and assured of good health and prosperity so long as certain laws were not transgressed. But the secret of success lay in the powers arrogated to themselves by the priests of the cult, who alleged that with the aid of the fetish they could discover "witches." Witchcraft has always played an all-important part in the lives of these natives,

who believe that the untoward circumstances of life are attributable to malign spirits. Weekly dances took place at all the villages that had accepted "ABIREWA." The devotees of the cult were distinguished by oblong marks of white clay painted on the forehead and temples. For months it appeared to be quite harmless, until it transpired that the corpses of those said to have been killed by the fetish were mutilated and otherwise maltreated. They were buried in shallow graves strewn with broken bottles, with most degrading formalities. The cult was suppressed in August, 1908. The order was implicitly obeyed throughout the country, and in no single instance was coercion necessary.

The true religion of ASHANTI is a veneration of ancestors, strongly blended with "animism," commonly called "fetishism" (from the Portuguese word "feitico," a charm). Besides the ancestral worship common to all, every household has its own particular "fetish." It may take the form of an animal, a tree, a river, a magical mixture of herbs, a weird concoction of the alchemist's art, all worshipped for the express purpose of conciliating or influencing malign or beneficial spirits. Inanimate objects are not endowed with intrinsic merits, however, except in so far as they represent the homes of spirits. The dividing-line between idolatry and the reverence of tangible tokens has been a slender one throughout the ages; sometimes, indeed, the divergence is scarcely perceptible, but idolatry pure and simple can hardly be said to exist among the ASHANTIS. An individual can own his or her particular spirit (called SAMAN in contradistinction to the communal spirit, called BUSUM), but the SAMAN may become malignant and prove disastrous to the owner.

The creed of the country, in fact, approaches to pantheism, of which it may be a degraded form.

The ASHANTIS hold an instinctive aversion towards Mahommedanism, and no headway has been made in the country by the propagandists of Islam.

The Christian religion, on the other hand, is surely and steadily gaining ground. Six missions are established in ASHANTI—namely, the Church of England, the Wesleyan, the Roman Catholic, the Scottish (late Basel), the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Zion. These missions number a total of 5,500 adherents, and their churches and schools are dotted all over the country.

Primary education has hitherto rested mainly in their hands. Nearly 3,000 children are being taught in mission schools, but the Government has already established schools at COOMASSIE, SUNYANI, and JUASO, at which an average of 750 boys and girls attend for primary instruction.

The demand for Government non-denominational schools among the ASHANTIS is general. Clever and intelligent, they realize that their youths are hopelessly handicapped in the race for wealth (struggle for life does not exist) unless they can meet their better-educated Coast brothers on an equal footing, and arrangements have already been made for Ashanti scholars to be trained as teachers for their own people. In time every divisional town will boast of a school, and it can be confidently predicted that no compulsion will be necessary for the introduction of universal education.

In 1911 a certain amount of friction was caused by Christian converts refusing personal service to their chiefs on the plea that they could not do violence to their religious feelings. This attitude was, of course,

upheld by the Government when conscientious scruples were involved. But the plea was often nothing more than an excuse to avoid communal or personal obligations, quite distinct from spiritual matters.

The delicacy of the situation was great, but it was found possible to draw up rules differentiating between spiritual and moral obligations, and the ill-feeling gradually subsided. This is the reason of the great demand for non-denominational schools, for the heathen folk argue that they lose their children if the latter join the mission schools.

A census of the population was taken in April, 1911, which gave a total of 287,814 souls, the sexes being equally divided. But as this was the first occasion on which it was taken, considerable doubt exists that this figure represents the actual total. A much higher result will be attained in all probability in 1921.

The town of COOMASSIE, which includes a large settlement of north-country people, has a native population of about 30,000. Europeans, both official and non-official, number about 200.

The first railway steamed into COOMASSIE in October, 1903. The completion of the line connecting COOMASSIE with the port of SEKONDI gave the country's trade an impetus and scope hitherto unknown.

As it was considered necessary to raise revenue, a system of caravan-toll collecting stations was established in January, 1906. It consisted of ten stations (eventually increased to nineteen). These were placed on the main trade roads of the Dependency at frontier posts. But although, from a financial point of view, the scheme more than realized expectations, it was abolished two years later on the strong but mistaken representations from various Chambers of Com-

merce in England to the effect that the collection of the toll interfered with freedom of trade.

The expenditure of the Dependency for 1906 amounted to £85,000 against a revenue of £32,000 (£7,000 of which was derived from mining royalties). It is only fair to state, however, that ASHANTI was then debited with three-fourths of the total cost of the Gold Coast Regiment, and was not credited with the customs dues collected on the littoral on articles consumed in the Dependency.

The ASHANTIS readily turned their attention to trade. Their wealth was derived from rubber, kola nuts, and cocoa (the cultivation of which had been introduced a few years earlier).

The value of the rubber and cocoa exported in 1906 was £172,000 and £700 respectively. The value of the kola exported (nearly all by head transport to the north) could not then be estimated.

To encourage this growing tendency among the ASHANTIS towards the cultivation of economic products, an Agricultural Show was organized in COOMASSIE in December, 1908. This proved extraordinarily successful, and fulfilled the object for which it was promoted. In addition, it drew together the largest concourse of ASHANTIS ever known. As a result, old intertribal feuds were buried, whilst the "white man's" methods of administration were better understood, and consequently, hereafter, loyally supported.

Not to weary the reader with figures denoting the steady progress of the country's prosperity, it will be sufficient to quote the following résumé of the trade for 1918. Trade value of—

Imports	£822,300	Exports	£1,292,000
Expenditure	£52,000	Revenue	£47,000



## 226 DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

The last figure does not include the revenue collected on the Coast on articles consumed in ASHANTI. If this were added, a considerable credit balance of revenue over expenditure would be shown.

Over 18,000 tons of cocoa, valued at £360,000, were exported in that year, besides £360,000 worth of kola. The cattle and sheep trade from the north amounted to an import value of £350,000, while £387,000 worth of merchandise was imported in the fourth year of the Great War.

The gold produced by the mines (by the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation of OBUASI pre-eminently) was valued at £421,736.

The above figures will give some idea of the flourishing condition of the Dependency.

The pioneer firms that encouraged and developed trade were Messrs. Millers, Ltd., Messrs. Swanzys, Ltd., Messrs. The African Association, Ltd., Messrs. J. J. Fischers, Ltd., Messrs. H. B. W. Russell, Ltd., Messrs. The Basel Mission Factory, and Messrs. The Obuasi Trading Co., Ltd.

The growing trade of the country soon gave rise to keen commercial competition, and many more firms, such as Messrs. Drewry, Ltd., The Compagnie Française de l'Afrique Occidentale, The Société Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain, and others, established branches in COOMASSIE.

At the present day the town boasts of nineteen European and five native firms, besides a quantity of Syrian petty traders.

The foundation-stone of the Coomassie branch of the Bank of British West Africa was laid in November, 1907, and the Bank commenced active operations in 1908.

The Colonial Bank followed eleven years later.

No account of modern ASHANTI would be complete without a mention of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation's mining property. Originally started under great difficulties in 1897, on lands belonging partly to BEKWAI and partly to ADANSI, it has developed into one of the successful gold-mines of the world, and had produced, up to the end of June, 1919, gold to the value of £5,580,000. As a pioneer concern the Corporation was granted mineral and other rights over 100 square miles of territory. The headquarters of the undertaking, once established at OBUASI (in the Southern Province of ASHANTI), created and continues to support the model village of that name, a flourishing township of some 5,600 souls.

The mine gives employment to 3,500 natives, many of whom learn useful handicrafts. The Corporation can be regarded as a civilizing factor in the country.

The surface workings of their gold ore having been practically exhausted by the ASHANTIS, nothing but a combination of scientific knowledge, large capital, and tenacious enterprise, could have succeeded in developing the subterranean riches of the country. A story is told of how a big Ashanti chief (KOBINA FOLI, the ADANSIHENE) was induced to descend a mine to view for himself the engineering contrivances of the "white man." On regaining the top, he said to the manager: "I thought before that you were cheating us, but now I have seen for myself what you have done, I say that you deserve everything you can get out of the ground."

Improvement is now the order of the day among the ASHANTIS: improvement of their houses, their villages, their standard of life, and above all their roads, so as

to enable them to command easy and quick transport for their produce. Already the Dependency has over 300 miles of motor roads, and it is not difficult to foretell that in a few years' time all the important towns will be linked up by a network of good roads.

The influenza epidemic of 1918, unfortunately, carried off nearly a thousand men, women, and children; but, generally speaking, the physical condition of the natives is healthy, and they are a prolific race.

COOMASSIE has for years past been the headquarters of the Gold Coast Regiment. On the outbreak of war in August, 1914, this regiment, under Major Bryant, C.M.G., invaded and captured TOGOLAND, thence took part in the Cameroon and East Africa campaigns, where, under Lieutenant-Colonel Rose, C.M.G., D.S.O., it gained an enviable distinction as a fighting unit. The regiment was welcomed back most heartily by all ASHANTIS on its return in 1918, after four years' warfare. Four companies are now concentrated in COOMASSIE.

During the Great War the staff was naturally depleted, and the country was controlled by an irreducible number of officials. This was rendered possible by the exemplary conduct of the ASHANTIS and their steadfast loyalty throughout the trying years of hostilities. Although they only supplied 1,000 recruits to the Gold Coast Regiment, they contributed generously to war funds, and gave the Administration much indirect assistance. This was only to be expected, as long before the war the ASHANTIS had identified themselves as loyal friends and supporters of the Crown.

The police force of ASHANTI now consists of two European officers and 170 N.C.O.'s and men—an

ample force to keep the peace throughout the Dependency.

So ends this short account of a valiant, clever, and lovable people, of whom it is no exaggeration to say that they bear no malice and nurse no grievance. Indeed, the stanch loyalty of the ASHANTIS towards the British Government and their many fine qualities have gained them the respect and admiration of all who have been fortunate enough to labour with and for them.

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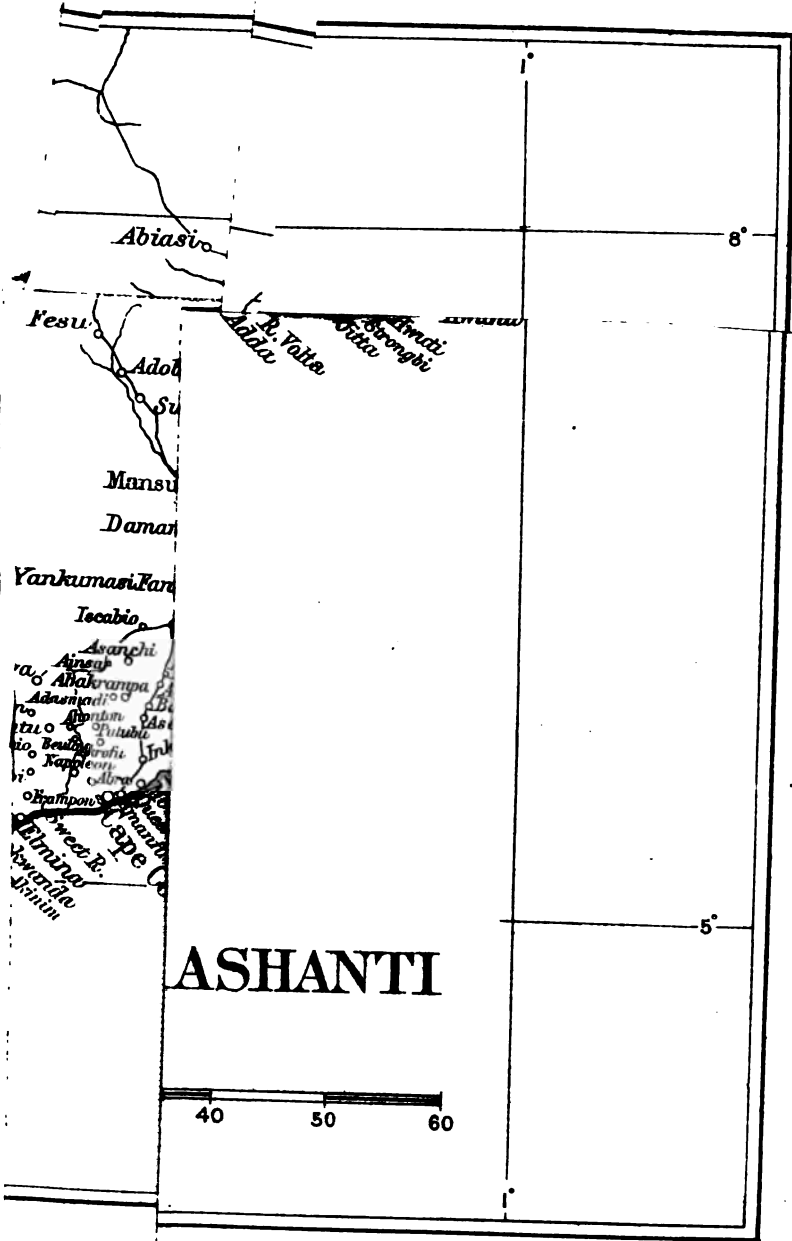
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Ado

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Strangi

Strangi

Mansu

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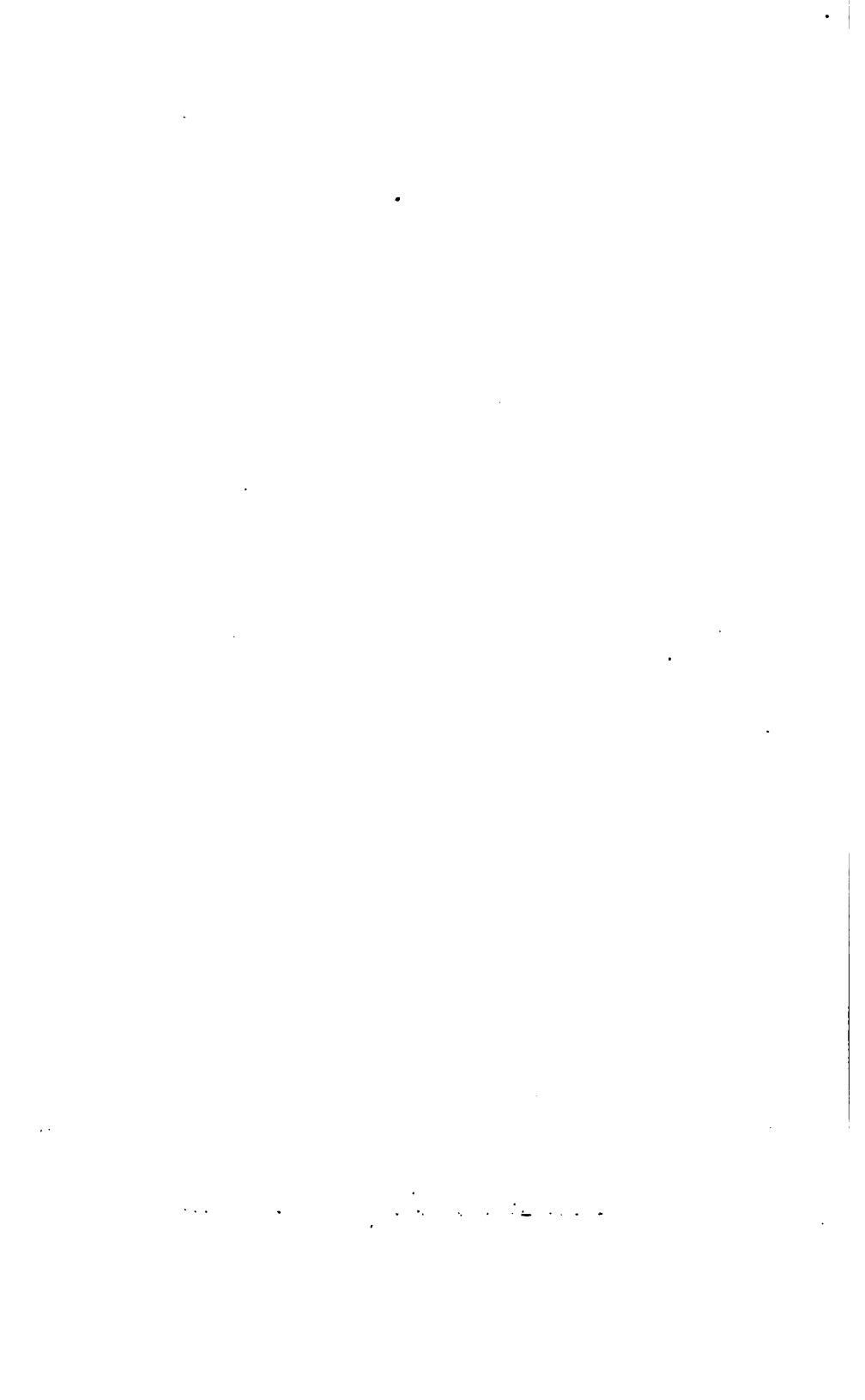
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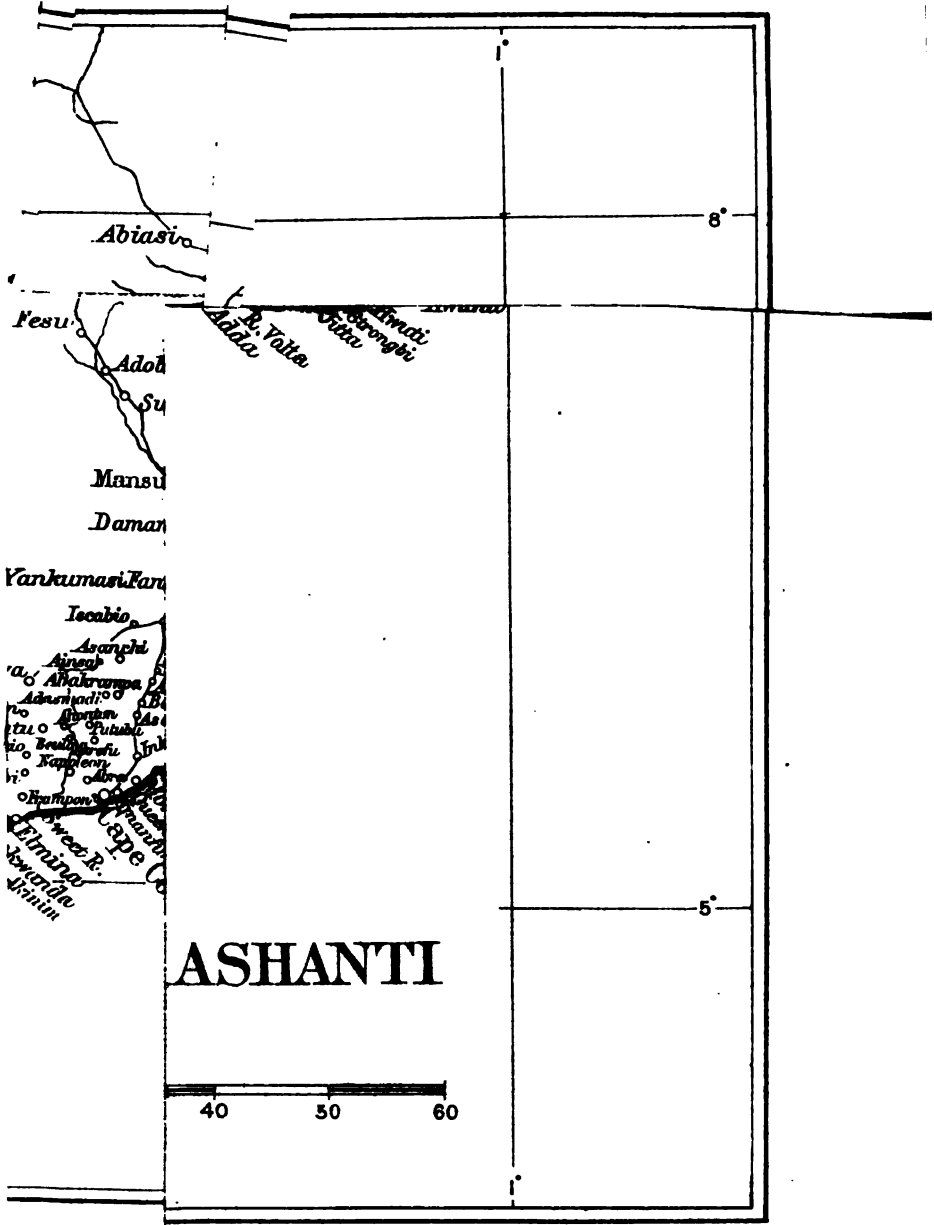
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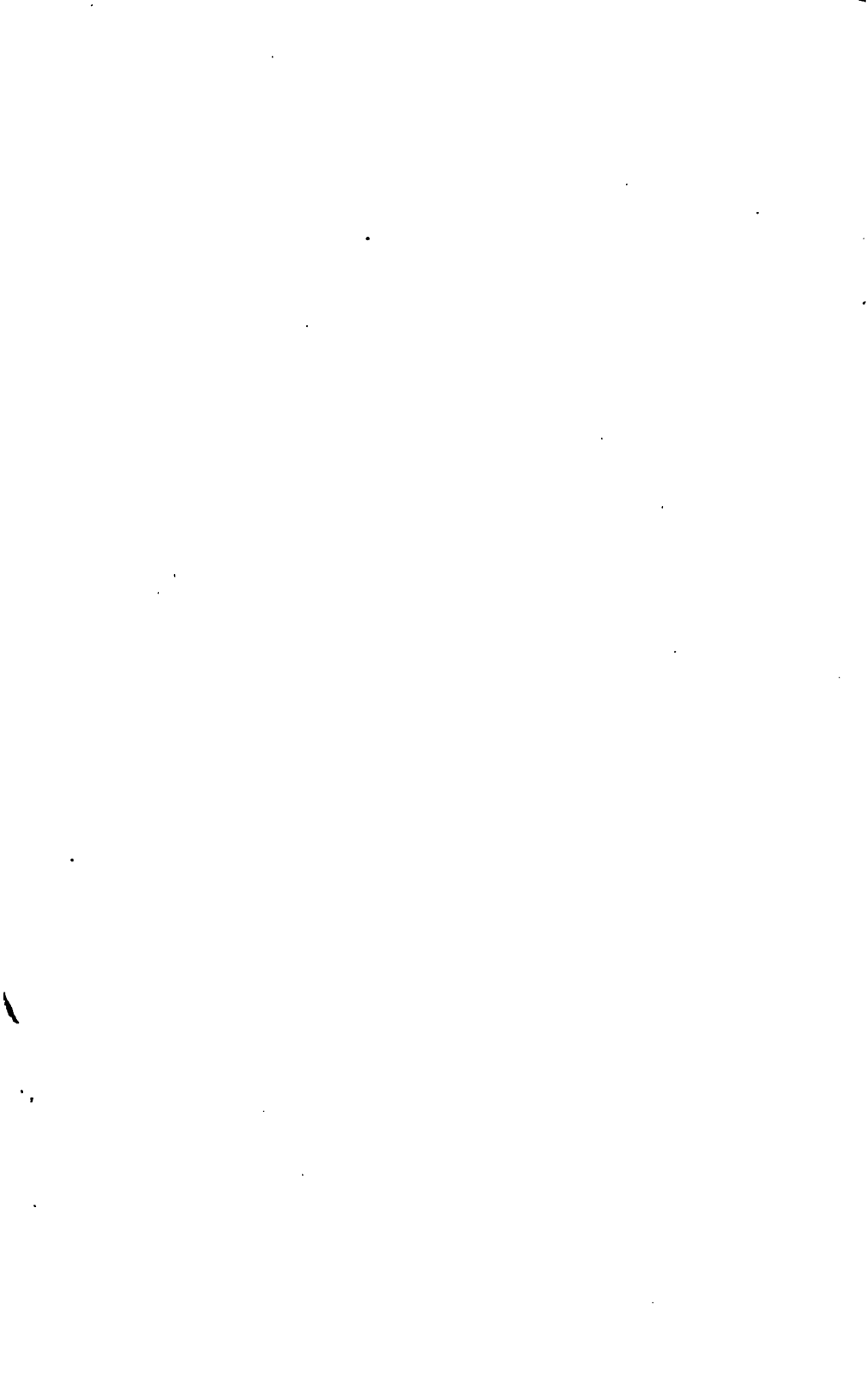
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