W. E. Ward

A Short History of the Gold Coast

Published by the first time in 1935, long before the *Gold Coast* became an Independent State, *Short History of the Gold Coast* is even today an important book for students all over the world, with interest in the African culture. Hard to get nowadays, since it is out of print for decades, the contents of *"Short History"* are essential in many aspects.

The precious research about Africa before the arrival of the white men – showing empires, nations and cultures – indeed booster Africans and Afro-descendants' self-esteem.

The Akans, Ghana's main ethnical group, is broadly investigated, when Ward starts by saying: *"DIFFERENT Akan peoples tell many very different stories of their origins. Many say that they came from Tekyiman in Ashanti. Some say they came "out of a hole in the ground," at Asantemanso near Bekwai, or at some other place. Some of the Ashantis say that they came down from heaven at Asiakwa in Akim. Others say that they came from the grass country, in the north. And some say that they have never moved, but have been in their present homes ever since the creation of the world."*

In times of extremely hard travels across Ghana – Ward move himself searching for answers:

"What are we to learn from these different stories ? The first thing we notice if we try and learn more details about Akan history is that nobody remembers anything of it before about the year 1450 at the very earliest. The Gyaman people know of eight or nine chiefs before the time of Opoku Ware of Ashanti (1720); but very few other tribes can go back as far as that. The Ashantis themselves know of four chiefs before their famous leader Osei Tutu, who came to the stool about 1697; so that their first chief can hardly be earlier than 1580. Most Akan stools can trace their history back about the same distance. But we are a long way still from getting back to the creation of the world. Moreover, little is known about the very earliest chiefs. They are often mere names, and it is only about 1700 or later that

the stool tradition becomes full of detail. And in four cases out of five, the first chief that is remembered is the chief that led the tribe from some old home to a new home. Far the greater number of the stools begin their memories in a time of migration; and in nearly every case the migration is from a place in the north to a new home nearer the sea".

And somehow dignifying his pathos, matches the unknown origins of the Akan to the history of his own Colonial power at that time, by writing:

"All this is very like English history. We know that the forefathers of the English people came from across the sea into the British Isles and conquered the people they found there. The English people of to-day is a mixed race, descended from the conquerors and from the wives they took from the conquered race. But we know nothing at all of the history of the conquerors before they settled in England. There were many different tribes that joined in the conquest; and their descendants have remembered the name of their war-leaders who first landed in the new country-but they have remembered nothing of the time before. As for the traditions of their slave mothers, they are lost; for who wishes to remember stories of slavery?"

The long research of Ward call to anybody attention his capability in collect names of different tribes and nations, different chiefs and kings, dates of wars and conspiracies. His research involving the Ashanti before the arrival of the Europeans it is magnificent. All the same, his descriptions of the Gold Coast after 1800, "*when Osei Tutu Kwamina Asibe Bonsu became Asantehene. Let us look quickly over the Gold Coast and see what was happening, and who was ruling, just at that time and during the years just before. Osei Bonsu (as he is generally called for short) was the first Asantehene to have trouble with the white men, and so his time begins a new chapter in the story of the Gold Coast."*

CHAPTER I

BEFORE THE WHITE MEN CAME

WHEN we talk about the Gold Coast, we must remember that until the white men came and began ruling over the lands of West Africa, there was no country called the Gold Coast. There were many separate states: for example, the kingdom of Ashanti, the Fante Confederation, the kingdoms of Dagomba and Banda, and many more. When the British came and settled their boundaries with the French and the Germans, they drew their boundaries sometimes right through the middle of these African states. Thus some of the Ewe people and of the Dagomba people live in the Gold Coast, and some of them live in Togoland.

Therefore, if we want to study the history of the Gold Coast, we must learn the history of the different African states that lived in this country before the white men came. Nowadays we are so used to railways and telephones and bicycles and lorries and many other different things that come from Europe, that we sometimes forget that there was a time before the white men came. We are so used to thinking that our civilization comes from Europe, that we sometimes forget that in the old days, before the white men came, the Gold Coast used to get its civilization not from Europe at all, but from North Africa.

The Gold Coast is a small part of the great country called the Sudan, which is the part of Africa between the river Nile and Cape Verde, with the Sahara desert in the middle of it. We do not know where the ancestors of the Negro peoples came from in the first place. We guess that they came from somewhere in the east of Africa, and that they came along the strip of grass country which lies between the southern edge of the desert and the tropical forest. Why did they move?

Perhaps for the same reasons that make tribes or villages move today: they had not enough water, or the grass was dried up, or their enemies troubled them. *Anyway,* they did move, and came westward; and so it happened that in the course of time the long strip of grass-land, 500 miles wide and over 2,000 miles

long, between the desert and the forest, was occupied by the Negro peoples. We do not know how long ago all this happened: perhaps more than five thousand years ago.

It may be that there were other people living in West Africa before the Negroes came. We find spear heads, chisels, and other tools made of stone, much like those that are found in other parts of the world, lying on the surface or just under the surface of the ground in the Gold Coast. They are not used by any Gold Coast people to-day, and the people of the country to-day know little about them. They call them Nyame *akuma* or similar names, and believe that they fell down from the sky. But there must have been at one time a race of people who made these tools and used them, for they are certainly made by men. But we do not know whether these old people were Negro or of some other race; nor do we know how long ago they lived.

At any rate, we can say that for a very long time, Negro peoples have been living in the Sudan, and have been gradually filling up the forest lands. The Negro race has been split into many hundreds of different nations and tribes, and they have fought against each other; some have become great kingdoms, and others have become slaves. There are hundreds of Negro languages, and many of them are divided into different dialects. Many times it must have happened that the language of a conquering nation has combined with the language of another nation it has conquered, and the result has been a third language, a mixture of the two and yet different from either. Today, therefore, it is difficult to find anything about the history of any West African people by studying its language. And we do not yet know much about the ways in which one African language changes into another. So if we find that two places hundreds of miles apart, or two people living hundreds of years apart, have names which look alike, we must be careful before we say that there must be some connection between them. There may be no connection between the names at all.

How are we to learn the history of the peoples of the Gold Coast or of other parts of West Africa? We can learn something from the writings of outsiders-such as the Europeans and the Arabs-who have visited West Africa. We are learning

something, and we shall learn much more as time goes on, from what we find when we dig up the ruins of homes and towns where people used to live hundreds of years ago. And we can learn a great deal from the tales and the memories of the old people in the villages.

It is wonderful that these tales and memories are so well preserved. Among the people of the Gold Coast they go back to the first arrival of the tribe in its present home, usually about three hundred years ago. This is very useful; but it would be more useful still if they went back another two or three hundred years, so that we could learn about the travels of the tribe before it entered the Gold Coast. But for that story we have to use guess-work. It would be a good thing if in every village and town somebody could write down the story, before the old people who know it die and the story is lost.

When the Negro peoples moved westwards, they must have known about the civilization of Egypt and learned some of it. It is clear that much of the native civilization of West Africa has been taken from ancient Egypt: to take one example, the Ashanti stool looks just like a piece of furniture which was used in Egyptian houses four thousand years ago.

Time went on. The Egyptian empire grew, became powerful, and fell. Other peoples arose, who defeated the Egyptian empire in war, but Who copied its ways and ideas; and thus Egyptian civilisation spread to Greece, and Rome, and from them to Europe as a whole. About 800 years before Christ, a new town called Carthage was built on the north shore of Africa by some settlers from a country called Phoenicia, at the east end of the Mediterranean. (They were the people of Tyre and Sidon, whom we read of in the Bible.) The people of Carthage were great sailors and traders. They were the first civilised people that ever visited Britain (England); and they were also the first civilised people that ever visited the Gold Coast. They went to both places in order to trade for metal: to Africa for gold, to Britain for tin. About 50o B.C. a Carthaginian sailor called Hanno made a voyage down the west coast of Africa, and an account of it, written in Greek, has come down to us. The names of the places he mentions are not the same as the modern names, and it is not always easy to fix the places from his descriptions. But it is

clear that he came at least as far as Sierra Leone, and perhaps much further. From his time onwards there was a regular trade for gold carried on by the Carthaginians. It is quite possible too that the Egyptians may have planted small trading posts in the Gold Coast to trade for gold; for we know that a hundred years before Hanno's time, some Egyptian sailors had sailed right round Africa from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean. But both Carthaginian and Egyptian trade died away when their empires were conquered by Rome.

Although the Egyptian and the Carthaginian seamen came no more to the sea-coast towns of West Africa, yet West Africa was not entirely cut off from civilisation. The land route to Egypt, from the Niger and across the Sahara, was still open, and trade still flowed along it, as it does today. And besides this, there were other routes across the desert from the Niger to the Mediterranean shore. Along these desert routes West Africa exported its gold and ostrich feathers and kola and slaves; and received in exchange, not only steelware from Arabia, silks and spices from Egypt and the East, but also what was far more important, new ideas, learning, and civilisation. In the north, empires rose and fell. The Romans built their cities in their province of Africa, and afterwards were forced to leave them, to be swallowed up in the desert sands; but all the time trade went on, and West Africa was untouched by events in Europe.

In the end there arose a great civilised empire in West Africa, called the empire of Ghana. Its capital was at first the town of Ghana or Ghanata, and later the town now called Walata, north-west of Timbuktu. Nobody knows exactly where Ghanata was. The French have been digging in the desert at a place called Koumbi Saleh, about 200 miles north of Bamako in the French Sudan, and have uncovered a fine town which had been quite lost. We think that perhaps this lost town was Ghanata; but we do not really know. Some of the people of Ghana were Negro, others were white. The town of Ghanata was built about 30o A.D.; its early kings were white, its later kings were Negro.

Its Negro kings came from the Mandingo people, who now live in Sierra Leone and the Gambia and in the French country behind them.

The empire of Ghana lasted nearly a thousand years; then Ghana was

conquered by the purely Negro empire of Melle, whose kings came from another branch of the Mandingo people. This in its turn lasted until 1513 and was then conquered by the empire of Songhai.

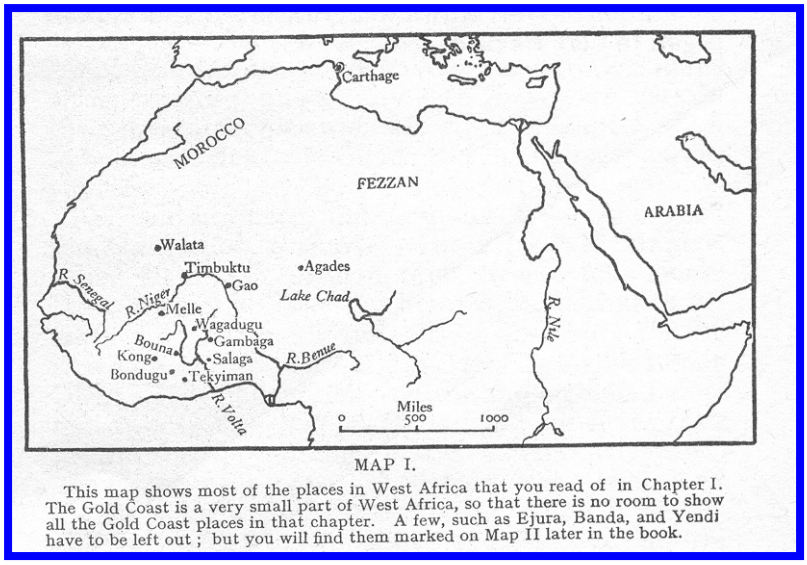
The capital of the empire of Melle was a town of the same name, near the Niger south of Walata. The Songhai capital was Gao, on the Niger some way east of Timbuktu.

What has all this to do with the Gold Coast? As far as we know, none of the land which is now the Gold Coast ever formed part of these empires. What about the people? We do not know. The Fantes talk of having come from Tekyiman. Some of the Akims say they came in the beginning from Ejura or from Salaga, or from farther north still. It may be that some small groups of people left the empire long ago and came and settled in the Gold Coast. But we cannot say that the Guans or the Ewes or any of the Akan peoples were living in the Ghana or the Melle or the Songhai empire and left it to come to the Gold Coast.

But even if they did not live in these great empires of the Sudan, they knew about them and learned their civilised ways. And these empires were highly civilized much more civilised in some ways than Europe at that time. They built splendid buildings; they had codes of law; they wrote poems and histories, books on agriculture and medicine and science (written mostly in Arabic); they studied in universities. The university of Timbuktu studied law, literature, grammar and theology; it had scientists and doctors, and studied both in Arabic and in the Songhai language. The empires had banks and all kinds of complicated trade; they had a good postal service, and kept up rest houses and wells all along the trade routes. They had learned and skilful doctors and lawyers. Their men of science observed comets, eclipses, and earthquakes, and discussed their causes, at a time when such things were dreaded in Europe as signs and marvels sent by God to warn men of His anger.

It must be remembered that, fine though this civilisation was in many ways, it was without many of the things that people in West Africa nowadays think of as important parts of civilisation. It had no lorries, telephones or telegraphs, railways, aeroplanes or other machines, electricity, or waterworks and water-pipes. But at

that time, these things did not exist in Europe either. The civilisation of Europe at that time was on a lower level than the civilisation of the Sudan. The Roman Empire had been conquered by uncivilised tribes, and they were slowly learning Roman civilisation. The Arabs, who taught West Africa so much, also taught Europe a great deal; but from about goo to about 1300 West Africa learned faster.



MAP I.

This map shows most of the places in West Africa that you read of in Chapter I. The Gold Coast is a very small part of West Africa, so that there is no room to show all the Gold Coast places in that chapter. A few, such as Ejura, Banda, and Yendi have to be left out; but you will find them marked on Map II later in the book.

For a thousand years or more the tribes of the coast looked for their civilisation to Ghana and the north. Then, in the sixteenth century, the Gold Coast, and all the rest of the West African peoples, turned their backs on the civilisation of the Sudan and began to look southward to the seashore. Why was this? There were two reasons. In 1471 the Portuguese, the first Europeans, appeared on the Gold Coast. But, more important, the civilised empires of the Sudan came to an end. In 1594 the king of Morocco sent an army across the desert and conquered the Songhai empire. He plundered it of all its wealth, he destroyed or took away all the books he could find, and he took away across the desert to Morocco all the learned men and anyone who could read and write. The Sudan was ruined and its civilisation destroyed; its people were killed or enslaved, and the country was given up to the greed of cruel and illiterate Moorish governors. The native civilisation of West Africa was crushed; that of Europe began to take its place.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY HISTORY OF ACCRA

WE do not know when it was that the tribes of the Gold Coast began to arrive from the north into the districts where they are living to-day. Nor do we know who were the first to arrive. It seems fairly clear that the Guans or Kyerepons were here before, the Accras or the Fantes. The Etsis, Asebus, and Obutus may have come with the Guans or separately; but at any rate they were here in their present homes soon after. The Obutus seem to be a branch of the Guans rather than a separate people.

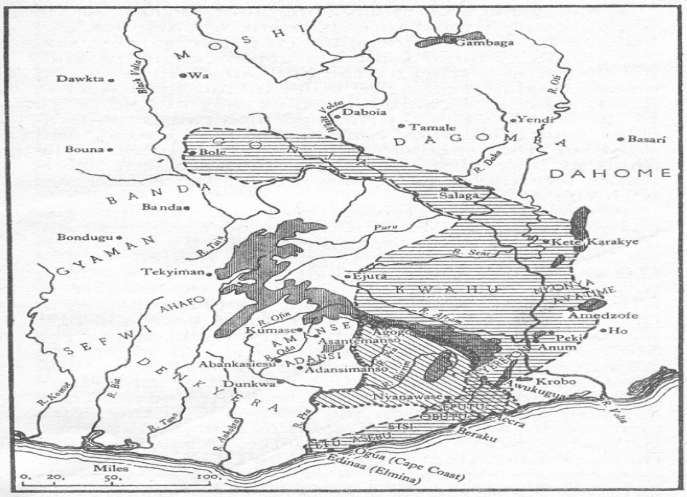
We can, however, make a guess at the time when the Ga nation arrived. The sixth Ga Mantse, called Okai Koi, died in z 66o after a long reign. If we allow fifty years for his reign and that of his mother, Dede Akai, it takes us back to 1610 for the death of the fourth Ga Mantse, Owura Mankpon Okai. If we allow him and the three chiefs before him twenty-five years each, we find ourselves back in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, about the year 1510. And this, then, should be the time of the first Ga Mantse.

There are two different traditions about the coming of the Gas to Accra. Some say that the Accras and the Adangmes came together by land, coming from a country to the east between two large rivers. Others say that the Accras, at any rate-but not the Adangmes - came out of the sea. Now this story of coming out of the sea is not one that we need take too seriously. There are many such stories in the traditions of Gold Coast nations; but because a story is very old, it does not follow that it is quite true in every respect. We need not believe, for example, that the ancestors of the Accras lived in the sea like fish; nor need we believe that the ancestors of the Ashantis lived in the ground like mice. But in all these stories there must be some grain of truth, larger or smaller; and we must try and find it. In the case of this sea story it is not difficult. The Accras, or some of them, may have come from southern Nigeria by sea in their canoes. The town of Benin in the

Yoruba country, which some people say was the old home of the Gas[1], is quite close to the sea; and the coast-line bends so much between there and Accra that anyone coming by canoe straight across the bay would seem to come " out of the sea," just as the Lagos steamer does to-day. But the man that saw people coming " out of the sea " must have been standing on the beach; so it is clear that some of the Accras must have come by land.

At any rate, it is fairly clear that the Gas came from the east, from somewhere in or near the country where the Yorubas now live. The Yorubas them selves say that the Gas came from a place called Ile Ife in the Yoruba country; where they lived before that who knows ? Perhaps the two great rivers were the Niger and the Benue. The Yorubas also say that the Gas used to serve them; whether this is true or not, there certainly used to be a close connection of some kind between the two peoples.

The Ga language to-day is closer to Twi and Ewe than to Yoruba; but it may have changed in the course of some hundreds of years.



MAP II
BEFORE THE WHITE MAN CAME

This map covers nearly the whole of the country that is now the Gold Coast, together with parts of Togo, Dahome, and the Ivory Coast. No frontiers are marked. The most important hills more than 1 000 feet high are *vertically* shaded; notice especially the long Kwahu scarp. There are other parts of the country, especially in the north and west, which are more than 1,000 feet above sea-level; but these hills are not so important in history, and are omitted to make the map simpler.

Kumase is marked, because it is such a useful place to fix your position on the map; everyone knows where it is, and you can find other places by referring to it. But it ought not really to be on this map, because Osei Tutu did not build it till long after the white men came.

The big piece of land horizontally shaded, reaching from Bole in the north-west right across to Kwahu and so to Accra and Elmina, is the land inhabited by Guans and their allied tribes, as described in Chapter II.

The land diagonally shaded, between the Pra, the hills, and the sea at Accra, is the land ruled by the Akwamus from the time of Okai Koe till the battle of the Nsaki river, from 1660 till 1733. Notice that part of this land, the lower Densu valley and Accra, belonged before the time of the Akwamus to the Guans, and so is cross-shaded. Accra was first Guan, then Ga, then Akwamu, and then Ga again.

[1] Some of the Gas say their old home was not Benin, but Bonny, also in. southern Nigeria by the sea.

What seems most likely, therefore, is that the Ganation came from the east, some (Adangmes and others) by land, and some (the Accras) by sea. The people of La or Labadi probably came by land, for they first settled on the hill called Aboasso and on the Nsaki river, a few miles inland from Accra; it was some little time later that they moved down to the coast. The Gas formed into two confederations, the Adangmes centring round Krobo, and most of the smaller tribes round Accra. The Shais at first went with the Adangmes, but afterwards left them and came into closer connection with the Accras.

When the Gas arrived, they did not find the country empty. Much of the country round Accra, if not actually Accra itself, was ruled by the Guans or Kyerepons. These people are related to the Gas and to the Akans (if their language is anything to go by), and seem to have been the earliest of any of the present Gold Coast people to arrive in the country. They may even have been the first people of the Negro race to arrive, succeeding the Stone-Age. men. They live to-day all along the Akwapim hills, from Berekuso through Tutu and Obosomase to Mamfe and Mampon and Late (Date), and so to Adukrom and Apirede. They live also on the hills on the other side of the Volta near Anum, and on the Togo hills round Amedzofe. In that part they call themselves Avatime; but they are the same people. The Obutus, who live in the Winneba district, are the same people. Possibly the Etsis, Asebus, and Afetu were also of the same nation. And more than this. The people of Agogo in Ashanti-Akim say that when their first chief went to settle there he found all the Afram plains, and the whole districts of what we now call Kwahu and Ashanti-Akim, ruled by a great and strong chief, whose people did not speak Twi. His name was Atara Finam or Otara Fuom, which is a Guan name; so it looks as though the Guans had a great empire stretching over most of the modern districts of Accra, Akwapim, Volta River, and Kwahu. Their chief town was Awukugua in Akwapim[2]. The Gas do not remember fighting against the Guans and

[2] It is plain from this that the Guans must have come down from the north along the river Volta. After filling up the Afram plains, some of them probably pushed on into Akwapim and crossed over the saddle of hill near Adawso to get into the Densu valley.

beating them; but it is almost certain that they must have done, because the Ga Mantse has a stool called the Guan stool[3].

The first chief of the Accras was called Ayi Kushi. It was he that led the Accras in their migration. After him came Ayite, who built the capital town of the Accras at Ayawaso by the Okai Koi hill (the hill called by the Europeans Pokoase hill, on the old Nsawam road, 11 miles from Accra). After Ayite came Ni Koi Nalaì; though some of the Accras say that Ni Koi Nalai was not a chief but a linguist. And after him came Owura Mankpon Okai.

Mankpon Okai must have been a powerful chief to get his title of " Owura "; but there is not much of his greatness that is remembered, apart from his famous wheeled carriage, given him by the Portuguese. He married a lady from the Obutus, called Dede or Dode Akai. He fought at least one successful war. But in his time the people appeared who later on were to ruin the state of the Accras. These people were the Akwamus. The Accra tradition says that the Akwamus were a band of robbers, who fled from Accra to live in the caves and the forest on the hill by Nsawam called Nyanao. But as the Akwamus are an Akan nation, it does not seem likely that they began by being a band of robbers; though no doubt all sorts of criminals and traitors from Accra fled to join them. It is much more likely that they were the first ranks of the advancing Akan peoples, pressing down from the north towards the sea. They built themselves a town on the slopes of Nyanao, and called it Nyanawase; and from Nyanawase they ,came out in all directions, raiding and plundering the Accra farms. But in Mankpon Okai's time they were merely a nuisance; they were not yet a great danger.

After Mankpon Okai died, his wife Dede Akai became chief, or rather regent, until her young son Okai Koi should be old enough to become chief.

She was a cruel woman, of whom many tales are told. It was she that established the council of seven elders. The story goes that she was angry with the old men because they gave her advice that she did not like; so she ordered that all

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[3] There is another possibility. Dede Akai (see below) was an Obutu, and she may have brought her own stool to Accra. The Obutus were Guans.

the old men should be killed. But one man did not kill his father, but hid him; and later on when the queen was in need of advice, she profited by the old man's advice that he had given his son.. She suspected that the young man showed wisdom beyond his years, and then the truth came out, and she saw that old men had their uses after all.

That is the story; but who knows whether it is true ? Perhaps the divisions of Accra had had a joint council before her time; it would be strange if they had not. And are we to believe that the chiefs before her time had had no council of elders ?

In the end, the people of Accra rebelled against Dede Akai because of her wickedness and cruelty, and they killed her; and Okai Koi, her son, reigned in her stead.

Okai Koi was still very young when he came to the stool. He seems to have inherited his mother's cruelty, and his sons also behaved badly everywhere. One of them was killed in the Shai country, and Okai Koi wanted to make war against the Shais; but the chief of the Shais promised to punish the murder, so Okai Koi took his army back. He had a war against the people of Labadi, for a very slight reason, and won it. It was not long before many of the Accras were as angry with him as they had been with Dede Akai, and some of the Accras secretly advised the Akwamus to refuse to go on paying tribute to the Ga Mantse. Then one of Okai Koi's sons killed the son of the chief of Asere; the Asere chief in revenge advised Okai Koi to do a thing which he knew well would lead to war. One of the royal family of Akwamu, named Odei, was at Okai Koi's court being educated; the Asere chief advised Okai Koi to circumcise him, knowing that the Akwamus could not admit a circumcised man to the stool. This Okai Koi did. Odei in time left Accra and should have succeeded to the Akwamu stool, but he could not because of his circumcision; and so the Akwamus were very angry and declared war. The Agonas and some others helped the Akwamus; and it is clear that by this time at any rate the Akwamus were much more than a band of robbers, whatever they may have been before; for Okai Koi took out the whole of the Accra army against them. The battle took place near Ayawaso, and for some time the Accras held their own. But then many of the Accra captains began to leave the battle and even to go over to

the Akwamus, for they were angry with their chief Okai Koi; so that the Accras became few and weak. Then Okai Koi, seeing that the battle was being lost, took white clay and charcoal, and made one side of his body white and the other side black; and at a place called Nyantrabi he called his captains and elders together and spoke to them. He told them that if when he died his body fell with the white side uppermost, the Accras would be fortunate; but if it fell with the black side uppermost, the state of the Accras would always suffer from jealousies and disagree ments and their enemies would rejoice over them. And when he had said this he killed himself; his body fell on the ground with the black side upper most; and the Accras, seeing that all was lost, fled to their homes.

So died Okai Koi, the last chief of the Accras to rule over a wide empire. In his time the Accras ruled over Teshi and Nungwa and Tema and Shai; the Las, who then lived by the Aboasso hill and the little river Nsaki, also served them; and the Adangmes, Obutus, Akwamus, and Akwapim people sent them gifts. Okai Koi died on June 20th, 1660, and was buried on the hill that is named after him, near the place where he fought his last battle.

His son Ashangmo became the next chief. He fought again against the Akwamus, and beat them; but he could not destroy them utterly, because some of his chiefs were jealous of him, and would not help him as they should. And then Ashangmo remembered his father's prophecy, how that he had warned the Accras that they *would* always suffer from jealousies and disagreements, so that their strength would he turned to weakness; and Ashangmo decided that the Accras would never be able to conquer the Akwamus. Then he took very many of the people and marched eastwards along the coast, back along the road by which some of the Accras had come two hundred years before. He came to the town of Anecho, or Little Popo, and settled there. Many of the Accras were angry with him for giving up the fight, and they made a song against him, *ofio, ofio* ***nye,*** *ofi"* to taunt him with leaving the place where his father lay buried, to go and live in a far country. *But* probably Ashangmo was doing the best thing. If he had stayed behind in Accra, he would have been beaten again and again, for some of the Accra chiefs were not willing to help him, and others who were loyal were discouraged at being

defeated and by remembering the last words of Okai Koi. It was better that the people should retire out of reach of the Akwamus, to recover their strength and their confidence before fighting them again. In any case, Ashangmo must have been a brave manto lead the army on a retreat for two weeks' march away from the enemy, while some of his own people were jeering at him as a coward. That kind of bravery is much less common than the kind which makes a an fight bravely side by side with his comrades, leading them to victory, while all men call him Agyeman[4].

Anecho, or Little Popo, where Ashangmo and the Accras now settled, was a town on the sea-coast, subject to the kingdom of Whydah. At that time the kingdom of Whydah was becoming rich through its trade with the Europeans; but king Adahunzu of Dahome was beginning to feel towards it just as the Ashantis later on felt towards the Accras and the Fantes. He knew that he was stronger, and he did not see why the people of Whydah should take the first profit on all the European trade; and so he was beginning to wonder whether it would not be better for him to take the lands of Whydah for himself. When Ashangmo and his men arrived, Adahunzu fought against them; but he was beaten. Then a better idea occurred to him, and he invited Ashangmo and the Accras to be his allies and help him against the Whydahs; and in return he promised to help them against their enemies, the Akwamus and the Awunas. Through his help the Accras in Little Popo were greatly strengthened; and Ashangmo and his successors fought successfully against their foes. Ashangmo died about five years after going to Little Popo.

So for twenty years and more the Accras in Little Popo prospered fairly well. But in 1702 a new chief came on the stool of Akwamu, called Akonno; and not only the few Ac as left behind in Accra itself, but also the people in Little Popo, learned to fear him. Many of the Accras fled; many of those that stayed behind became slave-dealers, and earned a good living by selling slaves captured in the frequent wars of the interior. At this time Osei Tutu was leading the Ashantis to victory over the Denkyeras and the Akims, so that slaves were plentiful. The Akwamus were

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[4] Okai Koi died in 166o, Ashangmo took his men to Little Popo in 1680. It seems, then, that he stayed " with his father " for twenty years, fighting against the Akwamus. He did not run away to Little Popo without a fight.

jealous when they saw the Accras becoming rich; and Akonno declared war on some small excuse.

He could not get at the Accras themselves, because their leader Ni Ayi persuaded the Dutch of Fort Crèvecaoeur (Ussher Fort) to shelter them. (This shows how few they were.) But Akonno attacked and took Osu, Labadi, and Teshi; and in the end, the Danes of Christiansborg Castle and the Dutch of Ussher Fort[5] arranged a peace between the Accras and the Akwamus. A few years later the Akwamus came again, and again the Accra leader, Ayikuma Tiekõ, took the Accras to the Dutch for shelter.

In 1733 the Accras were finally delivered from the Akwamus. It happened in this way. The Akwamus were attacking Accra, and their general Akwanno besieged the town for four months. But the Accras sent to the Agonas and Obutus, both of whom had to serve the Akwamus, and persuaded them to rebel. The Akims and the Akwapims came to help, having their own grievances against the Akwamus. And so in July, 1733, the Akwamus were attacked by an army of Accras, Agonas, Obutus, Akims, and Akwapims, and were completely defeated; but after the battle everyone but the Accras went home, thinking the war over. Then the Akwamus plucked up their courage, and fought with the Accras again, and beat them, as they had been accustomed to do ever since the time of Okai Koi. The Accras fled, along the road they knew so well, back to Little Popo. When the Akims heard that the Akwamus had beaten the Accras, they came back again, and met the Akwamus in battle on the banks of the little river Nsaki, which runs from near Aburi south-west into the Densu, crossing the Accra-Nsawam road at Pokoase. The Akwamus lost the battle, and fled along the ridge of the Akwapim hills to the Volta. They crossed the river, not without difficulty, and turned to face the pursuing Akims on the farther side. Again they were beaten, and they fled to Pekipong. While at Pekipong they remembered their old enemies the Accras in Little Popo, and they dashed southward to attack them. But Owusu Akyem Tenten, the Akim

[5] At that time it was called Fort Crèvecoeur. I use the modern name, Ussher Fort (given in memory of the British Administrator of the Gold Coast, 1867-72), because it is so much better known.

leader, had got there before them, and the Akims and the Accras together fought and defeated the Akwamus; so the Akwamus gave up the struggle, moved northward into the Nkonya country, drove the Nkonyas farther north, and settled themselves comfortably in the southern part of their lands. After this the Accras had no more trouble from the Akwamus; most of the old Akwamu land, and very many of the Akwamu people as well, were taken into the powerful state of the Akims; and the Akims were the friends of the Accras[6].

CHAPTER III

THE AKANS

DIFFERENT Akan peoples tell many very different stories of their origins. Many say that they came from Tekyiman in Ashanti. Some say they came " out of a hole in the ground," at Asantemanso near Bekwai, or at some other place. Some of the Ashantis say that they came down from heaven at Asiakwa in Akim. Others say that they came from the grass country, in the north. And some say that they have never moved, but have been in their present homes ever since the creation of the world.

What are we to learn from these different stories ? The first thing we notice if we try and learn more details about Akan history is that nobody remembers anything of it before about the year 1450 at the very earliest. The Gyaman people know of eight or nine chiefs before the time of Opoku Ware of Ashanti (1720); but very few other tribes can go back as far as that. The Ashantis themselves know of four chiefs before their famous leader Osei Tutu, who came to the stool about 1697; so that their first chief can hardly be earlier than 158o. Most Akan stools can trace their history back about the same distance. But we are a long way still from

[6] On the east side of the Volta, from Kete Karakye down to Akwamu, the tribes are very mixed; and so are the languages. The Nkonyas are allied to the Guans; but some of the Nkonya traditions in their present home are the same as those of the Akwamus. It is clear that there has been some amount of mixing between the Nkonyas and the Akwamus.

getting back to the creation of the world. Moreover, little is known about the very earliest chiefs. They are often mere names, and it is only about 1700 or later that the stool tradition becomes full of detail. And in four cases out of five, the first chief that is remembered is the chief that led the tribe from some old home to a new home. Far the greater number of the stools begin their memories in a time of migration; and in nearly every case the migration is from a place in the north to a new home nearer the sea.

All this is very like English history. We know that the forefathers of the English people came from across the sea into the British Isles and conquered the people they found there. The English people of to-day is a mixed race, descended from the conquerors and from the wives they took from the conquered race. But we know nothing at all of the history of the conquerors before they settled in England. There were many different tribes that joined in the conquest; and their descendants have remembered the name of their war-leaders who first landed in the new country-but they have remembered nothing of the time before. As for the traditions of their slave mothers, they are lost; for who wishes to remember stories of slavery?

We shall come back later on to " the hole in the ground." Remembering that the distant ancestors, not only of the Akans, but also of the whole Negro race, probably came from the east of Africa, if not from farther east still, let us consider where the Akans came from before the time when their stool traditions begin. We are fairly safe in guessing that it was somewhere north of the forest belt; and seeing that nearly all the Fantes say they came from Tekyiman, that town must have been the home of the race (or off part of it) for some time. The ancestors of the Akans seem to have called themselves Nta-fo. Besides the Akans of the Gold Coast, there are other tribes descended from the Nta-fo: these are the Agni tribes of the Ivory Coast, who speak languages similar to the Akan languages, and form strong nations reaching, like the Akans, from the northern edge of the forest the whole way southward to the sea. Also, it may be that the Guans are descended from the Nta-fo, or from some tribe that was closely related to them; for the Ashantis to-day still call the Gonjas Nta-fo, and the Guan language has some

connection with Akan.

But where did the Nta-fo come from before they settled at Tekyiman or at Salaga ? And how long ago is it that they were living there? We cannot yet answer these questions. The Akans say that they left the grass-lands of the north because they were driven away by some fair-skinned race. We do not know who this race was. We may guess that it was about 1200 that the Nta-fo began to leave their home on the grass-lands somewhere between Tamale and Ejura.

The Nta-fo divided into three main parties. The first to leave were the ancestors of the Guans, who came down the Volta and settled on the Afram plains and through Akwapim and farther west nearer the coast. A little later went the Fantes, who moved farther to the west, and probably came down much along the line of the old Cape Coast-Kumase road. Lastly came the Twi people, who moved between the other two divisions and filled up the forest country of Ashanti and Akim. Probably a similar migration was happening farther to the west, in what is now the Ivory Coast; for there also we find a northern group and a southern group of peoples, all speaking languages that are descended from the original language of the early Nta-fo: Baule and others in the north, and Agni in the south.

The Guans had already gone. The Fantes separated themselves some time later, and disappeared from Tekyiman into the forest. The "Twi people moved last of all. One branch, the Brong$_{s,}$ moved only a little way; they crossed the Volta with the rest, but went very little farther, and settled down before the main body entered the forest. The others went and settled somewhere in southern Ashanti; we do not know exactly where. Now comes the puzzle. Nearly all the divisions of Ashanti say that they came out of a hole in the ground " somewhere. Bekwai, Juaben, Nsuta,Kumawu, Kokofu, and others say that they came from Asantemanso, between Bekwai and Asumegya. They must have come out about the year *1600,* for there were four chiefs before Osei Tutu, who reigned from 1697 onwards. But the Gyaman people remember the Ashantis before that time. They say that the Ashantis drove them away from Kwahu to where they now live in the Ivory Coast; and they count eight of their chiefs before the great Osei Tutu of Ashanti, so that they must have fought Ashantis at least as early as 1550 – perhaps much earlier

still. The Adansis, Denkyeras, and Akwamus all speak Akan, and they were in the world and building up their power long before *1600,* when the Ashantis " came out of a hole in the ground." I think that perhaps what really happened was that the Ashantis were powerful at first, then they were defeated by the Denkyeras or some other strong people, and took to hiding in secret places and caves to keep out of danger, and finally came out again when they had become stronger and bolder once more. But we cannot be sure.

The first of the Akan peoples to come south were he Akwamus, who came down towards Accra and settled on the Nyanao hill near Nsawam about the year *1600*[7]*.* They filled the whole of the country between the Pra and the Birrim, which we now call Akim. On the south-east and the east their country bordered the country of the Guans in Akwapim and Kwahu; on the south it bordered the Accra country; on the south-west, the country of the Fantes; and on the north and north-west were other Akan tribes. The capital of the Akwamus was Nyanawase, on the Nyanao hill.

About the same time, a powerful state was growing up in Adansi, with its capital at Adansimanso, between Fomena and Akrokyere. The man who made it powerful was its second chief, Ewurade Basa, who probably lived about *15 80.* Adansi is called by that name because it was the first part of Akan country where swish houses were built. Ewurade Basa is said to have been the first chief to speak through an e*kyeame;* before his time anyone could speak to a chief direct. During the reign of Ewurade Basa the Adansi people ruled the whole of southern Ashanti and also Denkyera.

The capital of the Denkyeras at that time was Abankasiesu, not far from Obuasi. One day, Ewurade Basa sent his son Apea Brenya to Abankasiesu to collect tribute money from the Denkyeras. On the way, Apea Brenya got himself into trouble by attacking a woman named Berebere, whom he saw washing clothes in a stream; her cries brought people from the Denkyera village, and Apea Brenya was taken back to Abankasiesu. There they cut off his long beard, and gave it to

[7] See Chapter II.

him, telling him to take it home and show his father what they had done to him. He did so; and Ewurade Basa was very angry. The Adansi elders said that Apea Brenya should have left the woman alone, but Ewurade Basa would make war on the Denkyeras to punish them. But the Denkyeras, under their chief Obuokoropa, defeated the Adansis at a great battle near the place where the river Oda runs into the Ofin; and after that the Denkyeras served Adansi no more. In the war Adansimanso was destroyed, and the sto$_o$l next chief of called Nkwantanane near to Akim, to a place Kyebi; at first he went to Dompoase, but at st$_i$ll Dompoase he found *uh* d that farther e on to Akim troubled him, Nkwantanan.

After this war the Denkyeras became a strong nation, under their great chiefs Owusu Bore and Boa Amponsem. Besides Adansi, they defeated Sefwi, Twifo, and Wassaw. This time of the greatness of Denkyera was from about 1600 to 1680 the time of Dede Akai and Okai Koi in Accra. But though strong, they did not become very rich, because no traders would enter the Denkyera country. They feared the cruelty of the chiefs too much. Still, the gold-mines of Obuasi were in the Denkyera country. However, everyone hated the Denkyeras, and waited for the time when their power should fall.

During this time the ancestors of the Ashantis were gradually settling in the country between the lake and the northern edge of the forest. They called the country Amanse (i.e. *Aman-ase- "* the beginning of nations "); their first settlement was at Asantemanso, between Bekwai and Asumegya. The people that came from Asantemanso were the ancestors of the Oyoko and the Aduana clans. At first the Ashantis were simple farmers, and as they found plenty of vacant land all round them from Bekwai up to Mampon, they had little need to fight. The first chiefs of the Amanse people were Twum and Antwi, who seem to have ruled together. Then came Kobia Amamfi, the first chief of the Oyoko clan[8]. The third was Oti Akenten; he fought against the Domas, who lived a little way north of where Kumase now is. In those days, Kumase was not in existence. Oti Akenten was not very successful

[8] Some say that Kobia Amamfi, Oti Akenten, and Obiri Yeboa were all of the Ekuona clan, and that Osei Tutu was the first Asantehene from the Oyoko clan. I do not know which is the truth.

against the Domas, who were a strong people; they remained to give trouble to later chiefs. But Oti Akenten had shown himself such a good leader that many other Amanse chiefs from Asantemanso came northwards to his town of Kwaman and made treaties of friendship with him; they moved farther on and founded Juaben, Kumawu, Nsuta, and other states, who were the allies of Oti Akenten and his men. This was the beginning of the Ashanti confederation. Bekwai also joined the confederation, but stayed in the south to guard against the Denkyeras. All this time the Amanses or Ashantis served the Denkyeras and paid them tribute. Bantama, Effiduase, Gyamase, and Mampon[9] used to send red clay, Juaben sent plantain fibre *(baha),* and Oti Akenten sent *esa* wood for firewood. Oti Akenten was succeeded by Obiri Yeboa, who continued the war against the Domas and was killed. Obiri Yeboa was succeeded by Osei Kofi, the son of his sister[10] Manu, who became known as Osei Tutu, the real founder of the Ashanti power.

The story is that Obiri Yeboa had an only sister, named Manu, who had no child. Manu heard that the Otutu god in the Akwamu country was power ful, and went to visit the place to pray for a child. Her prayer was granted, and a son was born, whom she named Tutu after the god. The Adansis say that his father was an Adansi man named Owusu Panin from Akrokyere. When Osei Tutu was a lad, his uncle Obiri Yeboa sent him to Abankasiesu to serve the Denkyera chief Boa Amponsem; for Ashanti, like Adansi and many other Akan tribes, served Denkyera. While he was with the Denkyera chief, Osei Tutu took the chief's sister, Abena Bensua, and a son was born to them. When he realised that a child would be born, Osei Tutu fled from Denkyera to the Akwamu country; and while there he heard that his uncle Obiri Yeboa had been killed in battle, and that he had been chosen as the new Asantehene. He returned to Ashanti, entered Kwaman with great joy, and prepared to extend the power of the Ashantis against their old enemies. The

[9] The Mampon people did not come from Asantemanso, but from Ahinsan in Adansi.

[10] If Osei Tutu was the first chief of the Oyoko clan, then his mother, Manu Kotusii, can only have been Obiri Yeboa's half-sister, by a different mother. Otherwise her clan and her son's clan would have been the same as her brother's. Osei Tutu's clan was certainly Oyoko; therefore either Manu was Obiri Yeboa's halfsister or else Obiri Yeboa himself was of the Oyoko clan. The name Manu should perhaps be spelt Amanngui. It was a name also borne by Obiri Yeboa.

reign of Osei Tutu begins a new period in Ashanti history.

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CHAPTER IV

ASHANTI UNDER OSEI TUTU AND OPOKU WARE[11]

FROM the time of Twum and Antwi to the death of Obiri Yeboa, we do not hear that the Denkyeras gave the Ashantis much trouble. The Ashantis served them and paid them tribute; but as far as we can tell, the Denkyeras seem to have left them fairly well alone. The position reminds us of the beginning of the Akwamu power, as related by the Accras. In both cases we see a small people, gradually becoming more powerful, but for a long time not strong enough to be worthy of the notice of the powerful people whom they serve. And then all of a sudden the Accras and the Denkyeras seem to wake up and realise that these servants of theirs are getting dangerously strong; there is a war, and the servants overcome their masters.

While Osei Tutu was in the Akwamu country he met a priest called Okomfo Anokye, who probably came from Awukugua[12] in the Guan country that we now call Akwapim. Akwapim was then ruled by the Akwamus. Okomfo Anokye and Osei Tutu became great friends; and when Osei Tutu was called to go back to Ashanti as chief, Okomfo Anokye went with him. It was through Okomfo Anokye, even more than through Osei Tutu, that the Ashanti nation rose to power. Okomfo Anokye began by moving the capital of the confederation from Kwaman. He made Osei Tutu plant two young *kuma* trees, and told him to make his new capital town at the place where either one grew and flourished. One of them, sure enough, died; and its place ever since been called Kumawu. (It is in Ashanti-Akim, between

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[11] This is what he is always called. His real name was Agyei Frimpon; he was of the Agona clan. When he returned to Ashanti, he did not go straight to Kwaman to see Osei Tutu, but stayed first with Nana Akrasi of Juaben.

[12] Some say that he was an Ashanti, and was even a distant relative of Osei Tutu, Both in Awukugua and in Ashanti there are still living people who claim to be of his family.

Agogo and Nsuta.) The other one lived and grew, and Osei Tutu built his new town of Kum-ase underneath its shade. The beginning of the Ashanti nation really dates from the coming of the Golden Stool. One Friday, the story goes, Okomfo Anokye called a great meeting of the Ashanti people, at which Osei Tutu, the queen-mother Manu, the chief and the queen mother of Kokofu, and many others were present; and there he brought down from the sky by his magic power, with darkness and thunder, and in a thick cloud of white dust, a wooden stool, partly covered with gold. He told Osei Tutu and all the people that the stool came from *Onyame* and contained the spirit *(sunsum)* of the whole Ashanti people. As a sign of this, he made every chief and every queen-mother present take a few of their hairs and a little piece of their finger-nail; these were made into a powder and mixed with some other stuff to make " medicine," which was rubbed on the stool. That is the story of the origin of *Sika Agua Koft,* the Golden Stool of Ashanti. Whether it is true[13] or whether Okomfo Anokye made the stool in the ordinary way, it is certain that this was the real beginning of the Ashanti nation; the nation now had one spirit, with one stool to house it. No longer was Ashanti merely a collection of friendly tribes, each with its own stool; the tribes were now members of one great nation.

After burying his uncle, Obiri Yeboa, at Bantama, just outside Kumase (the first Asantehene to be buried there), Osei Tutu went on with the war against the Domas, in which Obiri Yeboa had been killed. Many of the Domas fled away to the west, and joined their brothers, who had been driven away before, in founding the state of Gyaman *(gya-eman).* In the first few years of Osei Tutu's fighting, the Domas or Gyamans and the people of Tafo, Ofinsu, and other towns near Kumase were all beaten, and joined the Ashanti state. Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye were wise, and tried to make them feel that they were not merely beaten enemies, but brothers of the Ashantis and part of the Ashanti nation. Their tribal customs were not interfered with, and their chiefs were made members of the *Abrempen* or state council of the Ashantis. Only they were forbidden to tell the stories of their old days before they became part of the Ashanti people; Osei Tutu wanted all the Ashantis

[13] This is another story like those about coming from holes in the ground. I do not believe all the details of Anokye's magic. But neither will I take the easy way of saying that here is not a word of truth in it. I do not know how much believe; and so I give the story for what it is worth. It would be a pity for it to be lost.

to forget about the time when they were a number of small and feeble separate tribes, and only to remember the days of their national greatness, beginning with his reign. This was a wise law; but it has made it very hard to find out anything about the beginnings of the Ashantis. The time was coming when the Ashanti nation needed all its strength and all its endurance to keep itself from its enemies.

Boa Amponsem, the old chief of the Denkyeras was dead. The new chief was called Ntim Gyakari, a very, young man and foolish. Some say that he was the son of Osei Tutu and Abena Bensua; but this may not be true. At this time there were various causes for a quarrel between the Ashantis and their masters the Denkyeras had just had a In war against first place, the Denkyeras the Adansis, in which the Adansis were beaten; many Adansis fled to Ashanti, and Osei Tutu received them kindly and protected them from Denkyera. The Denkyeras were angry with Osei Tutu for preventing them from killing the Adansis who had rebelled against them. If your servant, said the Denkyeras, offends you and you want to punish him, you do not let one of your other servants stand before him and protect him from your anger. Secondly, of course, the Ashantis were tired of serving Denkyera and paying tribute. Thirdly, the trade with the Europeans on the sea coast was becoming valuable, and the Ashantis wanted to share in it. They did not see why the Fantes and Denkyeras should come between them and the Europeans, and take all the profit of the trade. Fourthly, there was a private quarrel between Osei Tutu and Boa Amponsem; one of Osei Tutu's wives had been ill-treated in Denkyera. So for all these reasons the Ashantis and the Denkyeras were by no means friendly.

And then the young Ntim Gyakari did a thing that made war certain. He sent a messenger to Kumase, bearing a great brass pan, and told Osei Tutu and the chiefs of Ashanti to fill the pan with gold and send it back to him. More than that, each Ashanti chief was to send to Abankasiesu[14] one of his wives to become the wife of the Denkyerahene. The Ashantis, of course, would never agree to this insult. Boaten Panin, the chief of Juaben, took his wife Berebere and refused to send her to Denkyera; and instead of gold he put a stone in the pan and swore an

[14] Ntim Gyakari moved the capital about this time from Abankasiesu to Buabinso, near Dunkwa.

oath that he would die rather than submit. Then Osei Tutu took his wife Amanie and did the same. From this comes the proverb: " Se Berebere amma a, Amanie nso amma." And so did they all[15].

In this way the Ashantis determined to break away from their masters the Denkyeras; but they were afraid, because the Denkyeras were strong. But Okomfo Anokye made some magic, and then said that they were sure to win the war against the Denkyeras. Osei Tutu wanted to go to the war himself; but Okomfo Anokye would not let him. If Osei Tutu himself fought, he said, he would win the war and would kill Ntim Gyakari; but he himself would die seven days later. Instead of this, Okomfo Anokye found a man called Tweneboa Kodua from Kumawu, who was of the same build as Osei Tutu; and Tweneboa Kodua agreed to give up his life so that the Ashantis should win the war. In return for this Osei Tutu promised him that none of his descendants should ever be punished with death, whatever offence they might commit.

So Tweneboa Kodua was killed[16], and the Ashantis went out to war. But Ntim Gyakari and the Denkyeras were advancing quickly, and the Ashanti army was not all collected. So the chief of Adunku (near Kokofu) said that he and his men would hold up the Denkyeras as long as they could, to give the rest of the Ashantis time to come up. For seven days they fought against the Denkyeras, gradually being pushed back, but fighting every step; and although they were so few, the Denkyeras could not get past them. At the end of seven days the men of Adunku were nearly all killed; but by that time the Ashanti army was all ready. The armies met at Feyiase, between Kuntanase and Kumase. From Adunku to Feyiase is about eight miles; and through the bravery of the men of Adunku it had taken the Denkyera army a week to march that short distance. The Ashantis won a great victory. Ntim Gyakari was sure that he would beat the Ashantis; he did not go to

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[15] Some say that this proverb does not come from this quarrel between Ashanti and Denkyera but from an older quarrel between Denkyera and Adansi. According to this story, Berebere was a servant of Denkyera who was kept in Adansi by the Adansihene. In return, the Denkyerahene kept prisoner Amanie, a servant of Adansi; and from this there came a war.

[16] It is not certain whether he was sacrificed, or whether he was the first man to be killed by the enemy in the fight.

the battle, but stayed in his tent, playing *ware* with his wife; the pieces were of gold, and he and his wife had fastened their ankles together with golden anklets. In the middle of the game the men from Juaben found him and killed him. He had a gold bracelet on his arm, and the Juaben men took this and the gold *ware* pieces, and kept them. Afterwards many wars came between the Juaben stool and the Kumase stool, because the Asantehene wanted these things to be given to him for his stool; but the Juaben people would not give them up. Ntim Gyakari's skull was sent to Kumase and carefully kept. The rest of the Denkyera army fled back to Denkyera.

Next year the Denkyeras tried again, under their new chief, Bodu Akefun. Okomfo Anokye encouraged the Ashantis to march into Denkyera country this time, instead of waiting to be attacked near home. They did so; they captured the Denkyerahene, and drove the Denkyeras across the river Ofin, which was their sacred river. All the land north of the Ofin river was taken by Ashanti, and the Denkyeras moved south to new homes. After this the Denkyera power failed. They had to pay tribute to Ashanti; *Sefwi* and Wassaw, which had been under them, now rebelled and attacked the Denkyeras, and at one time the Denkyeras had to pay tribute to Ashanti, Sefwi, and Wassaw as well. They had now lost the gold-mines of Obuasi, so that the nation became poor. The war with Denkyera happened in the years 1698 and 1699.

A year or two later, perhaps in 1700 or 1702, Osei Tutu made war against the Akims. The Akims are divided into three branches: the Akim Abuakwas, the Akim Bosomes, and the Akim Kotokus. The Akim Bosomes and the Akim Kotokus came from Asantemanso; the Abuakwas came from Adansi. At this time, the Bosomes and Kotokus were still living near the lake; but the Abuakwas had moved across the Pra, and were gradually eating up the Akwamu land between the Pra and the Birrim. The Abuakwas had helped the Denkyeras in the last war, and they had been for some time giving trouble to the Ashantis in other ways, by attacking and robbing Ashanti traders, and so forth. So Osei Tutu led his army against them, and defeated them in two battles. The Abuakwas gave up, and promised to pay tribute; and the Ashantis returned home.

After the Abuakwa war, Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye spent many years in

arranging the home affairs of the new Ashanti nation. The different Ashanti peoples were still rather against the idea of becoming one people. The Juaben men, for example, had a new quarrel with Osei Tutu over Ntim Gyakari's bracelet and other plunder; Mampon did not want to admit that Kumase was superior, and although after the Denkyera war the chief of Mampon had been allowed to make himself a silver stool, he still felt that a golden stool would have been better. Arid many others of the great chiefs felt the same. Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye set themselves to overcome this feeling. They set up the great council of chiefs, and arranged the government of the Ashanti people in much the same way as that of an ordinary tribe. The Asantehene was at the head; his council consisted of the chiefs of the different Ashanti tribes - Juaben, Mampon, and the rest - and he had linguists, attached to the Ashanti stool, who were superior to the linguists of the different tribes, just as those linguists were superior to the linguists of lesser chiefs. The Ashantis, and some other Akan nations too, say that Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye made all their laws. But as far as we can see, the powers of the chiefs, of their councils, and of their officers; the different grades of chiefs the influence and powers of the queen-mother-all these were fixed by custom before Osei Tutu's time. He and his great helper built up the Ashanti state into a great power, and arranged it in the same way and according to the same customs as other states; but I doubt whether they introduced many new customs. The history of a people is not merely the story of their wars or of their rise to power and their fall. A whole' chapter of this book ought to be written on the laws of Osei Tutu. But little or nothing is remembered of the details of his law-making, and so we must pass over it in silence.

For twenty-nine years after the first Abuakwa war Ashanti had peace. But the Akim Abuakwas were not content to pay tribute. There were other quarrels, especially one over the payment of oath fees. If an Akim man swore an Ashanti oath, the Akim Abuakwahene made a custom of keeping part of the oath fee for himself, whereas the Asantehene claimed that the whole of it ought to go to him. In the end the Akim Abuakwas declared war against Ashanti. Osei Tutu at once took an army across the Pra to invade the Abuakwa country; but the Akims lay hidden

on the banks of the Pra while the van of the Ashanti army crossed, and waited until they saw the Asantehene himself crossing the river in his hammock. Then they shot and killed him. The Ashantis did not turn back until they had defeated the Akims; but having lost their great chief, they did not stay as long and finish the war as thoroughly as they might have done; and in the time of the next chief of Ashanti it had to be donc all over again. Osei Tutu's death was remembered by the great oath Memeneda[17], the penalty for which was death.

Thus died Osei Tutu, the real founder of the Ashanti nation. It is hard to tell how much of his work was his own, and how much he owed to his friend Okomfo Anokye; but it is not really very important to decide the question. Osei Tutu must have been a very great man to attract the friendship of a man like Okomfo Anokye, a good deal older than himself; you can know a man by his friends, and you can know him, too, by the memory he leaves behind him. Memory and tradition may go wrong on details, but they do not often go wrong in deciding whether a man has done well for his people.

It is not certain in what year Osei Tutu died. The English officer Bowdich, who stayed in Kumase for some time in the year 1817, guessed that the date was 1720. Claridge's history of the Gold Coast puts it at *1731.* There is no doubt that the Ntim Gyakari war was fought in 1608 or *1699,* so Osei Tutu probably became chief about 1697. The first Akim war must have been fought not later than *1702;* but it does not seem possible to decide whether there were eighteen years of peace before the second war, in which Osei Tutu was killed, or twenty-nine years. There is not so much doubt after Osei Tutu's death; the dates of the later Ashanti chiefs as given by Bowdich agree within a year or two with those in Claridge's book. In this book we shall use Claridge's dates; it is not worth while bothering about two years' difference, when it is impossible to find the exact truth. Opoku Ware was the son of Nyako Kwasiamoa, Osei Tutu's niece. His father was Adu Panin, chief of Amokum. Adu Panin died soon after he married Nyako, and she became the wife of his brother, another Adu. But he also died in a month or two,

[17] Presumably because Osei Tutu was killed on a Saturday.

before Opoku Ware was born; and the third brother, also named Adu, died very soon after the child was born. From the death of these three men, Opoku Ware, when he became chief, established the second of the great oaths of Ashanti, the Ntamkese Mmiensa, the great oath of Three.

Opoku Ware was a weak child, and often had fits . of shaking. Okomfo Anokye said that this was because he was anxious to fight, and he made him a sword called Mpomponsu, which became part of the stool treasures of Ashanti.

As soon as the surrounding peoples, the Denkyeras, the Akims, and others, heard that the great Osei Tutu was dead, they thought that they would now have a chance to destroy the Ashanti power. They made war against Ashanti, but Opoku Ware defeated them all. But a few years later, Owusu Akyem Tenten, the chief of the Akim Abuakwas, made war again. This war was called the Ahantan war; the name has nothing to *do* with the Ahanta people, but comes from the *word " hantan,"* because the Akims went to battle with sandals on. Opoku Ware invaded Akim again, fought a great battle at Peminase, and captured Owusu Akyem Tenten. He was killed, and his skull placed with that of Ntin Gyakari on the Odwira fetish.

While Opoku Ware was with his army in Akim, he heard terrible news. Ebirim Moro, the chief of Sefwi, had attacked Ashanti, had captured Kumas$_e$ killed the queen-mother Nyako, and had opened the graves at Bantama to hunt for gold. He turned back at once, and sent Amankwa Tia, the chief of Bantama, to chase the Sefwis. Amankwa Tia followed them quickly and came up with them before they could cross the Tano; and near the bank of the Tano he won a great victory. Ebirim Moro was killed, and the Ashantis took for themselves all the land between the Tano and the Bia that is now called Ahafo. They made it into a hunting-ground for the Asantehene: hence the name Ahafo. Most of the women of the royal family of Ashanti had been killed by Ebirim Moro with the queen-mother Nyako; but two were left. One of them, Akua Kurukuru, was taken away by the Sefwis and sent as a prisoner to Wassaw. After Ebirim Moro was killed, Opoku Ware sent to Wassaw and brought her back to Kumase. He welcomed her with the words, *"Akua, 'afiri yiye,"* and from that time the women of the Ashanti royal family have been named

Afiriye. The next war that Opoku Ware fought was against one Amo Yao, chief of Tekyiman. Amo Yao one day sent to Kumase a present of three bags of gold for the Asantehene. On the way the messenger that carried the gold slept a night at Nkoranza. The chief of Nkoranza was Bafo; he was the brother of u chief that- A had been Yen killed by Osei Tutu, and he had fled at Tekyiman. Amo Yao had protected him, and had given him u little village ,here three old men were living, hence called Nkwakora Mmiensa. From this came the, name Nkoranza. Bafo told his people to look after Amo Yao's messenger, and he himself undertook to keep the gold safe till the morning. Jut he emptied the three bags and kept the gold ror himself; and in the morning he filled one with bullets, one with gunpowder, and the third with flints, and gave them to the messenger to take to Kumase. When Opoku Ware saw this strange present he asked what it meant, and Bafo answered that it could only mean that Amo Yao wanted to fight him. Opoku Ware sent a messenger to Amo Yao to ask why he wanted war but Bafo undertook to send one of his own men with the message. The message Buff's man brought to Tekyimun was that Opoku Ware was determined to fight him, and that he had better make ready. Amo Yao was frightened, and asked Bafo what he could do against such a strong enemy.

Bafo told him that the Ashantis were only strong because before going to war they buried their guns in the ground for forty days, and when they dug them up again the guns would go on shooting of their own accord without needing to be loaded[18].

Amo Yao therefore made the Tekyiman people bury all their guns, so as to have the same magic power, and all of them obeyed except one chief, who saw that Bafo was lying. Then the Ashantis came; the Tekyiman people dug *up* their guns and found them rusty and rotten and altogether useless; and in three battles the Ashantis conquered the country. Amo Yao and the queenmother of Tekyiman, Gyamarawa, were taken as prisoners to Kumase. The lands of Tekyiman became

[18] Other people have had this idea about the Ashantis. In one of the Fante wars, an Ashanti was seen to leave three or four prisoners behind him while he went to collect plunder. He left his gun with them, and told it to shoot them if they tried to run away. They waited; fearing the gun, till he came back.

part of Ashanti.

Three years later Opoku Ware fought another war, this time against the Gyamans. Abo Kofi[19], the tenth chief of Gyaman, was strengthening the Gyuman power. The Gyamans had settled in two main waves in the country far to the west of Ashanti,- between the rivers Tain and Komoe. The first wave, led by a chief called Adu Bini, had settled and conquered the country between Tekyiman and the Komoe, probably about the time of Oti Akenten. The second wave, led by a chief called Tanu Date, went to join them after the wars of Obiri Yeboa and Osei Tutu. Now the two waves were combining into a strong nation; they were conquering the Brong tribes and forming them into a great confederation, just as Osei Tutu and Okomfo Anokye were forming the Ashanti confederation. They were even beginning to conquer the mixed tribes - Diulas, Nafanas, Kulangos, and so forth- who were not of the Agni-Twi family, living in the savannah country round Bondugu and farther north. Now Opoku Ware heard that Abo Kofi was making himself a golden stool, and saying that the Gyamans were as good as the Ashantis. He sent to the Gyamans and told Abo Kofi to give up his golden stool. Abo Kofi said he would not. Opoku Ware sent a second time.

Abo Kofi killed the messenger. So the Ashanti army Went to Gyaman; captured the town of Bondugu; defeated the Gyamans; and chased Abo Kofi across the Komoe river. He fled to Kong, a Mohammedan country north-west of Bondugu, which had once been part of the Songhai empire. There was now no Songhai empire to protect him. The king of Kong feared the Ashantis, and sent Abo Kofi to them as a prisoner. His skull was placed with Ntim Gyakari's on the Odwira fetish. After this the Gyamans served Ashanti and paid tribute. Opoku Ware placed oil the Gyaman stool a certain man called Kofi Sono, who belonged to a family that was always the rival of Abo Kofi's family. No doubt he hoped that these two families, the Zanzan and the Yakase families, would weaken the Gyaman nation by continually fighting against one another in civil war; so that the Gyamans would never give the Ashantis any trouble. But, as a matter of fact, the Gyamans seem to

[19] Not Abo Kobina, as is sometimes said.

have come to an arrangement very quickly, by which they took their chiefs from both families, in turn. Opoku Ware himself never had any more trouble with the Gyamans, but his successors had.

About the time of the Gyaman war, about [1]740, Okomfo Anokye, now a very old man indeed, died at Agona in Ashanti, where he was chief. (He must have been some years older than Osei Tutu; and Osei Tutu cannot have been born later than about r670; so Okomfo Anokye must have been well over seventy years old when he died, perhaps even eighty or more.) The old man told his people that he was going to sleep for seven days, and it would seem as if he were dead. But he would not be dead, and they were not to wail or mourn or make a noise during those seven days.

If they did, his spirit would flee away and never return, and he would be dead indeed; but if they kept quiet, he would awake again and be strong to rule them for many years. So he went into his house; and for a few days there was quiet. But Suan Enim, his sister's son, who should succeed him as chief, said that Okomfo Anokye was dead; and before the seven days were ended he fired guns. So Okomfo Anokye died, the man who even more than Osei Tutu had made the Ashanti nation. Osei Tutu was the hand, and a mighty hand; but Okomfo Anokye was the brain that directed him. He must have been a very great man indeed, one of the greatest Africans that ever lived; it is sad that we know so little about his life.

After the Gyaman war, Opoku Ware fought no more. A few years later he died. He reigned eleven years, from 1731 to 1742[20]; in that time, he held safely what Osei Tutu had gained; he kept the Ashantis together as one nation; and, far more than Osei Tutu had done, he made Ashanti a military state, fighting and extending its power over all the nations round.

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[20] 1742 was the year in which Walpole, the first English Prime Minister, retired from power. George II was king; England was fighting France in Europe, and English and French in India were just beginning to want to rule, and not merely to trade. In the first year of Opoku Ware, George Washington was born, the man who led the British colonies in North America to rebel and become the United States.

CHAPTER V

ASHANTI TO 1800

THROUGH the work of Osei Tutu and Opoku Ware, the kingdom of Ashanti was now started and firmly established. After Opoku Ware came Kwasi or Kusi Obodum, son of one of Osei Tutu's sisters. He was an elderly man, no soldier, and not fond of the work of government. After he had been on the stool for a few years, he became blind, so he left the stool, and was succeeded by his cousin, Osei Kojo. He did not like Osei Kojo, but he could not stop him becoming the next Asantehene; o Kwasi Obodum decided to do Osei Kojo all the harm he could by taking the stool treasure and hiding it. It is strange that the *Abrempen* did not find what he was doing and make him tell where he had hidden it. But though Osei Kojo searched for a long time, he could never find the gold. Kwasi Obodum was not buried at Bantama with the other chiefs, but at Akyeremade in Kumase.

In *1752,* ten years after Opoku Ware had died, sei Kojo came to the stool. He was a great fighting man, and had several wars, by which he extended the Ashanti power greatly. He had a war with Worosa, chief of Banda, who had killed some Ashanti traders. The Banda country lies just north of Bondugu, partly in. what is now the Ivory Coast and partly in the Gold Coast. The town of Bondugu itself, which had been built about the year 1200, was built to replace another town which had been destroyed in war. This older town, Bitu or Begu, had been in the Banda country, and so the Banda people often regarded the new Bondugu as their town also, though it was right on the edge of their country and they had not built it. Since the Gyaman people had come into those parts, Bondugu had been sometimes belonging to them, sometimes to the Bandas, whichever happened to be the stronger. In the time of Worosa of Banda, Bondugu seems to have belonged to the Bandas; evidently they were strong at this time, and perhaps the Gyamans had not yet recovered from their war with Opoku Ware.

When Worosa heard that the Ashantis were coming, he sent to the country of Kong, and the chief of that country lent him some horse-soldiers. Kong was a Mohammedan country lying away to the north-west of Bondugu; it had formerly

given the Songhai empire much trouble. Both Banda and Kong were grass-country. Worosa thought that the Ashantis would not be used to fighting in open country, and that they would be useless when there were no trees for them to hide behind. But the Ashantis defeated him, and made the Banda country serve Ashanti.

After the Banda war, Osei Kojo fought against others of the strong nations around Ashanti. He defeated the Wassaws, and took their country. Then the Na of Yendi, the paramount chief of the Dagombas, fearing that the Ashantis were becoming too strong, declared war against them. Osei Kojo sent the Adontenhene, Kwamin Pete, with an army against the Dagombas; he defeated them somewhere north of the Volta, and made them pay a tribute of 1,000 slaves, 1,000 cows, 1,000 sheep, and 1,000 fowls. But the Ashantis won this battle not so much because of their better fighting as because of their better weapons. The Dagombas could not stand against the European guns.

Osei Kojo fought another war against the Akims. This Akim war was more important for the Gold Coast as a whole than the earlier ones had been. Osei Kojo was afraid that the Fantes would help the Akims against him, and so he gave them money to stop them from doing so. But the Ashantis say that the Fantes took the money and did help the Akims in spite of it, so that Osei Kojo was very angry, and swore to have his revenge. He would have fought against them himself, but in 178, he died, before he could begin the war. But the Ashantis did not forget this action of the Fantes; it gave them a new reason for wishing to make war on the coast peoples. They had other reasons as well. For some time past, both the Fantes and the Akims had been growing rich by trading with the white men. The white men first came to the Gold Coast some time after the year 1400[21]; and ever since they first came, they had been trading as much as they could with the coast people. They sold them guns and cloth and beads and similar goods; and they bought from them gold, and ivory, and slaves. Now of course it was the coast people, the Accras and the Fantes, who became rich through this trade. They paid the white men their

[21] The Portuguese were the first as far as we know; they came to Elmina first in 1482. But some think that. there were Frenchmen here before then, though we cannot be sure. See the next chapter.

price for the European goods, and then sold them to the Akims and other peoples of the inland countries at a good profit. Likewise, they bought gold and ivory and slaves from the Ashantis and Akims, and added to the price when they took them to the European forts to sell them to the white men. So they made a profit in both directions; and the Ashantis knew they were doing so. For this reason the Ashantis were always anxious to get down to the sea and to trade direct with the white men, without having to pay the Fantes' profit; and they were always jealous of the Fantes, who prevented them.

There was one matter that made the Ashantis feel that they were closely interested in the European trade. The white men had not bought the land for their forts. They had agreed to pay rent for the land every year at a fixed rate to the chief whose stool owned the land. They had made this agreement in the form of letters, called " Notes," written to the chiefs. Afterwards, when the chiefs were at war with other tribes, these Notes were lost, and taken by their enemies. Thus, the Note of Elmina castle was taken by the Denkyeras, and the three Notes for the forts at Accra (James Fort, the English one; Ussher Fort or Fort Crèvecoeur, the Dutch one; and Christiansborg, the Danish one) had been taken from the Accras by the Akwamus, and from the Akwamus by the Akims. Now all those notes had come into the hands of the Ashantis. Osei Tutu captured the Note for Elmina castle from the Denkyeras when he invaded Denkyera after the death of Ntim Gyakari. The Accra Notes (James Fort, Fort Crèvecoeur, Christiansborg) were taken from the Akims by Opoku Ware. In this way, the Ashantis became entitled to receive the rents paid by the white men for these forts; and, in fact, became to some extent the owners of the land on which the forts were built. Thus, the Ashantis felt that the white men were living on their land, and they felt it was hard that they should not be able to trade directly with people that lived on their own land.

Lastly, there had been for a long time some bad feeling between Elmina and the rest of the Fantes. The Elmina people were thought to be descended (partly, at least) from Ashantis who had come down long ago from Ashanti; and so Elmina was looked on as almost an Ashanti town. The Fantes who lived round Elmina often quarrelled with the Elminas; and the Ashantis always wanted to get down to

the sea so as to be able to help their brothers.

For all these reasons, the Ashantis always felt interested in the affairs of the coast. And now they had a new reason for interfering, namely, that they wanted to punish the Fantes for helping the Akims against Osei Kojo.

The next Asantehene was a boy named Osei Kwamina. He was not placed on the stool for many years, and during that time the Adontenhene, Kwamin Pete, acted as ruler of the country in his place. Osei Kwamina was not long on the stool; for his people deposed him, saying that he did not take enough trouble over the work of government.

He was deposed in 1797, and his younger brother Opoku Fofie was placed on the stool in his stead. But Opoku Fofie only lived for seven or eight weeks after he came to the stool; the Ashantis said that he died because Osei Kwamina killed himself when he was deposed, and his ghost came to call his brother.

After Opoku Fofie came another brother, Osei s Tutu Kwamina Asibe, one of the greatest of the kings of Ashanti; he is usually called Osei Bonsu -Bonsu being the name he took later on during his wars. When he came to the stool, the kingdom of Ashanti had been stretched by Opoku Ware and Osei Kojo until it reached as far as Gyaman and Attabubu; and Kwahu, Adansi, Assin, Denkyera, Sefwi, and Wassaw, though not actually part of his kingdom, served him and admitted that the Ashantis were their masters. The chief of the other kingdoms at that time were the Dagomba kingdom, with its capital at Yendi, Dahome, with its capital at Agbome across the Volta, and Kong, far away to the north-west. All these were the neighbours and the friends of Ashanti. But in Osei Bonsu's reign the Ashantis first made a serious try to stretch their power over the Fantes and to gain control over the coast. In doing this they came into touch with the white men, who (as Okomfo Anokye is said to have foretold) were fated one day to conquer them. We must now go back to see how the white men had come to the Gold Coast, and why it was that they gradually took possession of the country.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

Fox a long time after the Roman empire fell, the people of Europe had no time to spare for voyaging to West Africa. The Roman empire was destroyed by tribes of uncivilised peoples, and for several hundred years they were busy fighting among themselves, settling their own boundaries, learning Roman civilisation, and spreading Christianity. These new nations, the ancestors of English, French, Germans, Dutch, and other modern European nations, all came from the north of Europe, where it was cold; and they did not like the heat of the Mediterranean. They thought, therefore, that the farther south you came, the hotter the climate grew; they found the Sahara desert, which seemed all to be burnt up with the heat. They thought that the dark skin and the black curly hair of the inhabitants of West Africa were due to their coming too close to the sun, and they feared that if they themselves travelled too far south they too would be scorched and shrivelled in the same way. They saw the heavy surf beating on the African sands, and they thought that the water was boiling by falling on the hot sands. (In European seas the surf does not keep roaring the whole time; there are many days when it ripples quietly, with only little foam; so the constant white surf of Africa struck them as strange and terrible.) For these reasons they feared to come to West Africa.

And there were other reasons that kept them away. Western Europe got its gold and precious stones, its silks and fine cloths, its *ivory* and other luxuries, not from Africa, but from India and the Far East. They were brought by traders overland from the East, and bought by the men of Europe at the ports of Syria or Asia Minor, to carry to Italy. From Italy they were distributed all over Europe. As long as this trade went on smoothly, Europe did not feel the need of African trade.

But between the years 1070 and 1100, the traders from Europe to the East found that their roads were closed to them. A new people, the Turks, had taken the lands of Syria and Palestine and Egypt and Asia Minor, and the Turks cared nothing for trade, and robbed and oppressed the European travellers. The Turks were Mohammedans, and robbed also the Christian pilgrims going to see the lands where Jesus had lived and died; though for four hundred years those lands had been ruled by other Mohammedans who saw no harm in the pilgrims. So between

1100 and 1300 the people of all Western Europe fought wars, known as Crusades or Wars of the Cross, against the Turks. Most of the fighting was done by religious people who wanted to clear the road for Christian pilgrims, or, better still, to clear the Turks and other Mohammedans out of the country altogether, and make the home of Christ once more a Christian country.

But all[22] the money for the wars--and wars cannot be fought without money-was supplied by traders who found their trade with the East stopped, and hoped that the Crusades might reopen it.

The Crusades failed. After two hundred years of fighting, the Crusaders lost all the lands they had conquered from the Turks, and the door was again shut in the face of the Christian pilgrims and the traders from the West. And so the European traders began to seek for ways of getting to India and the East without going through the Turkish country. The front door was shut; they began to hunt for a back door.

Most of the people of Europe in those days believed that the earth was a round, flat plate, and that if you went too far you might come to the edge and fall off. So one set of people tried to get round to India by going along the coast either of North Asia or of Africa. But Columbus and some others believed that the earth was not a flat plate, but a ball, and thought that if you kept going straight on in one direction, you would come back to your starting place. So about the year 1400, the peoples of Europe began trying these new ways to the gold and spice lands of the East. It was the Spaniards and Portuguese that were the first. Prince Henry of Portugal, who was a very religious man and full of the idea of converting the heathen to Christianity, made up his mind to try whether it was not possible to send ships along the West African coast-to get trade on the way, to spread Christianity among the people, and in the end to find the way to India itself. In 1418 he sent his first ship, which meant to try and pass Cape Bojador on the coast of Morocco, but was blown out of its course by a storm, and accidentally discovered

[22] Not quite all; some fighting men sold all their goods to provide money for the war. But, on the whole, the fighting men had little to give besides their swords; it was the traders that had money to give-or to invest.

Madeira. It was not till 1433 that Cape Bojador was passed; but after that every year saw a new fleet set out from Portugal to explore the African coast. Some of them never came back; when the Spaniards first visited the island of San Thomé, off the coast of French Equatorial Africa, on the Equator, in 1525, they found carved on a tree an inscription saying that a Portuguese fleet had visited the island in [1]438. In 1471 the Portuguese discovered that gold could be found on the Gold Coast, and they opened a gold mine at Abrobi, near Kommenda.

Prince Henry is called "the Navigator " because of the work he did in getting his seamen to navigate these new seas. He died in 1460, but his work went on.

The trade with the west coast of Africa was given by the Portuguese government to a company of merchants. The Portuguese had heard of the great civilised kingdoms in the far interior, and they called the country Guinea, after the native name Ghana. The trade was mainly in gold dust; and since about 144.0 the Portuguese had made a habit also of taking slaves.

After carrying on this risky trade for some years, the Portuguese determined to try and establish a regular place of their own on the Gold Coast. They sent out a large fleet, with everything on board necessary for building a fort: stone all ready cut to shape and needing only to be fitted together, timber, guns, and provisions. The captain of the fleet was Don Diego d'Azambuja. On January 19th, 1482, the fleet anchored off Elmina.

The local chief did not at all want to have the Portuguese living always in his country. His name was (according to the Portuguese) Caramansa, which may be meant for Kwamina Ansa. He heard what d'Azambuja had to say, and replied that he thought it would be better that the Portuguese should continue trading as they had been doing, for if they settled in the country, sooner or later quarrels would certainly arise. But the Portuguese were determined. Kwamina Ansa, seeing there was no hope, unwillingly agreed. The ships were unladen; the stones and timber were fitted together; in twenty days the fort was far enough advanced to be defended against an enemy. When it was finished, Don Diego d'Azambuja entered and dwelt there as its first governor; and in 1486 the king of Portugal gave the new settlement, named St. George d'Elmina, the rights and privileges of a city of

Portugal.

Some people say that the Portuguese were not the first white men to come to the Gold Coast. Some old writers say that there was in Elmina Castle a building that had been put up by the French in 1383-ninety-nine years before Don Diego d'Azambuja-as was shown by an inscription carved in the stone. They *say* also that the French had built other forts, especially one at Takoradi; and it is true that the people of Takoradi still know the place where a French fort stood long ago. So it may be that the French came to the Gold Coast first; but, at any rate, they did not keep their place there; and when the Portuguese came the French trade was dead.

While the Portuguese were making their first voyages to West Africa, they were also hunting for the way to India; and in 1488 a Portuguese captain, Bartholomew Diaz[23], found his way round the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean, and thus opened a new road for Portuguese trade. The Spaniards were hunting for a road to the East by going to the west, following in the path of Columbus. In 1492 Columbus, sailing across the Atlantic, found land in about the same place that he expected to find it. But it was not, as he thought, Japan or China. The earth was a bigger place than he thought, and the country that he had found was a New World altogether. Soon the Spaniards and the Portuguese, coming in opposite directions, met at the other side of the world, among the Spice Islands of the East; and the Pope helped them by drawing a dividing line on the map to separate Spanish land from Portuguese.

For a long time the Spaniards and the Portuguese had the trade in these new countries all to themselves; for the Pope divided the world between them, and said that nobody else should try and take any of the trade. At the time, all Europe was Catholic. But between 1500 and 1600 many of the nations of Europe, including the English, the Dutch, and many of the French and the Germans, left Catholicism and became Protestants; and then they did not listen to anything that

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[23] There was a Bartholomew Diaz commanding one of the ships in Don Diego d'Azambuja's fleet at Elmina in 1482, no doubt the same man. Christopher Columbus, who discovered America ten years later, was also in the fleet at Elmina in *1482.*

the Pope said. So during that time, the Portuguese found that other nations began to visit their trading-places in West Africa. The first English voyage was made in 1553 by Captain Windham, who was guided by a Portuguese captain named Pinteado, who knew the coast well. They visited the Gold Coast (avoiding Elmina, because they feared the Portuguese there) and then went on to Benin to get pepper. They did well on the Gold Coast, but in Benin they suffered from sickness; the two captains quarrelled, and they crept home with only 40 men alive out of 140. But they had so much gold that others thought they would try their luck in this fine new trade.

Next year Captain John Lok visited the coast with three ships, and traded at Shama, Cape Coast, and eastwards as far as Beraku. At that time Cape Coast fence had about five twenty feet houses, high. At Sur rounded by Kormantine the chief of the place came on board the ships, and asked the English to settle there, and promised to give them land for a fort. But they did not do so. They did instead one thing which caused trouble later; they treacherously seized four of the Kormantine men who were on board to trade, and carried them to England.

Their voyage was very profitable; they took back to England much gold and pepper and 250 tusks of ivory. The Kormantine men were duly brought back two years later by another captain.

During the next few years many English ships came to the Gold Coast to trade; and the people were glad to see them, because they were the enemies of the Portuguese. The Portuguese were becoming more and more hated because of the slave trade which they had started, and because they generally treated the people badly. The first slaves had been taken to Portugal in 1434; in *1517* the Pope gave permission for Africans to be taken as slaves to America; and in a few years from that time 10,000 or 12,000 slaves were being taken every year. The English did not take part in the slave trade till 1562, when Captain John Hawkins caught 300 slaves and sold them to the Spaniards in the West Indies. Even then the English slave trade was small; for the English had no settlements in America, and the Spaniards would not allow them to trade with the Spanish settlements. It was not until after 1666 that the English slave trade grew to the terrible size we

know of, when the English had colonies in North America who would buy the slaves.

But the Portuguese on the Gold Coast did not long remain strong. They might have done if they had really tried. But they thought much more of their trade with India; and in 1580 Portugal became part of Spain, so that the Government thought much more also of its trade with the Spanish colonies in America. In this way the West African settlements were left without enough help. The fleets that went every year past the shores of West Africa to India (there was then, of course, no Suez Canal) used to stop and give them a little help; and as they were the only European nations that had forts on the Gold Coast[24], they were able to give the English and French, and any other strangers, a great deal of trouble.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the English almost left the Gold Coast trade and went farther north, to the Senegal, the Gambia, and Sierra Leone. Then the Portuguese hoped that they would be free. But instead there came a new enemy.

This was the Dutch. The Dutch were Protestants; and they had until a few years before been subjects of Spain. The Spanish government had oppressed them so much that they had rebelled; and after great suffering they had made themselves free. They were brave sailors, and because their country was small they were great traders, and sailed all over the world to find riches. They attacked the Portuguese colonies in the East Indies, and conquered them all. And besides going to the East, they also came to West Africa, and began to trouble the Portuguese there.

For some time there was trouble. The Portuguese fought all the Dutch ships they saw, and the Dutch began to think of driving out the Portuguese altogether. In 1598 the Dutch made an alliance with the Asebus and built a small fort at Mori, and very soon afterwards another at Kommenda. These first forts were not strong

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[24] Besides Elmina, the Portuguese had the following forts Axim, Shama, Christiansborg, Cape Coast (this is not quite certain). The Accras afterwards took the Portuguese fort at Christiansborg, and invited the French to settle there. The French did so for a few years; but they were not able to stand against the Portuguese, and left it again.

castles like Elmina or Cape Coast, built of stone, but merely swish houses with a wooden fence and a bank of earth round them. The Dutch helped the people of the country to resist the Portuguese by giving them guns. Before that time, of course, the white men had had all the guns, and the natives fought with spears and bows and arrows. The people were always glad to help the Dutch to fight against the Portuguese, because they hated the Portuguese so. They would have helped the French or the English against the Portuguese if they could. But they were afraid to; because the French and the English had no forts on the Gold Coast (you remember that the chief of Kormantine asked the English to come and live there, but they would not); and so the people feared that if they and the French or the English fought against the Portuguese and beat them, the Portuguese would remember it when the other white men had gone away home, and would punish them.

In 1622 the Portuguese were very weak. The king of Spain and Portugal did not care for West Africa, but thought only of his colonies in America and in the spice islands of the East Indies. The Portuguese on the Gold Coast were left so much without help from home that they could do nothing outside their forts. In that year the hill with the gold mine in it sank down, filling up all the tunnels of the mine, and burying some of the miners beneath the earth. Of course, the African workmen said that there must be *a sasabonsam* living in the hill, who was angry at the Portuguese for digging tunnels in his home; and they would never work there again. In this way the Portuguese at Elmina lost a great deal of their profit. Three years later the Dutch tried to capture Elmina Castle. They landed at Ampeni, a little to the west of Elmina, but the Elmina people attacked them and drove them off. The fight only lasted for an hour or two, but the Dutch lost over 400 men out of [1],300, and might have lost even more if the Kommenda people had not come to help them just before dark. But this defeat only made the Dutch more determined than ever to take Elmina from the Portuguese.

They waited till 1637. In that year they sent a strong fleet and 1,300 white soldiers, and they had about the same number of Kommenda people to help them. They landed early in the morning of August 26th, 1637, a little west of Cape Coast,

and advanced westwards towards Elmina. All the morning they marched through the bush. In the afternoon they attacked a hill behind the Castle, called St. Jago because the Portuguese had on top of it a small fort and a chapel named after St. Jago or St. James. The Portuguese had only two small guns pointing in that direction, so if the Dutch could take St. Jago, they would be able to attack the Castle on its weakest side.

St. Jago was defended by a thousand Elmina men. The Dutch attacked them, but the Elminas drove them back. The Elminas thought that the battle was over; they cut off the heads of the dead Dutchmen and went home to Elmina to rejoice over the victory. But other Dutchmen were advancing, hidden in the bush; and. These new men marched up the hill and easily beat the few Elminas that had stayed there. They captured the fort and the chapel, and although the Elminas ran back to attack them as soon as they found out their mistake, they could not drive the Dutch o ff again, in spite Of all they could do.

The Portuguese were now very uncomfortable. Although the Castle was very strong and well placed, it could not be defended without men; and the Portuguese governor had now only thirty white soldiers left, and they were nearly all ill. The Dutch started with 1,300 white men, and they must have had over a thousand still left after the attack on St. Jago. The Castle could be attacked by land on one side only, for the sea lay on two sides and the river Benya on a third. But the Dutch were now in command of that side, and the guns of the Castle could not reach them. The Elminas had already twice attacked the Dutch and had been twice beaten off; and there was no chance of help from Portugal, for nine Dutch ships were lying out at sea opposite the Castle.

On August 27th, the Dutch brought up some big guns and began shooting against the Castle, while the Kommendas attacked Elmina town.

But the Dutch also were not at ease, for they had very little food; and the Dutch commander thought that he must take the Castle quickly if he was to take it at all. So on the morning of the 28th he sent a messenger to the Castle, to tell the governor to surrender. The governor asked for three days to think. The Dutch could not wait as long as that, for they had only food for one more day; so they said he

could have one day only. The next morning, the 29th, the messenger went down to the Castle again to hear the governor's answer. But there was no answer. So the whole Dutch army advanced; the guns were brought down off St. Jago hill, and the shooting began again. Then the governor quickly made up his mind. He surrendered the Castle; he and his men were put on board the Dutch ships and sent away to the Portuguese island of St. Thomé, near Fernando Po; and Elmina became the chief Dutch fort on the Gold Coast.

The Dutch commander left 140 men to guard Elmina, and went to Axim to try and capture the Portuguese fort there, which was much smaller than Elmina. But the governor of Axim was ready to fight, and for the time being the Dutch left him alone. It was five years later, in 1642 that the Dutch captured Axim Fort, and by the treaty of peace, the Portuguese departed altogether from the Gold Coast and handed over all their possessions to the Dutch. They had been settled on the Coast for 160 years[25].

There are many traces of the Portuguese in the speech of the Gold Coast to-day. In " pidgin " English the words *palaver, piccin, fetish, dash,* and others are Portuguese words that have been twisted a little in African mouths. In Twi, many names of European things, such as *asepatre* (shoes) and *krata* (paper), come from the Portuguese in the same way. The Portuguese brought the Gold Coast other things more useful than words. They brought cattle from Europe, and they probably brought the first sugar-cane and banana and pineapple front other parts of the tropics. The Twi name of *the* pine apple, *aborebe,* still shows that this plant was brought by the white men-in this case the Portuguese.

CHAPTER VII

ENGLISH AND DUTCH ON THE GOLD COAST, 1642-1803

[25] The treaty of 1642 was not so hard for the Portuguese as it may seem. The Dutch had been fighting the Portuguese also in South America, in Brazil; and they had planted settlements there. By the treaty, Portugal gave Holland her forts on the Gold Coast, but in return the Dutch gave to Portugal all their settlements in Brazil, and promised never to build forts there in the future.

THE Dutch were now the chief European power on the Gold Coast. They greatly improved and strengthened Elmina Castle; and besides Elmina, which was their chief place, they had forts or small settlements at Mori, Shama, Butri, Anomabu, Kormantine, and Accra. For the first few years after they took Elmina, no other European nation had any forts on the Gold Coast.

But other countries, especially England, soon followed the Dutch example. The first to come were the Swedes, who settled at Cape Coast in *1652* and built a small fort there. But a few years later their fort at Cape Coast was taken by **the** Danes, and about 1662 it became English. The English were the first to build the Castle at Cape Coast. Before their time it was only a small fortified house (or "lodge," as they called it in those days). This lodge may have been built by the Dutch or even by the Portuguese. But if either of those peoples built it, at any rate they left the place again, so that it was empty when the Swedes came in 1652.

The Swedes also settled at Osu, near Accra, and built a lodge there in 1657. Some people think that they found the lodge already there, built by the Portuguese; but we cannot be sure of this. In 1659 the Danes came and took it from them; the Danes strengthened the place and made it into a castle, and named it Christiansborg after the name of the king of Denmark. (Borg in anish means castle; it is the same as the English word burgh or borough, which we see in the ame Edinburgh. Edinburgh was built by King Edwin and named Edwin's Castle, just as Christiansborg was named Christian's Castle.) Christiansborg is now the house of the Governor of the Gold Coast. Besides Cape Coast and Osu, the Danes found Swedish forts at Takoradi and Anomabu, and took them both. In 1662 the English came to settle on the Gold Coast. The king of England, Charles II, gave the right of trading from Gibraltar to the Cape of Good Hope to a new company formed for the purpose; and he forbade anyone who was not a member of the company to go and trade on the West African coast at all. The company was called the Company of Royal Adventurers of England Trading to Africa. The King's brother, James, Duke of York, who afterwards became King James II of England, was a member of the company. The company promised to send 3,000 slaves a year to America, and to

keep forts or lodges at Cape Coast, Kommenda, Anashan, Egya, Kormantine,. Winneba, and Accra.

The Dutch, of course, were very angry; they had expected to be able to keep all the trade for themselves when they had driven out the Portuguese, but now they found English, Swedes, Danes, and (a little later) Germans all coming to trade against them. They tried to drive out the English. They took Cape Coast Castle and Egya; the Agonas attacked the lodge at Winneba and took it; and the Fantes attacked Kormantine, but could not take it. The Fantes and the Agonas were paid by the Dutch .

This led to war between England and Holland. Captain Robert Holmes was sent by King Charles II to take the English places back from the Dutch. He sailed to the Coast with two large ships and some small ones, and captured nearly all the Dutch forts, as well as those that they had taken from the English; and then, leaving some men to guard the forts, he went home to England. As soon as the news reached Holland, the Dutch sent their best sea-captain to the Coast to undo what Captain Holmes had done. This man was Admiral de Ruyter; this was the first time that he fought against the English, but afterwards he fought and beat them many times on the sea near England. De Ruyter came, and he did his work well. He found Cape Coast Castle too strong; but he took from the English every other castle or lodge that they had. When he sailed away to Holland, to continue the war in English seas, the English crept back to some of their forts. Peace was made in 1667, and each side kept the forts it had held before the war began. But although the English and the Dutch governments in Europe had made peace, the English and the Dutch of the Gold Coast did not stop their quarrels. The Company of Royal Adventurers became so poor, and lost so much trade, that it gave up, and a new company was formed, called the Royal African Company. King Charles II and James, Duke of York, and other great people were members of the new company; but most English people were so disappointed at the bad luck of the first company that they were very slow to lend their money to start the new one.

The Royal African Company began its work in 1672, by strengthening Cape Coast Castle and by building a new fort at Accra, which they called James Fort,

after the name of the Duke of York.

They sent home a good deal of gold in the course of the next few years, and the English Government made some of it into new coins called guineas (because they were made with gold from Guinea) of the value of twenty-one shillings each. Guineas are no longer made; but we still sometimes count money in guineas instead of pounds.

For the next few years there was no war between the different European new nation, other Germans and, in fact, in 1685 (Brandenburgers), came and settled. They built two forts between Sekondi and Axim. But there was a good deal of fighting between the Europeans and the different native nations. In 1679 the people of Winneba took the English lodge there. The next year the Dutch had a war with the Elminas. The Elminas had never been in any way under the Portuguese of the Castle in the latter days of the Portuguese time there. But the Dutch wished to rule Elmina town, and for some years there was bad feeling. In 168o the Elminas joined with the people of Kommenda and attacked the castle. They did not succeed in taking it, although they kept the Dutch shut up inside for ten months; when they found they could not take it, many of the Elmina people burnt their houses and went to live in other towns. About the same time there was fighting in Cape Coast; for some of the slaves from the castle ran away to the town, and the people of Cape Coast would not give them up. Many were killed on both sides before peace was made again.

The people that attacked Christiansborg were more successful. It happened in 1693, just after Ashangmo had died in Little Popo; that among the Akwamus that were ruling in Accra there was a certain man called Asameni. He had at one time been a cook in the service of the English; but he was then a trader and interpreter between the Danes in Christiansborg and other Akwamus from the interior. The Danes in the castle were very few, for many had died; and the Akwamus, who disliked the Danes, thought they would take the castle. Asameni took it by playing a trick on the governor. He told him that he would soon be bringing a large party of people to sell gold and ivory and to buy guns. The governor knew Asameni well, and thought no evil. Asameni came with eighty Akwamus. They came into the

castle and began looking over the guns that were for sale, and trying them (as was the custom) with a little powder to see that they were in good order. But they had brought their own bullets with them; and they quickly loaded the guns and made the Danes prisoners. The Danish governor tried to fight, but he was all alone; so he jumped through a window and ran, wounded in several places and with one arm broken, to the Dutch at Fort Crèvecoeur (Ussher Fort), who took him in[26]. Asameni then made himself governor of the castle, and filled it with his Akwamus. He traded with the ships that came to Christiansborg, and was very friendly with the English; on one occasion the English governors of James Fort and Winneba had dinner in Christiansborg as Governor Asameni's guests. He seems to have given them a very good dinner, and during the evening he fired 200 shots from his big guns in salute. But next year the Danes sent ships to buy the castle back. The Dutch and the king of Akwamu arranged that the Danes should pay £1,600 and count the affair as settled. Asameni gave up the castle and took his money; the two Danish ships left many of their men to guard the castle, and sailed away. They did not get far; they met a famous pirate or sea robber, an Englishman called " Long " Ben Avery, who captured and burnt them both. The next year, 1694, brought great trouble to the Dutch. For some time they had been becoming more and more hated by the people round them, especially by the Kommendas; for the Dutch were trying to make themselves the rulers of the coast and have power over all the chiefs and peoples, that lived by the sea. The Kommendas and other nations were becoming very angry. In 1694 the Dutch decided to reopen the gold mine near Elmina, which had been closed ever since 1622, when it fell in and spoilt the Portuguese mining works. The Kommenda people said that the hill that the Dutch wanted to work[27] was sacred to their god; and when the Dutch insisted on digging in it, the Kommendas attacked them and made them stop. The Dutch at Elmina com plained to the chief of Kommenda, but he said that he had had nothing to do with

[26] From Christiansborg to Fort Crèvecoeur is nearly two miles. It is clear that the Akwamus did not chase him.

[27] It seems that it was not the same hill as the " sasabonsam " hill of the Portuguese mine, but a hill very close.

the matter. The real man to blame, he said, was a certain John Kabes, a rich man who had quarrelled with the Dutch already over other matters. The Dutch governor at once attacked John Kabes, without giving him a chance to explain matters. But Kabes, whether he had caused the attack on the Dutch miners or not, would not allow the Dutch to attack him without resisting. He invited the English to come to Kommenda and settle in their old fort, which had been empty ever since Admiral de Ruyter's time. They came; and the Dutch of Kommenda were troubled to see them come, for the English fort was finer and stronger than the Dutch fort.

The Dutch now saw that they would have to fight the Kommenda people. They gave the people of Elmina and Cape Coast £5,000 to come and fight for them against the Kommendas. But the Dutch governor foolishly boasted that when he had conquered the Kommendas he would conquer the Fantes and the Asebus as well; so the Elmina and Cape Coast people naturally refused to fight for the Dutch. The Kommendas beat the Dutch twice; and then the Dutch asked for peace. The Kommendas would have given them peace on fair terms, but the English of Kommenda persuaded them not to. The English hoped that the Dutch would be driven away altogether, so that they themselves would have all the trade of Kommenda. The Kommenda people refused to have peace, and attacked the Dutch again; but they could not take the fort. The Dutch were very frightened, and tried to hire new armies. They gave the Fantes more money; but the English offered the Fantes more money if they refused to help the Dutch. The Fantes took the money from both[28] and did nothing, as the English wished. The Dutch tried other nations. Last of all they tried to get an army from Denkyera, and they actually paid the money. But the Denkyeras found that Osei Tutu of Ashanti was keeping them too busy, so that they could do nothing for the Dutch, and they returned the money. In the end, however, the Kommendas became tired of the war, and they made a fair peace.

The English were angry at this; and one day when the chief of Kommenda

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[28] The chief wanted to refuse the English money, on the ground that he had already accepted the Dutch money and agreed to do what the Dutch w11shed; but his people put him off the stool.

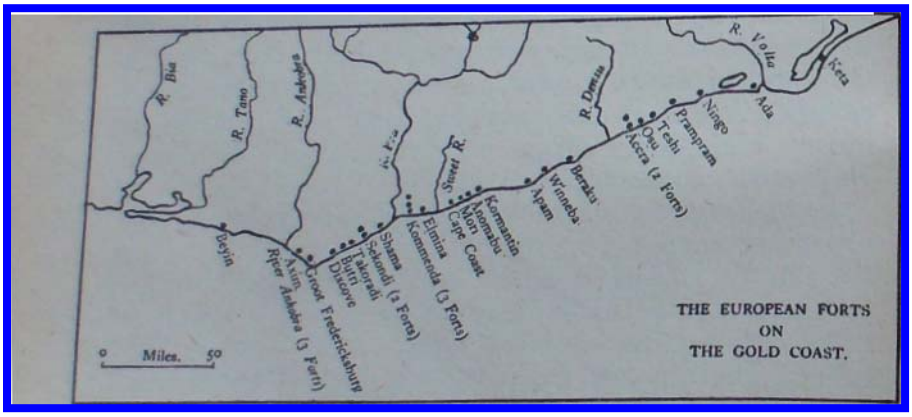
came to Cape Coast they killed him. The Kommenda people, of course, at once made war against the English, and defeated a large army of Fantes and Asebus that the English sent against them. But in the end the English won the war.

It would take too long to tell how one fort after another was built, and how sometimes the forts were taken and destroyed. At the end of this chapter is a list of the European forts on the Gold Coast, showing the dates when they were built and giving the chief facts in each one's history.

The eighteenth century, that is, the time between 1700 and 1800, was the time when the European forts and the European trade prospered most. Although the climate and the unhealthy lives that the Europeans lived made the Coast a very bad country for the white men, there was so much money to be made here that they came. The trade in gold, which gave the Gold Coast its name, was now no longer the most important trade of the country. The most important trade was the slave trade. he white men themselves did not go and hunt for slaves. They bought them from native slave dealers. Manso, on the Cape Coast-Kumase road, was the greatest slave-market in the country; prisoners that had been taken by the Ashantis in their wars were brought there and sold to the Fante slave-dealers, who took them to Cape Coast or Elmina or one of the other forts and sold them to the white men. They were kept in the castles until the next ship came to take them away over the sea. The English were the greatest owners of slave-ships, though French, Dutch, Portuguese, and others also were in the trade. But the English ran a regular service of ships in the form of a English and Dutch on the Gold Coast, 1642-1803 71 triangle, from England to the Coast, from the Coast to North America and the West Indies, and from there back to England. The ships brought from England gin and guns and cloth and other goods to sell in Africa. They bought, in exchange for them, slaves, gold, and ivory, and sailed away to the West Indies. There they sold some of the slaves, and bought sugar and tropical products generally; and so away they went to the English colonies in North America, where they sold the rest of the slaves to work on the cotton plantations. In America they bought raw cotton and tobacco; so that when they reached England again they had a very mixed cargo: gold, ivory, sugar, cotton, and tobacco. The round voyage took six months or more.

The price of a good slave in the West Indies was £16 or £20.

It is hard for us nowadays to understand how Christian men could carry on such a trade. But we should make a great mistake if we thought that the white slave-traders were all wicked or cruel men. Of course, there were cruel men among them; and even the kindest of them must have seen so much misery and pain among the people he bought that he must have become harder and harder as time went on. We wonder that the white men who saw these things did not feel them as we do. But for a long time they did not, although many of them were sincere Christian men in their own way. It did not occur to the white men, I suppose, that Africans had souls and feelings as they themselves had. They thought that Africans were descended from Ham, the son of Noah, and they thought that they were fulfilling the curse in Genesis IX, 25, by making slaves of them. They found slavery and slave-raiding going on in Africa, as it had done for thousands of years before any white men came to Africa at all, and they made use of it for their own profit; though, of course, the prospect of slavery on the white men's plantations across the seas was a much more terrible thing for the Africans to think about than that slavery in their own country among their own people. In short, the white men of think they had any duty to be kind to africans, and would have been surprised if anyone had told them that they had; just as many people to-day do not feel that they have any duty to be



MAP III.

A few of the less important forts are left out. A complete list of the forts is given at the end of Chapter VII.

kind to animals. We shall hear later on how, little by little, some white men

began t0 feel that it was cruel and wicked to make slaves of the Africans, and how they preached this in Europe and America until the people of those countries rose and forced the slave-owners to set their slaves free.

In 1750 the English Royal African Company came to an end, and its forts and other possessions in Africa were taken over by a new company called the African Company of Merchants. The Government of England paid the company about £I5,000 English and Dutch on the Gold Coast, 1642-1803 73 a year as a grant to enable it to keep its forts and troops in good order; so that the Government had some interest in Gold Coast affairs, if little control over them.

In I780 England was in great trouble. The English colonies in North America had rebelled, and had declared that they were no longer under England, but were the United States of America, a free and independent nation. In the fighting that went on in America, the Americans gradually beat the English; and when France and Spain (who hated England for different reasons) joined the Americans, it was certain that England could never win the war. After a time Holland also (rather unwillingly) joined the war against England. As soon as the news reached the Gold Coast, the English tried to take Elmina Castle; a fifty-gun ship from the navy came from England, and some of its sailors joined the English troops in attacking the castle. But they could not take it; the troops attacked at one time, and the ship attacked at a different time; and whereas if they had attacked together, they might possibly have taken the castle, separately they were bound to fail. Soon afterwards, however, two more ships came from England, and the English took Mori, Apam, Kormantine, and Beraku from the Dutch without much trouble. After a hard fight, they took Fort Crèvecoeur at Accra. The Dutch meanwhile took and destroyed the English fort at Sekondi. This second war between the English and the Dutch came to an end in 1785, and all forts were given back to their old owners. The war had ended for England badly in most places-America, the Mediterranean, the West Indies-though well in West Africa and in India. England had to admit that her American colonies were lost, and learn, to call them the United States; it was because England was so weary that she was not able to insist on keeping the West African forts that she had taken from the Dutch.

Soon after this time, the English first had business with the Ashantis. The Danish governor of Christiansborg was quarrelling with the people Little Popo (Anecho), the place to which Ashangmo had taken the Accras a hundred years before. He sent to Osei Kwamina the Asantehene, asking help against the Popo people. But the English had heard so much about the terrible Ashantis that they were frightened at the idea of having an Ashanti army on the Coast, and they sent messengers to Kumase to ask Osei Kwamina to refuse to send the men. This was the first time that the English and the Ashantis had any communication together. The Ashanti army never came: not because the English begged it not to come, but because before it was ready the Danish governor who had asked for it was succeeded by another one, who sent a present of gold to Kumase to pay the army to go back.

When Osei Tutu Kwamina came to the stool of Ashanti, the Europeans had been on the Coast for a little over 300 years. Their forts stretched all along the coast, not only on the Gold Coast, but in Senegal, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomi. Many different nations had forts there: English, Dutch, Danes, Germans (Brandenburgers); the Portuguese, Swedes, and French, who had once been settled on the coast, had left the country. But the Europeans did not rule any of the people outside the walls of their forts. The whole of the trade in gold and slaves was managed by the Africans, and if they chose, they could starve the Europeans by refusing to sell them food, or could force them to pay a higher price for their slaves and gold, by refusing to sell at a low price. They well knew it; all that controlled them was that they feared to drive the white men away altogether by making the trade too hard. They did not respect the Europeans, for they knew that they were there only to trade and to make money; and there was a good deal of cheating. Many times officers of the European trading companies were attacked and injured or even killed. At some of the smaller forts, the company's governors and the troops were always in fear that the people of the town might take the fort and kill them all. The Europeans did not own the land on which the forts were built. They paid a rent for it every month to the chief who first allowed them to build. The payments for the forts at Accra and Elmina were now made to the Ashantis, who

had taken the " Notes " or agreements which the Europeans had given to the Accra and Elmina chiefs.

This was an unsatisfactory state of things. Many of the officers sent out by the trading companies were poorly educated men, who came to West Africa because they could make money more easily here than they could in Europe. The soldiers, and even some of the military officers, were often a very bad kind of man indeed; many of them were convicts, sent out to serve as soldiers in West Africa instead of staying in an English prison. Of course, there were some excellent men in the service of the companies. But there were so many bad men that the Europeans as a whole could not win the respect of the Africans. And however good its agents might be, a mere trading company could not expect to be successful in dealing with strong nations like Ashanti. There came a time in West Africa, as there did in India, when the white men found that they must begin to rule; and then the trading company had to give place to the Government.

During the 300 years that the white men had been on the coast, two great changes had taken place in the politics of the Gold Coast. One was the rise of Ashanti. The other was the rise of the Fante Confederation. When the Portuguese first came, the Fantes ruled only a small piece of country round Cape Coast, and the Asebus and Efutus, the old inhabitants of the land, were still strong. Since then the Fantes had become rich and strong, and they had made many of the surrounding tribes serve them, till now they were the strongest of all the coast nations. Until Osei Tutu Kwamina became Asantehene, neither the Ashantis nor the Fantes had ever met an enemy that could beat them. In his, time, both these two great peoples for the first time learnt the taste of defeat.

THE EUROPEAN FORTS ON THE GOLD COAST

1. Fort Duma on the river Ankobra. Built by Portuguese,
1623; destroyed by earthquake, 1636; rebuilt by
Dutch shortly after, but soon abandoned.
2. Ruyghaver, built by Dutch on river Ankobra about
3. Elise Carthago 1640, but soon abandoned.

4. St. Anthony at Axim. Built by Portuguese, 1515, replacing a smaller one. Taken by Dutch, 1642; taken by English, 1664, and retaken by Dutch, 1665; bought by English, 1872.

5. Grout Fredericksburg between Axim and Cape Three Points. Built by Germans (Brandenburgers), 1685, abandoned about 1709.

6. – at Takrama. Built by Brandenburgers, 1694, abandoned about 1709.

7. Dorothea at Akwida. Built by Brandenburgers, 1685; taken by Dutch, 169o, but given back, 1698; abandoned about 1709.

8. Apollonia at Beyin. Built by English, 1750, given to Dutch, 1867, and abandoned.

9. Metal Cross at Dixcove. Built by English, 1691; attacked by the Dixcove people in 1697. They did not take the fort, but the commander had to agree to trade on terms more pleasing to the townspeople. Given to Dutch, 1867, and bought back by English, 18722.

10. Batenstein at Butri. Built by Dutch, 1640; they had had a settlement, but no fort, at Butri since 1598. Taken by English, 1664, retaken, 1665; bought by English, 1872.

11. Witsen at Takoradi. Built by Swedes about 1640; there may have been an older French settlement here. Taken by Danes, 1657, and taken by Dutch soon after; by the English in 1664. Retaken by Dutch and destroyed, 1665. Some think that the Brandenburgers at one time held this fort, but they are probably wrong, for the Brandenburgers did not come to the Coast till after the Dutch had destroyed the fort. A new small fort was built by the Dutch, 1707

12. Orange at Sekondi. Built by Dutch about 1670; taken by Ahantas, 1694, but soon retaken. Bought by English, 1872

13. – at Sekondi. Built by English about 168o; taken

by Ahantas, 1688, but afterwards rebuilt. Taken and destroyed by French, 1779, but rebuilt. Given to Dutch, 1867, and bought back, 1872.

14. St. Sebastian at Shama. Built by Dutch, 1640; taken by English, 1664, and retaken, 1665; bought by English, 1872. The Portuguese had a fort here at one time, but they left it.

15. at Kommenda. Built by English about 167o, but soon abandoned; rebuilt 1695. Given to Dutch, 1867, but abandoned by them. The French may have had a small fort here at one time.

16. at Kommenda. Built 1708 by John Kabes, a local chief, with guns, bought from his allies the English; but afterwards abandoned.

17. Vredenburg at Kommenda. Built by Dutch, 1688; attacked in vain by the Kommendas, 1695. Taken and destroyed by English, 1782.

18. St. George at Elmina. Built by Portuguese, 1482, possibly on the site of an older French fort. Taken by Dutch, 1637, and greatly strengthened; the Dutch built the following smaller forts round it: Conraadsburg, de Veer, Scomarus, Java, Nagtglas, and Batenstein. They also strengthened Fort St. Jago (St. James), built by Portuguese as an outwork to the castle. All were bought by the English, 1872.

19. – at Cape Coast. Built by Swedes, 1657, taken by Danes, 1659, by Fetus, 1660,

possibly by Dutch, 1661, and by English in 1662. The Dutch took it in 1663, but the English retook it in 1664, and it was the only English fort that was not taken by the Dutch in 1665 Cape Coast Castle, like Elmina, had smaller forts round it, such as Fort William and Fort Victoria.

20. – a small fort at Queen Anne's Point, near Cape Coast. The Dutch had a small fort here at one time, which they abandoned before the English came.

21. Fort Royal at Amanfur, near Cape. Coast. Built by Danes, 1658, and named Fredericksborg; bought by English, 1685.

22. Nassau at Mori. First Dutch settlement, 1598; fort built by Dutch, 1624. Taken by English, 1664, and retaken by Dutch, 1665. Taken by English, 1782, and given back to Dutch, 1785. Given to English, 1867.

23. – at Anashan. Small fortified house built by English about 166o, land taken by Dutch, 1665. Afterwards abandoned.

24. – at Anashan. Built by Portuguese, abandoned soon after 1683.

25. William at Anomabu. Built by English after 1673. The Swedes had had a fort here, which the Danes took in 1659 and destroyed. Fort William was unsuccessfully attacked by the Ashantis in 1807. (The exact date of its building is not known; but no doubt it was named after King William III and built in his time, between 1688 and 1702.)

26. – a small fortified house at Egya, built by English, and taken by Dutch, 1663; retaken by English, 1664. In 1665, fearing that it would be taken by the Dutch, the English abandoned and destroyed it.

27. Amsterdam at Kormantine. Built by Dutch some time before 1637; taken by English, 1664, and retaken by Dutch, 1665. Taken by English, 1782, and given back in 1785. Taken by Ashantis, 1807, but left by them and reoccupied by Dutch. Given to English, 1867.

28. – at Tantamkweri, built by English before 1726, abandoned in 1820.

29. Leydsamheid at Apam. Very slowly built by Dutch, owing to native opposition, between 1697 and 1702. The name means " Patience," and was given in memory of the trouble the Dutch had. Taken by English, 1782, and given back in 1785. Taken and destroyed by Akims, 1811.

30. -- at Winneba. Built by English. Taken by Agonas, 1663, and again in 1679; rebuilt and strengthened, 1694. Abandoned, 1813, but rebuilt, 181.5.

31. – at Beraku. Built by Dutch before 1700; taken by English, 1782, and given back in 1785; afterwards abandoned.

32. – at Shido. Built by English, but abandoned before 1700

33. James at Accra. Built by English, 1673.

34. Crèvecceur at Accra. Built by Dutch, 1650; attacked and taken by English, 1782, and given back to Dutch, 1785. Abandoned for a short time by Dutch, 1818; afterwards reoccupied, and given to English, 1867, and renamed Ussher Fort.

35. Christiansborg at Osu, near Accra. The site may have been occupied by the Portuguese, 1578-1645. Castle built by Swedes, 1657, and taken by the Danes, 1659. In 1679 the

Danish governor was murdered, and the second officer then sold the castle to the Portuguese; the Danes bought it back in 1682. Taken by Asamani and the Akwamus, 1693, and sold to Danes again in 1694. Bought by the English, 1850.

36 – near Accra was a small Portuguese fort from about 1500 to 1578, when it was taken and destroyed by the Accras. The Portuguese then moved to the Christiansborg site.

37. Augustaborg at Teshi. Built by Danes, 1787. Bought by English, 1850.

38. Vernon at Prampram. Built by English about 1787, but soon abandoned.

39. Friedensborg at Ningo. Built by Danes, 1734; bought by English, 1850.

40. Konigstein at Ada. Built by Danes, 1784; bought by English, 1850

41- Prinzenstein at Keta, Built by Danes, 1784, besieged by Awunas, 1844, and rescued from starvation by French warship; the guns of the fort destroyed Keta town, which was not rebuilt till 1850. The castle was bought by English, 1850.

CHAPTER VIII

THE GOLD COAST IN 1800

THE year 1800 is the year when Osei Tutu Kwamina Asibe Bonsu became Asantehene. Let us look quickly over the Gold Coast and see what was happening, and who was ruling, just at that time and during the years just before. Osei Bonsu (as he is generally called for short) was the first Asantehene to have trouble with the white men, and so his time begins a new chapter in the story of the Gold Coast.

ASHANTI

First let us look at Ashanti. Opoku Ware and Osei Kojo had stretched the power of Ashanti till all the country that we now call by that name served the Asantehene at Kumase. The Gonjas and the Dagombas paid tribute. South of the Pra, the Assins, the Denkyeras, and the Aowins feared Ashanti, and sometimes paid tribute. Whenever they felt strong enough, they refused to pay, and waited for the Ashantis to come and punish them. In the time of Osei Kwamina, some time between 1781 and 1797, the Denkyeras gave trouble in this way. They thought that because the Asantehene was a child, they could do as they liked and need not serve Ashanti any longer. But they were beaten. The Bandas and the Gyamans were in the same state; so were the Akims. The weakness in the Ashanti empire

was that the nations that were conquered were left under their own chiefs, and were not interfered with as long as they paid their tribute. The Asantehene appointed a governor for each conquered nation; but often the governors stayed in Kumase and never went near their provinces. This way of ruling was begun by Osei Tutu. But though it was very good when the conquered nation was a small one, closely related to the Ashantis, it was not so good when the nation was a great nation with an ancient history of its own. The Denkyerahene and the Gyamanhene did not wish to be members of the Kumase Abrempon: they wished to be independent chiefs altogether.

AKIM AND AKWAPIM

The power of the Akims and Akwapims had grown up in the place of the Akwamu power. At first the forefathers of the Akims and Akwapims lived in Adansi, in Akrokyere, or Kokobiante or other places. There are three divisions of the Akims: the Akim Abuakwas, the Akim Bosomes, and the Akim Kotokus. The first chief of the Akwapim people was Ofori Kuma, the brother of the Abuakwa chief Ofori Panin. About the same time that the Ashantis were growing stronger in the Amanse country north of Lake Bosomtwe, the Akims and Akwapims had left Adansi and settled in Asuehõ, the country to the south and west of the lake. The Akim Bosomes, the smallest of the three Akim peoples, say they did not come from Adansi but from northern Ashanti. But after a time they too settled in Asuehõ.

During the time of the early kings of Ashanti, the country that we now call Akim was occupied by the Akwamus; though it was probably only thinly covered with small villages. About the time of Obiri Yeboa (say about 1680 - the time when Ashangmo went to Little Popo), the Akims became so strong that they began to press into this Akwamu country. The Abuakwas moved east wards from the lake and settled in the valley of the Birrim. The Kotokus did not go straight to their new homes. They moved from the lake to Ejisu, then to Kotoku in Ashanti-Akim, where they stayed many years. It is from this place that they get their name. Then they settled for a time in old Oda, not far from Nkawkaw, just south of the Pra. Just

before the time of Osei Bonsu they moved a little north to Dampon. The Kotokus moved about in this way to escape from the Ashantis; for while the Akims were staying near the lake, they served Ashanti, and the Asantehene did not want them to go too far away and become too strong to serve him. Osei Tutu and Opoku Ware fought against the Akims to try and force them to come back; and we have heard how the Akims killed Osei Tutu as he was crossing the Pra to fight against them. Opoku Ware fought a war against the Akims, called the Ahantan war, because the Akims went into battle wearing their sandals, to show the Ashantis that they would not trouble to prepare for fighting them, but could fight them unprepared. At first this pride or swagger (" ahantan " in Twi) was justified. The Akims won battles against the Ashantis; but afterwards Opoku Ware fought a great battle at Peminase and beat them and took Owusu Akyem Tenten and Pobi Asaman, the two Akim chiefs, prisoner. All this fighting made the Akims still more anxious to escape from the power of the Ashantis. So they began to press down farther south into the Akwamu country. This is why the Accras were able to get the help of the Akims in 1733 in their war against the Akwamus. The Akwamuhene lived at Nyanawase, on Nyanao hill. At first the Akwamuhene sent to Asamankese to ask him to fight with him against the Accras and Akims and others. But Asamankese was angry with the Akwamuhene and would not; and he and some other Akwamu chiefs stayed quiet in the war, helping neither side. After the war was over, and Ansa Sasraku and his men had fled away over the Volta, Asamankese and others stayed where they were and became part of the Akim state.

In this way the Akim Abuakwas and the Akim Bosomes came to live in their new homes among the Akwamu people that had stayed behind. The Kotokus were farther north in Ashanti-Akim; but they too met some of the Akwamus. Some of Ansa Sasraku's people fled from Nyanawase to Agogo, and there a battle was fought between them and the Akim Kotokus. Soon afterwards the Kotokus moved away to old Oda.

At first the Akims only settled in the country we now call Akim. But then the Guans or Kyerepongs in Akwapim sent messengers to the Akims, asking them to

come and help them to get free from the Akwamus. So an Akim chief called Kwao Safori was sent with an army to drive the Akwamus out of Akwapim also. The Accras helped him, and after two years' fighting he drove out the Akwamus, and the people of Akwapim promised to serve the Akims. So many Akims went to settle in Akwapim among the Kyerepongs, and Ofori Kuma became their chief. From that time till to-day, the Twi speaking people have ruled Akwapim.

ACCRA

After the war of 1733 the Accras were under the protection of the Akims and the Akwapims of the Accras were at Little Popo, and were having trouble with the Awunas and the kings of Dahome. Soon after the war, the Ga Mantse, Tete Aliene Akwa, led an army to Little Popo to help the Accras there against their enemies. He took with him the Ga and Adansi stools of Accra, but left the Guan stool behind. He was defeated and died, and the two stools never came back to Accra.

Then the chief of the Accras in Little Popo, called Teko Tshuru, marched back to Accra and became Ga Mantse. But he had little real power; for while the Ga Mantse was at Little Popo, the Gbese Mantse[29], a man called Okaidsha, had become very powerful in Accra, and had friends all along the coast. When Okaidsha died, his power was taken by the James Town Mantse, Wetshe Kodso, who was strong enough to make a war as far as the Volta, returning through Akwapim, to punish the Awuna slave-traders.

All this time the Ga state was weak. But many of the Accra people became rich by trading in slaves. The wars between the Ashantis and other nations in the time of Opoku Ware, Osei Kojo, and the other fighting chiefs of Ashanti brought many thousands of prisoners to be sold as slaves in Accra. The English, Dutch, and Danes in the three Accra forts were always ready to buy them. The Accra people became divided into three divisions, one of James Town, one of Dutch Accra (now called Ussher Town), and one of Christiansborg; and when the European nations quarrelled, their Accra friends sometimes joined in their quarrel.

[29] Gbese is one of the divisions of Accra.

The Awuna slave-traders were very troublesome, and the people of Aburi and other Akwapims used to send out small parties of men to take people when they were working on their farms or travelling on the paths, and sell them as slaves. In 1782 the people of Dutch Accra had to run to Kwaobenyan and Pokoase to escape from the English who were attacking Fort Crèvecoeur. Twenty years later the Aburi people gave so much trouble that the Accras fought a big battle against them at Nyantrabi, near Upoko hill-the same place as Okai Koi's death-place. But the Aburi people won the battle, and they gave the Accras more trouble than ever.

In 1792 the Danes left off buying slaves, and in 1807 the English also ceased. This killed much of the Accra trade, and the Accras began to fear that they would become poor. In 1807 also the Obutus began to trouble the Accras, and two years later they got the Gomoas to help them, and came as far as Kole Bu and fought a battle there against the Accras. But the Accras drove them back. The Fantes and Obutus were jealous of the Accras because of the trade they did with the white men, and wanted to get all the trade for themselves.

MOSHI, DAGOMBA, GONJA

The Moshi and Dagomba peoples are closely related. Their languages are very alike. The Gonjas are different. They may at one time have been part of the Nta-fo, related to the Guans or the Brongs; but a long time ago they were conquered by a Moshi tribe, and many of them now speak a Moshi language.

In the time of the empire of Melle, the Moshi people were a powerful kingdom. In 1330 the king of Moshi took the city of Timbuktu from the empire of Melle, but was driven out again by the emperor Mansa Musa six years later. In 1477 the king of Moshi was fighting against Sonni Ali, the emperor of Songhai. At first Moshi was successful, and in 1480 the king of Moshi took Walata itself.

But he could not hold it; after his men had been in Walata for only one month, Sonni All drove them out again.

At that time the Portuguese were just beginning to be interested in the West African trade. They had already discovered the gold of the Gold Coast; and two

years after the Moshis were driven out of Walata, the Portuguese built Elmina. But at the same time the Portuguese tried to open trade routes with the interior of the Sudan. A prince of the Djolof nation of Senegal was taken to see the king of Portugal, and he told the king about the greatness and the glory both of Sonni Ali and of the king of Moshi. The Portuguese sent an ambassador to the Moshi country, and another to Sonni All; but before the ambassadors reached the end of their journey, Sonni Ali had conquered Moshi and made the country part of the Songhai empire.

When the Songhai empire was destroyed by the Moors, the Moshi kingdom became independent again. Its capital was. Wagadugu, north of the Gold Coast, in French country. The Moshi people themselves call it Natinga, meaning the king's town; Wagadugu is the Hausa name for it. Both before and after the hundred years when the Moshis served Songhai, the Moshi kingdom was very strong. It was an alliance of three tribes the Moshis with their capital at Wagadugu or Natinga, the Mamprusis with their capital at Gambaga, and the Dagombas with their capital at Yendi. The Mamprusis were a strong tribe; their chief Kugu is said to have fought and conquered right up to the Niger or Kwara river[30]. The Dagombas say that they came from the east into the land of the empire of Melle. There they were ruled by a war-chief whom the Melle people called Toha-jie or the Red Hunter, and they helped the people of Melle in their wars. Afterwards they moved away into what is now the far north of the Northern Territories, and there they began to fight against the people and conquer a new home for themselves. Their first great chief was Gbewa, grandson of Toha-jie. Gbewa had many children: one of them, Tohugu, became the first chief of the Mamprusis, while his brother Sitobu stayed at Wal-wale and ruled the Dagombas. Sitobu's son Nyagsi was a great fighter, and conquered a great deal of the present Dagomba country from the people that lived there. Nyagsi was probably chief of the Dagombas about 1480 - about the time that the Portuguese came to Elmina.

A hundred years after Nyagsi's time, during the last years of the Songhai

[30] Kwara is the old native name for the Niger.

empire, a Mandingo chief called Sumaila Ndewura Jakpa (" the SpearHolder ") came from the west with an army and conquered the tribes living in the old home of the Nta-fo. These tribes were Akan, partly mixed with Dagomba or Moshi people; they were called Gonjas or Gbanyas. Jakpa made the Gonjas into a strong people, and conquered with them a country reaching from Bole to Daboya and Salaga, and eastwards as far as Basari in Dahomi. He attacked the Dagombas. Dariziogo, the chief of the Dagombas, came and fought against him; but Jakpa and his Gonjas won, and Dariziogo was killed in the battle. After this the Gonjas were a strong people, and often made the Dagombas serve them. But there came a Dagomba chief called Zangina, who was a young man, but was chosen for chief instead of many older men because of his wisdom. reigned about the time of Osei Tutu. He spent many years building up the Dagomba power with out fighting, maiming ready for the time when he would be strong enough to throw off the Gonja power, as Osei Tutu threw off the power of Denkyera. The war came when Zangina was a very old man. A great Gonja chief called Mahamman Wari Kumpati attacked the Dagombas; but the Dagombas, under a chief called Asigeli, fought a great battle against them at Kirizan, near Tamale, and completely defeated them. After that there was no more talk of the Dagombas' serving the Gonjas. In the time of Osei Kojo of Ashanti, the Dagombas were ruled by a chief whose name was Gariba. But there was a rival chief who wished to become paramount chief of the Dagombas. He asked the Ashantis to take Gariba away to Ashanti and to let him be chief instead. The Ashantis were willing. Some say that Gariba had foolishly boasted that he was as great a man as the Asante hene. An Ashanti army under Kwamin Pete came into the Dagomba country. Gariba called the people to take their weapons; but none off the great chiefs would obey him. The Ashantis came to Yendi and took Gariba away, but they allowed the Dagomba people to buy him back for 1,000 slaves. As so many men could not be collected all at once, the Ashantis agreed to take 200 slaves every year instead. In this way the Dagombas began serving the Ashantis, and they went on serving them until 1874. The Mamprusis and the Moshis were not in this war, but if the Dagombas found it hard to find the yearly number of slaves for Ashanti, they would ask 'the Mamprusis and

the Moshis to help them. So all the smaller tribes in the country round were raided to provide the slaves, and this went on almost the whole time until the white men came into the country. Most of these slaves were not sold to the white men, but were kept by the Ashantis, and they were some of the best soldiers in the Ashanti army.

EWE

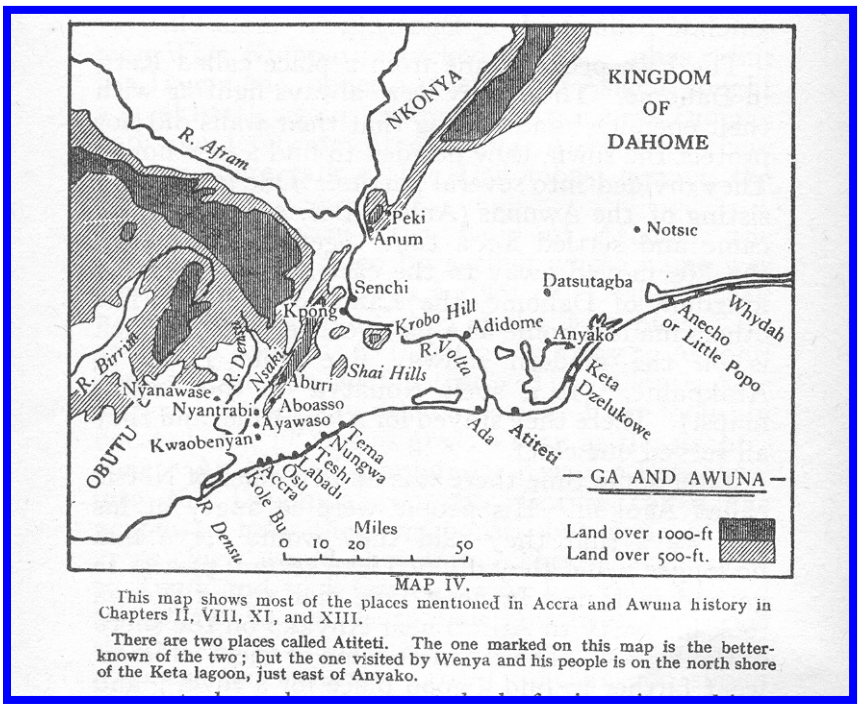
The Ewe people came from a place called Ketu in Dahome. There they were always fighting with their enemies[31], and finding that their walls did not protect the town, they decided to find a new home. They divided into several parties. One party, consisting of the Awunas (Anlos), Bes, Agus, and Fõs, came and settled for a time together; and then the Fõs moved away to the east and founded the kingdom of Dahome, the Land of Snakes. The others made a home at a place called Notsie, which is on the modern railway line from Lome to Atakpame. (It is spelt Nouatya on the French maps.) There they stayed for a long time, and they all served one chief.

After some time there was an evil chief of Notsie called Agokoli. His people were so angry at his evil ways that they said they would serve him no longer; and they divided into several parties to go and seek new homes. One man called Wenya took his party to Atiteti near Anyako on the shore of the lagoon. There he left some of them while he went farther to find a good place for a town; and he found a place which he called Keta, the Head of the Sand. There his people built their town, and his sons Akaga and Awanyedo settled there. His people are now called the Awunas or Anlos.

After the Awunas had been at Keta for some time, Ashangmo and his Accras came to find a new home. This shows us that Wenya must have left Notsie some long time before 1680 - perhaps about 1600, the same time that the Ashantis were coming " out of the hole in the ground." There seems to have been a great

[31] Probably the Yorubas. The Yorubas have always been the enemies of the Ewe people, and there have been many great wars between the kingdoms of Yoruba and Dahome.

deal of migration taking place at that time. Can it have been caused by, the breaking up of the Songhai empire and the constant fighting that took place between the Moors and the peoples of the southern Sudan-the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and elsewhere ? At first the Awunas helped Ashangmo and his Accras against the king of Dahomi and the Akwamus. But when the Accras of Little Popo became the servants and friends of Dahòmi, the Awunas became their enemies. About 1705, the chief of the Little Popo people, named Ofori, fought against the people of Whydah; the Awunas attacked him on his way home, and killed him. After that there were no more wars for a long time between the Awunas and the Accras of Little Popo.



MAP IV.

This map shows most of the places mentioned in Accra and Awuna history in Chapters II, VIII, XI, and XIII.

There are two places called Atiteti. The one marked on this map is the better-known of the two ; but the one visited by Wenya and his people is on the north shore of the Keta lagoon, just east of Anyako.

In 1750 the Awunas fought a war against the people of Ada and others. The Adas called in Twum Ampoforo of Akim and Sekyiama Tenten of Akwapim to help them. The Awunas were badly beaten; but a chief named Anyamakpa rallied them after the battle, and led them to fight again, and they made the enemy pay heavily for their victory. Afterwards they attacked the Ada people and drove them for a time to go to Ningo for peace. The first war lasted seventeen years, and the second war broke out in 1776, only nine years after peace had been made.

In 1784 yet another war broke out. A Danish merchant, in Keta had a quarrel with some of the Keta people, and he was ill-treated. The Danes decided to -punish the Awunas for this, and they collected a large army among the Accras, Adas, Akwapims, and Krobos to help them. They crossed the Volta, and advanced, burning all the villages, until they came to Keta. The Awunas fought one successful rear-guard action against the advance-guard of the enemy, but they could not stop the advance, and they had to ask for peace.

One of the conditions on which the Danes agreed to make peace was that they should be allowed to build a fort at Keta; they built it, and called it Fort Prinzenstein. This war is called the Sagbadre war; Sagbadre was the name that the Awunas gave to the Danish merchant who was the cause of the trouble.

The building of Fort Prinzenstein brought the Awunas more trouble. At this time the beta people were not Awunas; they were a small tribe related to the Awunas, who lived a very few miles away. There were many small quarrels between the Danes and the Keta people, especially – after the Panes stopped slave-trading in 1792. The Danish governor of Fort Prinzenstein ordered the chief of the town to come and see him in the fort to talk about the troubles, but the chief would not come. Then the governor sent soldiers, who killed the chief. At once the Keta people came and attacked the fort; and the Danes asked the Awunas to help them. The Awunas advised the Keta people to take money from the white men for the killing of their chief, but the Keta people said they would not be content with money. The Awunas went home, and left the fight to go on. The Danish governor was killed in trying to escape, and then the Keta people were content.

The next governor again asked the Awunas to help him against the Keta people. The Awunas agreed, and they arranged with the Ketas to load their guns with powder but not with bullets. But some of the Keta people used bullets and killed some of the Awunas. The Awunas were angry; they loaded their guns and beat the Keta people and took the town. The town was quite destroyed, and was empty for a few years until a man called Lagbo rebuilt it; and the Awunas came and dwelt there.

CHAPTER IX

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE ASHANTI WARS

THE thing that first brought the Ashantis into war against the English was a quarrel which in the first place had nothing at all to do with the white men. The people of Assin live west of the Akims, between the place where the Birrim runs into -the Pra and the place where the Pra turns southward. They are divided into two divisions, Assin Apimenem on the east, and Assin Atandaso on the west. Both divisions served Ashanti. At this time,1800, Assin Apimenem was ruled by a chief called Amo Adae, and Assin Atandaso was divided between two chiefs, Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae.

In 1805 one of the sub-chiefs of Amo Adae died, and when his body was buried, gold and other valuable things, of course, were buried with it. It so happened that one of Kwaku Aputae's men was at the funeral. Afterwards he came back secretly, and opened the grave and stole the gold, and fled back to his own country. Amo Adae found what had been done, and sent to the two chiefs of Assin Atandaso to ask them to send the man back to him. They would not; so Amo Adae sent to Kumase and asked the Asantehene to judge the case. Osei Tutu Kwamina ordered Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae, as well as Amo Adae, to come to Kumase for the trial. The latter two went; but Kwadwo Otibu, who was an old man, would not go, saying that the journey was too great for him. The Asantehene heard the case, and ordered Kwaku Aputae to pay the dead plan's family the amount of the gold that his man had stolen. But he escaped from Kumase, went home and gathered an army, and made war against Amo Adae.

After the war had gone on a little time, and neither side was winning, the Asantehene ordered the two chiefs to cease fighting. Amo Adae obeyed, and began to march home; but Kwaku Aputae suddenly attacked him on the road and beat him. Then he took the messengers from Kumase and cut off their heads. Then, of course, the Asantehene had to come into the war. He sent the men of Agogo, Akim Bosome, and Adansi to punish Kwaku Aputae. They beat him and

Kwadwo Otibu at Prasu, and although they lost many men, they destroyed the Assin army. Osei Kwamina the Asantehene rewarded these three stools by allowing them to take " Prasu " as an oath; and to this day it is one of the greatest oaths in these divisions. Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae escaped from the battle, and fled to Asikuma.

The Asantehene then sent to the chief of Asikuma and asked him to send the two chiefs to Kumase. But before he could do so, they fled again, and came to Abora, where the chiefs of the Fante Confederation were having a meeting. The Ashanti messengers followed them, and the Fante chiefs had to decide whether they would send the Assin chiefs back to the Asantehene, as he asked, or not. It was a hard choice, and an important one. The quarrel was nothing to do with them, and it was hard to send back to be killed two men who had come, trusting them, to ask for protection. If they gave the men up, they might possibly make the Ashantis feel that the Fantes were their subjects. On the other hand, if they refused, there would be war; for the Asantehene had sworn the great oath (Ntamkese Mmiensa) riot to return without the heads of Kwaku Aputae and Kwadwo Otibu. The question was whether the Fantes could hold out against the Ashantis. They thought they could. There was no other power on the coast strong enough to beat the Fantes; and they had never yet fought against the Ashantis. Perhaps, too, they thought they could get help from the white men. At any rate, the Fante chiefs and people refused to give up the chiefs of Assin, and they refused, too, to send messengers to Kumase to talk over the matter. Then Osei Kwamina sent again to Abora, to ask the Fantes to let his army come to find the Assin chiefs for itself. They refused, and killed the messengers. The Ashantis came and attacked them. The people of Asikuma stood in the way of the Ashantis and tried to help the Fantes, but were beaten. The Fantes were beaten in a great battle at Abora, and the Ashantis pressed on through Mankesim to the sea at Anomabu.

Otibu and Aputae had been to Anomabu; but they feared that the Ashantis would come there and find them, so they had gone to Cape Coast and begged the English governor there, Colonel Torrane, to protect them. The English governor now had the same question to answer as the Fante chiefs had had to answer at

the council of Abora. He had no quarrel with the Ashantis, and he knew nothing about the rights and wrongs of the matter between the Assin chiefs and the Asantehene. He knew little of the Ashanti nation; but he knew that the two chiefs would certainly be killed if they were taken. He made his decision. He promised that he would protect them, " either by mediation or by force of arms "-that is, he would first talk to the Asantehene and try and soften him, but if he could not, he would fight. In this way he brought the English into the quarrel.

The Ashantis came to Anomabu. One part of their army, the Denkyeras, went to Kormantine, three miles away, and took the Dutch fort Amsterdam. The Dutch let them in without fighting. The Denkyerahene lived there, and sent several calabashes full of sea-water to the Asantehene as a sign of his victory. As the Ashantis were coming closer and closer, the people of Anomabu began to be afraid, and they asked Mr. White, the English governor of the castle at Anomabu, to protect them. Mr. White sent to ask the Denkyerahene what he wanted, and why he was coming to Anomabu. The Denkyerahene thought that the English must know the cause of the trouble, so he sent back an answer that if the English would send him some guns and gun-powder, he would tell them all they wanted to know. The governor, of course, refused; and he told the Denkyeras that if they had any real reason to complain of the Anomabu people, he would try to put the matter right; but otherwise he would protect them against the Ashantis as well as he could.

On June 14th, 1807, the Anomabu people went out and attacked a party of the Ashantis at Egya, only a mile away, but they were beaten, and the Ashantis came closer to the town. Next day, the Ashantis attacked Anomabu town itself. By eleven in the morning the Anomabu people were running towards the fort, the Ashantis chasing them; 2,000 people were sheltering in the fort itself, with only twenty-five men to defend the place, and many more were outside the walls, hoping that the Ashantis would not dare to come close to the guns and take them.

Many of the Anomabu people took their canoes and paddled out to sea. Many jumped into the water and swam out to a little rock some way out. But most of them were chased by the Ashantis to the beach and killed there. Then the

governor of the castle began to fire with two of his big guns, which pointed along the beach; and hundreds of the Ashantis were killed. But it did not frighten the Ashantis, as Mr. White hoped. They pushed on in spite of the gun-fire; they came right up to the walls of the fort and began to take away the women who were sheltering there; and hundreds of them attacked the fort itself.

The Ashantis could not climb the. walls or break open the doors. But the openings for the big guns were so wide that the men firing the guns could easily be seen and shot by the Ashantis. In a very short time only eight of the twenty-five men were still able to go on fighting, and they had to leave the big guns and lie down and fire with their muskets or small guns. All day long they fought, and when night came the Ashantis still had not managed to get inside the fort. Next morning

the fight began again, and the English feared that they would have to give up. They had little food, and the 2,000 people they were protecting would soon be starving. The eight men who were still unhurt were all tired and suffering from the sun; and all round them lay thousands of dead bodies, killed in the fighting two days before. But they managed to send a canoe to Cape Coast to tell Colonel Torrane what was happening. That same afternoon fresh troops came from Cape Coast to help them, and they brought orders from Colonel Torrane to show a flag of truce and to try and make peace with the Ashantis.

The fighting was stopped. Messengers were sent by the English to the Ashantis, and the Asantehene said that he had no quarrel with the white men, and would be glad to make peace. Colonel Torrane himself came over from Cape Coast to settle the terms of the peace. He feared that he might find it difficult to satisfy the Asantehene, and he decided to offer him a gift. He sent soldiers to the houses in Cape Coast where Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae were living, with orders to take the two chiefs and bring them with him to Anomabu. The chiefs of Cape Coast begged him not to give up the men whom he had promised to protect; but Torrane would not listen. Otibu was taken, but Aputae fought well and escaped. Many of their men were taken by the Cape Coast people for slaves. Otibu was given to the Asante hene, who killed him. The Asantehene, of course, was very pleased to have his enemy in his power; but he did not think well of the Governor

for giving him up. " From the hour Torrane delivered up Otibu," he said, " I took the English for my friends, because I saw their object was trade only, and they did not care for the people." This, of course, was the exact truth. Torrane, like all the white men in the country at that time, was a trader, not a Government officer. No doubt he feared that the Ashantis might destroy Cape Coast, and destroy the trade with it; though the coast peoples, even as it was, merely passed the trade backwards and forwards between the Europeans and Ashanti. It was not his business to " care for the people." But all the same, it was a bad thing that Torrane did. He need not have promised to protect the Assin chiefs at all; but as he did promise, it was certainly his business to keep his promise.

Colonel Torrane came to Anomabu, and had several talks with the Asantehene. They arranged a peace, but nothing was written down, so that we cannot be sure what was agreed. But one of the men that had fought in Anomabu Castle was at the meetings, and he tells us that Torrane agreed that all Fante land now belonged to Ashanti, including Cape Coast and other towns. The Asantehene agreed to let the Europeans try cases, and have some other powers in the towns where their castles stood; and to fight no more against the English as long as they did him no wrong. The peace nearly came to an end over the question of what was to be done with the 2,000 people who had taken shelter in Anomabu Fort. The Asantehene wanted to take them all. Colonel Torrane wanted to keep them. In the end, they agreed to divide the number. Torrane took 1,000, and sold them as slaves. But there was a better Englishman on the coast than Torrane. Mr. John Swanzy, who was governor of James Fort at Accra, was a member of the Governor's council. He was ill in bed when he heard what the Governor and the council had done without him. He got up, took a canoe, and went all the way to Cape Coast to protest. He so moved Torrane and the rest that they promised to set free all those that had not been already sold. They did so; but nearly all of the Anomabu people had already gone to America on the slave ships, and there were very few left to set free. Mr. Swanzy, having done what he could, got back into his canoe and returned to Accra. The long journey and the heat of the sun were too much for him; his fever grew worse, and he died as soon as he reached Accra.

After this the Ashantis left Anomabu and went to Kormantine, where an army of Fantes had gathered to meet them under Akum Ani of Asikuma[32] and Kwaku Aputae. The Fantes were beaten, but the Ashantis could not pursue them, for the river Oki was behind the Fantes, and when they crossed it the Ashantis, not knowing the fords, could not follow. After this the Ashantis moved along the coast towards Accra. At Winneba the Asantehene him self waded into the sea as far as he could, and came back, saying that he had not found, even in the sea, any enemy who could stand against him. From this he took the name Bonsu, a whale. At Winneba the Ashanti army became so full of sickness that the Asantehene left his march along the sea-shore and went back to Kumase. When the Ashantis had gone, the Fantes decided to punish the people of Elmina and Accra for being the friends of the Ashantis. There was a good deal of fighting, but the Fantes were never able to take Elmina or Accra towns. The Wassaws helped the Fantes, and for twi; o years or more trade was stopped and the paths were blocked by fighting men. The people of Cape Coast joined the Fantes against Elmina, though the English Governor warned them that the Asantehene would not forgive them. for it, and would one day come to Cape Coast to punish them.

In February, 1811, the Asantehene sent two armies to help his allies on the coast. Appia Dankwa was sent with a .small army to help the Elminas, while Opoku Ferefere was sent with a much larger army to help the Accras. He sent to Atta Wusu Yiakosan, chief of Akim Abuakwa, ordering him to bring his men to join Opoku Ferefere. Atta Wusu had helped the Ashantis before, and had fought at Anomabu. But now he refused to help them any more. The old hatred of the Akims for the Ashantis showed itself again. He killed the Ashanti messengers. He sent to Akwapim to ask the Akwapims to join him against the Ashantis. The chief of Akwapim, Kwao Saforo Twie, agreed; and the Akwapims and the Akim Abuakwas waited on the banks of the Pra for Opoku Ferefere and his Ashantis.

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[32] Probably Akum Ani II. The Asikuma people say that their chief Amoakoa II was present at the council of Abora; if so, he must have had a very short reign, between Akum Ani I, who received the Assin chiefs, and Akum Ani II, who fought at Koromantine.

In February, 1811, he crossed the river, and fought a battle with the Akwapims and Akim Abuakwas. The Ashantis lost so many men in the battle that Opoku Ferefere did not dare to advance into Akim. But the Accras heard that the Ashantis were coming to help them; and they sent a large army to attack the Akims from the rear. The Akims and the Akwapims did not wait to be squeezed between the Ashantis and the Accras. They parted, the Akims to Fante country and the Akwapims towards Krobo and Ada. Atta Wusu and his Akim Abuakwas were just in time to be a great help to the Fantes. Appia Dankwa and the Ashanti army had arrived on the coast, and had fought a battle at Apam against the Fante army. It was a hard fight, but in the end the Fantes were beaten; but Appia Dankwa's army had never been large, and was much smaller after he had lost many men in the battle. A week later the Akims arrived. Appia Dankwa began to retreat towards Ashanti. Atta Wusu went after him, fought him, and defeated him. He then began to prepare to march eastwards to help his friend Kwao Saforo Twie of Akwapim against Opoku Ferefere; but before he could start his march, he fell ill and died.

So Kwao Saforo Twie and the Akwapims had to fight the Ashantis without any help from the Akims. Many of the Akwapims went home to the hills of their own country. Opoku Ferefere went to Ada to find the chief, but could not find him.He destroyed the town of Ada, and followed the Akwapims into their hills. But his army was worn out; the Akwapims knew the country; and Kwao Saforo Twie, hearing how tired and weak the Ashantis were, came out and fought a hard battle against them. He could not defeat them. But the Ashantis lost so many men that their victory was almost as bad as a defeat. The Akwapims after the battle took a position on the top of the Krobo hill. The Ashantis twice tried to climb the hill to the attack. They were twice driven back. In September the Asantehene called them back to Kumase, with their work still not done.

While this war was going on, the English Government made a law to stop the slave trade. For some years past Wilberforce and other men had been trying to make people in England see how wicked the slave trade was. It became illegal on May 1 st, 1807, though slavery itself was not made illegal till 1834. England was not the first nation to abandon the trade; Austria had given it up twenty-five years

before, and Denmark and America had not been long behind. But the English slavers were the biggest traders, and it was much more important for England to give up the trade than for other countries.

The trade did not stop as soon as the law was passed. The Ashantis, who caught the slaves, and the Accras and Fantes, who became rich by selling them to the white men, did not want the trade to stop. Many Englishmen and Americans and others broke the law, and went on slave-dealing in small, fast ships, which could escape from the warships that were sent to stop them. But after a little time the Ashantis and others found that it was difficult to sell all the slaves they took, and they gradually stopped bringing them to the coast. Gradually, too, the slave ships were caught and their owners punished. The slaves were set free, and many of them were taken back to Africa and given land at Sierra Leone. They were from many different tribes, and it would have been impossible to take each man back to his home; so the English bought some land at Sierra Leone and formed them into a colony there. The capital is still called Freetown, because it was a town of free men who had once been slaves. The Americans likewise sent some slaves back to Africa, and gave them land which they called Liberia: the name is made from a Latin word meaning free. Slavery itself did not become illegal in the British Empire until 1834, and in America till thirty years later; but when the slave trade was stopped, the evils which it brought to West Africa gradually died out.

CHAPTER X

ASHANTI FROM 1814 TO 1838:
OSEI BONSU AND OSEI YAW ADOTO

THE Ashantis would not be content to leave matters as they were after Opoku Ferefere had returned to Kumase. In 1814 the Asantehene sent two more armies to the coast to punish the Akims and Akwapims and make them serve him once more.

One army, under a general called Amankwa Abinowa, marched into Akim.

The other, under Appia Dankwa, went towards Winneba to meet the Akims, if they should retreat that way again, as they had done in Atta Wusu's time. Amankwa Abinowa beat the Akims at Egwa-arru, and marched down to Accra. But the Akims did not come and beg him for peace, as he expected. He stayed near Accra for nearly a year, waiting for them to do so; and although the Accras were the friends of Ashanti, they learnt to dislike the Ashantis when they saw so much of them. The Ashantis did not treat them as friends, but treated them as if they served Ashanti. From this time, the Accras began to hate the Ashantis; and not long afterwards they were able to cause the Ashantis much trouble.

When Amankwa found that the Akims and the Akwapims would not come to him, he decided to go to them, and he marched into Akwapim. There he had a message from the Asantehene that he must not go back to Kumase unless he brought with him the heads of Kwao Saforo Twie and the new chief of Akim Abuakwa, Kwadwo Kuma.

Appia Dankwa had reached Winneba, and there he died. The Asantehene sent to Amankwa to tell him to march with his army to join Appia Dankwa's army in the Fante country, and to take command of both armies. He did so; and then, thinking that Kwao Saforo Twie and Kwadwo Kuma had gone to Cape Coast, as Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae had done, he marched with a very large army towards Cape Coast.

The two chiefs were not there. The English Governor sent to ask Amankwa why he came to Cape Coast; and Amankwa answered that he was sent to find Kwadwo Kuma and Kwao Saforo Twie, and he would follow them, even if they threw themselves into the sea, or buried themselves in the ground, or hid themselves in a rock. When he saw that they were not there, he moved towards Accra. Near Nkum, Kwadwo Kuma was surrounded; and when he saw that he would be taken, he killed himself. A little later Kwao Saforo Twie also was killed. Amankwa then went back to Kumase, having done his work. In 1817 the English sent messengers to Kumase to make a treaty of friendship with Ashanti. The Asantehene was very ready to make a treaty, and at first everything seemed to be going well. Then trouble arose over the question of the Notes for the European

forts. When Colonel Torrane had paid the Ashantis the money for Cape Coast and Anomabu, the Fante chiefs had kept the Notes themselves, instead of giving them to the Asante hene; and they had given him instead Notes for much smaller sums of money. The English paid them the whole sums, and they paid the Ashantis a part of the money. Osei Bonsu found out the trick, and thought the white men were trying to cheat him. But one of the English messengers, Mr. Bowdich, managed to get the matter explained.

At last the treaty was ready. Two copies were made; the Asantehene kept one copy, and the other was taken down by Mr. Bowdich and given to the Governor.

The treaty said that there was always to be peace and friendship between the English and the Ashantis: if the Fantes or any people living under English protection did any wrong to Ashanti, the Asantehene was to complain to the Governor at Cape Coast, and he was to put the matter right; the Governor was to punish any Ashanti people in the coast towns who did any small wrong, but anyone who did a great crime was to be sent back to Ashanti; a British officer was to be allowed[33] to live at Kumase to be the British spokesman to the Asantehene. One of the white men stayed in Kumase after the treaty was signed, while the others went back to Cape Coast.

A few months later the Asantehene had to turn his eyes away from Cape Coast and look in another direction. Kwadwo Adinkera Kakiri, chief of Gyaman, had made himself a golden stool. The Asantehene heard of it, and he sent a man to Gyaman to take it away. The Gyaman chief gave it him, but then he made himself another one. Osei Bonsu sent to take this one also; but Adinkera Kakiri *would* not give it up, for he said that all the women *would* laugh at him. There were other causes of quarrel besides. So war came. The Ashanti army marched towards the Gyaman country, and found the Gyaman army ready for it on the banks of the river Tain.

The Ashantis attacked. The battle was long and hard, for both Ashantis and Gyamans fought well. After much fighting, the chief of Kokofu, named Offe Akwesi,

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[33]. After 1707 England and Scotland became one country. From now on we shall call them, not English; but British

sent to tell the Asantehene that he was thirsty. The Asantehene sent him sixty cups of water, but Offe Akwesi refused it, and said that the only water he wanted was the water of the river Tain. Now the river Tain flowed behind the Gyaman army. He said that he would go and get some; but none of the other Ashanti divisions would go with him. At last the Akim Bosomes, under their chief Koragye Ampaw, said they would go with him; so they went together, 300 men in all. They fought their way right through the enemy's army, and they actually reached the river, so that Offe Akwesi had his drink; but they lost terribly on the way. Of the Akim Bosomes alone, 120 men were killed in that fight. When the Akims and the Kokofus reached the river bank, they managed to send a message to the Asantehene to say they had done so, and Opoku Ferefere Obuabasa, 1 the gyasehene of Ashanti, was sent to help them.

Meanwhile, others of the Ashanti army had been fighting their way forward on the wing of the battle. Darkness came, and both sides halted; and next morning the battle began again. The right wing of the Ashantis, made of the men of Juaben, Bekwai, and others, had nearly reached the river, and after a little fighting on the second day they managed to cross it. Then they attacked the Gyamans on two hills standing on the far bank. Just as they had gained a footing on the first hill, 'after a hard fight, news came that Adinkera was killed, and when the Gyamans heard that their [34] chief was dead, they gave way. For their bravery in this battle the Aklm Bosomes were given the oath “Gyaman "; the chief of Kokofu took the name *Okogyeasuo,* or the man who fights to reach the river[35]."

While this war was going on, the Ashanti traders who went doWn to the coast had to swear not to give any news to the coast people of what was happening. Of course, all sorts of stories soon spread about, and the Fantes believed that the news must be bad for the Ashantis, or else the Ashantis would soon tell it. Some said that Adinkera and the Gyamans were advancing to take

[34] No doubt this was the same general as the man who fought against Atta Wusu and Kwao Saforo Twie.

[35] It is strange that both Opoku Ware and Osei Bonsu should have to fight against a chief of Gyaman who had made him self a golden stool. Did both Abo Kofi and Adinkera really make golden stools, or is the story of one mistakenly told about both of them ?

Kumase. So the Fantes began to abuse and to laugh at the Ashantis that they met; and even when messengers came from Kumase to tell the news of the Ashanti victory at the river Tain, they were not believed. The Kommenda people especially abused the messengers, but at Cape Coast and other places too they had a bad time. They remembered the treaty, and went to complain to the Governor at Cape Coast. But the Governor, Mr. Hope Smith, would not help them.

Next year, 1819, the King of England sent out an officer named Dupuis to be the first British spokesman at Kumase. Unfortunately, Mr. Dupuis and Mr. Hope Smith did not like each other, and as one was appointed by the King and the other by a trading company, they disagreed in many things. Before Mr. Dupuis went to Kumase from Cape Coast, the Asantehene sent a messenger, a swordbearer named Akra Dehi, to complain to the Governor that the Fantes and others (especially the Kommendas) had abused him, and to ask the Governor to punish them. The interpreter translated the message into English, and turned it from a friendly message into a war-like one; he added at the end of the message that the Asantehene would certainly come down to Cape Coast in forty days and punish those who had abused him. This was not part of the real message at all. This made the Governor very angry. No doubt he thought that the matter was a small one; for the white men do not feel so hurt by being abused as Africans do, and they are taught when they are children not to mind if people laugh at them and call them names. The English have a proverb, " Hard words break no bones "; in this matter the customs of the two races are, quite different. So the Governor no doubt thought that there was nothing to make so much fuss about. And when he heard about the forty days, he answered merely that the Asantehene could come down as soon as he liked; but he (the Governor) was not going to do anything against the Kommendas.

When the Asantehene heard this, he sent other messengers; and as the Governor still would not punish the Kommendas, he at last sent down his copy of the treaty. The messenger who brought it asked the Governor to read it and see whether he had not broken the treaty; for the Asantehene thought that by the treaty the Governor ought to have at least inquired into the Kommenda matter and

others, and if he found that the Kommendas were in the wrong, he ought to have punished them. When the Governor looked at the Asantehene's copy of the treaty, he found that there were many things in it different from his copy. Nobody knows how the differences came; no doubt the clerk who copied it was careless. But it was a pity for it made the Governor and the Asantehene think differently. The Governor read the treaty aloud, and the Ashanti messengers said that they required the Governor either to do what the treaty said he was to do, or else to pay 1,600 ounces of gold. The Governor said that they must take back those words before he would talk any more with them.

Mr. Dupuis then went to Kumase, where Osei Bonsu welcomed him kindly. Mr. Dupuis asked him why he told the Governor to pay him gold. The Asantehene at once showed him his copy of the treaty, and said he would find it written there that if he broke the treaty he must pay gold to the Governor, and if the Governor broke the treaty he must pay gold to the Asantehene.

Mr. Dupuis read it, and found nothing said about any. payment; and the Asantehene was very angry and surprised, saying that he had always believed that the treaty mentioned it. In the end, he and Mr. Dupuis tore up the old treaty and made a new one. In the new treaty the Asantehene gave up his claim for 1,600 ounces of gold, and promised again to be friends with the British; the British (through Mr. Dupuis) promised to regard the Asantehene as the master of the Fante country. It was agreed that the people of Cape Coast should not be covered by the peace until they had settled their quarrel with the Asantehene, but Osei Bonsu promised that he would not destroy Cape Coast town or kill its people.

Next day Mr. Dupuis returned to Cape Coast, taking with him the new treaty. He was accompanied by special Ashanti messengers, who were to go to England with him and take gifts to the King of England. But the Governor would not agree to the treaty; he would not let the Ashanti messengers come into Cape Coast Castle; and he would not let them go to England. He was very angry. He would not agree to the treaty because of what it said about the Cape Coast people; but Mr. Dupuis made the treaty for the King of England, not for the Governor of Cape Coast, and

the Governor had no right to agree or disagree[36]. Mr. Dupuis, finding that the Ashantis could not go to England with him, went alone; and he told Osei Bonsu that he would put the matter before the British Government in London.

Osei Bonsu waited for ten months, but he heard nothing from England, and then he told the Ashantis to go no more to Cape Coast, but instead to the Dutch and Danish forts. In 1821 the British Government in London made a law to take the British forts on the Gold Coast away from the African Company and place them under the rule of the King of England and his officers; and Sir Charles McCarthy, the King's Governor of Sierra Leone, was ordered to take the Gold Coast forts under his care. These forts were: Cape Coast, Anomabu, Accra (James Fort), Apollonia (at Beyin), Dixcove, Kommenda, Tantamkweri, and Winneba; and beside these, there were British stations at Sekondi, Prampram, and a few other places, though they were not fortified and armed with big guns. Sir Charles McCarthy came to the Gold Coast and took over the government in March, 1822. Before he left England he had a talk with Mr. Dupuis; but when he reached the Gold Coast, he found that all the people on the coast abused Mr. Dupuis and said that he knew nothing. The officers of the African Company would not agree to serve under the new Governor, for they were angry at losing their power. So he had nobody to help him; and he forgot what he' had heard in England, and came to think that there would be no peace on the Gold Coast until the power of Ashanti Was broken. So he began to gather troops and stores for war, and did not try to talk over matters with the Asantehene and make peace. He collected a few white soldiers, and many of the Fante chiefs brought their men to help him. For the first time a small British *army* left Cape Coast to fight the Ashantis in the bush; it did not succeed in what it set out to do, but it made the Fantes see that the Governor meant to do all he could.

In November, 1823, the Governor heard that the Ashantis had crossed the Pra and were moving southward. He left Cape Coast with his army in two divisions

[36] Remember that the Governor, till 1821, was the manager of a trading company, not an officer appointed by the King. On the other hand, of course, Mr. Dupuis had no right to hand over the Fantes to the Ashantis. The Fantes were not the subjects of the King of England.

to find the Ashantis and stop them. He crossed the Pra, going westward, without finding them; and then he left most of his army of 2,000 men in camp under Major Chisholm, while he himself went ahead to see what the Ashantis were doing. He had with him 800 men, including a few white soldiers. At last the Ashantis were heard blowing their horns and beating their drums in the forest. The Governor had with his tiny little army a band, and he ordered the band to play "God Save the King." Then the two armies lined on the opposite banks of a stream and began shooting.

A messenger had been sent to tell Major Chisholm to bring the rest of the army as quickly as he could. But although he was only twenty miles away, he did not come. The messenger lost the road; it was pouring with rain, all the streams were in flood and many of the paths were blocked; and the letter took five days on the road. The British troops had only twenty bullets each, and in two hours these were all finished. There was a European store-keeper with the little army, and the Governor had ordered him to have forty bullets for each man, and plenty of gunpowder, packed ready to give out. But he had left his carriers behind, and when they heard the noise of battle they had thrown down their loads and run away. So he had nothing with him except one small barrel of bullets and one barrel of powder; and that was nothing for 500 men.

When the Ashantis saw that the Governor's army was not able to shoot, they crossed the stream and surrounded it. Darkness was coming on. Many of the Fantes and others escaped as well as they could. The Denkyeras, under their own chief, Kwadwo Otibu[37], fought on, and the Governor joined them. The Denkyeras were slowly retiring, but were fighting all the way; but in the fighting in the thick bush the Governor was separated from them and attacked by a party of Ashantis. He was wounded, and killed himself when he saw that he would be taken. The rest of the army gave up the fight and escaped in the darkness. The Ashantis cut off Sir Charles McCarthy's head and sent it to Kumase. They also killed several other

[37] He has the same name as the Assin chief in 1807, but is a different man. He too was in trouble at Kumase, but escaped to his own country and called his men to make war against Ashanti. He fought well at Nsamankow, Efutu, and Akantamasu.

European officers; Mr. Williams, the Colonial Secretary, was taken prisoner. This battle is usually called the battle of Nsamankow, though it was really fought at Bonsaso, on the river Bonsa, which runs into the Ankobra. Nsamankow was the village where the Governor stayed the night before the battle, some twenty miles away.

On the same day, January 21st, that Sir Charles McCarthy died, the Asantehene, Osei Tutu Kwamina Asibe Bonsu, died in Kumase. This Asantehene was one of the best men who ever had the stool. It was very unlucky that he and the British did not understand one another. All who knew him agreed that he did not wish for war, and all agreed, too, that they could trust him. Even the battle of Nsamankow was not his wish. The Ashanti army was sent against the Denkyeras and the Wassaws, and the Ashantis had no idea that the British Governor was with them. Nor had Sir Charles McCarthy any idea that he with only 800 men was facing the whole Ashanti army. Colonel Torrane and Mr. White made a mistake in attacking the Ashantis in 1807, and Mr. Hope Smith made the same mistake in 1819 and 1820. The mistake was not that they helped the Fantes against the Ashantis, but that they did not make any inquiries first into the matter. Osei Bonsu would have been quite willing to have the case heard at Cape Coast between him and the Fantes; but the British did not give him a chance of settling the matter peacefully. Mr. Hope Smith again was wrong in not inquiring into the affair of the Kommendas. Neither he nor Colonel Torrane, nor, of course, Sir Charles McCarthy, understood Ashanti. They thought of the Asantehene as a blood-thirsty king who wanted' to become the master of the peaceful Fantes for no reason at all except greed. On the other hand, of course, it is true that the Ashantis wanted to get some of the trade with the white men into their own hands. They did not want to pay Fante and Accra prices; they wanted to deal direct with the white men. That was why they were so keen to keep Elmina as their own port; and that, of course, was one reason why the Fantes were so keen to destroy the power of Elmina. They knew quite well that if the Ashantis could trade direct with the white men, their own profits would cease. It is certain, then, that the Ashantis would sooner or later have had a war with the Fantes, even if Torrane had never been there; and it might

not have been easy for the British to keep out of the war in any case. Nevertheless, the British need not have come into the war in the way they actually did.

Osei Bonsu was followed on the stool by his young brother, Osei Yaw Akoto. In March the new Asantehene sent messengers to talk about peace. They explained that he did not want to fight against the British, but that he had sent his army to the coast after his enemy, Kwadwo Otibu of Denkyera, and two other chiefs. If they could take these men, the Ashanti army would go back to Kumase at once, but they could not go back without them, even if they had to come to Cape Coast to fetch them. We can see that the Ashantis were thinking of what had happened in 1807.

The Governor was dead; but Captain Ricketts, who had fought at Nsamankow, was acting as Governor. When he answered the Ashanti message, he should have made it quite clear to the Ashantis that he would not do as Torrane had done, and give up Kwadwo Otibu and the others to be taken to Kumase. He did not mean to give them up. But he did not make this plain. He said that the British wished to be the friends of the Africans, and that he would be willing to make peace. It was agreed that until special messengers should come down from Kumase, there should be no more fighting, and that both armies should stay where they were. Kwadwo Otibu and the other chiefs feared that they would be given up; so they began to defend themselves. They crossed the Pra and attacked the Ashantis; but they were completely defeated at Efutu, and the small British force that moved *up* to help them had to retire. This made the war start again. The British collected more troops, and in May they attacked the Ashantis near Efutu, and drove them back. Kwadwo Otibu and his Denkyeras fought very well, and followed the Ashantis right into Efutu; but as it was getting dark, and the carriers who should have brought food and Water and bullets had not arrived, the British and their friends could not follow the Ashantis any farther.

After the battle of Efutu there was more fighting near Cape Coast. The Ashantis burnt many villages, and at one time they made an attack on Cape Coast; but they were greatly weakened by sickness, and the attack was beaten off. After a few months, in July, 1824, the army went back to Kumase.

At the beginning of 1826 a new Ashanti army left Kumase, and came down towards Accra, to punish the Accras for having helped the British and the Fantes. The Accras had now quite left the friendship that they had had with the Ashantis. A British army was formed to meet the Ashantis, and on August 7th, j826, they met by the little stream called Akantamasu, ten miles south of Dodowa. There were about roo white men and 10,000 African troops-Fantes, Accras, Akims, and Denkyeras; the Ashantis had about the same number. The Denkyeras and Akims were on the left, the Fantes and Accras in the centre, and the Akwamus on the right; the few white troops were kept as a reserve behind the centre of the line.

About half-past nine the Ashantis attacked the Awkamus, and soon afterwards Kwadwo Otibu and his Denkyeras came into the fight; the men in the centre were attacked last of all. The Denkyeras and the Akwamus drove the Ashantis back and pressed steadily onwards, but some of the men in the centre gave way, so that the Ashantis broke their line. Some ran away in fear, others left off fighting to gather the plunder.

The Ashanti army too had its troubles. The Assins and some Akims who were serving Ashanti left the battle very quickly, for they wanted the Ashantis to be beaten-especially as most of the Akims were on the British side. One division of the Ashanti army was led by Opoku Ferefere, the brave old gyasehene, and another by the Akwamuhene of Kumase. Both these divisions had Perempe drums; the Akwamuhene was sounding his drum after defeating the Accras, when he heard another Perempe drum sounding in the dust and smoke ahead. He thought it was some of the Accras who had gathered again and Were sounding this drum to mock him; so he and his men pressed forward and fought all the rest of the day against the men who sounded Perempe against him. It was not till the end of the day that they found that he had been fighting against the gyasehene, and very many Ashantis were killed in this fight by their own people.

The battle had gone on for some hours, and still neither side had won. The Denkyeras and the Akwamus had beaten the Ashantis on the right and left, and were pushing forward to chase them and to take prisoners and plunder. But in the centre the Ashantis were winning. The Fantes had been driven away, and the

Ashantis had pressed forward into their place. The Gas and the Ashantis were all mixed up together, fighting hand to hand; and if the two Ashanti centre divisions had not made their mistake, the centre of the allied army would have been quite destroyed. The British commander sent messages to the Denkyeras and the Akwamus to come back and help the centre. They came; but the battle stretched over four miles of country, and it took them some time to reach the place where they were wanted.

Before they reached the place, some of the Christiansborg people and some of the Accras had been driven back, and the Ashantis pressed farther forward still. Then the British commander called up the white men. They came up with some cannon, and with a new weapon which the Ashantis had never seen before. This was a machine for shooting rockets - the same sort as those fireworks that we shoot into the sky-only to shoot them straight forward instead of upward. The rockets rushed among the Ashantis with long tails of fire, and exploded and burst into many pieces, killing several men at once. The Ashantis could not stand this for long. They broke and fled. The Denkyeras and Akwamus followed them. Kwasi Amankwa[38], the chief of Asikuma, said he would take or kill the Asantehene himself. He pushed on right into the middle of the Ashantis, and actually touched the Asantehene's hammock with his hand; but lie was killed before his men could come to help him. Many Ashanti chiefs were killed; for, according to the custom of Ashanti, when a chief saw his men were being defeated, he blew himself up with gunpowder. The Asantehene stood a little him behind the battle-line, and when the news came to that one of his chiefs was dead, he began the first part of the funeral custom. Many Ashantis were taken prisoners. Fourteen days after the battle of Dodowa, a new Governor named Sir Neil Campbell came from England, and his first work was to make peace with Ashanti. He thought that the best way would be to send messengers to Kumase to offer peace to the Asantehene at once. Kwadwo Otibo of Denkyera, and all the other allied chiefs, Fantes, Accras, Akims, Akwamus, told him that as they had won the battle, it was not for them to ask for

[38] This is the name given by Claridge. But the Asikuma people do not know of this chief. Was it Kofi Amoakoa ?

peace but for the Ashantis. But the Governor would try his own way, and so he wasted a year, and did not make peace. In 1828, while this business was still going on, the British Government said that the Gold Coast was so much trouble that they would not go on ruling the country any longer. They sent orders to the officers on the coast to pull down the forts and destroy the guns and stores; and a warship came from England to take away the merchants and traders if they wished to go. But the merchants begged the Government not to give up the country so soon; and the Fantes and Accras too said that they did not want the white men to destroy the forts and leave them to fight the Ashantis alone. So the Government agreed to let the white merchants manage the country for themselves; they chose a committee of three London merchants, and named a Governor for the country. The British Government promised to pay them a grant every year to help them to keep the forts in repair and to pay their officials on the coast. They were to open a school in Cape Coast; the merchants on the coast were to elect a Legis lative Council; British law was to be obeyed in the forts, but not in the towns outside the forts. Thus the Government had no longer anything to do with the Gold Coast, except to pay the Committee its grant. The first Governor chosen by the Committee was one of the merchants on the coast; but he, like all other people on the coast, thought that it would be much better that the Governor should have no interest in any trade or other business in the country. So after a time he resigned, and the Committee appointed a new Governor, Captain George Maclean, who arrived in Cape Coast in February, 1830. Captain Maclean was one of the best Englishmen that ever came to the Gold Coast. He was a man who always heard every side of a question before making up his mind. He was quite fair. He never favoured white against black, or black against white; Christian against heathen, or heathen against Christian; Fante agains Ashanti, or Ashanti against Fante. When he had made up Î his mind, nothing changed it; and he feared nothing in doing what he had made up his mind to do. While he was still thinking about a matter, he would listen to anyone. When he had decided, it was useless to beg him or to try and frighten him to change his mind. When people told lies about him, he never troubled about them; he always believed that sooner or later God would show the truth and would

punish the wicked. Maclean saw that the first thing to do was to make a firm peace with. Ashanti. The Asantehene wished for peace, and so did the Fantes; but it took Captain Maclean a long time to get them to agree on the terms of peace. The treaty was signed in 1831. The Ashantis paid 600 ounces of gold and gave two hostages. It was agreed that all the paths should be kept open to trade, and traders could come and go and trade at any place they pleased. Panyarring[39] was to be stopped, and so was swearing oaths on people-though it is hard to see how Captain Maclean or anyone else expected this to stop. In those days, however, when there was war between town and town, and very little peace and law and order, a man would often swear his chief's oath against another man for very little cause, merely in order that his chief might try the case and get money in fines and court fees. This clearly had to be stopped. The Ashantis agreed that Denkyera and Assin were to be free; and the Denkyeras and the Assins agreed not to abuse or insult the Ashantis. If any quarrel should come, the Governor was to be judge, and he was to call in one or two chiefs to advise him. If the Ashantis would not agree to his judgment, the 600 ounces of gold were to be kept by the British. If the Fante or Accra chiefs, or any chiefs that were against the Ashantis, would not agree to the Governor's judgment, the British would not help them, and they must settle their quarrel with the Ashantis as well as they could. From *1830* to *1843* Captain Maclean was Governor. He spent his time in trying to keep the country at peace and to encourage trade among the different tribes. The only army he had was a small force of 120 men, all natives of the Gold Coast. His revenue was {4,00o a year, paid by the British Government. With this small farce he could have done nothing if he had not been a great man, and if the people of the country had n$_o$t helped him to keep peace. He had a soldier living in every important town to report to him any matter that happened in the town, and to be his spokesman at the chief's court. He held a court in Cape Coast, in which he judged according to Akan custom, with as much British law mixed in it as he found necessary. It was not long

[39] [1] Panyarring was the custom of seizing the friend or the fellow-townsman of a man that owed you money, and keeping him in prison until the money was paid. In the days of the slave-trade many people were panyarred in order to be sold as slaves.

before the people came to know that his judgments were always fair and honest; and they came from all over the country to seek justice in Cape Coast. From time to time, some chiefs would refuse to accept his judgments, and would call their people to make war; but all the other tribes would help the Governor to fight against them. The chiefs would be deposed; some gold would be paid to the Governor to be kept in Cape Coast for a time, and given back if there were no more trouble; a new chief would be placed on the stool; and trade would begin again. By these means Captain Maclean made the Gold Coast rich again. The trade in palm-oil increased. The slave-trade died out. The total value of the trade between the Gold Coast and other countries was three and a half times as great in r 84o as it had been when Maclean became Governor ten years before. All this time, of course, the Gold Coast was not a British colony. In fact, there was no such country as the Gold Coast. British rule was limited to the British forts. The British Government had said in 1828 that British law was not to be used outside the forts, and so in hearing cases between chiefs and people of distant tribes, Captain Maclean was going against his orders. But it would have been impossible for him not to give justice when he was asked; and the fact that he could govern with only 120 men shows how much the people liked his government. From Assini to the Volta, and from the sea-coast to the Pra and the Ofin, the people were accustomed to go to Captain Maclean at Cape Coast for justice.

After making peace with the British in 1831, the Asantehene, Osei Yaw Akoto, lived in peace until about 1834. Then there broke out one of the many wars between Kumase and Juaben, who had been enemies ever since the Juabens had refused to give up Ntim Gyakari's gold after the battle of Feyiase. This time the Kumase people won, and the Juaben people under their chief Kwasi Boaten went to Akim for a time to get away from Osei Yaw. But after a few years Maclean and the Danish governor of Christiansborg helped the Kumase people and the Juabens to make peace, and the Juabens returned to Ashanti. But before they reached their old home the Asantehene had died. Kwasi Boaten also died the Sewa led her people till rebuild mother the their town of Juaben in Ashanti.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF KWAKU DUA I, 1838-1867

OSEI YAW AKOTO died in 1838, and was followed as Asantehene by Kwaku Dua, the son of his sister Ama Sewa. He was a peaceful man; he had no wish for war with the British or anyone else, but, nevertheless, all the latter part of his reign was spent in fighting. The real trouble Was that the Ashantis had never given up the hope of getting the Assins, the Akims, and the Denkyeras back into their power. By the treaty of 1831 they had agreed that Denkyera and Assin were to be free; and after the fighting of Atta Wusu Yiakosan of Akim Abuakwa there could be no question of the Akims' again serving the Ashantis. But as long as these three nations were independent, the Ashantis were cut off from the sea and from the trade with the white men. They felt ashamed that these nations, which had once served them, should serve them no longer. Nations sometimes go to war to get riches, and sometimes to get honour: in this case, the Ashantis wanted both. Ashanti had no quarrel with the British. But as things were on the coast at that time, there was plenty of opportunity for quarrels to come. The British Government did not want to rule the Gold Coast. The Committee of merchants only wanted their trade to go on well. But under Captain Maclean's rule more and more of the country was placing itself to some extent under the British.

The chiefs were coming to have their quarrels judged by the British. The Governor at Cape Coast had his messengers and soldiers all over the country. More and more it was being seen that the British could not remain merely as traders; they must, whether they wished it or not, take some power and rule. But it was very difficult for the Governor. He had no force to help him. The Government at home could give him no help; for people in England knew very little about the Gold Coast, and had very little idea of how they should behave towards the coast peoples or towards Ashanti. They thought that the chiefs on the coast must be either independent or else completely under British rule. The truth, of course, was that they were neither; they were independent, but they had asked the British to protect them against Ashanti and to judge their quarrelstwo ways in which they had

given up part of their independence. As for Ashanti, there were two things that the British might do. Either they could agree that Ashanti was an independent foreign state, and that the laws of Ashanti and the quarrels of Ashanti and other nations were no concern of theirs; or, on the other hand, they could say that Ashanti must behave to other nations in the way that the British wanted, and must alter its laws if the British thought them bad. In the first case, the country south of the Pra would become part of the Ashanti empire. The white men would be shut up inside their forts. The British Government would make treaties of friendship and trade with Ashanti, and leave the Asante hene to rule his own people in his own way. In the second case, war was certain to come sooner or later; and the British Government should see that a strong people like the Ashantis could not be opposed by a committee of merchants. This would mean that the Government should take over the country south of the Pra, and should be ready to spend money and to lose lives in defending it against the Ashantis. But the British Government did not wish to do either. They certainly did not wish to take over the country and spend money on it. But they did not wish to see all Fante country taken by Ashanti. They did not like the human sacrifices and the slavery that went on in Ashanti. I f a slave ran away from his master and crossed the Pra and came to a British fort, they would never send him back; if a chief abused the Asantehene and came to them, they would not let the Ashantis take him, for they said that according to British law he had done nothing wrong-at least, nothing worthy of death. They did not see that these things would lead to quarrels and to wars. The Governor at Cape Coast saw, but he could not make the people in England see as well. And so for most of the reign of Kwaku Dua the British Government made a mess of its dealings with the Gold Coast, and ended by finding itself in another big war with Ashanti. In 1843 Captain Maclean's government was ended. The British Government decided to take back the country. Commander Hill was appointed Governor. Captain Maclean was given the post of judicial Assessor. His duties were to sit in court with the native chiefs to help him and try cases in which Africans alone were concerned, so as to help the chiefs with British law and common sense and justice, as he had been doing in Cape Coast for so long. But in May, 1847, he died, after seventeen years, on the

coast. He was buried in Cape Coast Castle. Not only in Cape Coast, but all through the country under British pro tection, and even across the Pra in Ashanti, great funeral customs were held for him by all the chiefs. For months after his death every chief that came to Cape Coast on any business would draw up his men in front of the castle gate and fire several volleys of guns in honour of George Maclean before going on to his own affairs. Commander Hill soon found that it was useless trying to govern the country when nobody knew exactly what were his rights and powers, who was under him and who was not. Many of the chiefs now had educated clerks, and a written treaty would be more useful than it would have been earlier. So on March 6th, 1844, a treaty was signed by him and by many of the Fante chiefs. It said that the chiefs accepted the " power and jurisdiction " which the British had been holding over their countries. Human sacrifices and panyarring were contrary to law. Murders and thefts and other crimes were to be tried by the British judges and the native chiefs, according to native and British law. The land remained under the rule of its own chiefs. This treaty is known in Gold Coast history as the Bond of 1844. It was signed by the chiefs of Denkyera, Assin, Abora, Donadi, Domonase, Anomabu, and by Aggrey, chief of Cape Coast; later on, many other chiefs in different parts of what we now call the Colony signed it as well, so that the Bond marks the beginning of real British rule. Commander Hill for some reason did not send to Kumase to tell the Asantehene that he had become Governor; so the Asantehene was angry at his rudeness. Soon there came another quarrel; an Ashanti woman was murdered by an Assin man, and the murderer was sent to Cape Coast. The Ashantis sent to the Governor to have hint killed, or to have him sent to Ashanti; but the Governor would not. Then the Ashantis thought that he meant to break the treaty of 1831; and they wanted to go to war against Assin. At last the Governor saw that the Ashantis were right, and he had the man sent to Assin and killed there. So war did not come; but the Ashantis were not pleased that the Governor did not agree at once to what they wished. Next year the Governor resigned. In 1850 the British Government bought all the Danish forts and possessions on the Gold Coast for £10,000. They included the forts of Christians borg, Teshi, Ningo, Ada, and Keta; the Danes also had one or two settlements

along the Akwapim hills, and had much the same sort of power among the chiefs of Akwapim and of the plain between Christiansborg and the Volta that the British had among the chiefs farther west. All the chiefs who had been in any way under the Danes agreed to come in the same way under the British. The Government now tried to impose customs duties on goods entering the country. At this time the Government had no money at all of its own, except a small tax that was paid by ships anchoring in the harbours of Accra and Cape Coast. All the rest of the money that it needed for its work-salaries, repairs of forts, stores, payment of troops, and so on--came from England. Now that the Gold Coast Government was beginning to take on itself more work for the country, apart altogether from what was necessary to protect the forts and their trade, it was only fair that it should raise some revenue from the country. But customs duties were found impossible. The Dutch forts at Elmina, *Axim,* Sekondi, Accra, and other places lay among British forts in such a way that it would have been quite impossible to collect customs duties. Goods would simply have been landed at a Dutch fort a few miles away and brought in by land, and the 'British could not have stopped the smuggling. The idea of customs duties was therefore dropped. But the Government still wanted money. In 1852 the Governor called a large meeting of chiefs from all over the country to advise him how money was to be obtained. The meeting began by calling itself a legislative assembly, and said that it had power to pass laws that should be binding on everyone in the country if the Governor approved them and the British Government in England also approved them. The “legislative assembly " then went on to vote that a tax of one shilling a year should be paid for every man, woman, and child in the country. The tax was to be collected by Government officers, and the chiefs Were to help them. The money gained was to be spent by the Government partly on paying salaries to the chiefs, partly on education, on improving roads, and providing more doctors and judges. This law is known as the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852. This assembly of chiefs was never summoned again. The Poll Tax was a failure. In the first year the Government got over £7,000 from it, though it had expected to get £20,000; but in a few years the amount had fallen to £1,500, and then the tax was not worth the trouble of collecting, and was given up. It seems as

though the people of the country did not support their chiefs when they agreed to pay the tax. Some of the tax collectors were dishonest; and the people were angry too because the Government spent some of the money on its own general expenses (salaries and office expenses and so on), instead of spending it all on improving the condition of the country in the ways set out in the Ordinance. There was a good deal of trouble in some places; the people of Christiansborg and Teshi and Labadi attacked Christiansborg Castle, and the three towns were destroyed by the guns of the castle and of a warship. But though both the assembly and the tax which the assembly voted soon died, this Poll Tax Ordinance is important. It was now put in writing that the peoples whose chiefs had signed the Ordinance were looking to the British for help and guidance: for education, medicine, and justice; and they had actually paid money in return for these things. If the British Government undertook to provide them with schools and doctors, it could hardly say that it was not bound to protect them against Ashanti. Nor could the British Governor any more tell Ashanti that he had no control at all over the chiefs and people of the country south of the Pra. In the same year as the Poll Tax Ordinance, Kwaku Dua, the Asantehene, began to have trouble from the coast people. The trouble began with one of the chiefs of Assin, named Kwadwo Otibu[40]. This man thought that the Government did not respect him as much as they should. He knew that the Asantehene wanted the Assins to be placed under him again; and he thought that if he brought his people under Ashanti, the Asante hene would pay him great honour. So he took 400 ounces of gold from the Asantehene, and promised to bring the Assins to serve Ashanti once more. The people of Assin did not wish to serve Ashanti. So Kwadwo Otibu had to keep what he was doing secret. But somehow the Governor heard of the matter in Cape Coast, and called Kwadwo Otibu to Cape Coast to be tried. He was tried by the Governor and the Judicial Assessor and by the Fante chiefs, and was imprisoned. Soon afterwards he was let out of prison and allowed to take his stool again. But he had gone too far in his affair with Ashanti to stop. He had taken the Asantehene's money, and he

[40] One of the chiefs of Assin in 1805 had been called Kwadwo Otibu; and there was another Kwadwo Otibu who had fought against the Ashantis at Nsamankow and Akantamasu. This is yet a third Kwadwo Otibu.

must do what he had promised. Kwaku Dua knew that he was breaking the treaty of 1831; so he could not ask the Governor to help him. He and Kwadwo Otibu made a plan that a party of Ashantis should come down from Kumase to Jukwa in Denkyera to attend the funeral custom of the Denkyerahene, who had died a little time before. On the way back to Ashanti they should seize Kwadwo Otibu as if by force, and take him back to Ashanti with them, forcing as many as possible of his people to go with him. A party of 300 men came from Kumase, led by Akyeampon, a brother of the Asantehene. But one of the Assin chiefs stopped them, saying that they were too many, and that he would not let them pass through his country without permission from Cape Coast. The Governor said he would not give this permission, and asked Akyeampon to go back across the Pra. But Akyeampon was all the time being strengthened, for more and more Ashantis were coming to join him; and he did not go, Then the people and the Fante chiefs feared that there was a trick behind it all; and they arrested Kwadwo Otibu and one of his sub chiefs, and it all came out. The Fantes and Assins took their guns, and over 20,000 men came to Dunkwa to stop the Ashantis; and Akyeampon crossed the Pra again and went back to Kumase. So war did not come; though if it had come, it would have been the fault of the Ashantis. A few years later, in 18 63, war did come; and this time it was not the fault of the Ashantis. A man called Kwasi Gyani, an Ashanti, found a nugget of gold, and kept it for himself, instead of sending it to the Asantehene, as the laws -of Ashanti said he should. When the Asantehene heard of it and called him to Kumase to be tried, he fled to Cape Coast and asked the Governor to protect him. Messengers soon came down from Kumase to Cape Coast to ask the Governor to send him back to Kumase to be tried. The messengers bore with them the Golden Axe, which the Ashantis thought had magic powers to cut through any difficulties, so that any messengers who brought it were certain to succeed in their message. The Governor, Mr. Pine, did not know what to do. Kwaku Dua said that there was a treaty saying that criminals who ran away from Ashanti to Cape Coast must be given up again. The Governor knew of no such treaty. But it certainly had happened before that criminals had been given up by the British Governor, both in Maclean's time and since. The messengers of

the Asantehene who came for them. had always sworn the great oath that they should not be killed. Maclean himself said that he had never known this oath broken. The messengers from Kwaku Dua offered to swear the great oath that Kwasi Gyani should not be killed.

Kwasi Gyani himself had sworn the great oath that he was innocent; so it is hard to see why he should wish not to be sent back. Governor Pine could not see that the man had committed any crime worthy of death. The Cape Coast chiefs wanted the Governor to keep him. So after hesitating a long time, and changing his mind more than once, the Governor told the Ashanti messengers that he would not send the man back unless they could prove that he had been guilty of a crime. And this, of course, they could not doat any rate, not to satisfy the Governor.' The Ashantis invaded the country, in their favourite plan of three divisions. One came through Wassaw, the second straight down towards Cape Coast, and the third through Western Akim. The British and their allies formed two large camps, one at Manso and the other at Asikuma; the army was commanded by Major Cochrane. He had 400 regular troops (mostly West Indians) with him and about 20,000 allies. In April, 1863, the Ashantis came to Asikuma, while Major Cochrane was at Mankesim; they attacked the camp and won a complete victory. They then made a camp of their own there, and stayed for some weeks. The bamboo groves which surround Asikuma to-day have grown from the fences of bamboo that the Ashantis planted round their camp. The Fantes and others who had been beaten at Asikuma retired fourteen miles to Bobikuma, and there Major Cochrane joined them. They all expected a great battle the next day, and expected it to be a second Akantamasu; but instead of fighting, [1] Governor Pine's letters to England show that his real trouble was that he did not know anything about Ashanti law and Ashanti law-courts, and he did not trust the Asantehene to keep his promises.

Major Cochrane ordered the whole army to retire.

He himself retired to Mumford on the sea-coast; part of the army stayed behind at Bobikuma, and was attacked by the whole of the Ashanti force and beaten; and before the Governor or any other officers could do anything to stop

them, the Ashantis crossed the Pra and went home in triumph. Everybody was angry with Major Cochrane, and another officer was sent out from England to command the army instead of him. More troops also were sent. The Governor saw that the war could not be allowed to end in that way. He wanted to be allowed to invade Ashanti, instead of always waiting for the Ashantis to invade the Protectorate. But the Government in England would not allow it. All through the dry season of 1863-4, troops and stores were arriving on the coast to defend it if the Ashantis attacked again. But they did not. Then the Government in England changed its mind, and told the Governor that if he could not punish the Ashantis enough without going into their country, he might go. The troops that came out were sent up to Prasu, and made a camp there, ready to enter Ashanti when all had arrived. They were all West Indians; and the Government hoped that they would stand the climate better than white troops. But the last of them did not come out until April; and by that time the rains had begun, and it was too late to think of attacking Ashanti that season. So the men were kept at Prasu for a time, but in the rainy weather they became ill with fever, and died in hundreds, without having any chance of fighting at all. The Government in England was frightened, and called all the troops away again; and that was the end of that war. Kwaku Dua, when the news came to him, said, "

The white man brings his cannon to the bush; but the bush is stronger than the cannon." The British Government began to agree with him. Once more it thought of leaving the Gold Coast altogether. It sent an officer out from England to study the question and to make a report; and his report was considered by the House of Commons. The Government decided in the end not to leave the country. But it said that British rule on the Gold Coast should not be extended any more than was necessary; and it said that all the four British West African colonies or settlements, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos[41], should be joined together under one Governor, who should live at Sierra Leone and have assistant-governors in each of the other three places. This meant that things were

[41] At that time the colony of Lagos had not yet grown into Nigeria. As in the Gold Coast, British power did not reach far from the sea.

to stay just as they were; ever since Maclean's time, the British had been gradually stretching their power wider and wider, as the Bond of 1844 and the Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 had shown, and this was now to stop. But it could not stop. It must go either back or forward. Either Ashanti was an independent state, and the Fante and other peoples south of the Pra were also independent; in this case, the British had no business to protect them, and Ashanti would soon stretch as far as the sea. Or, it was the business of the British to protect them; in this case, the British must answer to Ashanti for what the Fantes and Assins and Akims and the rest of them might do. But the British could not answer for them unless they could control them. There was no half-way place between leaving the Gold Coast people completely alone, and making them--and perhaps Ashanti too-into British colonies.

The war had been won by the Ashantis; but peace was not yet made. Kwaku Dua sent messengers to Cape Coast to arrange peace. But they did not succeed; for the Governor told the Cape Coast people that the Asantehene was begging for peace, and when the Asantehene heard that the Governor had said that, he called his messengers back to Kumase and said he would never make peace unless Kwasi Gyani were given up to him. At the end of his reign Kwaku Dua helped the Awunas of Keta and the country round it to fight against the British. To understand why this was so, we must go back a little in the history of Keta. In Chapter IX we have followed the history of the Ewe people of the Gold Coast until the Awunas came to live in Keta. The Keta people often had trouble with the Danes who lived in Fort Prinzenstein. They were great slave-traders, and the Danish Government often tried to stop their slave-trading and to set the slaves free by force. In 1844 a famous Portuguese slave-trader was arrested by the Danes of Fort Prinzenstein, but the Awunas carne and rescued him. The Danes sent to Christiansborg for help, and more men were sent to them. A few days later, the chief of Anyako, Dzokoto, came to the fort with some of his people to sell shells for making whitewash. A quarrel broke out with the white men, and Dzokoto and others were wounded; and then the Anyako people came and attacked the fort. When the Danish governor at Christiansborg heard this, he himself went with 120 men and with help from the Accras. The Awunas allowed him to enter the fort.

They did not attack the fort again, but they stopped the people from taking the white men food, and they hoped to starve them. The guns of the fort destroyed part of the town; and the people of the Alata district disobeyed the order not to sell food to the fort. The Awunas set fire to the Alata district; the fire spread to the other districts, and all the town was burnt. But the men in the fort were very hungry, when a French warship happened to pass by. The fort made a signal to the ship to come and help them, and the governor ran down the beach to try and get into a boat and sail away. But he was wounded, and had to go back to the fort. Then they sent a swimmer with a letter, and he got safely on board the ship. The French ship then sent a boat, and fired on the Awunas with her big guns; so the governor got on board, and went back to Christiansborg. There he collected a large army of Danes and Accras, and he beat the Awunas and made them pay a heavy fine. This was in 1847, and after this the town of Keta was empty and in ruins until the British took over the Governmentfrom the Danes in 1850. But the Awunas did not wish to stop their slave trading. In 1865 there was more trouble. A slave-trader (not a Keta man) quarrelled with the people of Ada, and the Ada people drove him away and took all his slaves away from him. He at once went to Keta to ask the Awunas to help him. The Awunas were old enemies of the Ada people; they were always quarrelling over the fishing in the river Volta. So they helped him. They could not get to Ada, because British warships blocked the river; so they went up the river to Kpong, which they destroyed and burnt. Then the Accras began to be angry, because their trade was being spoilt; and they asked the British Governor to tell the Awunas to stop the war. He did so; but the Awunas would not. Then the Accras made large army and went to help the Adas. The Awunas made a war-camp near Adidome. The Accras crossed the river to attack the Awuna warcanoes, which were tied by the bank of the river. There Were a few British West Indian troops with the Accras and Adas, and they kept the Awunas away with rockets and cannon, so that the Aceras were not much troubled. But the Accras followed the Awunas into the bush, and there the Awunas turned and beat them. Two days after this Awuna victory at Adidome, the great Awuna war-chief Dzokoto came into their camp with another army to strengthen them. The Accras and Adas too were strengthened by

an army of Akwapims, under their chief Koa Adade[42], and of Accras, under the Ga Mantse, Taki. Then the allied army crossed the Volta to Adidome; they found the camp empty, and the British officer in command ordered the army to follow the Awunas into the bush. But Taki would not agree, and the others would not go without him; so the British officer and his men went away to Ada and left them to fight alone. After some time, the British District Commissioner, who stayed with the army, got them to agree to follow the Awunas. They marched in bad order through the fan-palms, and at Datsutagba they were suddenly attacked in front and on both sides by the Awunas, and completely defeated. If it had not been for Koa Adade and the Akwapims, the Awunas would have destroyed the whole allied army. Koa Adade was in the rear of the allies. When the battle began in front, he saw that if he led his men straight forward they would be mixed up in the fight on the narrow path and would have no chance of being really useful; so he left the path and led them by a long way round in the bush until they came behind the Awunas. Then they suddenly attacked. The Awunas were surprised. For two hours there was a hard fight; but the Awunas had no more bullets, and after doing the best they could by loading their guns with small stones, they had to give way. After the battle of Datsutagba, the Accras, Adas, and Akwapims went home. The battle was fought on April 4th, 1866. The Awuna chiefs sent to Kumase to ask Kwaku Dua to help them. He agreed, and sent an army under a general called Nantwi into the Krepi country round Anum and Peki. Kwadwo De, the chief of Peki, was a great fighter, and was a friend of the Accras and an enemy of the Akwamus and the Awunas. In October the Governor went to Dzelukowe and tried to make peace with the Awunas; but they would not agree. But in November, 1868, a British Warship crossed the bar at the mouth of the Volta, and entered the river. The Awunas thought that no European ship could ever get into the Volta because of the sand-bar and the great waves at the mouth of the river; and they were so frightened when they saw they were wrong, and that the white men could get at them from the river, that they agreed to make peace, and not to fight against the Adas any more,

[42] Not Kwaw Dade, as he is often called.

but to agree to the judgment of the British Governor in all their quarrels. But this was after the death of Kwaku Dua. He died in April, 1867, a year after the battle of Datsutagba. He loved peace, but he ended his life in the midst of war. Nantwi with one Ashanti army was in Krepi; and Ashanti was still at war with the British. The next chief of Ashanti must be a fighter.

CHAPTER XII

BRITISH, DUTCH, AND FANTES, 1863 - 1872

WHEN the Fante people saw how badly Major Cochrane and the British had done in the war of 1863, they thought that it was no use hoping for any real help from the British any more. They made up their minds that they must join together to help themselves. They began to talk about forming a confederation-that is, an alliance or a union-to fight against the Ashantis and to improve the Fante country. They wanted more schools, and roads, and mines; and they wanted to improve agriculture. But for some years they did nothing beyond talking about it; for they had other matters to think about. The Fantes were very troubled when they heard that the British Government was thinking of giving up the Gold Coast. Many of the chiefs said that if this were so, it was time for them to be doing more for themselves; and they began to do as they liked without obeying the orders of the Governor at Cape Coast. They said that they had agreed to come under British rule because they thought the British were going to protect them. If the British could not protect them, they would not stay under British rule any longer. The Committee of the House of Commons said (among other things) that the people of the Gold Coast should be trained to look after themselves, so that the British might be able to leave the country some day. Many of the Fantes thought that this meant that the British wanted to leave almost at once; and, in fact, they thought that the Government at Cape Coast was staying on longer than the Government in England meant it to. In 1867, the British and the Dutch agreed to exchange some of their forts, in order to make trade easier and more profitable. They agreed to take the

Sweet River, between Elmina and Cape Coast[43], as their boundary. The British gave to the Dutch the four forts that they had west of the river; the Dutch gave to the British the four forts that they had east of it. Beyin, Dixcove, British Sekondi, and British Kommenda thus became Dutch; Mori, Kormantine, Apam, and Dutch Accra (Fort Crèvecoeur became British. Fort Crèvecoeur was renamed Ussher Fort, after Mr. Ussher, the new British assistant-governor of the Gold Coast[44].

But the change did not take place easily. The four Dutch towns became British without any trouble. But in the western part of the country it was different. Many of the towns that lay near the old British forts were enemies of the towns near the Dutch forts. If they both became Dutch, they would have to live in peace together. But there was more than this. The British forts in the west had always been looked on as the protectors of Denkyera and Wassaw. Denkyera and Wassaw had always been the enemies of Ashanti, and had fought with the British against the Ashantis -at Nsamankow and Akantamasu and elsewhere. The Dutch, on the other hand, through living in Elmina, had always been the friends of Ashanti. So the Denkyeras and Wassaws saw that if the British left them and the Dutch came, they would be given up to the Ashantis; and therefore they would not agree.

The White men did not ask them if they would agree. They arranged it all between themselves, and then the British and the Dutch governors went round to the people and told them that the change was coming. At Sekondi and Dixcove there was little trouble, for the forts were strong and the people feared their guns. But at Beyin the people refused to take the Dutch flag, and went into the bush while the Dutch fired on their town. At Kommenda things were worse still. The people would not take the Dutch flag. The two governors came with a guard of Dutch sailors to hoist the Dutch flag on the fort; but the companies took their weapons and attacked them and drove them away. The Dutch warship fired on the town and the empty fort. When the news of this fighting came to the other Fante people, they were very angry that the Kommenda people had been told to change

[43] The Sweet River is formed when the rivers Srowi and Kakum join and flow together to the sea at the village of Iture.

[44] 2 Remember that at this time the Gold Coast was under Sierra Leone. The Governor of all British West Africa lived at Freetown, and Colonel Conran and Mr. Ussher were assistant-governors under him.

their flag whether they agreed or not. They were angrier still when they heard that Kommenda town had been destroyed. They held a great meeting at Mankesim. Many of the chiefs of the coast towns - Anomabu, Winneba, Abora - and of the larger tribes inland, such as Assin, Denkyera, and Wassaw, came to it; the people of Cape Coast also would have gone if they had been able. But they feared the British Government too much. The meeting at Mankesim agreed to form a union, which they called the Fante Confederation. The first work of the Confederation was to help the Kommendas, Denkyeras, and Wassaws, and any others who were likely to suffer by leaving the British and coming under the Dutch. The Elmina people, of course, were the enemies of the Confederation. There was a little fighting between the Dutch and the Elminas on one side and the Kommendas and the rest of the Fante Confederation on the other; and very soon the men of the Confederation went and shut the Elminas in their town, so that they could do nothing and were soon short of food. The British Government was angry; for it had made a promise to the Dutch Government, and now it looked as if it would not be able to fulfil its promise. But when the Government asked the Fantes why they were fighting against its friends the Dutch, the Fantes replied that the Dutch might be the friends of the British, but that they were certainly not the friends of the Fantes. They were not slaves, and they were not going to let their friends of Kommenda, Denkyera, and Wassaw suffer from the Dutch simply because the British turned them away. The Government told them to stop fighting, and punished two of the chiefs; but it made no difference. Then the Government tried to make peace between the Elminas and the others. But the Elminas would not give up their friendship and alliance with Ashanti; and the Fantes would not make peace with them unless they did; and so the Government failed. So the war went on, and on the whole the Kom mendas did well. The Fante Confederation saw that the Kommendas needed no help against the Dutch and the Elminas. But in October, 1869, help came to the Elminas from Ashanti. The new Asantehene, Kofi Karikari, felt strong enough to begin the war again. He sent Akyea mpon to the coast with a small army. The Fante Confederation had closed the direct roads, so that Akyeampon had to go far to the west, into what is *now* the Ivory- Coast; for he *was*

not strong enough to fight his way through Fantes and Wassaws and Denkyeras. In October he came to Axim, and began to march slowly eastwards towards Kommenda and Elmina. At the same time, the Asantehene sent another general, Adu Bofo, to replace Nantwi in the Krepi country. He meant to send a third army straight down towards Cape Coast, following the old Ashanti plan of a threefold attack; but for some reason this third army never came. Akyeampon came to Elmina. Wherever he passed, he killed many of the Fantes; for he had sworn an oath to kill every Englishman and every Fante he could find. He found some Englishmen at Axim, and would have killed them, but the Dutch captain of the fort at Axim made him let them go. Even When he came to Elmina, he killed many Fantes, though they begged the Dutch in the castle to protect them. The British governor asked the Dutch governor to punish him; but he did not. Meanwhile, Adu Bofo and the Ashanti army in Krepi were fighting with the help of the Akwamus against the Krepi people. The Krepis were led by a chief called Dompre, an Akim man. Many times the Ashantis and Akwamus defeated them, but Dompre always led them to fight again. After a time, the Accras and Akwapims and Akims began to think of helping the Krepis against the Ashantis. But before they could reach him, Dompre and the Krepis had won a great victory over the Ashantis. The Krepis retired to the top of the Gemi hill near Amedzofe. The Ashantis attacked them, but the hill was steep, and Dompre's men rolled great rocks 145 down upon the climbing Ashantis. After trying many times to reach the top of the hill, Adu Bofo called his men away and retired. He was beginning to find the war difficult; for the Krepis had destroyed all the crops in the farms, and they used to lie in wait in small parties for the Ashanti foodsupplies and ammunition coming from Kumase, and take them. So Adu Bofo was beginning to lack food and powder. So matters on the Gold Coast at the beginning of the year 1870 were looking very unpleasant. Akyeampon was still in Elmina with his army, and the Dutch could not stop him beating and killing Fantes and other people. Adu Bofo with a large Ashanti army was in' the Krepi country, just outside the country protected by the British. The Akwamus were helping him, and the Awunas were ready to help him whenever they got a chance. The Elmina people were still at war with the Fante

Confederation and the Wassaws and the Denkyeras. Another Ashanti army was coming from the west to join Akyeampon and strengthen him. And although there was so far no fighting between the Ashantis and the British, the two peoples were still at war, for peace had never been made since the war of 1863-4. In June, 1869, Adu Bofo took the towns of Anum and Ho. He burnt the mission stations, and took three Europeans prisoners at Anum, and one at Ho. Two missionaries at Anum, Ramseyer, a Swiss, who had his wife and baby son with him, and Kühne, a German, had stayed behind when the town was left to the Ashantis,. At Ho a French trader named Bonnat had stayed behind to sell powder to the Ashantis, but they took his powder for nothing, and took him prisoner to Kumase. All the Europeans were taken to Kumase and kept there for some years.

All this spoilt the trade on the Gold Coast for everybody, but especially for the Dutch. The Fante Confederation looked on the Dutch as enemies, and would not trade with them; and in a time of war, of course, few traders could come down from Ashanti. So the Dutch began to think of leaving the Gold Coast. They asked the British if they would take over the Dutch forts and possessions. The British were willing; but there were two difficulties. One was that Akyeampon and his army were still in Elmina, and the Ashantis still thought that Elmina was part of Ashanti. The other was that the Elminas hated the Fantes, and the Fante Confederation wanted to punish the Elminas, which they would not be able to do if the Elminas also came under British rule. The British Government did not want to take over the Dutch forts as long as the Asantehene counted Elmina Castle as his; for they knew that he would fight rather than leave the Elminas to the Fantes. The Dutch knew that the British felt this; so they did all they could to make the Asantehene, Kofi Karikari, agree that the Elminas were only his friends, and not his subjects or his allies. But it was hard to make him agree. The Dutch still paid him L~80 a year for Elmina. When Kwaku Dua died, Kofi Karikari sent a messenger to Elmina with the news, and the Elminas sacrificed him in the streets. One of the Elmina chiefs was sent to Kumase to represent the town at the funeral of Kwaku Dua. So it was clear that the Elminas counted themselves as part 0f Ashanti. The British and others had always counted Elmina as part of Ashanti; they had complained to the Asantehene

when the Elminas had done any wrong, as if he had the power to punish them. So British, Dutch, and Fantes, 1863-1872 how could the Dutch now say that Elmina was not under the Asantehene? In 1871 the Dutch sent an African clerk called Henry Plange to Kumase to try and get Kofi Karikari to agree to this. He brought back a letter from the Asantehene, which said that long ago in the time of Ntim Gyakari, the Denkyeras had bought nine thousand pounds' worth of goods from the Dutch: Osei Tutu of Ashanti had paid the money, and the Dutch had promised to pay him the ~8o a year which they had been paying to the Denkyerahene. This letter was just what the Dutch and the British wanted. They believed it, and thanked the Asantehene for it; and the British Government decided to take over Elmina and the other Dutch places. But it is almost certain that the letter was a lie, written by Plange to make his masters think that he had done what he was sent to do. The Europeans in Kumase knew nothing of it; and Kofi Karikari used to make them read and interpret all his letters for him. They thought that Plange had quite failed. And after the date of this letter, the Asantehene was still talking about Elmina as if it belonged to him.

However, the British and the Dutch thought the letter was real, and so they went on with the business. Akyeampon was sent away by the Dutch back to Assini. The Elminas were angry. They saw that the Dutch were going to leave them. For some time they would not agree, and they hoped that the Ashantis would help them, or that the British Government would change its mind. But then they saw that neither of these things would happen; and most of the people of Elmina then said that if they had to come under British rule anyhow, it would be better to agree willingly, so as to be the friends of the British. They saw that if the British did not help them against the Fante Confederation, they would all be killed. The chief of Elmina still would not agree; but his people deposed him. On April 6th, 1872, the Dutch handed over Elmina Castle and all their other places on the Gold Coast to the British. The Elminas need not have feared the Fante Confederation, for a few weeks before the British actually came to Elmina, the Confederation died. When the meeting had been held at Mankesim, the main business of the Confederation had been to help the Kommendas and others, who were told they were to come

under the Dutch. This made the British Government angry, and although after a time the Fante Confederation left off fighting against the Elminas, the Government did not forget why the Confederation had first been started.

In 1871 the Confederation began a new plan. It held another meeting at Mankesim, and drew up a number of rules, which it proposed to follow in its business. Many of the things it wanted to do were very right and proper: roads, schools, agri culture, justice, were all mentioned. But some of the other things displeased the Government. The Confederation proposed to make itself an assembly for passing laws, and raising taxes, and discussing any Government business, for the whole of Fante land. If this had been carried out, the Government would have had to govern the Fantes through the assembly of the Confederation.

In one way, of course, this idea of the Fante Confederation was very good. The Fantes saw that they had suffered very much in the past because they had been divided.; and they wanted to unite. They saw that because they were British, Dutch, and Fantes, 1863-1872 divided, the British were taking more and more power over them, and they feared that in time they might lose all their freedom. There was this to be said against the idea of the Confederation it is likely that the Confederation would never have been able to do all the fine things it proposed to do. The question of taxation, for example, would have been very difficult for it. The people who drew up these rules were going very fast, perhaps much too fast. But it may be that the Fantes would have overcome these difficulties in a few years; and if the Confederation had worked well, and if the Confederation and the British Government had trusted each other and worked together, it might have been a very good thing for the country.

But the Government remembered that the Confederation had begun in the first place, in 1867, in order to go against what the British Government wished. So when the Governor saw all this about the Fantes governing themselves, he thought it meant that the Fantes wanted to have no more to do with the white men at all. He actually arrested the three officers of the Confederation who brought him a copy of the rules, and put them in prison; and he wrote to the Governor-in-Chief at Freetown and said that he thought it was a very serious matter. But the Governor-

in-Chief and the Secretary of State in England did not agree. They made him let the men out of prison and set them free. The new Governor-in-Chief saw the rules, and said that with many of them he was very pleased, but he could not agree to them all without thinking the matter over very carefully. But before he had time to finish thinking the matter over, war and other troubles came on the country, and the Fante Confederation was forgotten. It never met again.

CHAPTER XIII

THE "SAGRENTI" WAR OF 1874

THE matter of Elmina brought war again with the Ashantis. Peace had never been made since 1863, so this is not, strictly speaking, a new war. The Ashantis counted Elmina as part of their country, and they were not asked whether they agreed that the Dutch should go and leave it to the British. But if they had been asked, they would never have agreed. Elmina was the only port on the coast where Ashantis could come to trade without having to buy and sell through Fante or Accra traders. The Fantes wanted to keep all the trade with the interior in their own hands and make their own profit out of it. The white men wanted to make their own profit also, and to collect customs duties to pay for their' government in the land they ruled. This was the chief cause of the war, though there were many smaller causes, and the cause of the war of 1863 - Kwasi Gyani's matter - had never been settled.

There was another matter, too, which had to be settled. This was the matter of the missionaries who were prisoners in Kumase. None of them were British, and none of them had been taken in British country or in country that was protected by the British. But the British Government all the same felt that it had to do what it could for them.

The Governor wrote to Kumase to ask the Asantehene to give them back. Kofi Karikari himself might have done so; and he wanted to give them up when he heard that Adu Bofo was doing badly against the Krepis. But most of the Ashanti chiefs would not agree. The Governor proposed that he should give up all his

Ashanti prisoners and that the Asantehene should give. up all the prisoners he had. The Asantehene agreed. The Ashantis in Cape Coast were collected and sent up to the Pra; but the Assins would not let them pass into Ashanti, and kept them there for several months. By the time that the Assins had agreed to let them go, the Asantehene had better news of Adu Bofo and the Krepi war; so he took the Ashantis from Cape Coast, and sent in exchange only the Fantes and Assins that he had. He said that he could not let the white men go unless Adu Bofo; who had taken them, agreed; and Adu Bofo wanted the Governor to pay 1,800 ounces of gold (over £6,000) for them. The Governor, Mr. Hennessy, tried to make friends with Ashanti by giving them what they wanted. He sent gifts to the Asantehene. He promised to pay twice the money for Elmina that the Dutch had paid-4o ounces of gold instead of 20 ounces. He even allowed them to buy guns and powder and salt and bullets as much as they liked. But he would not pay 1,800 ounces of gold for the white men in Kumase; he offered to pay 250 ounces-nearly £ 1,000. He sent a messenger to Kumase to say this; and he chose as his messenger Henry Plange, who had made such trouble already, and whom the Ashantis knew and disliked.

Plange was kept waiting for some weeks before Kofi Karikari would see him. Then he was called before the council of chiefs, and told to say what he had to say. The chiefs were very angry when he said that the Governor would never pay more than L1,000. They brought the 1,800 ounces of gold down to 500 ounces (nearly ,2,000), and asked Plange what he said to that. But he said that £1,000 was all the Governor would pay. This was on September 2nd, 1872. On October 22nd the Asantehene and his chiefs held a great meeting the chiefs swore to march to the coast, and Kofi Karikari replied, " If you go, I will go with you.”

A few days before this second meeting in Kumase, an Ashanti messenger came to Cape Coast. He asked the Governor for £2,000, and said that if the Governor paid him the money, the prisoners in Kumase would be set free as soon as he returned home. When he found that the Governor would not agree, he said that he would take the £1,000. This shows that the Asantehene himself did not wish for war, but was being pushed into it by his chiefs. The Governor said he would gladly pay the money; but not to the Ashanti messenger. He paid the money

to Mr. Grant, a Fante living in Cape Coast, and said that Mr. Grant would pay it to the Asantehene as soon as the prisoners came to Cape Coast. He thought that the Ashantis were savages who would not keep their promises. Plange and the Europeans had been sent to Fomena; but when the Asantehene heard that the money would not be paid until they reached Cape Coast, he called them back to Kumase.

MAP V.

ASHANTI AND FANTE TO ILLUSTRATE THE ASHANTI WARS

Not quite every place mentioned in the story of the wars is marked here. One or two are left out because I do not know where they arey one or two are left out because there is no room for them. Peuinase, Egyinase and Bobriase are left out for this reason. Peuinase is close to Lake Bosumtwe; it would come on this map just under the letter a of the word Lake, just north of the hills. Egyinase is half a mile from Amoafo, and Bobrinse is half a mile from Akrokyere; and half a mile is too small a distance to be shown on the map. Kokobiante is close to Akrokyere.

The hills are shaded. The dotted line marks the old road from Kumase to Cape Coast. The country round the lake is called Asuuhō.

Old Denkyera and New Denkyera are both named. Old Denkyera, with its capital at Abankasiens, fought against Osei Tutu; but in the time of the Denkyerahene Boda Akefun, all the land north of the Ofin was taken by the Ashantis under Osei Tutu. The two divisions of Asin are not marked; but roughly, the road may be taken as the boundary. East of the road is Asin Atandaso, west is Asin Apimenem.

This map can also be used to illustrate Chapters III and V III.

On January 22nd, 1873, the main Ashanti army crossed the Pra. It was led. by Amankwa Tia, the chief of Bantama[45]. Another army under Adu Bofo went west into Sefwi and Wassaw. A third, under Kofi Bentuo, chief of Marawere, left Kumase a little later to go into Akim and stop the Akims from attacking. The Ashantis were using their threefold method of attack again. Amankwa Tia's army was the biggest of the three. The third army under Kofi Bentuo never got to Akim. Kofi Karikari called it back and sent it to help Adu Bofo in Sefwi and Wassaw. This left the Akims free; and the Ashantis later in the war had reason to be sorry for that.

The British at Cape Coast had heard several stories of Ashanti attacks, but

[45] 1 Another Amankwa Tia, chief of Bantama, had been sent by Opoku Ware to fight the Sefwis.

they had all been untrue. So when the news came to Cape Coast, on January 31st, that the Ashantis had crossed the Pra and burnt several Assin villages, it was at first not believed. But on February 9th the main Assin army met the Ashantis at Assin Nyankumase, and was completely defeated. The Ashantis pressed forward down the road towards Cape Coast. The Assins and the Fantes began to gather more men, but the Ashantis pushed them back to Fante Nyankumase. An English officer was sent up with a few Hausa soldiers and some Cape Coast men to do what he could to help the Fantes and the Assins, but he was told to be careful to protect Cape Coast from the Ashantis; so he was not able to save the Fante army from being beaten again at Fante Nyankumase.

After this battle the Ashantis rested. The Fantes and others formed a large camp at Dunkwa, and a few more troops came from Sierra Leone to help them. The Ashantis too got more men and more bullets and powder from their own country; and Adu Bofo came from Wassaw and joined Amankwa Tia before Dunkwa. On April 8th the Ashantis attacked Dunkwa, but they could not do anything against the Fantes, who fought very bravely. A week later they came and attacked again, and another battle was fought which lasted the whole day. Neither side won; but the next morning the Fantes retired towards Cape Coast leaving the Ashantis to rest at Dunkwa. In the middle of May they left Dunkwa and moved slowly towards Jukwa; and there, on June 5th, the Ashantis won a great victory over the Fantes.

The Government now saw that the Ashantis were more dangerous than they had ever been before. The Ashantis were only ten miles from Cape Coast. Thousands of Fantes had come into Cape Coast to be protected by the guns of the castle. There were only 500 trained soldiers in the place, and many of the castle guns were useless, Many of the Elmina people joined the Ashantis. If the Ashantis had attacked Cape Coast, they would have certainly taken' the town, and very likely the castle as well. But they did not know how bad things were at Cape Coast, and they were themselves suffering from sickness and lack of food. The rains that year were very heavy indeed. Many of the houses in Cape Coast fell down, and part of the castle also sank into mud with its guns on it. There was no room in the

houses of Cape Coast for the thousands of Fantes and Assins, and they had to sleep in the streets. The Ashantis, out in the bush, were worse off. Wet, ill' hungry, and miserable, they had had enough of the war.

And now more troops began to come from England. Some British sailors and soldiers went over to Elmina and drove out the companies who had joined the Ashantis. Elmina was destroyed by the guns of the castle, and the people gave up fighting and agreed to serve the Government. There was some fighting in the bush just outside Elmina between the British and the Ashantis, and the Ashantis were beaten. This little fighting showed the Ashantis that they could never take Elmina, which was what they had come for. They had never felt happy under Amankwa Tia, for they did not think he was good enough to lead the army against the British. Now that they found themselves sitting in the bush in the rain outside Cape Coast doing nothing for so long, they made Amankwa Tia send to Kofi Karikari in Kumase asking him to recall the army to Ashanti. But Kofi Karikari would not. He said, " You wished for war, and now you have it. You swore you would not return until 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. . . . In due time I will send you an answer."

In September, 1873, the British Government appointed Colonel Sir Garnet Wolseley to command all the troops in the Gold Coast and to teach the Ashantis a lesson. For a long time people in England had not understood how bad things were on the Coast, and the Government feared to send white soldiers because of the bad climate. In those days people did not know the cause of malaria; they thought it was caused by foul air from rotting leaves or from swamps. So they took no trouble against mosquitoes, and did not use quinine regularly. Nor did they know the danger of drinking water straight from the river without boiling or filtering. Because of this, white men died very quickly from fever and dysentery and other diseases, and the West Coast of Africa was known as " The White Man's Grave." But Sir Garnet Wolseley would not take the work of fighting the Ashantis unless he were allowed to have some white soldiers if he needed them; and the Government agreed to this. It is from Sir Garnet's name "that the Akan people call this war.

The first thing to do was to drive the Ashantis back to their own country. After that, Sir Gar Wolseley wished to take his army into Ashanti andnet beat the Ashantis in their own country. Ashantis had always fought near the coast, but the British and the Fantes had never crossed the pra to attack Ashanti. As Kwaku Dua had said " The white man brings his cannon to the bush' but the bush is stronger than the cannon." As long as the Ashantis believed this, they would think they could always make war when they liked and make peace too when they liked; and they had to be shown that they were wrong.

When Wolseley came, he found only about 600 trained soldiers in the country. He sent to England for white soldiers, and about 2,000 were sent. But he wanted to do as much as he could without them, so that the white soldiers should have a short time in the country, during the dry season. All that could be done to make ready for the march to Kumase was to be done before they came: roads to be made, places for camps to be chosen, carriers and other men to be engaged, food and firewood to be collected.

He began by sending officers to collect armies from the friendly tribes. Captain Butler was sent-to collect men in Akim. Captain Glover, the governor of the little British colony of Lagos, offered to collect men in Accra, Krobo, and the countries round the Volta. Other officers brought men from Sierra Leone and the Gambia. A big meeting of chiefs was held at Cape Coast, and Wolseley asked them to do their best to bring a large army. The chiefs were not very willing, and Wolseley was very angry with them; but no doubt they were waiting to see whether the Government really meant business. They had not forgotten Major Cochrane. They knew that the Ashantis were tired of the war and would soon be going home again; and they did not want to do anything to make the Ashantis stay any longer.

Wolseley decided to drive the Ashantis away from Elmina and Cape Coast. He had very few white troops yet, and very few trained men of any kind. He saw that he must take the Ashantis by surprise. He sent men to Elmina by night, and attacked the Ashantis early in the morning of October 14th. There were over 300 West Indian troops and Hausas, and nearly 200 white men from the warships. They drove the Ashantis out of Asaman, and pushed along the coast as far as

Ampeni, burning the villages where the Ashantis had been living. This showed the Fantes that Wolseley was not like Major Cochrane; he would follow the Ashantis into the bush like Sir Charles McCarthy, but, unlike McCarthy, he would beat them there. Still the Fantes did not join the army. Very few men came from the Gambia and Sierra Leone and the Niger Delta-less than 500 altogether. So Wolseley sent to England for the white troops; and he decided to wait until they came before going into Ashanti. He wrote to the Asantehene, and told him to call all his army back to Ashanti before November 12th, to give up all the Assin, Denkyera, and Fante prisoners, and to pay for the damage his men had done. He said that if this were not done, he would make the Asantehene give up the prisoners and pay the money by force.

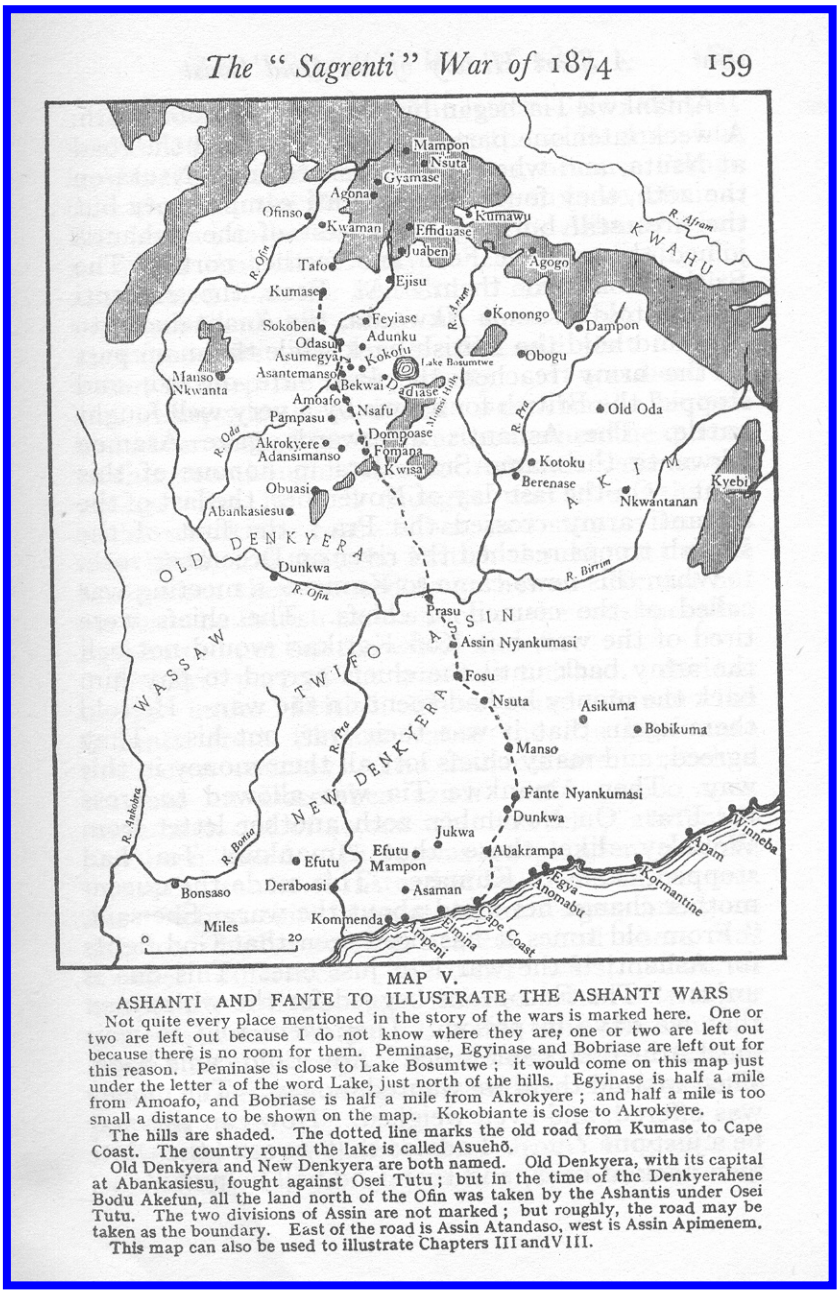
This letter never reached Kumase, although three separate copies were sent by different messengers. The Ashanti general Amankwa Tia stopped the letters, and sent an answer of his own. He said that he had no quarrel with the white men, but d had collie to snake the Assins, Denkyeras, Akims and Wassaws serve Ashanti again, He said nothing about Elmina, and nothing about Kwasi Gyani, and nothing about the missionaries in Kumase. He only said that the Asantehehene wanted those four tribes, which he could not take without breaking his treaty of 1831.

But Amankwa Tia heard that British troops were at Dunkwa and Manso, on the Cape Coast - Kumase road, far to the north. He feared that he

would not be able to get back to Ashanti, so he began to retire. One part of his army marched through the bush from Efutu Mampon eastwards to join the road, while another part moved from Efutu towards Abakrampa, hoping to get in between the British at Dunkwa and Cape Coast and so make the men at Dunkwa retire towards Cape Coast. But the first part of his army met the British before it reached Dunkwa, and after a short fight had to move away. The second part attacked Abakrampa. But finding that the British in Abakrampa were too strong, and that the British at Dunkwa did not come down to help them, and leave the road to Kumase open, the Ashantis gave it up.

Amankwa Tia saw that he could not use the road. He made his men cut

paths through the bush, parallel to the road and a few miles west of it.' The British had not enough men to fight a battle against the whole of the Ashanti army, so that they did not trouble the Ashantis very much while they were cutting their paths. But they troubled them enough to make the Ashantis work as quickly as they could; and this was all they could do, for fear of having another battle like Nsamankow, nearly fifty years before.



MAP V.

ASHANTI AND FANTE TO ILLUSTRATE THE ASHANTI WARS

Not quite every place mentioned in the story of the wars is marked here. One or two are left out because I do not know where they are; one or two are left out because there is no room for them. Peminase, Egyinase and Bobriase are left out for this reason. Peminase is close to Lake Bosumtwe; it would come on this map just under the letter a of the word Lake, just north of the hills. Egyinase is half a mile from Amoafo, and Bobriase is half a mile from Akrokyere; and half a mile is too small a distance to be shown on the map. Kokobiante is close to Akrokyere.

The hills are shaded. The dotted line marks the old road from Kumase to Cape Coast. The country round the lake is called Asuehō.

Old Denkyera and New Denkyera are both named. Old Denkyera, with its capital at Abankasiesu, fought against Osei Tutu; but in the time of the Denkyerahene Bodu Akefun, all the land north of the Ofin was taken by the Ashantis under Osei Tutu. The two divisions of Assin are not marked; but roughly, the road may be taken as the boundary. East of the road is Assin Atandaso, west is Assin Apimenem.

This map can also be used to illustrate Chapters III and VIII.

Amankwa Tia began his march on October 16th. A week later one part of his army joined the road at Nsuta, and when the British came to Nsuta on the 26th,

they found the Ashanti camp empty but the fires still burning. The rest of the Ashantis joined the road at Fosu and farther north. The British followed them. At Fosu the Ashanti general told Asamoa Nkwanta, the Anantahene, to turn and hold the British back while the main part of the army reached the Pra. He did so, and stopped the British for a time by a very well-fought battle. The Ashantis afterwards gave Asamoa Nkwanta the name Srafo Kra in honour of this fight. On the last day of November, the last of the Ashanti army crossed the Pra; the first of the British troops reached the river on December 10th.

When this news came to Kumase, a meeting was called of the council of chiefs. The chiefs were tired of the war, but Kofi Karikari would not call the army back until the chiefs agreed to pay him back the money he had spent on the war. He told them again that it was their war, not his. They agreed, and many chiefs lost all their money in this way. Then Amankwa Tia was allowed to cross the Pra. On November loth another letter from Wolseley, like those that Amankwa Tia had stopped, came to Kumase. This made the queen mother change her mind about the war. She said, " 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 white men that we have in prison. They were told to wait until Adu Bofo came back. Adu Bofo came back. Then we told them we wanted money. The money was offered, and even weighed. How can this war be a just one ? . . . I advise that we send the white men back at once, and then God will help us.

Kofi Karikari answered the letter. He said that he did not want to fight against the white men, but he wanted to fight the Denkyeras, because Plange told him that the Denkyeras were to have Elmina. But he had called his army back to Ashanti when he heard that the Denkyerahene was dead. He complained that the British had done wrong when they attacked his army at Fosu when it was already on its way home. He said that he still meant to keep the treaty of 1831. It was hard for him to say why he had made war when he himself had never wished for the war, and when the queen mother too thought that the Ashantis were in the wrong. But he still thought that the Ashantis could attack the coast tribes, and stay as long as they liked, and that the British should not trouble them when they wanted to go

home. He did not see that the British had to protect the coast peoples. And he did not set the white men free.

The first part of the war was finished. African troops under British officers had driven the Ashantis from Elmina across the Pra back into their own country. The Ashanti army reached Kumase on December 22nd. Only 20,000 men came back out of 40,000 who had left; 280 chiefs had been killed. There was no plunder, no long lines of prisoners. Instead of joy there was sorrow. For the first time, a great Ashanti army had gone out and had returned beaten. And there was another difference. In other wars, whatever happened, the war was finished when the army came back to Kumase. But this time the Ashantis knew that " Sagrenti " and his men were following just them. The war was not ended; it was only just begun.

The white soldiers came from England in December. By January loth they were all ready at Prasu, and Wolseley himself was there. nn that day the main body of the army crossed the river; the scouts and other advanced troops had already crossed some days before.

From Prasu Sir Garnet Wolseley sent another letter to the Asantehene. Kofi Karikari now saw that the matter was serious, and he sent the white man Kühne to beg the British not to come any farther. But he did not agree to what Wolseley wanted. So the British moved on. The same day that Wolseley wrote his letter, a great Owawa tree that had been planted by Okomfo Anokye in Kumase fell down; so the Ashantis feared the war. But Kwadwo Oben, chief of Adansi, told the chiefs in Kumase that if they had no powder to fight the British, he had some. So the Ashantis made ready to fight again. Kwabena Dwumo of Mampon was the leader of the army, which made Amankwa Tia very angry.

On January 23rd the other Europeans in Kumase were set free, and reached the British camp. They brought a letter from the Asantehene, in which he promised to pay the money that the British asked. Wolseley answered that the Ashantis must set free all their Fante prisoners, and pay half the money at once. And the queenmother of Ashanti and the heirs to the stools of Ashanti itself, Juaben, Mampon, Kokofu, and Bekwai must be given up until the money were paid. Of course, the Asantehene could not possibly give up these great people as

prisoners to the British. So the war went on.

Asamoa Nkwanta was sent to help the Adansis until the main Ashanti army should be ready. This army was collected at Amoafo, near Bekwai. The Ashanti plan was that Asamoa Nkwanta, with Kwadwo Oben and his Adansis, should oppose the British enough to make them move slowly, but not enough to stop them altogether. They would meet the main Ashanti army at Amoafo, and there would be a great battle there; and while the British were busy, the Juaben men would move round behind them, break down the bridge over the Pra, and shut the British army inside Ashanti. The British would then be without food and stores; they would be squeezed between two Ashanti armies and beaten. But the Juaben men could not do their part of the fighting, for Wolseley had sent another officer, Captain Glover to collect an army in Accra and Akwapim and attack Ashanti from the south-east. Captain Glover did not collect many men, but his army was big enough to keep the Juaben men watching him, so that they could not leave him and do what Asamoa Nkwanta wanted them to do at Prasu. So the Ashantis were not able to trouble the British rearguard very much.

The main British army was now in camp on the top of the Moinsi hill above Kwisa and Fomena. On January 29th, 1874, the British scouts fought with the Adansis at Bobriase, near Akrokyere, and beat them. In this fight Asamoa Nkwanta jwas nearly taken prisoner. His state umbrella was taken by the British. The Adansis retired to join the main army at Amoafo. On the same day the main British army left Moinsi and moved through Fomena and Dompoase to Nsafu. On the 31st the scouts met the Ashantis at Egyinase, half a mile from Amoafo, and drove them back to the place they had prepared at Amoafo itself.

The road by which the British were moving climbed a hill, and then went down into a basin. The hill which formed the side of the basin made a semi-circle on the east, and the little river Aprapon flowed from it westwards through a marsh. When came to the stream and the mud, they had the Ashanti army in front of them and on their right; and they lost very many men before they could move forward up the hill on the far side of the stream. The battle began at eight in the morning; and it took the British four hours to take the hill across the river. The guns were brought

up, and when the Ashantis were badly shaken, the British charged them and drove there back a little way; then the guns were moved forward again, and so on. At last, at mid-day, the British fought their way into the town of Amoafo. While this was going on, the Ashantis attacked thé right and left of the British, and then they attacked the British camps at Kwaman and Fomena; but they did not win any of these small fights. The Ashantis lost many men in this battle of Amoafo. Amankwa Tia was the leader of the army; but Kwabena Dwumo said he would lead the army himself in such an important battle. Amankwa Tia would not agree, and tore his cloth as a sign that he would not agree; and as he was tearing his cloth, he was shot in the back, and died. Kwabena Dwumo also was killed in the battle.

After the battle of Amoafo the British moved on again. On February 3rd the army built a bridge across the Oda river, and next morning the army attacked the Ashantis again at Odasu, only seven miles from Kumase. For some hours there was hard fighting, but then the Ashantis were beaten, and fled. At half-past five in the evening of February 4th the army entered Kumase. The Asantehene would not come into Kumase to talk about peace; and the British army was too small to wait very long in the middle of the enemy's country. So on the morning of the 6th the army left Kumase, and before going set fire to the town and blew up the Asantehene's house and fort[46] with gunpowder. On the 12th the messengers of the Asantehene found Sir Garnet Wolseley at Fomena, and the Treaty of Fomena was drawn up. The Asantehene had to pay a large sum of gold; to give up his claim to Elmina, Assin, Akim, and Denkyera, and also to Adansi. The Adansis said they wanted to move south of the Pra and come under the British and serve Ashanti no more. (But they did not do so for many years.) Sir Garnet Wolseley left the coast on March 4th, the soldiers having already gone. Peace was now, made between the British and the Ashantis; but in the east of the Gold Coast, war was still going on. Captain Glover had not been able to gather many men to attack Ashanti, because the Krobos and Akwapims and others wanted to finish the war against the Awunas. After the Treaty of Fomena, three Ashanti men came to Keta and told the Awunas that they could not help them. So the Awunas were then

[46] This fort was built by Osei Bonsu soon after 1820.

ready to make peace. Peace was made with them at Dzelukofe in June, 1874, and the whole of the Awuna country was taken under British rule.

On September 12th, 1874, the Gold Coast and Lagos were separated from Sierra Leone and made into a colony-not a protectorate--under the title of the Gold Coast Colony. By this the British Government took over the government of the country. The people of the colony were not to be allies of the British, but were to be British subjects, as the leaders of the Fante Confederation had wished. The Government ruled the country through the native chiefs and their councils; and the Government had no land of its own except the land on which the forts were built (which the Government had now take, from Ashanti, as the Ashantis had taken them from the Denkyeras and Akims, who themselves had taken them from the coast chiefs). But the Government was to rule; it was not to be only the friend, adviser, and helper. Things could not go on any longer in the old way. If the British were to defend the country, and provide judges and schools and roads and do all the other things that the people wished, they must have the Power to give orders. If they did not have that Power, they would have to leave the country altogether; and, in fact, many Englishmen said that it would be better to do so. They said that they had done enough for the people in the last war, and the people had riot done enough for themselves.; and it would be better to let the Ashantis take the whole country. But the Government did not agree with that.

In November, 1874, the Government passed law's to stop all slave-trading, to set free all slaves, and to say that all children born after a certain date were to be born free. When the Government explained that slaves who chose to go on living with their masters should be allowed to do so, and should not be forced to go away and live by themselves, the chiefs and people of the colony agreed. Most of the slaves did stay where they were, and continued to serve their old masters.

CHAPTER XIV

BRITISH AND ASHANTIS, 1874-1888

FOR the first time since the days of Opoku Ware, Kumase had been taken by an enemy. It seemed as if the Ashanti confederation was useless, and that the work of all the chiefs that had sat on the Ashanti stool was wasted. And so many of the great chiefs of Ashanti said that they and their people would serve Kumase no longer. Not only the Gyaman and Banda people, who had always refused to obey Ashanti whenever they were strong enough, but even some of the great Ashanti stools themselves, such as Juaben, Kwahu, Mampon, Agona, Nsuta, Bekwai, and Kokofu, broke away from the Ashanti government. The Brong people of north Ashanti, such as the people of Tekyiman, Attabubu, and Karakye, of course followed, and all the people of the north who had been paying tribute to Kumase.

The Ashantis did not know what to do. They saw now that the British were stronger than they were. Many villages named Brofo Yedru were there to remind them of the war. Many of the great Ashanti chiefs wished their country to come under British protection. Adansi had already done so, though the Adansis had not moved into the colony, as they had said they would. The Kwahus and the Karakye people sent to the British Government and asked to be allowed to come under the British; but the British Government would not have them. The Government said that it did not want to have anything to do with the inside affairs of Ashanti. Then two things were possible. Either Ashanti would be divided into many independent states, or else Kumase or some other state would gather them all again and build up a strong Ashanti confederation once more. Kofi Karikari called all the great Ashanti chiefs to meet him at Menhia, near Kumase. The Kumase chiefs came, but many of the others would not come. Asafo Agyei, chief of Juaben, not only refused to come to Kumase, but killed some Kumase traders, and said that he would never come under Kumase again. The Asantehene asked the Governor to send an officer to try and make Juaben serve him; and an officer was sent. But the Governor told him it was not his business to make Juaben serve Kumase; all he

was to do was to help Asafo Agyei and Kofi Karikari to make peace. When the officer went to Juaben, Asafo Agyei said he would not serve Kumase; and so peace was made, but Kofi Karikari had to agree that Juaben was free from serving Kumase.

Then the queen-mother of Ashanti saw a thing which made her angry. She saw one of Kofi Karikari's wives wearing gold ornaments that had belonged to her own mother, Karikari's grandmother. Karikari had broken open the graves at Bantama and had taken out the gold and aggrey beads and other valuable things that were inside. The Asantehene could use this treasure in times of great danger, if his council agreed; but it was very wrong for him to touch it for himself. The queenmother told the chiefs what her son the Asantehene had done, and he was deposed. The council made his younger brother, Mensa Bonsu, Asantehene; but only a few of the great chiefs came to put him on the stool.

Mensa Bonsu became Asantehene at the end of 1874. He set himself to rebuild Kumase, and to make the other Ashanti stools serve Kumase again. But he could do nothing with Asafo Agyei of Juaben, who closed the roads and took some Kumase men prisoners, thus breaking the peace that he had made with Kofi Karikari. The Asantehene sent to the Government to ask for help; but the Governor said that he was not going to have any more to do with the inside matters of Ashanti. This pleased Juaben; and Asafo Agyei sent to his friends in Akim for help. (You will remember that in 1834, in the time of Osei Yaw the Asantehene, the juabens had gone down to stay in Akim, and the great Juaben queen-mother, Ama Sewa, had brought them back in 1841.[47]) So war came again between Kumase and Juaben. When some of the other Ashanti chiefs found that they must choose between helping Kumase and helping Juaben, they decided to help Kumase; Bekwai and Kokofu. whom Asafo Agyei had been counting among his friends, did this. In October, 1875, the fighting began. At first the Juaben men won, and some of the Kumase chiefs blew themselves up with gunpowder, because they thought all was lost[48]. But afterwards the battle began again; the Juaben men had no more

[47] Ama Sewa became actually chief of Juaben.
[48] Asamoa Nkwanta, who had fought so well against the British, was one of them.

bullets, and they were beaten, and fled to Akim. The Akims gave them land at Koforidua, and many of the juabens settled there, and are there to this day. Mensa Bonsu then tried to make Adansi serve him again. The Adansis had been promised by the British that if they crossed the Pra and to live in the colony they should be protected They had not moved from Fomena, but their still thought that the British would protect them; and Mensa Bonsu thought so too. The chief of Adansi, Kwadwo Oben, was dead; and there was some trouble about choosing the next chief. One Party wanted to serve Kumase, the other wanted to Par the British. The Adansis asked the Government to help them; and an officer was sent to Fomena He helped the Adansis to agree; and they made Nkansa Berofon chief and decided not to serve Kumase. Some time later Mensa Bonsu tried to get the Adansi chiefs to depose Nkansa and come under Kumase again. But Nkansa heard of it, and told the Government; and the Govern, ment told Mensa Bonsu that he was not to break the Treaty of Fomena, which said that the Adansis were to be free of Ashanti. The Asantehene agreed; but he was angry, and many of his chiefs wanted to make war against the Adansis. But Mensa Bonsu himself and the queen-mother knew that that would bring war with the British; and they did not want that.

Then came the, question of Gyaman. Mensa Bonsu sent messengers to Bondugu, saying that the British had given him the whole of Gyaman, so the Gyamans must serve him. Kwadwo Agyeman, the chief of Gyaman, did not believe this, and sent messengers to ask the Government if it were true. The Governor said it was not true, and sent an officer to Bondugu to tell the Gyaman people so. The officer asked the Gyamans if they would like to be under the protection of the British, as the Adansis. were. Agyeman wanted to come under the British; but his chiefs did not agree, and the matter was dropped. Mensa Bonsu and the Kumase chiefs tried again in 1882 to make Gyaman serve Ashanti again; but again a British officer went to Bondugu and to Kumase, and both the Ashantis and the Gyamans agreed to let the Government settle the question. But before the Government had decided, other troubles broke out, and the question never was decided. In any case, Gyaman never came under Ashanti any more.

In 1881 and 1882 there was a great deal of trouble between the Ashantis

and the British. It was the case of Kwasi Gyani over again. A Gyaman named Owusu Tasiamandi came to Cape Coast and said that he wished the Governor to protect him from the Asantehene. Next day Ashanti messengers came to Cape Coast to ask the Governor to give him up. They brought with them the Golden Axe, and also a golden wasp's nest, as a sign that they looked on the matter as a very important one. The Governor was frightened, and thought that this meant war. He asked for troops from England, and began collecting soldiers and police at Prasu, and bought thousands of guns for the Assins and Fantes and Akims and Denkyeras. Mensa Bonsu was very surprised; for he did not want war. Some of his chiefs did; but he and the queen-mother certainly did not. He sent several chiefs and great men as messengers to the Governor to explain that he wanted peace, and asked the Governor to send officers to Kumase to see for themselves whether he was making ready for war or not. In the end, the matter was settled. The Asantehene explained that the Golden Axe did not mean war; and he actually gave the Golden Axe itself to Queen Victoria of England as a gift. He paid a sum of gold to the Government; a British officer went to Kumase; and everybody saw that it had all been a mistake.

But this matter had brought all the great chiefs of Ashanti to serve Kumase again; for they saw that Ashanti was in danger from the British. They knew that that the mistake Asantehene had done by the British, done nothing wrong, and they were angry because the British had put him to shame. They were angrywith the British; and all the work of Sir Garnet Wolseley was wasted, f owAs t n iB was again strong and ready to g The Ashanti chiefs were also angry with Mensa Bonsu, because he would not let them go to war with the British. They had other quarrels with him as well; and in 1883 they deposed him. But they could not decide whom to put on the stool in his place. The Agonas, Nsutas, Kokofus, Mampons, and Nkoranzas wanted to have Kofi Karikari back. Most of the other tribes chose Kwaku Dua Kuma, son of the sister of Mensa Bonsu and Kofi Karikari. Very few wished for Mensa Bonsu. There was trouble in Ashanti, and there was nearly war. In fact, Kofi Karikari did bring a small army to fight against Kwaku Dua and the Kumase men, and there was a small battle, which the Kumase men won. But the

Ashantis as a whole did not want war; and they sent to ask the Government to send some officer to help them to settle the matter without fighting, and put someone or other on the stool. But the Governor, Sir Samuel Rowe, would not; for he feared that he might get mixed up in Ashanti affairs and cause another Ashanti war. In April, 1884, the Kumase chiefs would not wait any longer; and they placed Kwaku Dua Kuma on the stool. But after only forty days Kwaku Dua died of small-pox. Kofi Karikari now hoped to be placed on the stool again, but the chiefs would not have him, and he was killed. This made all Ashanti fall into war. But after some weeks the queen-mother of Ashanti, Yaa Kyia, begged all the tribes to stop fighting and choose a new Asantehene. Nearly all of them agreed, and they chose Kwasi Kyisi, who was the son of a sister of the late queen-mother[49]. Then Yaa Kyia sent again to the Governor to ask him to send an officer to help them and to see Kwasi Kyisi placed on the stool. But for two years the Governor did not send an officer; and when at last he did send one, he found that Kwasi Kyisi too had died and the country was in war again. This time there were two men who might be chosen for Asantehene. One was young Agyeman, the younger brother of Kwaku Dua Kuma. The other was Yaw Twereboanna, a cousin of Kofi Karikari and Mensa Bonsu. Bekwai, Ejisu, Jua ben, Asumegya, and Kumase wanted Agyeman. Kokofu, Mampon, Nsuta, Nkoranza, Ahafo, and the Gyasehene at Kumase wanted Twereboanna. While Ashanti was thus divided, the Adansis saw that they could do what they liked, and make the rest of Ashanti pay for the trouble that Mensa Bonsu had given them. They began robbing and killing Ashanti traders. Mensa Bonsu had been afraid to attack the Adansis, because he thought that the British would protect them. But this was too much. Karikari of Bekwai gathered an army and made war against Nkansa of Adansi. The Adansis beat the Bekwai men at Akrokyere. Then the Adansis got the Dadiase people and others to help them against Bekwai; and they made ready to attack the town of Bekwai itself. The army of Dadiase was very

[49] Efua Sapon, queen-mother of Ashanti, was the sister of Kwaku Dua I. She had three daughters. The eldest, Efua Kobiri, was the mother of Kofi Karikari, Mensa Bonsu, and Yaa Kyia. When Mensa Bonsu was deposed, Efua Kobiri also was deposed, because she had given her two sons bad advice. Yaa Kyia then became queen-mother. Her two sons were Kwaku Dua Kuma and Kwaku Dua III, Agyeman prempeh. Yaw Twereboanna was the son of Efua Sapon's youngest daughter; Kwasi Kyisi was the son of her second daughter. See the table of Ashanti kings on page 257.

strong. The Adansis had never expected to be able to beat the men of Bekwa.i; and at Akrokyere they had only met a small part of the Bekwai army. But they thought that with the help of Dadiase they would be able to destroy Bekwai altogether. They fought a hard battle at Pampasu, and the Bekwai men began to retire towards Bekwai. But then the other chiefs of Ashanti thought the matter had gone far enough. They made the Dadiase men leave the war, and told the Adansis that if they did not agree to have their quarrel with Bekwai judged by the whole council of Ashanti, all the rest of Ashanti would make war against them. This frightened the Adansis, and they crossed the Pra and went to live in the colony. The Bekwai men burned Fomena and all the Adansi villages, and sent to tell the Governor that all the Ashanti chiefs would now meet in Kumase to choose a new Asantehene.

In January, 1887, the two parties met at Bekwai; but they could not agree, and war broke out. It was long and miserable. Bekwai beat Kokofu, and Kokofu beat Bekwai; one village fought against the next village, and neither party seemed likely to win. In August a British officer was sent up to see if he could help the two parties to agree together. Many of the chiefs were tired of the war. Twereboanna had been taken prisoner by the men of Bekwai. In October, Bekwai and Kokofu drank fetish together that they would British and fight no more; and Mampon 75 not to attack Ofinsu and and Agona agreed boanna escaped and But then Twere went to Kokofu. The Kokofu men made ready to fight again. But the others of Twereboanna's party had had enough; and Mampon, which was Kokofu's greatest helper, left him, and joined with the other chiefs in asking Mr. Barnett, the British officer, to come to Kumase and see Agyeman Prempeh chosen for the stool. In March, 1888, Agyeman Prempeh was chosen. The chiefs of Mampon and Kokofu did not come to attend the ceremony; but they sent messengers to say that they agreed that Agyeman Prempeh should be Asantehene, and they would never make trouble and say that he was not truly chief because they had not been there.

Agyeman Prempeh took the name Kwaku Dua III. He began to rule in a time of great difficulty. Ashanti was tired after years of war. Many of the chiefs did not really want to serve Kumase, and only agreed to do so because they feared that

Ashanti might be attacked by the British. The Asantehene did not trust the British. Ever since 1874 the Government had said that it would not have anything to do with inside matters in Ashanti. But more than once the Government had broken that rule and had sent officers into Ashanti; and nearly always those officers had helped the sub-chiefs to break away from Kumase, and had not helped the Asantehene to make his chiefs serve him. The Government had helped Adansi and Gyaman against Mensa Bonsu; but it would not help him against Juaben, and it would not help the Ashantis in 1884 to agree without fighting. Many of the Ashantis thought that the British wanted to break up Ashanti altogether, so as to make it weak. This was not so; but it must have looked very much like it. The truth was that the Government did not know what to do. It did not want another Ashanti war. But it felt that the war of 1874 should not be forgotten; and when the Ashantis under Mensa Bonsu wanted to attack Adansi, the Government felt that if the Ashantis won, they would forget that war and think they were as strong as the British. The Treaty of Fomena said that Adansi must be free from Ashanti; and if Adansi had to serve Ashanti once more, the treaty would be broken. It would have been better if the Government had agreed to help the Asantehene to make all the other chiefs serve him. Then Ashanti would have been strong, and the Asantehene would have been the friend of the British. But that would have cost much money and much trouble; and the Government did not 'want to spend either. The Government hoped that the Asantehene would have been strong enough by himself. It did not see that Ashanti was a confederation of tribes, joined together for war; and if that confederation was beaten in war, it would fall to pieces. Thus, after 1874, the Asantehene could never get his power back unless the British, who had taken his power away, helped him. But it is easier to see all this fifty years later than it was to see it at the time.

CHAPTER XV

ASHANTI, 1888-1901

As soon as the British officer, Mr. Barnett, left Ashanti trouble began again.

The Kokofus attacked the men of Ejisu, because the chief of Ejisu, Kwasi Afrani, was the leader of Agyeman Prempeh's party. They were beaten. But then they got the Dadiase people to help them, and many Adansis came to join them from across the Pra; and they attacked Bekwai. But the men of Bekwai were helped by the men of Juaben and of Kumase; and they fought for two whole days. Then the Kokofus were beaten, and, like the Adansis, they fled across the Pra and entered the colony.

The Asantehene sent to tell the Governor what had happened; and he asked the Governor to keep the Kokofu people quiet, and not to let them trouble Ashanti and run back across the Pra. The Governor sent an officer to tell the Kokofus to move to Akroso, between Nsaba and Asamankese. They did not want to go so far away from their home; and Atta Fua of Akim Kotoku and Kofi Ahenkora of Akim Bosome tried to get them to settle down on their land and serve them. But after a little trouble they were all moved to Akroso.

Then Owusu Sekyere, chief of Mampon, made trouble. He asked the chief of Kwahu to speak to the Asantehene for him. But Kwahu had now left Ashanti and was part of the colony; and the Governor told the chief of Kwahu that he was to have nothing to do with Ashanti matters. So Owusu Sekyere feared to go to Kumase and make peace with the Asantehene; and he decided to go on helping Twereboanna. But the Asantehene fought against him and beat him, and drove many of his people to Attabubu. After staying there a little time, the Mampon people chose a new chief, Kwame Osokye, Owusu Sekyere's younger brother, and went back to Mampon.

In September, 1889, Owusu Sekyere sent a letter to the Governor asking to be allowed to come and live in the colony. He said that he heard that the Asantehene would attack him and the few Mampon people who were still staying with him at Attabubu. The Governor wrote to him and said that he might come; and if he feared the Asantehene, he could come east of the Volta and come into the colony through Krepi. At the same time the Governor wrote to the Asantehene and told him that he should try and live peaceably and help trade. The Asantehene answered that it was not he that made the wars. The British had helped him to

become Asantehene; and what was he to do if his people would not serve him ? How could he do anything for trade when Adansi, Kokofu, Dadiase, part of Juaben, and now part of Mampon wanted to leave Ashanti and live under the British ? He asked the Governor to send these people back to him. The Governor would not do that; but he told them that if they wanted to go back, they might; and that the Asantehene would welcome them and not punish them for anything they had done in the past.

Twereboanna himself and some of the Kokofu people stayed in the colony. But most of the Kokofu and Dadiase people said they would g0 back to Ashanti. They did not go at once, but waited for a few years, until the Asantehene was taken away by the British. Then they thought they would be safe in Ashanti, and they went back to their old homes.

The Government now saw that it could not hope for peace and good trade in Ashanti as long as so many tribes were against the Asantehene. It saw, too, that as long as the Government itself took into the colony any people who had a quarrel with the Asantehene and feared him, the Asantehene would never be able to keep his power. Although the Government did not wish to break down the power of Ashanti, it was doing so; for it was always the enemies of Kumase that came and asked the Government to protect them. If the Government did not protect them, there came a war. If the Government did protect them, Agyeman Prempeh complained that the Government took away his people and his power. In the old days the Asantehene had complained because the Government would not give up to him one or two men to be punished: such as Kwadwo Otibu and Kwaku Aputae, or Kwasi Gyani, or Owusu Tasiamandi. Now he was complaining because the Government would not give up to him whole tribes, such as the Adansis, the Kokofus, and the Juabens. The question was still the same. Unfortunately, the Government still did not trust the Ashantis.

However, the Government saw that it must change its ways of dealing with Ashanti. In December, 189o, the Governor, Sir Brandford Griffith, decided that the only thing to do was to take the whole of Ashanti under British protection. If the Asantehene was under British protection, as well as many of his sub-chiefs, the

Government would be able to judge fairly when any quarrel came. It was difficult to judge fairly when one side was under the Government and the other was not.

A party of officers was sent to Kumase to ask Prempeh if he would agree to come under British protection. They took with them a draft treaty for him to consider. The treaty said that Ashanti was to be protected by the British. The Ashantis were not to make war, and were to ask the Governmentto judge all the quarrels they had with other tribes. The Government promised that it would allow the chiefs to rule the country according to Ashanti custom; but it might send a commissioner round the country to help in the government and to advise the chiefs. There were other less important parts of the treaty. Generally, it would have made the government of Ashanti just like the government of the colony. Perhaps in 1884 the Ashantis might have agreed to such a treaty. But they would not agree now. The British officers waited more than a month in Kumase, and then Prempeh said that he thanked the British for their kindness, but that Ashanti was independent, and did not want to be protected by anyone else.

In 1891 Prempeh sent to Kofi Fua of Nkoranza and asked him to send back the Mampon people and others who were living at Nkoranza. Kofi Fua would not. Nor would he drink fetish with the Asantehene to show that he willingly served him. So Prempeh was angry and made war against Nkoranza. In August, 1892, the Kumase men beat the Nkoranzas, and took many prisoners, and burned Nkoranza town. In this war Kwame Osokye and the Mampon men fought against Nkoranza, because they wanted to get their friends back who were living there.

Owusu Sekyere, the old chief of Mampon, was still living at Attabubu; and he asked the chief of Attabubu to help the Nkoranzas. He sent thirty men. But then he feared that the Ashantis might win; and he sent to the Governor, and told him that he feared that Prempeh was going to attack him, and asked the Governor to protect him. The Attabubu people had already made a treaty with the British two years before. So when the Government heard that they were in danger, it sent some soldiers to Attabubu under Sir Francis Scott; and it sent an officer, Mr. Vroom, to Kumase to tell the Asantehene that he must not make war against the men of Attabubu. Mr. Vroom found that Prempeh had never had any idea of

attacking Attabubu. But he sent to Attabubu to say that he was at war with Nkoranza, and if the men of Attabubu wished for peace they must not help the men of Nkoranza. They had already, of course, been doing so.

Before the Government sent these officers, the Nkoranza war had begun again. The Nkoranzas beat the Kumase men. Then the Ashanti army was strengthened by men from many other Ashanti divisions, and in another battle the stool of Nkoranza was taken, and very many Nkoranza people were taken prisoners.

When the soldiers under Sir Francis Scott reached Attabubu, the Juabens and the Nkoranza people and the Agogo people asked to come under British protection. The Government would not have them; but the Nkoranzas were told that any of them who wanted to leave Ashanti and settle in the colony might do so. But the Government found that the chief of Attabubu was in the wrong: for he had helped the Nkoranzas, and the villages of his, which he said had been burnt by the Ashantis, turned out not to be his villages at all.

In May, 1894, Prempeh held the funeral of the last Asantehene, his brother Kwaku Dua Kuma; and on June 11th, as soon as that was finished, he was placed on the stool of Ashanti. And Lien he decided to take an important step. He and his chiefs could see that the Government wished to take all Ashanti under its protection. They did not want to come under the British. But they could not see how to keep from doing so without war. They did not understand the Government and its ways, and they thought that the Government was the enemy of Ashanti. So they decided to send messengers to England, to talk about these matters with Queen Victoria herself, and her Government in England. They collected a tax of ten shillings from every man in Ashanti to pay the cost of the messengers.

The Government in England would not see the Ashanti messengers, and sent them a telegram before they left the coast to say so. But they said that as they had been told to go to England, they must go. They went; but the Government told them that all they, had to say to Queen Victoria must be said through the Governor of the Gold Coast. In December, 1894, Captain Donald Stewart and Mr. Vroom went to Kumase to explain this to the Ashanti chiefs; but the Ashanti messengers

sailed in March.

In September, 1895, the Government sent another letter to the Asantehene. The letter said that Prempeh had not kept the road open from Kumase to the Pra; he had not stopped human sacrifices; and he had done nothing to help trade. In these three ways he had broken the Treaty of Fomena[50]. So the Government would send a British officer to live in Kumase and advise the Asantehene. Any Ashanti tribes that wanted to come under the British might do so. And Prempeh was reminded that he had not paid all the money that he should have paid according to the Treaty of Fomena. Captain Stewart and Mr. Vroom took the letter. They asked Prempeh to give them an answer by the end of October.

The Ashanti messengers were still in England. The Asantehene and his chiefs answered that they could not give any answer until his messengers came back. In December they came back. They found that the Government had already begun to collect soldiers, and that an army was making ready to march to Kumase. They told the Governor that the Asantehene would agree to what he proposed. The Governor answered that it was too late. Prempeh should have said that before. The army would go into Ashanti; Prempeh must meet the Governor at Prasu, and make a new, treaty, and pay the Government the cost of sending the army.

The Asantehene did not come to Prasu. He sent messengers to say that he would pay the money, and that he agreed to " come under the white men's rule." On January 17th, 1896, the army came to Kumase. The Governor arrived the next day, and on the loth he held a meeting with the Asantehene and the queen-mother and the great chiefs. The. Governor said that the British had come because Prempeh had broken the Treaty of Fomena and had not answered his letter. He reminded the Ashantis that the money Kofi Karikari had paid was only a very small part of the 50,000 ounces that he had promised to pay. But the British did not wish

[50] 1 The Treaty of Fomena was divided into ten parts. Part i said that there was to be peace between British said that the Asantehene would pay 50,000 ounces 0f gold. Parts 3 and 4, that he gave up Elmina, Denkyera, Assin, Akim, and Adansi.' Part 5, that he would call back to Ashanti his army near Dixcove. Part 6, that traders should be free to come and go between Ashanti and the coast. Part 7, that the road from Kumase t0 the Pra should be always open and clear. Part 8, that the Asantehene would do his best to stop human sacrifices. Parts 9 and i0 said how the Treaty was to be signed, and that it was to be called the Treaty of Fomena.
and Ashantis,

to depose the Asantehene if he paid the money they wanted and agreed to serve the British Government. The Asantehene and the queen-mother and the great chiefs were sitting opposite the Governor. All round them were the British troops in their red coats, with bayonets fixed and guns loaded. All the great chiefs of Ashanti could have been killed if their people had tried to fight. After a few minutes the Asantehene rose from his seat, slipped off his sandals and the golden crown that he wore, walked with his mother across the square, and knelt before the Governor. He said that he could not pay all the money at once; but he would pay 680 ounces, and pay the rest later. The Governor said that was not enough; and when Prempeh still said he could pay no more, the Governor said that the Asantehene and the queenmother, the chiefs of Mampon, Ofinsu, and Ejisu, and several other great people would be taken as prisoners to the coast. The Ashantis had never expected this. They had expected that they would have to pay some money, and that a British officer would come and live in Kumase to advise and help the Asantehene. But the Government had promised that Prempeh would not be put off the stool if lie agreed to this; and they never thought that the Government would take him away only because he could not pay all the money. If they had known that, they, would certainly have fought[51]. But now they could do nothing. Two days later the troops left Kumase and returned to the coast, taking the Asantehene and the other prisoners with them. Prempeh was kept first in Elmina Castle, and later in Sierra Leone; and in1900 he was taken to the Seychelles Islands off the east coast of Africa. Ashanti was now ruled by the British. A council of chiefs was appointed, with a British officer at the head. The Government built a fort in Kumase, but tried to leave the Ashantis alone as much as possible. As far as the British could see there was very little trouble. But the Ashantis were very angry because Prempeh had been taken away. They thought that the Government had played an unfair trick, and they were put to shame because they had let the British take the Asantehene away without a fight. No doubt it was for the best that Ashanti should be under British rule. There could be no trade and peace while Ashanti was torn by

[51] But Captain Rattray (" Ashanti," p. 291) says that they had agreed not to fight because they were afraid of losing the Golden Stool.

fighting between two parties. And there was another strong reason why the British wanted to take Ashanti under their protection. If the British did not do so, the French would. The French had been pushing inland from the Ivory Coast, and had been also pushing southward through the Sahara. Gyaman, which had twice refused to come under British protection, was taken by the French in 1889. This was one main reason why the Government changed its mind about Ashanti and decided to take it under British protection. But it could hardly tell the Ashantis that. But the Ashantis were angry. Most of the people of Kumase left the town and went to live in their villages. They were waiting for a good chance of fighting against the British. In December, 1899, a boy from Ejisu came to Accra and told the Governor, Sir Frederic Hodgson, that the people who were looking after the Golden Stool had sent him to show the Governor where it was. Captain Armitage, who was the Governor's private secretary, went with a few Hausa soldiers to find it, but they could not find it and had to go back to Accra. This was an unfortunate mistake. But, of course, the Government did not understand at that time what an important and sacred thing the Golden Stool was. The British thought that it was only an ordinary stool to sit on, important because it was the seat of the Asantehene. As there was no Asantehene, they thought that it would be a good thing for the Government to take the Golden Stool, to show the Ashantis that it was master. But the Government learned better later on. The Governor visited Kumase in March, 1 900. The Ashantis thought that he was coming to look for the Golden Stool, and many of the chiefs drank fetish and agreed that they would never let him find it. He called a meeting of Ashanti chiefs, and made a speech to them explaining what the Government meant to do. He told them that neither Prempeh nor Twereboanna would ever be allowed to come back to Ashanti. He said that he would call out people to work as carriers, or in making roads, or in other work for the good of the whole country. He reminded them that they had never paid all the money that Kofi Karikari had promised in the Treaty of Fomena; and although he would not ask them to pay it all at once, yet they must pay the Government about £ 5,00o a Ashanti, 1888-190, year as interest on the money, until they could pay the debt back. Lastly, he said that as he had taken the place of the Asantehene, they ought

to have brought out the Golden Stool for him to sit on. The Ashantis listened in silence. When the meeting was over, they went to get their guns. Yaa Asantewa, the queen-mother of Ejisu, was chosen by the Ashantis as their leader, and the 'war which is called by her name began. The war was made by the people of Kumase and some of the towns near it, such as Ejisu, Ofinsu, and Nkwanta; the people of Ahafo and Adansi also joined. Bekwai, Mampon, Juaben, Nsuta, Kumawu, Attabubu, Tekyiman, Nkoranza, Gyaman, and Manso Nkwanta-all the tribes who had been giving the Asantehene so much trouble in the time of Mensa Bonsu and Prempeh-remained quiet, and some of them even fought for the British. The Governor's meeting was on March 28th. On the 31st a party of troops was sent out to try and find the Golden Stool again. They did not find it; and they were attacked by the Ashantis and had to fight their way back to Kumase. Then the Governor saw that he was caught in another Ashanti war. He sent telegrams to Accra and the Northern Territories, asking for police and soldiers to be sent to Kumase to help in the fighting. The Governor and Lady Hodgson, and all the Europeans in the town, moved into the fort. The Ashantis built stockades to guard every road leading out of Kumase. They made them by planting thick tree-trunks close together in two rows, six feet apart. The trunks were six feet high. They were bound tightly together, and the space in between was filled with earth and stones.

Very few bullets could get through a thick wall of this kind, and the Ashantis hoped with these stockades to be able to stop anyone entering or leaving Kumase. During April and the early part of May, a few parties of soldiers came in from Accra and Cape Coast and from the Northern Territories. But after this had happened three times, the Ashantis decided that it must not happen again.

After this nobody else could get into Kumase. The Ashantis at the stockades watched the place too closely. From May 15th until July r 5th the Ashantis besieged the fort. There were thousands of people from the Hausa Zongo and from the villages of the Ashanti chiefs who were helping the British; these were living in huts outside the fort and dying of hunger. Food and bullets were scarce. The British knew that soldiers would come to help them, but they did not know how long it would be before they came. Each man was given just enough food to keep him

alive. The Hausa soldiers had one-third of a pound of meat and a biscuit and a half every day. But there was no food for anyone but the soldiers and the carriers.

On June 23rd the Governor and Lady Hodgson, and all the Europeans in the fort except three officers, got out of the fort at daybreak and tried to get through the ring of the Ashanti army. They told some people in the town that they would take the Cape Coast road, and, of course, this news was passed to the enemy, as they hoped it would be. The men formed up at four in the morning as if to march out down the Cape Coast road; but then they turned and marched down the Patasi road towards Manso Nkwanta. They came to a stockade, but found only a few men in it, and after short fight they passed the stockade before the Ashantis from the other side of Kumase could come to help their friends. Twice more during the day they fought with the Ashantis, but at last they reached Terabum, where they spent the night. Nearly all the carriers had lost their loads, and there were not nearly enough houses in the village for everyone. It rained hard all night, and there were three thousand people resting in the -streets of that one small village, with little food, and no shelter from the rain. In the morning they moved on again; and they found that the Ashantis had not got ahead of them, although the rear-guard had some hard fighting soon after they left the village. Next day they reached Manso Nkwanta, whose chief had been in Kumase and had marched out with them. The Manso Nkwanta people welcomed the party. From there onwards they were among friends, and they reached Cape Coast and Accra without any more trouble.

The Government appointed Colonel Willcocks to command the army to go to Kumase. On May loth the first troops reached Fomena.

On July 11th the British made an attack on Kokofu. They did not want to take the town, but to make the Kokofu men think that the British meant to go to Kumase through Asumegya and Kokofu. Colonel Willcocks really meant to go to Kumase by the other road through Pekyi. The Kokofu men thought that the British were going to take their town, and they got 2,000 men from the stockades round Kumase to help them. So when the army marched along the Pekyi road there was not much fighting, and in the evening of July 15th the army came to Kumase. ***The Ashantis at the stockades round the town were beaten after a short fight.

The gates of the fort were opened, and the troops who had been inside were saved. Their food was finished; many of them had died of hunger, and many of disease. July 15th was the last day of their food; if Colonel Willcocks and his men had come later, they would have been too late.

From July 15th until the end of November, the British were attacking stockades in different parts of the country, fighting battles, and chasing the chiefs who were still making war. By the end of the year the fighting was over. Some of the Ashanti leaders in the war were sent to the Seychelles, others to Elmina. Some of the great divisions of Ashanti were left without chiefs, and the chiefs under them were thus left independent. This made trouble later on; for the chiefs that the Government knew were not always the chiefs that the people wished to serve. The money that Kofi Karikari had promised to pay was never paid. A year or two after the war, Ashanti began to buy so many things from Europe that the Government was able to get enough money in customs duties and other ways. So the Government forgave the Ashantis the rest of the money. In I90' Ashanti was made a colony and placed under the Governor of the Gold Coast. Since then it has been at peace. In 1924 Prempeh was allowed to come back from the Seychelles and to be once more chief of Kumase, though not Asantehene. His successor, Agyeman Prempeh II, was enstooled as Asantehene (not only Kumasehene) in January, 1935.

CHAPTER XVI

TOWARDS SELF-GOVERNMENT

WE have seen that the Gold Coast and Lagos were cut off from Sierra Leone and made a separate colony in 1874. In 1886 the Gold Coast was cut off from Lagos. In 1885 and 1886 the Germans began to push inland and conquer Togoland. The British feared that they would close round behind British land and cut off Keta and other places on the coast from trading with the interior; so the British made treaties with the Akwamus, Krepis, and other tribes so that they became British. Thirteen years later, the British and the Germans agreed to fix the

boundary between their colonies, and the eastern boundary of the Northern Territories was fixed. The French had been pushing inland from their forts on the Ivory Coast, and in 1892 they had conquered Dahome, and began to stretch their power inland from the Dahome coast as well. In 1898 the British and French made a treaty in Paris by which the boundary was fixed between the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast and the French colony on the west and north. After this the Gold Coast was shut in and could not grow any more. In 1901 the Gold Coast and Ashanti were formally taken under British rule and made part of the British Empire.

About that time there was a great deal of trouble in the north. There were two men called Samori and Babatu, natives of the country near the river Niger. They were slave-traders; they hunted for slaves, took them and sold them. They had large armies, well drilled and well supplied with good guns and plenty of bullets. They agreed to divide the country between them so as not to spoil each other's trade. They marched backwards and forwards over the whole country between Sierra Leone and Nigeria, killing and taking slaves, robbing and burning. Between 1881 and 1899 the French were chasing Samori; and they took him prisoner in 1899, so that the land had rest at last. The British set up the protectorate of the Northern Territories in 1901.

About the same time, the British were hunting Samori's friend Babatu up and down the Northern Territories. They never caught him, but many of his men left him, and joined the Gold Coast Regiment, and Babatu died at Yendi.

It was by chasing Samori and Babatu that the French first sent armies into the interior of their colonies, and so were able to join up their lands in the Ivory Coast, Dahome, and Senegal, and shut in the four British West African colonies.

When the British conquered Ashanti and took away the Asantehene Prempeh, many white men came from England to dig for gold and to cut trees for timber. The Gold Coast Government saw that these men would soon be buying land from chiefs, and paying a small price for it; and that some day there would be trouble, as there had been in other parts of the world, because the Gold Coast people would have no land. So the Government made a law, called the Lands Bill, to stop white men from buying land from chiefs, and to make them pay a good rent

for land when they rented it. But this law made trouble. In the beginning of the law, it was described as a law to " regulate the administration of public land . . . " Now, " public land " might perhaps mean " Government land ", and the Gold Coast people thought that the Government wanted to take their land from them.

Why should the people think this, when as a matter of fact the Gold Coast Government of that time did not want to take the land? There were reasons. The Government did not understand the Gold Coast land system. It knew that each village had its farm land, and that the farmers moved from one piece of land to another, so that land which was not being farmed this year might be farmed next year. But the Government saw that there were sometimes many miles of bush between one village and the next, and it thought that much of this bush land was lying waste. It did not understand that all of it belonged to some stool or other. If the Lands Bill had been passed, the Government would have had power to take any piece of waste land and make it into public land. No doubt, if the Government had tried to take a piece of land, the stool would have said, " You must not take this land, for it is not waste land; it belongs to us ". The Government would have replied, " But you are not farming it, and never have farmed it." And there might have been trouble. So although the Government in 1897 did not wish to take any land, the people thought that one day it might change its mind; and they did not wish it to have that power.

The leaders of the Gold Coast people knew that in some other parts of Africa, as well as in some other tropical countries, white men had made farms or plantations of their own on land which used to belong to the people. And only a few years later, the Government of Kenya made just the same mistake that the Gold Coast Government was making. Just before the white men came into Kenya, the Masai and other African people who lived in some parts of the country had suffered badly from disease, and thousands of the people and of their cattle had died. So when the white men came into the land, parts of it were quite empty. The Government thought that this empty land be longed to nobody; so it took it as public land, leased some of it to European farmers. Later on, the African tribes recovered from their disease, and became strong again. But they could not move

back to fill up the empty land, for it was occupied by European farmers. The Kenya Government was sorry for its mistake, and paid the Africans money for the land it had taken. But the Africans did not get their land back.

It is true that the Gold Coast Government in 1897 did not want white men to buy land, and it introduced the Lands Bill so as to stop them. But it would have been just as bad if the Government had taken land as public land, and white men had been able to lease land from the Government. The Gold Coast people were right in saying that the Government must not be given this power.

The Gold Coast leaders formed a society, called the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society, to stop the Lands Bill. The Aborigines Society (as it is often called for short) sent three of its members to England to see the British Government in London about the Lands Bill. The Government in London agreed with them that the Gold Coast Government was wrong in talking about public land; and if it wanted to stop white men from getting hold of African land, it must find some other way of stopping them. So the Lands Bill was stopped, and a Concessions Ordinance was made instead of it; and white men that wanted to use Gold Coast land for mining or tree cutting or any other purpose had to tell the Government all they wanted to do, and pay the chief or the tribe a rent which the Government thought was fair. If the, Government thought that the work they wanted to do was not good for the country, or that the price they wanted to pay was not enough, the Government might stop their work and not allow them to use they land. It was through the trouble over the Lands Bill of 1897 that it was made quite sure that the land of the Gold Coast belongs to the people of the Gold Coast, and can never be taken away from them.

But many people in the Gold Coast remembered the Lands Bill, and they still feared that the Government might wish to take their land from them. It is because of this fear that there was trouble over forest reserves. In 1927, the Government marked out certain patches of forest in important places, on the tops of hills and round .the sources of rivers, and asked the chiefs and their councils to make laws for their people to say that no new farms were to be made in those places. It did this because it. saw that the forests were everywhere being cut down

to make cocoa farms. We know that if forests are cut down the climate of a country becomes drier. The sun and the wind can get to the ground and dry it up; the rain can get to the ground and wash it away. Even the rainfall becomes less when forests are cut down. The Gold Coast forests are smaller than they used to be. Land that used to be forest is now savannah or grass, and land that used to be grass in the far north is becoming desert. That is why the Government wanted some parts of the forest to be reserved so that nobody could cut them down for cocoa farms.

But many chiefs did not agree. They did not believe that cutting down the forests would make any difference to the climate, and they remembered the Lands Bill, and thought that the Government wanted to take those patches of forest for itself.

Why did people think in this way? It was because they thought that "the Government " was only a group of white men sent from England, with plenty of money and power to do anything they liked. The Government was never really quite like this. It is true that in the days of the Lands Bill, the senior officials and most of the members of the legislative council were white. But even then, the Government had no money except what it got from the taxes, and no power except what the law gave it. And, as we have seen in the cases of the Lands Bill of 1897 and the Poll Tax of 1851, if the Gold Coast people thought that the Government was taking too much money or too much power, they were able to stop it.

Still, it is true that in the days of the Lands Bill, and for many years afterwards, most of the Government's power was used by white men. We must see how this was changed, so that the real power came into the hands of Africans and the Government of the Gold Coast became an African Government.

The Government of the Gold Coast, like that of other colonies, had always been composed of a Governor, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council. The British had the idea of governing the Gold Coast, and other African colonies, *by indirect rule.* This meant that the British would govern the country through the chiefs and their councils. The Government would not interfere more than it could help in the affairs of the state councils, but would use them in the work of

government. The country was divided into provinces, and each province into districts; there was a provincial commissioner in charge of each province, and a district commissioner in charge of each district. The work of the P.C. and of the D.C. was to see that the people did what the Government wanted. But they worked *indirectly,* through the chiefs and the state councils. If a new road was needed, or a forest reserve, the D.C. would never give direct orders to the people, saying, " The Government says that you must build a road," or " The Government says that you may not cut down any trees or make any cocoa farms in this part of the forest". Instead of that, he would go to see the chief and the state council: and he would say to them, " Do you not think it would he a good thing for your people if there were a road here? Do you think you could make your people build the road? Have you noticed that there is not so much water in your rivers as there used to be? That *is* because the cocoa farmers are cutting down too many trees on the hill where the river rises. Do you not think it would be a good thing if this council made a law to stop people cutting down any more trees on that hill?"

That is indirect rule: ruling *indirectly,* through the chiefs and the state council, instead of speaking *directly* to the people themselves without taking any notice of the chiefs and the state council. Many people in the Gold Coast never liked indirect rule, because they thought the Government wanted to give a Gold Coast chief the power to do anything he liked, without consulting his council or his people. That is not what the Government wanted. The Government wanted the state council and the tribunal, the *okyeame* and the *opanyin,* to share in the work of governing and to use the power which they had in the old days before the white men came. But it could not make people believe this.

If we are to have indirect rule, we must see that those who have power are able to use it wisely. The old form of government that is native to the Gold Coast grew up in days when life was simpler than it is now. Chiefs and elders needed help if they were to deal with the new difficulties they would meet in the Gold Coast of today. Indirect rule would be good only if the chiefs and the state councils were helped to understand these new difficulties, so that they might share not only in the small easy part of government, but in the big hard part as well.

We must look at two questions. The first question is, how has the central government grown? The second question is, how have the powers and the duties of the chiefs and elders and their councils grown? We will try to look at these questions separately, but we shall find that they cannot be kept apart all the time.

First, as to the central government. Even before 1915 the legislative council contained unofficial members as well as officials, though there were more official members than unofficial. The reason for this was that in those days the Government wanted to keep power in its own hands, and since the Governor could order the official members to vote in Council as he wished, the Government could always pass any Bill, even if all the unofficial members voted against it. In those days, when the Gold Coast people were less educated than they are to-day, the Government in London thought that it would be good to give them the chance to say in Council all they wished to say, but it thought that it would not be wise to give them the power to compel the Government to do as they wished. For if they had this power, they might make mistakes and do their country a great deal of harm.

In 1925, the Governor, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, made an important change. He set up three provincial councils, one for each of the three provinces of the Colony[52]. All the paramount chiefs in the province were to be members of the provincial council, and they were to meet and discuss the affairs of the province. Not only that, but the Government would let the provincial councils know about the Bills which it meant to bring before the legislative council in Accra, so that the provincial councils could discuss them beforehand. One paramount chief from the Western Province council, two from the Central Province, and three from the Eastern Province would then go to Accra as members of the legislative council and help to discuss the new Bills.

This was an interesting attempt to revive the ideas of 1852 and 1871. But many people did not like the idea. They were afraid that a chief who sat as a member of the legislative council might find that he had to speak and vote on all sorts of questions. He would be far away from his elders and people, and would have no

[52] In those days the Colony was divided into three provinces, the Eastern, Central, and Western provinces.

chance to consult them; and so they feared that he might come to forget that a chief must always consult his people and express their views, and not his own.

However, the provincial councils met, and the system did work. People still grumbled, but on the whole things were not as bad as they had feared.

So in 1925 the legislative council was changed. There were 15 official members and 14 unofficial members. Of the 14 unofficials, six were paramount chiefs from the provincial councils. Three were municipal members elected to represent the three towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi. The remaining five unofficial members were Europeans.

The legislative council of 1925 continued until 1946, but during that time an important change was made in the Governor's executive council. The executive council is the body which advises the Governor on the details of government. The legislative council meets two or three times a year to vote taxes and make laws; but the executive council meets every week to help the Governor to decide how to act. The Governor is not bound to take the advice of the executive council; but of course he will think very carefully before he decides to go against it. In 1943, for the first time, two Africans were appointed to the executive council: they were Nana Sir Ofori Atta, Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa, and Mr. K. A. Korsah, a distinguished lawyer from Cape Coast.

In 1946 the Governor, Sir Alan Burns, and the Government in London made a great change in the Gold Coast legislative council. Until that year, the council had 15 official members and 14 unofficial members. In 1946 the 15 official members were cut down to six, and the 14 unofficial members raised to 24. Of the 24 unofficial members, six were to be nominated by the Governor, but the other 18 were to be elected. Thus, even if all the six nominated members were to join six official members in opposing the elected members, the elected members would still win, because they would be 18 against 12. The Gold Coast was the first colony in Africa to have this elected majority in its legislative council.

In this new council, there were for the first time some members from Ashanti; one elected to represent Kumase and four elected by the Ashanti Confederacy Council. The other elected members were elected, as before, by the

towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi, and by the provincial councils. The Central Province was closed and its land was divided between the Eastern and Western Provinces. Five members of the council were to represent the Eastern Province, and four to represent the Western Province.

This Burns constitution of 1946 was a big step forward. The African elected members of the legislative council had the power to pass or refuse to pass laws and to vote or refuse to vote taxes, even if the Governor and the official members disagreed; though as we shall see on page 201, the Burns constitution set certain limits to this power. But this did not make the country fully self-governing. We can see what changes were needed to make it fully self-governing if we imagine what might happen if the elected members and the official members disagreed.

We must remember that in those days, the Government's policy was made by the Government officials. The African elected members of the council did not make policy; their job was to criticise the policy which the Government laid before them. They could refuse to vote the money for the estimates of any department whose policy they disliked. This would be a very difficult situation. But the policy of the department was made by the head of the department; he was chosen by the Secretary of State and appointed by the Governor, and the council could not dismiss him. The 1946 council had no minister, either for agriculture or education or any other department. It is true that the Government often asked African advice when making its policy. The African members of the central advisory committee of education, for example, had a great deal to do with making the Government's educational policy. But this is not the same thing as having an African Minister of Education, who can make policy and can defend it in the legislative council.

There is another way in which the Burns constitution of 1946 did not make the Gold Coast fully self-governing. We have seen that in England it is possible for the parliament to go right against the advice of its expert officials. Now when that happens, it is possible that the official may be right and the parliament may be wrong, and the parliament's mistake may cause great trouble. In the Gold Coast, the 1946 constitution gave the Governor certain powers to prevent the legislative council from making very bad mistakes. If the Governor saw that the council was

breaking a promise which the Government had made, or was upsetting law and order, or was spoiling the government of the country, he could act against the council. He could pass a law which the council refused to pass, or he could stop a law which the council wanted to pass. But if he did so, he must tell the Secretary of State in London, and must obtain the Secretary of State's approval.

The Government in London hoped that the Governor would never need these powers. When might he need them? He might need them for example if the legislative council proposed to interfere with the law courts and the police. The Governor could refuse 'to allow this, because law and politics must be kept separate. There would be no law and order in the country if a judge were afraid to give judgment against a man be cause the man had friends in parliament. You may think it unlikely that the Gold Coast legislative council would make mistakes of this kind. Perhaps so; though mistakes of this kind have been made in other countries. If the Gold Coast council never did make such mistakes, the Governor would never need to use his *reserved powers.* (This is what the powers were called.) But as long as the Governor had these *reserved powers,* and was responsible to the Secretary of State in London for the way he used them, the Gold Coast was not fully self-governing. A fully self-governing country is free to make its own mistakes and to learn from them.

Sir Alan Burns and the Government in London expected that the Gold Coast would work under the 1946 constitution for some years before making another step towards self-government. Perhaps if the Gold Coast people had been happy in other ways, Sir Alan Burns and the Government might have been right. But the Gold Coast people at that time were not happy. In 1947 and 1948 there was trouble in the cocoa industry. Very many of the cocoa trees were dying from a disease called swollen shoot. This was not like other cocoa diseases. Among animals, there are some diseases which can be cured, or prevented, by medicines or inoculation; and there are others (such as fowl pest or foot-and-mouth disease of cattle) which cannot be cured in this way. If a farmer in England finds that his animals are suffering from one of these diseases which cannot be cured by medicines or inoculation, he is bound to tell the local government authority, and all

the diseased animals must be killed to stop the disease from spreading. There is no other way.

So it was with the swollen shoot disease of cocoa.

The plant doctors had no cure for it, and they said that the only thing to do was to cut down the sick trees and burn them, so as to stop the disease from spreading. But many of the cocoa farmers did not agree. They hoped that the disease would pass away in time, like other cocoa diseases; and they said that in any case, a sick tree would give some cocoa, even if only a little, for a year or two until it died-and why cut it down and lose that small crop? And then some people remembered the Lands Bill, and they began to distrust the Government, just as they had done in the matter of forest reserves. Some thought that the Government did not want the people to be too rich, and so it wanted them to cut down their cocoa trees so that they would become poor; others thought that the Government wanted to destroy the Gold Coast cocoa trade so as to give Nigeria and other countries a chance. And there were other tales just as untrue as these. People who thought this were making the mistake of looking on the Government as something quite apart from themselves. They were forgetting that the local government was all African, that the legislative council was nearly all African, and that there were Africans too on the executive council.

So there was trouble; and unluckily at the same time there was trouble over other matters. The Gold Coast, like every other country in the world, was suffering from the effects of the war of 1939-45, in which Gold Coast soldiers had fought gallantly in East Africa and Burma. Some of the soldiers were discontented with the jobs they found when they returned from the war. Then again, during the war all imported goods had been scarce and dear. People understood this; but they thought that when the war ended prices ought to fall again. For various reasons, they did not fall; in fact they went on rising, not only in the Gold Coast but all over the world. The price of cocoa was high, and so there was plenty of money in the country, while import goods were still scarce. When you have plenty of money but there are few things to buy with it, those things are always dear. People in the Gold Coast did not understand this. They thought that the shops were

purposely keeping prices high so as to make larger profits; and in some cases they may have been right. The Government did very little to keep prices down. Perhaps there was not much that it could do; but people thought that at least it ought to do more to try to stop the black market.

And so this too led to trouble. One chief called on the people to refuse to buy European goods until the prices came down. There was already in existence a political body called the Gold Coast Convention. The Convention said that the Government was wrong in cutting down the cocoa trees, and wrong too in doing so little about the high prices of goods in the shops; and it said that the 1946 constitution did not give the Gold Coast people enough control over the Government. In the end, matters became so bad that in Accra and Kumase and elsewhere there was rioting and looting; and some people were killed when the police fired on the crowds to restore order.

In 1948 a commission of inquiry, called the Watson Commission, was sent from England to find the reasons for all this. The commission said in its report that the police were right in shooting to restore order. It said that the Government was right to want to cut down the cocoa trees, but that it ought to have done more about the high prices. The commission agreed with the Gold Coast Convention that the 194.6 constitution did not give the people enough control over the Government, and it proposed certain changes. It said also that what the Gold Coast needed most of all was more education, especially more secondary education; education would help people to understand the problems of Government, and would help them to take a larger part in developing the country.

The Government in London accepted the report of the Watson Commission. It had to agree that the Burns constitution of 1946 needed changing. How was it to be changed, so that the Gold Coast people might have more control over their Government, as the Watson Commission recommended? The Government appointed a committee to answer this question. Its chairman was Mr. J. H. Coussey (now Sir Henley Coussey), an African Judge of the Supreme Court, and all its members were Africans.

The Coussey Committee sat from January to October 1949, and on 26

October,1949, it produced its report. The report made plans for changing many things in .the Gold Coast Government, both the central and the local government. Some of the Coussey committee's plans have already been carried out. Others have not at least, not yet. We can divide the report into two sections: one section on central government and the other on local government.

For the central government, the Coussey committee proposed:

(1) There should be a legislative assembly of two Houses (like the parliament in England). The tipper House or *Senate* should have 38 members, and the lower house or *House of Assembly* should have 78.

(2) 36 of the 38 members of the Senate should be elected. One should be named by the Chamber of Commerce, and one by the Chamber of Mines.

(3) Of the 78 members of the House of Assembly, at least 75 were to be elected; no more than three officials were to be members. The country should be divided into suitable constituencies for electing members. In the towns, members should be elected *directly:* that is, the voters would vote for the man or woman they wanted to represent them in the Assembly. In the country districts, members should be elected *indirectly:* that is, the voters would vote to choose a committee, and the members of the committee would vote for the man or woman to represent them in the Assembly. The committee liked a legislative assembly of two Houses better; but it thought that perhaps the Government would like an Assembly of one House. If so, one-third of the seats should be filled by members elected by the territorial councils in Ashanti and the Northern Territories, and by the states in the Colony and Trans-Volta. One member should be elected by the Chamber of Commerce, one by the Chamber of Mines; there should not be more than three officials.

(4) Everyone should have the right to vote who was at least 25 years old and who had paid local rates or central taxes.

(5) The country should be divided into four regions: the Colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and Trans-Volta. Each region should run its own health services, its own primary and secondary education, public works, and some other services'. Of the members of the House of Assembly, 29 should represent the

Colony, 19 Ashanti, I9 the Northern Territories, and eight Trans-Volta. Each of the four regions should elect nine members of the Senate.

(6) The Executive Council should have twelve members. The Governor should be the chairman. The leader of the House of Assembly should be a member, and at least five other members of the House of Assembly. Two members of the Senate, and not more than three officials, would make up the total of twelve.

(7) The six members of the House of Assembly who sat in the Executive Council would be Ministers, and each would have charge of some department of the Government, as in England. As in England, the Executive Council as a whole would be responsible to the House of Assembly, and if the Assembly voted against one of the Ministers, the whole Council would resign.

(8) The Governor would have the power to refuse to agree to a law, and the power to " certify " that a law which the Assembly and the Senate refused to pass was " vitally necessary ".

These eight recommendations deal with the central Government. They would give the Gold Coast a parliamentary . Government almost the same as that of England. Not quite the same. The Gold Coast would have Ministers like those in England, but the Governor would still have his reserved powers.

And there was another difference. One of the most important things about the Government in England is one which was not started by any law, and which no law can stop. That is, in England there are two big parties, and only two. The Government is formed by one party only, the party which is stronger in Parliament. The Government carries out its policy, but it knows all the time that the other party is ready to form a new Government as soon as the voters will allow it. It is a good thing for a Government in power to know that there is. another party waiting to throw it out of power and to show how much better it can do the work. It makes the Government careful.

What is a party? A party is a group of people who have a policy or a programme of their own which is different from the policy or the programme of some other group. In England, for example, one party thought in 1953 that the steel industry should be owned by the Government; the other party thought that it

would be better in private hands. In politics it often happens that we want two things at once, but we cannot have them both. Which shall we choose first? That is where party differences appear. A group of people do not make a party unless they have a policy or a programme. It is not enough if two or three leaders say, *208 A Short History of the Gold Coast "* This man does not like us; he does not see how good we are. He will never give us seats in his cabinet. So we will leave him and make a party of our own and see if we can get power that way." That does not make a party. These men will only become a party when they say to the voters, " The Prime Minister is doing the wrong things; this is wrong, and that is wrong, and you will see that evil will come from these mistakes. Vote for us instead, we will act differently, and you will see how much better things will go." But in the Gold Coast of 1949 there were not two big parties. Political parties were only just beginning. The Gold Coast was just leaving the stage in which people thought that the Government was white, so that all good Africans must be against the Government. They had not yet begun to think that the Government was African, so that some Africans could be against it, but others could be for it. This English kind of government works well in England because of the two-party system. It has been introduced into many other countries, but it does not work well when there are not two big parties, but many small ones, or only one party, to which everybody belongs.

In the Gold Coast of early 1949 there was only one real party. All Africans wanted self-government. Most of the political leaders said that when they had self-government, other problems would easily be solved. The high cost of living, swollen shoot in cocoa, how to provide more education, how to help farmers who were in debt-it would be time enough to think about these things when the Gold Coast was fully self-governing and all power was in African hands. Let us get self-government first, they said.

The Coussey committee proposed also an important change in local government; but we will talk about that later, on page *226.* On the same day that the report of the Coussey committee was published, the Government in London said that it would agree to all that the committee said; but that it would not do

everything the committee said at once. It feared that the Coussey plan would not work properly until the Gold Coast had developed a real two-party system. The Government said it would like an assembly of one House, not two Houses. We have seen that the Coussey committee expected this, so this was not important. But the Government in London made three other changes which were important. These were:

(1) The executive council should still be responsible to the Governor, not (as the Coussey committee pro posed) to the assembly.

(2) The assembly could dismiss members of the execu tive council separately, but the whole council need not resign, as the Coussey committee proposed.

(3) Until a two-party system had developed, there could not be an elected leader of the assembly in the executive council. Instead of this, the executive council itself would elect one of its African mem bers to be the leader of the assembly.

If you compare what the Government in London now said with the 1946 constitution and with the Coussey proposals, you will see that the Government in London was ready to take quite a big step forward. But still, it was not ready to give the Gold Coast full self-government. And many people in the Gold Coast wanted full self-government, and would be content with nothing less.

These people now found a new leader. This was Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention. The Convention was a political party founded by Dr. Danquah and others; we have seen on page *230* that the Convention spoke against the Government in 1948. At the beginning of 1948, the Convention engaged Dr. Nkrumah as its paid secretary.

Dr. Nkrumah was then 40 years old, and had just come back from England. He was a man from the Western Province: he was trained as a teacher at Achimota, and in 1917 was given a scholarship to Lincoln University in the United States. Dr. Nkrumah studied in America and in England until 1948, and then came back to the Gold Coast as secretary to the Convention.

He did not stay with the Convention long. Only six months later, in June

1949 while the Coussey committee was in the middle of its work, he left it and founded a new party, the Convention People's Party. The new party did not mean a new policy. Like the United Gold Coast Convention, the Convention People's Party wanted self-government. The difference was in the way the party worked. Dr. Nkrumah knew that if his party was to be strong, he must have a simple policy which everyone could understand, and he must work very hard to find members, uneducated as well as educated, in every town and village all over the country. Under him, the C.P.P. men went everywhere, telling everyone why the Gold Coast must have " Self Government Now!" And everywhere, people joined the party.
When the Coussey committee made its report and the Government in London said what it would do, the C.P.P. of course was not content; for this was not *Self-Government Now. So* on January 9th, 1950, the C.P.P. ordered its members to do no more work for the Government; to go on strike, and to refuse to buy British goods in the shops. There was to be no fighting or disorder. But if everybody refused to obey the Government, the Gold Coast Government would be unable to go on with its work, and the C.P.P. hoped that the Government in London would give the Gold Coast *Self-Government Now.*

But things did not happen quite as the party wished. Although the C.P.P. did not want disorder, there *was* some disorder and rioting, and two policemen were killed. And on January 21st, Dr. Nkrumah and several others were arrested, and were charged with sending out seditious writings and with telling people to take part in an illegal strike. They were tried and found guilty; Dr. Nkrumah himself, and some others, were sentenced to twelve months in prison, and others received lighter sentences.

While Dr. Nkrumah was in prison, the Government in London gave the Gold Coast its new constitution. The executive council was to consist of eight African Ministers and three European officials. The assembly was to consist of one House, with 75 elected members and nine others nominated by the Governor. 38 of the 75 were to be elected (directly in the towns, indirectly in the country districts) by the people; the other 37 were to be elected by the territorial and state councils, as the Coussey committee had suggested. The first elections for the new assembly were

to be held in February 1951.

The Convention People's Party agreed to accept the new constitution and to take part in the elections. This was not *Self-Government Now;* but the C.P.P. expected to be the strongest party in the new assembly and so to form the new Government. It thought that a C.P.P. Government would be able in a short time to clear away the few things in the new constitution that it did not like (such as the three European members in the executive council, and the Governor's reserved powers), and give the Gold Coast full self-government.

The elections were held in February 1951, while Dr. Nkrumah and others were still in prison. There were four parties taking part; the C.P.P., the United Gold Coast Convention led by Dr. Danquah, the National Democratic party led by Dr. Nanka-Bruce, and an Ashanti group the Asante Kotoko. When the results were known, it was seen that the C.P.P. had beaten all the others: it had won all five of the town seats, and 29 of the 33 country seats. The new assembly was made up of 34 C.P.P. members, three from the United Gold Coast Convention, one independent (these were the 38 elected members): 37 elected by the territorial and state councils; six Europeans representing mining and commerce and three European officials. The Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, set Dr. Nkrumah and his friends free, and Dr. Nkrumah became leader of the assembly, and formed his first Government.

On March 5th, 1952, a year later, the Government in London took another step. It said that

(1) the leader of the assembly should have the title of Prime Minister.

(2) the executive council should be called the cabinet (these are the names used in England).

(3) the Governor should present to the assembly the name of a man to be elected Prime Minister, and if the assembly elected him, the Prime Minister would be responsible to the assembly.

(4) the Prime Minister should consult the Governor about choosing people to form his cabinet, and the Governor would present the names of the cabinet to the assembly so that the assembly could elect them as Ministers.

The Government would of course always present to the assembly the name of the leader of the strongest party in the assembly. Nobody else would have a chance of being elected. The Governor presented the name of Dr. Nkrumah, and

on March 21st, 1952, the assembly elected Dr. Nkrumah Prime Minister. 45 voted for him, 31 against, and eight did not vote. This was a good majority; but there was a strong opposition, and it is clear that many of the members elected to the assembly by the territorial councils did not want Or. Nkrumah as Prime Minister.

The C.P.P. had done very well in the elections; but it still had work to do.

Dr. Nkrumah's new government had four main things to do. The first was to get more self-government. The second was to push on with education. The third was to work out a system of local government, so that the chiefs and the state councils could help the central Government in its work. The fourth was to get electricity from the river Volta so as to make the country richer. We shall read about education on page 246, about the Volta river scheme on page 254, about local government in chapter XVII.

As far as self-government was concerned, there were two important things that Dr. Nkrumah wanted. The first was to get rid of the three European members of the cabinet, who were not members of the Prime Minister's party. In England, all the members of the cabinet are chosen by the Prime Minister from his own party in parliament. The cabinet is *collectively responsible* to parliament. This means that if the majority of the parliament dislikes the policy of one Government department and votes against the Minister, the Prime Minister and the whole cabinet will resign, not merely the one Minister. Dr. Nkrumah wanted his cabinet to be like the cabinet in England.

The second thing that Dr. Nkrumah wanted was an assembly which was all directly elected by the people, as the English parliament is. He did not like the assembly of 1951, in which half the members were elected to represent the territorial and state councils. Dr. Nkrumah, like other statesmen, was a party leader, and he believed that all members of the assembly should be party men, directly representing the people. The place for chiefs and elders, he thought, was in local government, not in the central assembly.

Dr. Nkrumah did not much trouble about the Governor's reserved powers. A sensible Governor and sensible Prime Minister would understand each other, and the Governor's reserved powers would not be needed. The Government in London

might be unwilling to give up the Governor's reserved powers so soon, and it was not worth while getting into difficulty over them. Let us first get an all-African cabinet and an assembly all elected on a party basis. These were the two main things that Dr. Nkrumah wanted; and in 1953 he asked for them.

In April 1954 the Government in London gave him what he asked. There was to be an assembly of a Speaker and 104 members. The 104 members were made up of 7 municipal members (three for Accra, two for Kumasi, and one each for Cape Coast and for Sekondi-Takoradi) and 97 rural members (39 for the Colony, 13 for Trans-Volta and Togoland, 19 for Ashanti and 26 for the Northern Territories and Northern Togoland.) There ware no special or nomin ated members, so no European could be a member of the assembly unless he were elected by the voters in the ordinary way. The assembly was to work in the same way as the English parliament. In particular, it was to follow the English rule that proposals to spend public money could only be made by the Government, not by private members. There must be a general election at least once every four years.

There was to be cabinet of at least eight persons, all of whom must be members of the assembly, and the cabinet was to be collectively responsible to the assembly, just as the English cabinet is collectively responsible to parliament. The Governor is to choose the Prime Minister and the members of the cabinet in the same way as the Queen chooses the Prime Minister and members of the cabinet in England. This means that the Governor is bound to choose for Prime Minister the leader of the strongest party in the assembly; for if he chooses anyone else, the assembly will not agree to have him. And he is bound to appoint as members of the cabinet the persons whom the Prime Minister chooses. So the Prime Minister has complete power; he can pick his Ministers from his own party in the assembly, and if a Minister does not do what the Prime Minister wishes, he will have to go. The Prime Minister has this power because his cabinet is collectively responsible to the assembly. Let us see how this power works. Suppose a Minister refused to obey Dr. Nkrumah, and refused to resign. Dr. Nkrumah himself would then go to the Governor and resign, and the whole cabinet would have to resign with him. The Governor would not be able to find anyone else as Prime Minister,

because most of the assembly would be C.P.P. men, and would not agree to have anybody but Dr. Nkrumah as Prime Minister. So the Governor would have to ask Dr. Nkrumah to come back and be Prime Minister again, and Dr. Nkrumah would of course choose a new cabinet, leaving out the one Minister who had caused all the trouble. We have spoken of Dr. Nkrumah and the C.P.P.; but of course this would be just the same for any Prime Minister, whichever party were in power. As long as the Prime Minister keeps the support of the assembly, he has complete power. If he loses its support he will advise the Governor to dissolve the assembly, and there will be a general election.

We have seen that Dr. Nkrumah had got rid of the three Europeans who were in the cabinet from 1951 to 1954. But he did not take over all the work which these three Europeans had done. Two kinds of work were reserved for the Governor: these were defence (that is, navy, army, air force and police) and external affairs (that is, the relations between the Gold Coast and other countries). Togoland too comes more under the Governor than under the Nkrumah Government, although Government departments under Ministers work in Togoland, and Togoland members sit in the assembly at Accra. This is not because the Government in London wanted it so, but because the United Nations wanted it so. Togoland is a special problem, because it is *a trust territory:* that is, the British Government in London is responsible for British Togoland to the United Nations, and may not hand over this responsibility to Dr. Nkrumah's Government in the Gold Coast unless the United Nations agrees. So far, the United Nations will not agree.

If we call the 1946 constitution the Burns constitution, we may perhaps call the 1954 constitution the Nkrumah constitution.

As far as internal affairs are concerned, the Nkrumah constitution has given the Gold Coast full self-government. All policy is in the hands of African Ministers, responsible to an assembly in which all members are elected. It is true that the Governor still has some reserved powers, but the constitution is very careful to say exactly how he is to use them, and it is not likely that he will ever use them. Defence and external affairs are very special and difficult subjects, and cost a great deal of money; probably Dr. Nkrumah has enough for his

Government to do for a few years with out taking in defence and external affairs as well. But no doubt in a few years time he will feel that the Gold Coast is ready to govern itself in these matters also. In November 1954, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation admitted the Gold Coast as an associate member. Unesco (as we call it for short) was then holding its general conference at Montevideo in the country of Uruguay, in South America. Mr. J. B. Erzuah and Mr. C. M. O. Mate went from the Gold Coast to attend the conference and to speak for the Gold Coast there.

CHAPTER XVII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

ON page 197 we said that we had two questions to consider. One was the development of the central Government. The other was the way in which the powers and the duties of the chiefs and elders and their councils have grown. This is the question of local government.

The Gold Coast became a colony in 1874, and soon afterwards, in 1878, the Government made the first law about the powers of the chiefs and their state councils. The first law was replaced in 1883 by another law called the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance. *Jurisdiction* means the power to hold a law court or tribunal, and the main purpose of the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance was to arrange the powers of native tribunals. Of course, such tribunals had existed before the British took over the country; but the question now was, what were to be the powers of the native tribunals under the Government?

The Native Jurisdiction Ordinance said that all chiefs were to have tribunals, and tribunals were to have the power to hear all cases concerned with native customary law, and other cases where the money claimed was not more than L25. A head chief and his council might make laws for his state (called by-laws) on certain subjects; the state council was to keep its old powers of destooling the chiefs and the Governor too had power to destool a chief.

One result of the N.J.O. was that native tribunals were set up everywhere,

even by small chiefs and head men who would not have held tribunals before the British came. The N.J.O. was very successful in this matter, perhaps even too successful; there were too many small tribunals, and it sometimes cost a man too much in court fees if he had to go from one tribunal to another. But in the matter of making by-laws the N.J.O. was not successful because nothing was done to help the chiefs and their councils to understand how the Government was trying to develop the country, and so they did not make new laws to deal with new problems.

In 1927 the Government made a new law called the Native Administration Ordinance. This Ordinance did five main things.

(1) It described the positions and the duties of paramount chiefs, divisional chiefs, chiefs and headmen, and of their councils; and it made rules for electing or destooling a chief.

(2) It said that nobody might refuse to obey his chief. A divisional chief must not refuse to obey his paramount chief; nor might he say that he would be independent and would not longer serve the paramount chief.

(3) It increased the powers of the tribunals and said that a man who was dissatisfied with the decision of a native tribunal might appeal to a higher tribunal, such as that of the paramount chief, or even sometimes to the tribunal of the Provincial Commissioner.

(4) Cases of native customary law between two paramount chiefs were to be judged by the Provincial Councils, which had been set up in 1925, two years earlier.

(5) It gave the state council the power to decide what was the native customary law of its state on some legal matter, and if the Governor approved of its statements, all law courts-not only the native tribunals, but the British law courts also-were hound to accept that statement as the law for cases concerning the people of that state.

The N.A.O. caused much argument. Many people disliked it because they feared the new Provincial Councils and because they thought the Ordinance gave too much power to the paramount chiefs. They thought that the Government was trying to get the chiefs away from their elders and people, and make them into Government servants. They imagined that it was saying to the chiefs: " You help us to do what we want to do and we will help you to do what you want to do. Never mind your people; we will see that they do not give you any trouble." This was not at all what the Government wanted. The Government did not want to have more direct control; it wanted to have less. The Government was trying to set up in the Gold Coast a system of local government rather like the system it knew in England.

In the Gold Coast, the schools, water supply, police, were run by the central Government; in England, all those things and others were run by the local governments. The Gold Coast Government was trying to develop the chiefs and their councils into local governments to take over these duties, and its first step must be to settle the powers of the native authorities.

From the Government's point of view, the Native Administration Ordinance left two big things still to be done. One was to settle how the chiefs and their councils (let us call them the. native authorities) and the central Government were to work together. The other was to give the native authorities some means of raising money for their work.

The first question was settled, as far as the Colony is concerned, by two laws of 1944, the Native Authority Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance. The Native Authority Ordinance replaced the Native Administration Ordinance completely', the N.A.O. of 1927 was dead. The new Ordinance said that the native authorities were to be appointed by the Governor, and might be dismissed by him. The native authority was not only given powers, but was given all sorts of duties; if it did not carry out its duties properly, the provincial commissioner might carry them out instead. This removed one weakness in the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance and the Native Administration Ordinance. Under those laws, the native authority could make by-laws if it chose; but very often if did not choose, and it did nothing. Under the Native Authority Ordinance of 1944 it could not sit and do nothing; it must act. It may seem that this made the native authority merely a part of the Government. But you must remember that the native authority, through its representatives on- the legislative council, could help to control the Government. Since 1946, and much more so since 1951, the central Government at Accra has not been a foreign Government; it belongs to the Gold Coast people.

The Native Authority Ordinance brought the work of the native authorities close to the work of the central Government. In the same way, the Native Courts Ordinance brought the work of the native courts close to the work of the magistrates' courts and of the Supreme Court. It said that the members of a native court were to be appointed by the Governor. The Ordinance described the

powers of the native courts. All the records of the native court were to be read by the district commissioner, and there was to be a special officer, called the judicial Adviser, whose work was to see that the native courts did their work justly. If the Judicial Adviser found that a court was being unjust, he would make that same court try the case a second time, or he could alter the court's sentence. And any magistrate had power to take a case away from a native court if the court had been unjust; and he might either try the case in his own court or send it to another court.

So all the law courts in the country became part of one system. Whether a case was tried in the D.C.'s court, the magistrate's court, the native court, or the Supreme Court, the justice was the same.

These two laws of 1944, the Native Authority Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance, did a great deal to bring the central Government and the local government bodies to work closely together. But if the native authorities were to do good work in local government, they must have money. They could not run schools and hospitals and demonstration farms, and do all the many new kinds of work they were wanting to do, without money. And so in 1939 the Government made a new law called the Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance[53]. This Ordinance said that all native authorities were to have treasuries. The treasuries were to be managed by finance committees; they were to keep proper accounts and to make estimates of their revenue and of their expenses just like the central Government. When a native authority had established a treasury, it might tax its people for public purposes.

The, Native Administration Treasuries Ordinance is very important for several reasons. It gave the native authorities the power to begin doing all kinds of new work, and so it helped forward local government. It brought into the service of the native authority many more clerks and accountants and other educated people such as teachers and dispensers and engineers; and thus it did something to keep educated people in touch with the native authorities. It helped everybody to see what the native authority did with the money it collected in tax; and so it helped

[53] Can you **see** why the law was called the Native *Administration* Treasuries Ordinance, and not the Native Authority Treasuries Ordinance? It will help if *you consider its* date.

people to trust their chief's and elders better. As we have said, the Native Authority Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance applied only to the Colony. But there were similar changes in Ashanti. The Ashanti divisions began to establish stool treasur ies long before 1939. When Nana Prempeh (now Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II) became Asantehene in 1935, a law was passed to set up a council of chiefs for the Kumase division and a Confederacy Council for the whole of Ashanti. In 1943 the Government set up the Ashanti Advisory Council, which was to be for Ashanti what the Provincial Councils (see page 223) were for the Colony. The Ashanti Advisory Council was to be made up of five members nominated by the Government, seven nominated by the Ashanti Con federacy Council, one member from the Kumase Town Council, and one from the Kumase Chamber of Commerce. The Confederacy Council, as we have already seen, sent four members to the legislative council under the Burns constitution of 1946, and the Kumase Town Council sent a fifth.

In the Northern Territories also, local government developed. In 1932 and 1935 laws were made to set up native authorities with courts and treasuries; and in 1936 a direct tax was introduced, to be collected by the native authorities and paid into their treasuries. In 1946 the Government set up a Northern Territories Council of chiefs like the Ashanti Confederacy Council. If you look at all these laws, beginning with the Native Jurisdiction Ordinance of 1883 and going on to the Native Authority Ordinance and the Native Courts Ordinance of 1944, more than sixty years later, you will see that all of them are trying to help the chiefs and elders and the state councils to do the work of local government better.

But were the chiefs and the elders and the state councils the best people to do it? They could do the old work, which they knew. They could sit in court and try cases about native customary law; they could carry out religious ceremonies; they could make rules about markets or lorry parks. But could they run schools and hospitals and water supplies and fire brigades? Many people thought they could not. Why was this?

There were several reasons. One was, that most chiefs and elders had not been to school and could not read or write. It was true that many people did not

want an educated chief, for they feared that he might sell the stool lands or be too clever for his elders. But how could an uneducated chief and uneducated elders understand about European things like schools and fire brigades?

Another reason was that the elders were old men, and that educated young men had very little chance of being members of the state council and helping in its work. But the new kinds of work needed the young educated men as well as the wise old men of the state council.

A third reason was, that the chiefs and elders had less power over strangers in their town than they had over their own people. In big towns like Accra, there was a town council. Nobody expected the Ga Mantse to have power over all the Europeans and Syrians and Indians and Nigerians and other strangers who lived in Accra. But in small places too, where there was no town council, there were strangers; and somebody must have power over them. The chief and the elders and the state council could not have it.

For these reasons, many people in the Gold Coast began to think that the work of local government was too big and hard to be left to the native authorities. During the last few years, some state councils had been taking in young and educated men to sit with the elders. In 1945, there were 2,471 people in the Colony who were members of state councils, and 614 of these, about one quarter, were young educated men. Some native authorities contained two or more small states, and had a joint council. But although some people said that the native authorities should use the young men more, nothing much was done.

And so we come to 1946, the year of the riots and of the Watson Commission. The Watson Commission had a word to say about local government. You will remember that the Government in London sent out the Watson Commission to find out why matters in the Gold Coast had become so bad that there was rioting and shooting. The Commission blamed the Gold Coast Government very much. It said that the police had to shoot to restore order; but the Government ought not to have let things get so bad that order could only be restored by shooting. The real trouble, .the Watson Commission thought, was that the Government and the people did not understand one another. There was not

enough education; the people had not enough power over the Government at Accra; and the Government at Accra was too far away from the villages. Something must be done to help the man in the village or the small town to feel that the Government was close to him, not far away in Accra. And he must be helped to feel that there was work which he himself could do to make life in his village better. So the Watson Commission proposed that many of the powers of the Government in Accra should be given to three smaller governments, one in the Colony, one in Ashanti, one in the Northern Territories. In the Colony, not more than two-thirds of the members of this new *regional* government should be members of state councils; the others must be elected by the people. in Ashanti and the Northern Territories, not more than one half should be members of state councils, and at least one half must be elected by the people. The Commission hoped that people would take more interest in the nework of the government of their own *region* than they did in the work of the central Government in Accra; and that they would feel that they could make the government of their own region do what they wanted.

The Government in London said that it would be ready to agree to this idea of regional governments. But it said that the Coussey committee, which was going to consider how the central Government could be made better, should consider the question of local government also. The Coussey committee would have time to go into the question more thoroughly than the Watson Commission could.

The Coussey committee agreed with the Watson Commission that the Gold Coast should be divided into regions; but it thought that there should be four regions, not three. Trans-Volta was to be the fourth region.

When we think of these Gold Coast regions, we must remember that they are very different from the three regions of Nigeria. Nigeria is much bigger than the Gold Coast, and there are more differences between one part of Nigeria and another than there are between one part of the Gold Coast and another. So in Nigeria, each region has its own assembly and its own ministers, and the central Government in Nigeria has very little power. But in the Gold Coast, the four regional Governments have very little power; there is a Minister of Local

Government in the central Cabinet, and the four regional governments are all under him. The work of the regional government is to look after the smaller local government councils in its region, and to take charge of some pieces of work which would be too big for any smaller council. (For example, let us suppose that a new motor road were needed from one end of Ashanti to the other, from the French border to the Volta river. It would of course be possible for all the councils, through whose area 'the road is to run, agree together how to build the road and how to pay for it. But think of the years of talk there would be before the road was finished. One council would want it to be 35 feet wide, another only 25 feet; one would say it must be of tarmac, and another would say that gravel was good enough; and one council, whose area was not on the line of the road, would say that the road ought to pass through its chief town, not through the town of another council. For a big thing like this, you need one big government which can do it quickly. That is the regional government.) There is a Government official, called the chief regional officer, at the head of each region; and his job is to carry out the orders he receives from the Government in Accra - that is to say, from the different Ministries.

The Coussey committee then went on to make many proposals for setting up local government councils of three kinds. It proposed a class A or district council, which would govern an area like a large town or a large native authority[54], a class B council, which would govern a small town or the area of a small native authority, and a class council, which would govern a village or a group of small villages. But we need not talk about what the Coussey committee proposed, because the Government agreed to nearly everything which it proposed about these new councils, and made it law by the Local Government Ordinance of 1951. We can describe what the Local Government Ordinance did, not what the Coussey committee wanted to be done.

The most important local government body is the district council. There are to be ten district councils in Ashanti, 14 in the Colony, four in Trans-Volta, and nine

[54] Though we must remember that the native authority had power only over its own people, not over strangers. The new councils have power over everybody in their area, strangers as well.

in the Northern Territories: 37 in all. The district council has very large powers. It runs primary schools, hospitals and health services, roads and bus services, street lighting, large water supplies, fire brigades, and many other things which used to be run by the central Government in Accra.

These local government district councils have nothing to do with the old administrative districts. From the beginning of British rule in the Gold Coast until the new constitution of 1951, the country was divided into districts. In each district there was a district commissioner, who was the head of the Government in that district. The D.C. was the representative of the Governor, and his work was to see that the policy of the Government in Accra was carried out. But when Dr. Nkrumah became head of the Government, and the new system of local government was set up under Dr. Nkrumah's Minister of Local Government, the name *district commissioner* was changed to *government agent,* to show that he now had less power. The government agent takes his orders from the Ministry of Local Government, not from his provincial commissioner and from the Governor, as he used to do. And the local government district councils are based on the old native authorities, not on the administrative districts. Still, as the Government in the old days tried to divide the country into districts nearly in the same way as it was divided into native states, there is not so much difference in boundaries as we might expect: for example, the administrative districts of Eastern Akim, Western Akim, and Akwapim were roughly the same as the native states of Akim Abuakwa, Akim Kotoku, and Akwapim. But though there may not be so very much difference in boundaries, there is a very great difference in the way in which the new district and the old administrative district are governed. The district commissioner was head of his district. The govern ment agent today is not even a member of the district council, though he may attend its meetings and see its rate. It is very like the old poll tax. As well as the basic rate, the councils have power to collect another rate, depending on income: rich people would pay more than poor people. They have also power to find out how much property a person owns, and to charge a rate depending on that amount: in this way again, rich people would pay more than poor people. And lastly, they have power to say how much a

person's house or land is worth in rent (whether the person who lives there rents it from a landlord, or owns it himself), and to charge a rate depending on that.

This last kind of rate is the one which is usual in England. The value of every house or shop or other building, and of every piece of land, is written down in a book, and the value is expressed at so many pounds a year. This value is called the assessment of the property. For example, I who write this book live in a house which is assessed at £43 a year. The council knows the total of all the assessments in its area. It knows also how much money it must collect in rates. It then works out a sum: what fraction of the total assessment will this money amount to? It may be more than the total assessment, it may be less. Whatever it is, the council expresses the money it needs at so many shillings for each pound of assessed value. In 1952 for example, my council needed a total rate which worked out at sixteen shillings and ten pence in the pound. So I, with my assessment of £43, had to pay forty-three times sixteen shillings and ten pence.

Both in England and in the Gold Coast, the rates are collected by the urban and local councils. The bigger councils, the district council in the Gold Coast and the county council in England, have powers and duties which the smaller councils have not. They tell the urban and local councils how much money they need to do their work, and the urban and local councils collect the money as part of the rates, and pay it over to the bigger councils. Out of my rate of 16s. 10d. in the pound, about 9s. 84d. (more than half) was collected in 1952 by they urban council and paid over to the county council[55].

In addition to authorities, their rates, which councils receive money money they get from stool lands. They part of the m from things like gun licences and spirit licences, which used to go to the central Government. They also receive a grant in aid from the central Government.

All this system of local government is new. The Coussey committee and

[55] Things are slightly different in the Northern Territories. There, it is the district council, and not the urban or local council, which collects the rates. The urban and local councils have to ask the district council for their share. In the Northern Territories, too, the chairman of a council is often a chief. In Ashanti and the Colony, every council has a chief as its president: but it also has a chairman; and there is a difference between president and chairman n. The president presides only on purely formal occasions; the chairman presides whenever the council is doing its ordinary business.

the Local Government Ordinance have made a complete change from the old way of doing things. Until the time of the Watson Commission of 1948, people thought that local government was the work of the native authorities. They could see that the native authorities as they then were could not do it properly. But they hoped that with more education and with help, the native authorities could learn to do the work. But the Coussey committee changed all that. For the first time, they said that this work was too difficult for the native authorities; they would never learn to do it well, and the only thing to do was to set up some new councils to do it. But you will notice how careful the Coussey committee and the Government have been to give the native authorities a share in the work of the local government. One-third of the members of the councils are nominated by the native authorities. The Gold Coast, like other countries which are developing fast, is trying to keep the best things in the old Africa of yesterday, and use them in building the new Africa of tomorrow. England is another country in which old customs and new customs are combined together. The first elections to the new councils were held on April 1st, 1952. The members of the councils will hold office for three years, and elections are to be held in April every third year.

CHAPTER XVIII
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

WE have seen how the Gold Coast has been working towards self government, and how it has been developing its local government. These are political developments. In this chapter we must see how the Gold Coast has become richer, by developing its trade, by building roads and railways, by educating its people, by producing more cocoa and minerals. This is called economic development.

How does economic development begin? Everyone has certain needs, such as the needs for food, shelter, and clothing; and economic development can begin only when a man's work produces more than the man needs for himself and his children. If you live in a desert country, and you have to spend all your time taking

your camels from one patch of bushes to another, you will be poor. But if a stranger comes to your country, and finds that beneath the desert there is oil (this has happened in several places during the last few years), at once things become quite different. You yourself may not need the oil, but you can sell it to other countries that do; and with the money you can buy electric machinery, schools and hospitals, printing presses, and anything else that you need. Then, the economic development of your country will begin.

But you will notice that, even if the oil is found, someone has to do a great deal of work before it can be put to use. Engineers must come with machinery, and hundreds of men must dig and carry loads in the 6 t sun. You yourself need not perhaps do the work.

You may be able to pay other people to do it for you in return for a share of the money you will receive for the oil. (Similarly, a Gold Coast cocoa farmer need not cut and carry his own cocoa; he can pay other people to do it for him.) But someone must work. All economic development comes from work.

This is true everywhere, in England and the Gold Coast, as well as in desert countries. England became a rich country because it had plenty of coal, and it was Englishmen who first found out how to make steam engines which could use the coal. They used the steam engines to drive all sorts of machines which had been driven by hand. It was by selling these machines, and by selling also English coal, that England became rich. Long ago, in the days of Osei Tutu or of Don Diego d'Azambuja, the Gold Coast was a poor country, but it had two things to sell: gold and slaves. We have seen on pages 58[56] and 84 how the Gold Coast people used to sell their gold and slaves to the white men and buy from them guns and cloth and other European-goods. We have seen, too, on page 135 that in 1828 the British Government wanted to leave the Gold Coast. This was because the slave trade had been stopped, and the trade in gold dust alone was not enough for all the trouble that the British Government had in the Gold Coast. The Government did not think that the trade in palm oil and timber and other things would ever be big enough to make up for the slave trade. You will remember that Governor

[56] NOTE: All references to pages numbers are of the original book, and do not correspond to the material herein.

Maclean was only able to do what he did for the Gold Coast because the Government in London paid £4,000 a year for the expenses of the Government in the Gold Coast. Apart from this, all the Government had in Captain Maclean's time was the customs duties on European goods which were sold in the Gold Coast. And since the Gold Coast was poor, it could buy very few European goods, and so it paid very little in customs duties.

So matters went on. The Gold Coast sold a little gold dust and a little palm oil, but it remained a poor country. I here was more gold deep down in the rocks at Obuasi and Tarkwa and other places; there were manganese and aluminium and diamonds waiting to be mined. But nobody knew they were there, and the Gold Coast had no money to pay men to come and find them. There were no roads or railways, only bush paths. Everybody travelled on foot, and goods had to be carried in head loads.

And then in 1879 an Accra man named Tete Kwashi brought the first cocoa into the country. He brought it from Fernando Po and San Thomé, the Spanish and Portuguese islands near the Cameroons. The people of the colony and of Ashanti soon began to plant it everywhere; but it was not until 1912 that the Gold Coast began to export very much cocoa. In that year the country sent away 20,000 tons, four times as much as in the year before. Since then the cocoa trade has increased, and more than 300,000 tons have been exported in a year. This made the Government rich, for the Government charged a tax on the cocoa that was exported, and charged customs duties on the things that were imported from Europe in exchange for the cocoa. Other things, such as timber, manganese and diamonds and gold, have been exported from the Gold Coast; but it is cocoa that has brought the Government most money.

Cocoa made not only the Government rich, but the people. Cocoa was a crop which a poor man could grow without much trouble; he could grow food crops on one part of his farm and grow cocoa for sale on another part. The law of the Gold Coast did not allow strangers from other countries to buy land and plant thousands of cocoa trees on it for themselves, as Europeans did with rubber in the Congo and Malaya and with coffee in East Africa. Cocoa in the Gold Coast

was always a crop which African farmers grew and sold for them selves, and most of the cocoa farms were small. Before long, people living in the forest country were no longer content to spend all their time in growing food; for they got so much money from their cocoa that they could afford to pay men from the Northern Territories, and from the French country further north still, to work on their farms and carry their cocoa to the market. Of course, cocoa brought other difficulties. People living in Accra and Krobo and other places outside the forest country could not grow cocoa at home; so they all wanted to get forest land so that they too could grow cocoa and become rich. This meant that cocoa land became very valuable, and people began to buy and sell land, which of course was against old custom. So economic development began, and it went on faster and faster.

We can see how fast the country was developing if we look at a few figures. We need not go back very far in history. Here are two sets of figures, one for 1937 and the other for 1951. One set shows the value of the Gold Coast extorts, that is, the goods which the Gold Coast sold to England and to foreign countries. The other set shows the total Government revenue, that is, the total money which the Government received in taxes and fees of all kinds.

	Exports	**Revenue**
1937	£16,ooo,ooo	£3,750,000
1951	£89,000,000	£30,750,000

You will see that from 1937 to 1951 the figure of exports rose to more than five times what it had been, and the figure of revenue to nearly ten times what it had been. The quantity of goods which the Gold Coast exported did not rise nearly as much as their value. Here are some figures which show the chief exports of the Gold

Coast in 1925, 1937 and 1951; in each case we have given the actual quantity and also the value.

	1925	1937	1951
Cocoa	218,151 tons	236,206 tons	229,526 tons
	£8,222,263	£9,989,548	£60,309,769
Gold	218,122 ounces	557,764 ounces	692,301 ounces
	£840,525	£3,910,757	£8,562,326
Manganese	338,657 tons	527,036 tons	806,080 tons
	£680,944	£1,025,091	£7,216,617
Diamonds	77,313 carats	1,577,661 carats	1,768,012 carats
	£98,760	£648,057	£5,981,816
Timber	2,016,755 cu. ft.	1,154,589 cu. ft.	9,874,410 cu. ft.
	£256,634	£129,748	£4,976,572

You will see that the quantity of cocoa exported has not changed much, but the value has risen from £8 million to £6o million. If you compare the quantity exported in 1951 with the quantity exported in 1925, you will see that there was roughly three times as much gold, two and-a-half times as much maganese, 23 times as much diamonds (which were newly discovered in 1925), and four-and-a-half times as much timber. But if you compare the values, they were ten times, eleven times, sixty times, and eighteen times the 1925 values. All prices rose very much because of the war. So you can see that from 1925 to 1951 the Gold Coast developed very much: but not quite as much as you would think if you looked only at the value of exports, and not at the quantity.

These figures show too how difficult it is for the Gold Coast to look ahead. Values go up and down; look for example at the value of gold in 1925 and 1937 about £4 an ounce in 1925 and about £7 an ounce in 1937. We shall see on page 274 that this sort of thing happens also in the case of cocoa, and has caused trouble. But the Government still had not enough money for all the things it wanted to do: for schools, hospitals, roads and railways, and all the other things that were needed to enable the Gold Coast to develop. In 1952 the Government revenue was about £30 million, roughly cocoa Gold Manganese Diamonds Timber seven pounds for every person in the country. (The Government in London had about ninety pounds for every person in Great Britain, which it collected in taxes from the British people; so you will see that the Gold Coast still has a long way to go.) Out of this revenue of 30 million, the Gold Coast spent, for example, nearly £ 3 million on education-roughly one-tenth of the whole. This sounds a lot of money, but it does not go very far. There are about 675,000 children in the Gold Coast between the ages of 5 and 15. Suppose we had schools for them all, and they

were all in classes of fifty, with one teacher to each class of fifty children. For this we should need about 14,000 teachers. And if we had 14,000 teachers and each teacher was paid £ 150 a year, we should need over £ 2,000,00o for teachers' salaries alone, without counting the other expenses of education. And of course, the Government has other things to do in education besides paying teachers' salaries: for example, there is the cost of school buildings and furniture.

It is plain then that to do its work properly the Gold Coast Government needs much more money, and this money must come from the Gold Coast people them selves in taxation. For this reason, the Government tried several times to introduce a direct tax. A direct tax is a tax which the citizen pays direct to the Government, and which he can see for himself is a tax because he is not immediately getting anything in exchange. Other taxes are called indirect taxes. Here is an example of an indirect tax. If a merchant brings cotton cloth from England into the Gold Coast he has to pay customs duties. He does not much mind this, because he will fix the price of the cloth so as to cover the duty; and thus everyone who buys a yard of cloth is really helping the merchant to pay his customs duties to the Government. This is called an indirect tax, because when you buy a piece of cloth you pay your money in the shop and you do not think of the tax. complain that the cloth is too dear, but you merchant for that, not the Government.

But there are limits to what the Government can get by indirect taxation. If the Government makes the customs duties too heavy, the price of cloth in the shops may rise so high that people will refuse to buy it; and then the merchant will import no more and the Government will get no more money. That is the difficulty of indirect taxation; people can always get out of paying the tax by going without the goods. So the Government wanted a direct tax, which everybody -or nearly everybody-would have to pay. It wanted a direct tax partly because such a tax would bring in more money, partly too because when people paid a direct tax they would understand that all the Government's money comes from the people.

But the Gold Coast people did not agree. They thought of the old days of the 1852 Poll Tax. They thought that a direct tax would mean that they were the slaves

of the Government. They said that the Government had no right to introduce a direct tax unless the chiefs and people were properly consulted and agreed to it. The Government tried several times, and it was only in 1943 that at last the Gold Coast agreed to a direct tax called income tax. Income tax is a tax which is based on a man's income, the money he earns in a year. He may earn it by working in an office or a factory, or by growing cocoa or working as a doctor or a lawyer. Every year a man has to tell the Government how much he has earned, and has to pay part of it in tax. The tax is arranged so that a rich man not only pays more tax than a poor man, but also pays a bigger fraction of his income. You can see why this is so if you consider that a manearning 1oo a year would find it much harder to give £ 5 in tax than a man earning £ 1,000 would find it to give £50 in tax, as he would if the rate of tax were the same for him as for the poor man. We have seen on pages 229-231 how direct taxes have been introduced to enable local governments also to do their work. What did the Government do with the money it collected in taxes? One thing is that it has done very much to make travelling easier in the Gold Coast.

COMMUNICATIONS

Bush paths have been made into motor roads, and railways have been built. There were very few good roads before 1910. There was not enough money to build them; and in any case, there was no need for them. Motors were only made for the first time in Europe about the year 1900. Many of them in those days were driven by steam, like railway engines; and all of them were very slow. A few years before Prempeh was taken away from Kumase, petrol was found, and men found out how to use it to drive engines. But it was not till about 1910 that motors became at all common in England. The first motor to be brought to the Gold Coast came soon after the Yaa Asantewa war; but it was many years after that before motors were used by many people in England. So before 1910 there was no need to build motor roads; and in most parts of the country there were no horses, and so no horse-carts. When Sir Garnet Wolseley came out, the soldiers made a wide road

all the way from Cape Coast to Prasu, so that the guns could be taken to Prasu on their wheels; and Sir Garnet rode all the way in a little wheeled carriage pulled by men. But after the war they let that road go back to bush. In 1918 the Gold Coast had 1,200 miles of good motor roads, in 1922 it had over 3,000, and in 1937 over 6,ooo; and many more motor roads were built during the war of 1939-45

The Government in England sent out railway lines and other railway material in 1874, thinking that a railway from Cape Coast to Prasu would help Sir Garnet Wolseley. But there was no time to build the railway, and the stuff never got beyond Cape Coast beach. It was after the Yaa Asantewa war that the Government began to push on with building railways, so that Kumase should be easier to reach from Accra or Sekondi. The railway from Sekondi reached Tarkwa in 1901, Obuasi in 1902, and Kumase in 1904. In 1910 the railway between Accra and Nsawam was opened; it reached Tafo in 1917, and the first train between Accra and Kumase ran in 1923. The Central Province railway, between Huni Valley station, north of Tarkwa on the Sekondi line to Kade, between Oda and Tafo, was opened in 1927.

During the 1939-45 war, a branch line was opened from Dunkwa to Awaso to take away the aluminium ore.

The first electric telegraph in the world was made in 1844, and the first telephone in 1876. The army in the 1874 war used a telegraph for sending its messages, and in the war of 1896 the Ashantis stretched a long string from tree to tree to copy the British telegraph line, thinking that it was a wonderful magic thing to make soldiers win battles. But although a telegraph line was taken to Kumase before the Yaa Asantewa war, only a very few of the chief towns were linked up by telephone or telegraph, until the country became so rich through cocoa and manganese. Roads, post offices, telegraphs and telephones, all these have come with the great trade of the last thirty years.

It was while Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1919-27) was Governor that the country increased its trade so much and became so rich; and he was able to start the harbour of Takoradi, the hospital at Korle Bu, and the college at Achimota; each of these cost a very sum of money, and could not possibly have been begun

when the country was poor. The botanical garden at Aburi was opened in 1890 (though the Danes had made gardens near Akropong zoo years before); but it was during Sir Gordon Guggisberg's time that the agricultural department was able to begin much more work and increase its staff very greatly. It was during these rich years that the Gold Coast people came to believe that the Government is like a very rich man and always has plenty of money for everything. Now people are beginning to understand that this is not so; the Government gets its money from the people, in taxes of different kinds; and if the people are poor and cannot pay 'taxes, the Government also becomes poor and cannot afford to do the work it would like to do.

Another thing on which the Government spent its money was education, which you will read of on pages 276-284. But before we speak of education, we must go back to the question of cocoa.

Why is it so important to the Gold Coast that it should produce as much cocoa as it can? It is because the Gold Coast needs the money it gets from its cocoa to pay for all the things it needs to buy from overseas: not merely things like sugar and tinned sardines, cotton and silk cloth, which are nice to have but which the Gold Coast could do without, but also railway engines, lorries, cement, petrol, kerosene, and medicines of all kinds, without which the Gold Coast would simply " go back to bush ". Of course, the Gold Coast has other things besides cocoa which it exports: for example, gold, manganese, diamonds, and timber. But cocoa is far the most important, as you can see from these figures, which show the value of the chief Gold Coast exports in 1951:

Cocoa	**£ 6o million**
Gold	**£8 million**
Manganese	**£7 million**
Diamonds	**£6 million**
Timber	**£5 million**

You can see from these figures how important cocoa is, and what a blow it would be to the Gold Coast if it lost its cocoa trade.

The trouble is, that cocoa is one of those things which do not sell at a steady

price. The price of cocoa goes up and down; so does the price of rubber, wool, tin, coffee and many other such things. Farmers and miners all over the world complain that they can never tell how much people will pay them for what they produce. We have no space to explain fully why this is so. But we can say this. Think of the man in New York or London who buys cocoa (or one of the other things we have mentioned). He wants to buy as cheaply as he can. But he has to have his cocoa to sell to other people in his country. So he will try and wait until the farmers have a great deal of cocoa to sell and they badly want money; and then, when he thinks the price is as low as it will go, he will buy a great deal. After that, he may not buy any more for a long time. So, the cocoa grows every year, but in London or New York the merchant is not ready to buy steadily. He buys in jerks: a big buy, then a long wait. So the price is not steady. And as a general rule, the more cocoa there is, the cheaper the price. Look at these figures: in 1938 the Gold Coast produced 263,000 tons, of cocoa, and sold it for W million. In 1951, the Gold Coast produced 230,000 tons, and sold it for £6o million. Less cocoa, for thirteen times as much money! Of course, there has been a war; but still, what a change! If you look again at the figures of exports on page 267. you will see how prices go up and down.

This sort of thing brought trouble in '1937. For some years before that many of the European firms who bought the cocoa had been joining together until nearly all of them had formed one big company, the United Africa Company. In 1937 the Gold Coast cocoa crop was worth nearly ten million pounds; next year, although the crop was still bigger, its value was down to four and a half millions. So the U.A.C. and most of the other firms buying cocoa saw that if they bought the new season's cocoa at the old price, they would lose money, because Europe and America would not buy it from them at that price, and the cocoa would lie in the warehouses and spoil. So they agreed together to cut the price which they would pay to the African brokers who bought the cocoa from the farmers in the forest and sold it to the European firms. But these brokers would not agree. They thought that the firms were being unfair. They did not like the system by which a few big firms bought all the cocoa and also sold the European goods that Africans wanted to

buy. They said it was not right that a firm should make a profit in both ways, buying cocoa cheaply and selling cloth or bicycles dear. So for several months the farmers and the brokers, both in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, refused to sell their cocoa or to buy European goods at all.

This cocoa hold-up led the Government to appoint a commission, called the Nowell Commission, to inquire into the way in which the cocoa industry was run; and as a result, several changes were made. In 1942 the Government set up a Produce Control Board to market all the cocoa; and in 1947 the Produce Control Board was replaced by the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Company. What the Marketing Company does is to buy all the cocoa and to sell it in the world's markets. At the beginning of each season it fixes the price which it will pay to the farmer, and if it makes a profit by selling the cocoa at a higher price, all the profit goes into a fund which can only be used to help the Gold Coast cocoa industry. If the price of cocoa falls again, the Marketing Company will have a fund out of which it will be able to pay the farmer a better price for his cocoa than any private firm would pay him. The farmer will still suffer somewhat from a big drop in the price, but not nearly so much as he used to suffer before the days of the Marketing Company.

Since the Marketing Company was set up, the price of cocoa never has fallen; it has gone on rising. So the Marketing Company has been getting richer and richer. Some think that it ought to pay the farmer more. The Marketing Company can certainly afford to do more than it expected. For example, it gave nearly 12 million to the University College to set up a department of agriculture there. But the price of cocoa may fall again some day; and it would be a sad day for the Gold Coast farmer if the Marketing Company had spent all its money, so that the farmer had to suffer all the loss in price.

We have already spoken on page 228 about the trouble which arose over the swollen shoot disease of cocoa in 1947 and 1948. This shows how economic questions and political questions get mixed up together. The Watson Commission told the Gold Coast Government that although it was true that the only way to control swollen shoot was to cut out the sick trees, nobody in the Gold Coast would

believe it. As we have seen, people thought that for some reason or other the Government (a party of white men, as they thought) wanted the trees to die. So they would not listen to any British plant doctor, for they thought that he would say what the Government wanted him to say. So the Watson Commission advised the Government to ask some foreign plant doctors to come and advise it: doctors from countries which did not grow cocoa and did not do much trading in cocoa. The Gold Coast farmers would not believe the British doctors, but they might perhaps believe the foreign plant doctors.

The Government followed this advice. Three of the best plant doctors in the world (none of them British) came to the Gold Coast. They too, like the British, advised that the only thing to do was to cut out the sick trees. When Dr. Nkrumah's Government took power in 1951, it went on cutting; and the cocoa farmers, who did not trust the old Government, did trust Dr. Nkrumah's new Government. The Government still hopes to find some other way, such as killing the insect which carries the disease. But it has not yet found a sure way of doing this.

EDUCATION AND MISSIONS

There have been Christian missionaries in the Gold Coast as long as the white men have been here. When the Portuguese first came, they brought with them Catholic priests; and even when the Portuguese were driven away, and the Dutch, who were Protestants, came instead, some of the Catholic forms of service still lingered on among the Elmina people. But there were no more Catholic missionaries in the country after the Portuguese went away until 1881, when some Catholic Fathers settled at Elmina. Since then, they have spread to all parts of the country.

The first Protestant mission to begin work in the Gold Coast was the Anglican mission. In 1750 the Rev. Thomas Thompson came to the country and settled at Cape Coast. Four years later he had to give up his work here because of bad health; but he had sent three Cape Coast boys to England to be educated there. Two of them died: but one, Philip Quacoe, was ordained a clergyman of the

Church of England, and preached and taught in Cape Coast and other places from 1766 till 1816, when he died as a very old man. Just before he died, his mission had opened a school in Cape Coast, which was long afterwards taken over by the Government and is now the Government Boys' School, Cape Coast. After this there was for some years no Church of England work in the Gold Coast, apart from the Government chaplains in Cape Coast Castle. It was not until 1879 that the mission began again, and Accra became its chief station.

The first Basel missionaries came in 1828. Four Danish missionaries came to Christiansborg, but three of them died in the same year. The Danish Government had a government school at Christiansborg, and the fourth missionary, Henke, worked there until he died in 1831. A few weeks later three more missionaries came, but two of them soon died, leaving one man, Rus, alone. Four years later he left Christiansborg and went to Akropong, where the chief of Akwapim, Ado Dankwa, gave him permission to begin a mission station. In 1847 the Basel mission began to work at Aburi and in the next few years the missionaries opened stations at Gyadam, Abokobbi, and Odumase[57] In 1864 the mission station at Anum was opened, and before the Yaa Asantewa war the Basel and the Wes leyan missions were working in Kumase. From the first, the Basel missionaries worked hard to improve the condition of the country, not merely by preaching Christianity and by opening schools, but by making roads and introducing new ways of farming, and by training carpenters and blacksmiths and all kinds of craftsmen. A great deal of the progress that the Gold Coast has made in comfort is due to the work of the Basel mission.

In 1835 the first Wesleyan missionary, Joseph Dun well, came to Cape Coast; but he and four other Wes leyan missionaries who followed him all died eighteen months. Then came Freeman, who arrived in 1838, and lived in the Gold Coast for more than sixty years. He opened mission stations at Anomabu and kumase and other places. In 1876 the mission founded a secondary school at

[57] The station at Gyadam was burnt down in 1861 in a war between the Akim Abuakwas and the Akim Kotokus. The mission moved to Kibi. The mission station at Abokobbi was founded because of the bombardment of christiansborg in 1854. In 1847 the Bremen mission began its work, and founded its station at Keta in 1853, and other stations at Ho, Aniedzofe, and elsewhere.

Cape Coast, which has grown into Mfantsipim, the first secondary school in the Gold Coast.

From the very first, all the Christian missions have done a great part of their work through their schools. They have begun vernacular literature by translating the Bible into Ga, Twi, Fante and Ewe, and by writing many school text-books in the vernacular. For a long time all the schools in the country were run by the missions, but in 1890 the Government appointed its first Director of Education, and it began building Government schools in 1900. In 1909 the Government founded the Accra Training College for teachers and the Technical School at Accra, afterwards removed to Takoradi.

It was in the time of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, 1819-27, that education, like other branches of Government work, took a big step forward. Sir Gordon was a great man; and he was lucky in having plenty of money to spend on his plans, for the Gold Coast was making much money by selling its cocoa at high prices. His new Education Ordinance of 1925 made it easier for a mission school to earn a Government grant, and so caused many mission schools to come on the assisted list; and with the help of Mr. Fraser and Dr. Aggrey he founded Achimota College.

We ought to say a few words about these two men, who did so much for the Gold Coast. Dr. Aggrey was a Fante from Anomabu, who had much of his education in America. There are two things to remember about him. One is that he was never angry if people treated him badly. The other is that he was never proud, and never too busy to see people. Once, Dr. Aggrey travelling on a ship, and they would not let him eat at the same table with white men. Dr. Aggrey laughed. " So I had a table and a steward all to myself ", he said: " I was looked after much better than the white men." Dr. Aggrey had many sayings. Here are some.

(1) Nothing but the best is good enough for Africa. (2) You can play some music on the black keys of the organ, and some music on the white keys; but to make the best music you need both the black keys and the white. (By this, he meant that the Gold Coast needs both Africans and Europeans to work for it.) (3) When you educate a man, you educate an individual; when you educate a woman, you educate a family.(4) You can catch more flies with molasses than with

vinegar. (Molasses is sweet stuff from the sugar cane; Aggrey meant that you will get more done if you are nice and friendly with people than if you get angry and abuse them and frighten them.)

Mr. Fraser had been a missionary in Uganda and in Ceylon before coming to the Gold Coast. Much of what we have said on pages 12o and 121 about Maclean is true about Mr. Fraser. He was a fighter, and he did not fear anyone. When he first came to Accra, he had with him Aggrey and four Europeans, and he found that the Europeans were to live in one house and Dr. Aggrey was to live in another house at the far end of the town. The Government told Mr. Fraser that he was living in a part of Accra that was reserved for Europeans, and so Dr. Aggrey could not live with him. Fraser said, " If Aggrey does not come and live in this house with us. I and all my four European teachers will go straight back to England." So the Government allowed Dr. Aggrey to come and live in the European part of Accra. Some years later, Achimota was full of mosquitoes from the swamps at the bottom of the hill. The Government said it could not drain the swamps 250 A Short History oJ' the Gold Coast and kill the mosquitoes. Mr. Fraser said, " Then we will do it ourselves." He was the first man to take up a pickaxe; his students and his staff, both African and European, followed him; and there were no more mosquitoes. Fraser too had some sayings. Here are some.

(1) Religion cannot be taught; it has to be caught. (He meant that you will help people more by showing them in your own life how they should live than by merely talking to them.) (2) You must always have time to give to people when they want to see you; never think that your time is more valuable than theirs. (3) A good school will make a good village. If I find the village full of flies and mosquitoes, the children full of hookworm and malaria, the hens poor and thin, the women going a long way to fetch muddy water for their homes, I know the school is not doing its job. Now we will go back to the story of Gold Coast education.

In 1937 another committee began the task of improving the school system of the Gold Coast, and worked at it for four years. The most important things it said were that there should be a new central advisory committee to advise the Director of Education, and local education committees in each district to advise the missions and the Government education officers and others in charge of the schools. The purpose of this was to give the Gold Coast people more control over

their children's education, just as the ordinances of 1939 and 1944 and the constitution of 1946 gave them more control over the Government. The committee said that there must be at least four Africans among the ten members of the central advisory committee; and most of the members in the local education committees are Africans. The work of the local education committees will no doubt be taken over by the local government councils before long.

So more and more schools were built; and whereas in 1902 only about 15,000 children were in school, in 1945 there were about 180,000, and in 1951 about 272,000, that is about one child in three. Secondary schools and training colleges also were increasing, and in Achimota, university classes were beginning. Sir Gordon Guggisberg had hoped that Achimota might one day develop into a university, and the people of the Gold Coast too hoped this. In 1943 the Government in London sent out a commission, called the Elliot Commission, to inquire into the question of university education in West Africa. The Commission visited the Gold Coast, and agreed that Achimota ought sooner or later to be developed into a university college; though they could not agree whether it was wise to develop it at once or to wait for a few years. It was not easy at the time to find university teachers from England, and the Government in London thought it better to wait until the new university college in Nigeria was properly set up. But the Gold Coast people would not wait. They wanted a university college of their own at once. So the Government in London agreed, and in 1948 the new college was opened. And the Government in London was happy to find that it was wrong in fearing that the new university college would be unable to find teachers. By 1952, the college had a staff of 118, and nearly 500 students. The number of students will grow fast as the college gets its new buildings, and as the new secondary schools turn out boys and girls who are ready to begin their university work.

In 1951 a new college was founded to be like a sister to the university college. This was the Kumasi College of Technology, which will give all kinds of technical and commercial courses. The college began with the 200 students of the Achimota teacher training college, who moved to Kumasi. In this way, history

repeated itself; for Achimota began its work by taking over the students of the Government teacher training college at Accra, who left Accra and moved to the new buildings at Achimota twenty-five years earlier.

Both the university college and the college of technology were set up with the help of money given by the Government in London. Until 1945, the British Government expected the Gold Coast and other colonies to pay for everything they had. It took nothing from them in taxes, and it gave them no money help[58]. That is why the Gold Coast was so slow in beginning its economic development; it could of course have gone much faster if the Government in London had given it railways and roads and Takoradi harbour as a free gift. (And in the same way, England would have been richer if the Gold Coast had given England all the cocoa and gold and manganese it needed, as a free gift. But England paid for the cocoa and gold and mangan ese; and the Gold Coast paid for its railway engines and cement). The Government in London thought that if colonies were to get self government, they must learn to work and to pay for what they needed, instead of having it given to them for nothing. But in 1945, the Government in London saw that many colonies were so poor that they had no hope of developing very fast. It thought that if they were given some help to start their economic development, they would be able to go on much faster. And so it made a law called the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, by which the British Government gave £120,000,000 to help the development of the colonies. Part of the money was to be used in building such things as schools and hospitals, and part was to be used in such ways as building roads and railways and harbours, seeking for new minerals such as gold or aluminium, or in improving agriculture. All these things would help trade and so make the colony richer, and better able to pay for its own schools and hospitals. The money from the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was to be used for providing buildings and doing the work which is needed to start a new mine or a new power station. For example, the Government in London will give a colony the buildings and furniture for a new hospital; but it will not pay the salaries

[58] A few very poor colonies do receive money help. But the Gold Coast is not one of them; though, as we have seen, it did receive help in Captain Maclean's time.

of the doctors and nurses and dispensers; the colony must pay for those out of its own money.

Every colonial Government was invited to draw up a plan of what it would like to do, and to ask for the money it wanted; though of course £ 120,0oo,ooo was not enough to give every colony everything it wanted! Under this Act, the Gold Coast received about £ 4 million, which included £ 400,00o for the University College and £350,000 for the college of technology. More money under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act is used for providing scholarships to take colonial students to England; and many Gold Coast students have gone to England in this way as guests of the British Government. Others of course have gone with money given them by the Gold Coast Government, or with their own or their family's money. Economic development depends not only on gold and cocoa, but on trained and educated men and women. Schools and colleges are as important as roads and power stations.

When Dr. Nkrumah's Government came into power, the new Minister of Education, Mr. Kojo Botsio, made a plan to develop education faster, and the assembly approved of the plan in August 1951. Primary education was to be made free, and was to be provided as soon as possible for all children. This would need many more teachers, and the Government would build many new teacher training colleges, as well as more secondary schools. The plan would take several years to carry out, and would cost a great deal of money: £ 8 million for buildings and equipment and an extra £ 4 million a year in salaries and other costs. The central Government would pay most of the teachers' salaries, but local education authorities would have to find the rest of the money from local rates.

CONCLUSION

We have watched the story of the Gold Coast people from the time when the Nta-fo first came down into the forest until the day when Dr. Nkrumah became the country's first Prime Minister. We have seen how the Gold Coast people fought and set up strong states and kingdoms. The Europeans came, and they slowly

stretched their power over the whole country, partly by fighting but much more by teaching people new European ideas. Now the European power is ending, and work which a few years ago could only be done by Europeans is more and more being taken over by the men and women of the Gold Coast. But though the European power is ending, the new European ideas are still alive and working, and they are changing the whole life of the country.

There is much still to be done, and there are many difficulties which the new African Governments (Dr. Nkrumah's Government and those which follow it) will have to overcome. The Gold Coast is not a rich country. It has to import from overseas all the coal to drive its railway engines and all the oil and petrol to drive its power stations and its lorries. The Gold Coast has few people, and no fuel supply, so that it cannot easily set up large manufacturing industries. The Government proposes to dam the river Volta. This will do a great many things. It will provide electricity, and with the electricity the Government will be able to get a new supply of aluminium from a hill which at present cannot be worked. The electricity will also be carried over the country on wires to light people's houses and to run small factories. The water from the dam can be used to water the dry land of the Accra plains, so that they can grow something better than cassava and so that more people can live there. And above the dam, the Volta and its tributary the Afram will rise and will make two long narrow lakes, and steamers will be able to sail on them and bring trade to the Afram plains, which are now almost empty. A new port is to be built at Tema, with a railway to Accra. All this is a big piece of economic development, and it will do the country a great deal of good. But it will cost a great deal of money, perhaps £ 150 million, four or five years' revenue.

Where is the money to come from? It will come partly from Gold Coast Government money (that is, from taxes), partly perhaps from British Government money, but partly from European and Canadian commercial companies, who will be ready to spend money in the hope of getting a reward in better trade in this case, more aluminium.

This is an example of the way in which the Gold Coast can develop in partnership with Europe. We may say that the people of the Gold Coast have to

choose, both from the African life of the past and also from the European life that is coming into the country, whatever is best in both. As Dr. Aggrey said, to make the best music you need both the black keys and the white keys on the organ. The Africa of tomorrow should be a mixture of the best in the Africa of yesterday and of the best that Europe can give.